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THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAINE

Under the Conquests of ỹ ROMANS, SAXONS, DANES and NORMANS.

Their Originals Manners, Habits, Warres, Comes and Scales, with the Successions, Lines, Acts, and Issues of the ENGLISH MONARCHS, from IVLIVS CÆSAR, to our most gratious Soueraigne King IAMES.

The Third Edition

Reuised & Enlarged with Sundry descents of ỹ Saxons Kings: Their Marriages and Issues.

Anno. 1650

By IOHN SPEED.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON

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Are to be sold by George Humble at the White horse in Popes-head Alley.

K. 1. 21



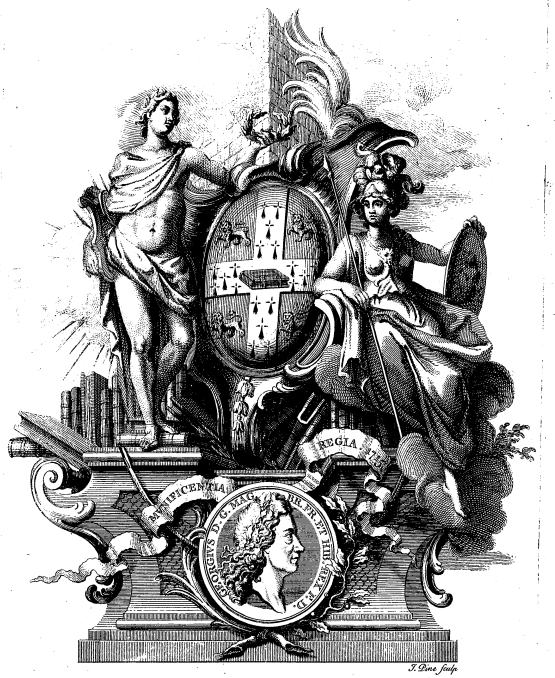
Æt. M.

Viri clarissimi

Iohannis Speed. Farndoniæ nati in Comitatu Cestriæ, Civis Londinensis, Mercatorum Scissorum fratris, Serui fidelissimi regiarum majestatum S.tissæ. Iacobi, et Caroli nunc Superstitis: Terrarum nostrarum Geographi accuratiss. et sui antiquitatis Britannicæ Historiographi, Genealogiæ, Sacræ elegantissimi Delineatoris, qui post quam annos 77. superaverat non tam morbo confectus, quam mortalitatis taedio satiatus, Corpore suo fecit est July 28. 1629.

D. Georgius Humble.





1596:12

TO
THE MOST HIGH, AND
MOST POTENT MONARCH,
IAMES,
OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE,
AND IRELAND KING; THE MOST
CONSTANT AND MOST LEARNED
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH; IN-
LARGER AND VNITER OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE; RESTORER OF THE
BRITISH NAME; ESTABLISHER OF PER-
PETVALL PEACE, IN CHVRCH AND
COMMON-WEALTH; PRESIDENT
OF ALL PRINCELY VER-
TVES AND NOBLE
ARTS.

IOHN SPEED,
HIS MAIESTIES MOST
LOVVLY AND MOST LOYALL
SVBIECT AND SERVANT, CONSECRATETH THESE
HIS LABOVRS, THOVGH VNWORTHY THE ASPECT
OF SO HIGH AN IMPERIALL MAIESTY.

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IAMES, our dread Soveraigne, 910.

HENR. SPELMAN Mil. Lectori.

NOn leve, nec temerè laudo tibi foria, lector,
Gratum opus & dignum consule (crede) vides.
Noster hic Ortelius, sic nostrum hunc exhibet orbem,
Vt res eminent, tota Britanna, simul.
Ora, sinus, fluvii, portus, nemus, oppida, tractus,
Regna, ducès, populi, fœdera, bella, quies.

S^r. *Rich.* Saint *George Norrey* King at Armes, in favour of this worke.

IT is farre from my purpose, to commend without cause, or by overcurious flourish to make a shadow seeme a substance, this worke needs no such deceptio visus; *The subject is of it selfe honorable, and able to stand without such weake proppes. The glory of our Nation being almost buried in the pit of obscurity, is herein revived, the continuance of Christianity traced from age to age, the antiquity and situation of our Townes, Castles, Religious Houses, Nobility, and all other memorable matters so lively portrayed, as in a glasse we may rightly discerne the true shape, quality and condition of each of them in particular. This worke therefore being now brought upon the publike stage and view of the world, may in my poore censure give satisfaction to the learned Reader, and abide the touch of the malignant opposer; which being effected*

effected without hope of gaine, or vaine ostentation with so great care, both of body and minde, is the more precious, for, difficilia quæ pulchra. *Wherein Gods power is made knowne in this his weake, but worthy instrument: and the glory of* Great Britain *made more famous to the world, as well in the Geographicall demension of the Lands situation, as in the Historicall relations of her most famous Monarchs, and glorious Actions; no Kingdome hitherto so particularly described, nor Nations History by true record more faithfully penned: In honour whereof, I sacrifice these lines of my love, upon the Altar of this worke, and celebrate the Authors remembrance to future posterities.*

To my friend M^r. IOHN SPEED, being very sicke.

GReat love, and little skill may cause me to missay,
But certainly this sicknesse cannot make thee die:
Though cruell symptomes, and these thirteene yeeres assay
For thy deare country, doth thy health and strength decay;
Tet stih thy toylsome labour, and thy industry
Is for thy Countries sake, her fame on hie to raise:
Shee shall thy temples crowne with everlasting bayes,
And in despite of death, shall cause thy memory
To live in endlesse fame with all posteritie.

Now may shee see her beauty, and her riches store,
What erst shee was in every age, and change of state,
And present greatnesse such as never heretofore,
Since this great Monarch rul'd from north to southerne
And stih thy life is to thy Country dedicate, (shore
Let none presume thy lawrell from thy head to reave
For this her story, which thy skilfull hand did weave:
But live, and weare it(Speed)untill the worlds great fate
Shall bring all earthly things unto their utmost date.

ALEX. GILL.

In exactissimi hujus operis Authorem, Eulogium *Tho. Barkham.*

VInctа diu, rumpat despecta silentia lingua,
Culmina ut immensi memorem superata laboris
Speide tui: infuscta jactor licet, (optime,) curâ,
Quam tibi pro merito possim circundare Palmam.
Qui coeant populi, quacunque sub orbe Britanno
Digna refers, uno aspectu, scriptoque, loco que,
Sanguineas signas, atavorum bella, palastras;
Nobilitasque aptâ patriam compagine rerum,
Ad nostra exactum deducis tempora filum.
Ergò erit hac magni merces non parva laboris,
Egregium pariunt hac quòd monumenta decorem
Ipsa sibi, ventura quod hac mirabitur aetas,
Totâque perpetuas debet Respublica grates.

A l'honneur de l'autheur & son œuure.

LE trespuissant ouurier de la ronde machine,
Pour son chief d'œuure teint cest' Isle separée:
Et quoy que des plus grands thresors du ciel parée
Son lustre assuietit au temps & a ruine.
D'un Demidieu ouurier d'une fabriq' divine,
Par la plume se void la breschе reparée,
La ruine dressе, & la force asseurée
Contre la mort, que tant de beautés assasine.
La police, le nom, l'invincible courage,
Les Princes, Provinces, & tout qu' est d'avantage
Du Breton belliqueux, luisent en son Histoire:
Pour unounage donq' a tous tant admirable,
Faisons, Faisons, Brettons, *d'un burin memorable,*
Graver le nom de SPEED *au temple de Memoire.*

T. BARKHAM.

To the right well deserving M^r. IOHN SPEED the Author of this Worke.

IN this BOOKE, (Bibliothec, *or Booke of Bookes;* TIMES *Library,* PLACES *Geographie*)
All that is shewne for which the curious lookes
Touching this LAND, *for* Place, *or* History.

In which thou hast with paine, *with* care, *and* skill,
Survei'd this Land *more neere then ere it was:*
For which, thy Wit *thou strain'd hast to thy* Will,
That wits as much as Wit *can bring to passe.*

The faire Hibernia *that Westerne Isle likewise,*
In every Member, Artire, Nerve, *and* Veine,
Thou by thine Art doth so Anatomize,
That all may see each Ill *that* Time *doth staine.*

Heere Time, *and* Place, *their friendly foes doe weare*
Which Time *thou hast so* Cull'd *Particulars;*
But Place *stayes* plac'd, (in) Time *a greater* Terme;
Tet Place, *without* Time *gets glory from his worke.*

No helps thou hadst, nor to oppose a Rival
In this attempt: but, Vertue *and thine owne wit*
That well to doe, that well, thou hast assai'd
Which shall (in grace) out-live Enuy *and* Spight.

Hadst thou among the Romans *liv'd when they*
Did signiorize the World; *A* Signiory
Should them (at least) have guerdon'd thy Survey,
Thy Maps, Descriptions, *and thine* History.

But, thou dost live when all Arts *save the* * *eight*
(Illiberall-liberall Art) *a begging goe;*
That Art *alone, with her true friend* Deceipt,
Gets all; then all seeks but that Art *to know.*

But, by thy Art *though nought be purchased*
But emptie Fame *(that feeds, but fattens not)*
Thou shalt feed thy NAME *till* DEATH *be dead;*
When emptie noble Names *away shall rot.*

The Leaves this Booke *contains, and* Maps *here grav'n,*
Are fitt'st as Feathers *to thy* Fames *faire* Wings,
To faime fresh Aire upon the face of Heaven;
And raise the fame above all ending Things:
That when Confusion *wracks this double* FRAME,
A Spirit *shall move on* CHAOS *Call'd thy* Fame.

Thou pained lover of thy person,

IO. DAVIES.

* *Adulation.*

* *Travell.*

In Historiam Magnæ Britanniæ Patroni sui charissimi, jam secundâ curâ editam.

SIc faciat miseros, faciat sors una beatos:
Est aliquid clarum non habuisse patrem.
Spem superat tua fama meam, riget aemula virtus:
Langues ad exemplum, quod nequis ipse sequi.
Nil, quod perficiat natus, tua charta reliquit,
Nil, quod sudores provocet usque meos.
Magnum opus est; i, perge Liber, repetàsque triumphos,
Perge per Albionem (non peritura) tuam.

IO. SPEED Fil.

OF him that this GREAT Taske *hath done,*
(great for the goodnesse many waies)
FAME *doth affirme he well hath wonne*
ARTS *highest* Prize, *and* Palme *of praise.*
In Climes, *and* Realmes *remote throughout,*
His merits merit rare report:
For none the like hath brought about;
Or equaliz'd in any sort.
The Shafts of his endevours, shot
At Gaine, *and* Pleasure; *both have hit:*
His Observations *have begot*
On private, publicke *Benefit.*
Chiefe Cities, Townes, *and* Countries *many*
(Which this vast Globe of Earth *affords)*
I oft have view'd; but never any
So well describ'd by Mappes *and* Words.
His travel'd Body, *toiled* Mind
(To bring this Worke *at last to rest*
In Period *which his* Plot *design'd)*
Should now rest famous with the best.

The Romans *such* Déserts *did Crowne*
With Laurell, which their Soile brought forth;
But I, of Branches *farre off growne,*
Bring Wreaths *to this worke, more of worth,*
The Palme *(wherein rare vertues bee,*
And, for a Conquest, Crownes a King*)*
The Olive, *and the* Cedar *Tree,*
Faire, fat, and fruitfull; these I bring.
In Egypt, Syria, *and the Land*
Of Promise, *(named by holiest* High*)*
I could not see, nor understand,
For vertue, any Trees *come nigh.*
As these (worth praise) are profitable,
They being of the worthiest kinds:
So in best sence, hath Speed *been able,*
To please (worth praise) the worthiest Minds.
In short, to give him then his due,
This Art *his better never knew.*

IO. SANDERSON.

THE PROEME TO THE LEARNED AND LOVERS OF GREAT BRITAINES GLORY.

HAving thus farre travelled in the portrait and description of this famous Empire of Great Britaine, I might here have rested, and claimed the priviledge that yeeres and imbecillity have brought me unto: had not a farther desire in others urged it a matter incident, historically to lay down the Originals of those Nations, and successions of those Monarchs, which either by birth or conquest have aspired to the Imperiall Crowne. And albeit I find my selfe both tired in the former, and most unfit to prosecute this latter, yet will I endeavour to give herein my best assayes; though as my labours, so my wants also, thereby will be made more vulgar to the world.

Heraclite. For if those men were blame-worthy against whom Heraclité exclaimeth, who with long toile and great trouble finde a little pure substance in a great deale of base earth: how shall I then free me from the like imputation, that from so many mines of pure metals, have gotten so little Oare, and the same neither well tried in my defective fornace, nor yet artificially cast off through the default of the mould; wanting both skill for to fashion, and measure to performe the true proportions that in such a project is to be required; and how often these my defects have disswaded my proceedings, is best knowne to him that is the searcher of the heart.

But by what fate I am inforced still to goe forward, I know not, unlesse it be the ardent affection and love to my native Country; wherein I must confesse that Nature in those gifts hath beene both liberall, yea, and prodigall, though Fortune as sparing and fast handed against me, ever checking the Bit with the Raines of necessity, and curbing the meanes that should illustrate my labours: which moves me oft times to thinke, that if the great Philosopher Theophrastus; had cause on his death-bed to accuse Nature, for giving man so long a lesson, and and so short a life; then I against Fortune may as justly exclaime, that hath assigned me so great a subject and so little meanes. And therefore let it not seeme offensive that I draw my waters from the Cisterns of others, who am not able to fetch them at the spring-head my selfe: Neither that I strike upon the same Anvile unto their sound, though nothing so loud, nor with the like strength; wherein yet this fruit at least will (I hope) redound of my endeavours, that I shall incite the more learned; if not otherwise, yet in emulation of me, to free the face drawne by Apelles, from the censure of the fault or defect in the foot, and not onely to amend, but even to new-mould the whole. Which thing though my dayes are neere spent; and with Barzillai I may say that Musicke to me is now unpleasing: yet doth my eare thirst after the set of that straine, as Socrates thoughts ranne ever on his Booke: who the night before he was to suffer death, was desirous to learne Musicke, because he would die, learning still something. Moses the first Governour of that Common-wealth, which whiles it stood, was the glory of the earth, and a paterne to all kingdomes succeeding, left this for a Law to remaine for ever, That the Fathers should teach their children; and should commit unto writing those things which the Lord in their dayes dayes had done; and

Thucydides. Socrates.

2 Sam. 19. 35. Deut. 11. 19. 20. Deut. 4. 32.

enjoined the *children* likewise to *enquire of the times that were past, even from the first creation of man: For when as Empires and Kingdomes, Common-weales and Cities, doe end and perish, yet the* Histories *thereof doe remaine and live; And that made* Cicero *to say as he did, That* Salamina *should be utterly forgotten, before the* things that were done in Salamina should perish: *And therefore as among the wise answers of* Thales, *the Histories of Countries are to bee accounted for Principals, either as* Cicero *calleth them the* Mistris of life, and expositions of Times; *so likewise let us from the lyricall Poet* Simonides *learne this further, That* he is perfectly happy that knowes his native countrey, to be truely glorious. *And as* Cassidore *calls him* a worthy Citizen, that seeketh the commodity of his Countrey: *So contrarise he is by* Bale *esteemed but a* fruitlesse clod of earth, that sucks the sappe of his soile onely to himselfe, *whose memorial shall perish as the dispersed* smoke *in the* clouds, *though for a time he mount aloft in his swelling pride. This naturall love and true affection to our* Native Country *we may further learne from the ancient* Patriarkes *and* Fathers *themselves; who besides a desire that they had to theirs, continually to live therein during life, commanded* their bodies to be buried therein after death: *from whose* Bowels *they first had assumed their* breaths, *and in whose* bosome *they laid their* bones, *as in their last* bed *of rest. Yea, of the unreasonable creatures, the* Birds *and* Beasts, *wee may learne this love, that alwayes are willing towards their* home. *And if it happen that* Countries *grow unkinde as* Homers *did, that in his old age and blinde, suffered him to beg his bread; or that a* Prophet *in his owne* Countrey *is not esteemed, as* Ieremy *felt it, and* Christ Iesus *taught, yet did the* one *for his peoples captivity* wish his eyes a fountaine of teares, *and the other for his* Countries destruction lamented and wept, *holding* it unlawfull to take the children's bread, and to give it unto others.

That this our Countrey *and* subiect *of* History *deserveth the love of her inhabitants, is witnessed even by forraine* Writers *themselves, who have termed it the* Court of Queene Ceres, *the* Granary of the Westerne World, *the* fortunate Iland, *the* Paradise of pleasure, *and* Garden of God; *whose* Typographicall *descriptions for the whole* Iland, *and* Geographicall Survayes *for the severall parts, exceed any other kingdome under the cope of Heaven; that onely excepted which was conquered and divided by* Iosuah; *And for fruitfulnesse and temperature may be accounted another* Canaan; *watered* with Rivers that doe cleave the earth, *as the* Prophet *speaketh, and maketh the Land as rich and beautifull, as was that of* Egypt. *Our Kings for* valour *and* Sanctity, *ranke d with the* worthiest *in the* world, *and our* Nations originall, Conquests, *and* continuance, *tried by the* touch *of the best* humane *testimonies, leave as faire a* Lustre *upon the same* stone, *as doth any other, and with any* Nation *may easily contend* (saith Lanquet) *both for* antiquity *and* continuall inhabitants, from the first time that any of them can claime their Originals.

And although our many Records *are perished by the* invasions of strangers; *through their covetous* Conquest *of so faire a* Land, *or in the* civill dissentions of home-bred Aspirers *that have sought the possession of so* rich a Crowne, *yet* Truth *hath left us no lesse beholding unto* her, *then* mightier Nations, *and* them *that would be fayre more* famous. *Neither is it to be wondred at, that the* Records *of* Great Britaine *are* eaten up with Times teeth, *as* Ovid *speakes, when as in* Times Ruines *lie buried their* Registers, *that have been kept with a stronger* guard, *as* Titus Livie *in the entrance of his* History *affirmeth of the* Romanes. *As* for those things (*saith hee*) as are reported either before or at the foundation of the Citie, more beautified and set out with Poets fables, then grounded upon pure and faithfull reports, I meane neither to averre nor disprove. *Of whose* uncertainties, *let us awhile heare the* reporters *themselves speake, before we proceed to the certaine* Successions *of our* British Monarches: *untill which time the* credit *of our* History *may well be said to waigh with* (*if not* downe-peize) *many others.* Varro (*that learned* Romane Writer, *who lived an* hundred yeeres *before the birth of our* Saviour Christ) *calleth the first* world *to the* Flood uncertaine; *and thence to the first* Olympias *fabulous: Because in that time* (*saith he*) there is nothing related (for the most part) but Fables among the Greekes, Latines, and other learned Nations. *And therefore* Plutarch *beginneth the lives of his worthy* men *no higher then* Theseus: *because* (*saith he*) what hath beene written before, was but of strange things, and sayings full of monstrous Fables imagined and devised by Poets, which were altogether uncertaine and most untrue. *And* Diodorus Siculus (*that lived in* Augustus Cæsars *time, a great searcher after* Antiquities, *and for* thirty yeares *continuance a traveller into many* Countries, *for information and further satisfaction*) *writing his* History *called* Bibliotheca, *containing* forty Bookes, *and yeeres of continuance* one thousand one hundred thirty and eight, *of his first sixe himselfe giveth this censure in his* Proeme. *These Bookes* (*saith he*) *containing the Acts of* ancient men, *before the destruction of* Troy, *with the ancient* Histories *as well of* Grecians, *as of* Barbarians, *are called fabulous: Which moved* Lucretius *the Poet to demand this question:*

Cur

Thales.

Cicero.

Simonides.

Cassidore.

Bale in Leylands New-yeares-Gift.

Gen. 49. 29.

Ierem. 7. 8.

Matth. 23. 37.

Ieremy 9. 1. Luke 19. 41. Matth. 15. 16.

Thos. Lanquet.

Ovid. Metam. lib. 15.

Histories uncertaine to the flood, and from the flood to the first Olympias, fabulous. * Plutarch.

Diodorus Siculus.

Iob 8. 8.

Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Troiæ,
Non alias quondam veteres cecinere Poetæ?

Why have not Poets in their Works of fained Stories brought,
Things done before the Warres of *Thebes*, or *Troyes* destruction wrought?

Yea, and of Troyes *story it selfe, if we may beleeve* Thucydides (*whom* Bodine *commendeth for an* absolute Historian) though it be ancient (*saith hee*) yet a great part thereof is fabulous. *And* Tully *out of* Plato *complaineth of as much:* For you *Grecians* (*saith he*) as children in learning, deliver onely things uncertaine, and have mingled Fables with the Wars of *Thebes*, and of *Troy*, things (perhaps) which never were, but gathered out of the scattered Verses of *Homer* and others, not digested by *Aristarchus*, and are yet uncertaine and obscure. *And that the* Greekes *indeed were but* Babes *in* Antiquity. Iosephus *in his Nations defence against* Appion *sufficiently doth approve, where he affirmeth, That* Invention of their letters was not so old as the siege of *Troy, insomuch that the* Poesie of Homer (*then the which there is none more ancient among them*) was not committed to writing, but sung by roate. *And the* Latine *tongue it selfe by* M. Cato, *is said, not to have beene in* use foure hundred and fifty yeares before the building of *Rome. And* Titus Livie *their famous* Historian, *freely confesseth, That* the use of Letters and learning among the *Romanes*, was very rare and hard to be found before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gaules. Yea, and of the uncertainty of* Romes *foundation, how lavishly soever* Historians *have written, not only* Fenestella *hath continued whole* Pages, *but* Plutarch *likewise in the life of* Romulus, *hath many* sayings, *whereof this is one; The* Historiographers (*saith he*) doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause, the great name of *Rome* (the glory whereof is blowne abroad through the world) was first given unto it; *some affirming that the* Pelasgives *after they* had runne *over a great part of the* world, *lastly, stayed themselves in that place where* Rome *was new built, and for their great strength in* Armes, *gave name to that Citie* Rome, *which signifieth* power *in the* Greeke *tongue.* Other *say, that certaine Troians after their siege, in* certaine Vessels saved themselves by flight, *and being put into the* Thuscan Sea, *anchored neere to the River* Tyber: *whose* wives *being extreamely* Sea-sicke, *through the counsell of* Roma *a* Lady, *the wisest and worthiest among them, set fire on the whole* Fleet; *whereupon their* husbands (*though sore offended*) *were inforced to make use of their present necessity, and neere unto* Palantium *planted this* Citie, *whose* Fame *presently grew great, and in honour of Lady* Roma, *named it* Rome: *and from hence they say the custome of* * kissing *in salutations came; after the example of these* wives, *who to appease their* husbands *wraths with* smiles *and* imbracings, kissed *their mouthes.* Some *will have the name* Rome *from* Roma, *the daughter of* Italus, *and of* Lucaria, *or else of* Telephus *the sonne of* Hercules, *and of the wife of* Æneas. Others *of* Ascanius *the sonne of* Æneas. Some *againe from* Romanus *the sonne of* Vlysses *and of* Cyrce, *will have it named* Rome. Others *from* Romus *the sonne of* Emathion, *whom* Diomedes *sent thither from* Troy, *derive that name. And* Romulus *as that is most generall, and carrieth the most likelihood) to be* Romes names Founder, *do not agree about his* Ancestors, *as more at large in* Plutarch *appeareth. And therefore with* Thucydides *we may well say,* It is a hard and difficult matter to keepe a meane in speaking of things, wherein scarcely can be had a certaine opinion of truth. *And the rather for that the* Writers *themselves have blamed each* others *of* affectation *and* falsehood, *as in* Iosephus *we may see; who affirmeth, That* Hellanicus *dissented from* Acusilaus, Acusilaus *with* Diodorus *correcting* Herodotus; Ephorus *accused* Hellanicus *of untruths; so did* Timæus *reprove* Ephorus *of as much,* Philistus *and* Callias *dissented from* Timæus *in his* History *of* Sicily, *and* Thucydides *is accounted a lyar by* some. Cæsar *is taxed by* Asinius Pollio (*saith* Suetonius) *to be* partiall *in his* Commentaries; *and* Tacitus *by* Tertullian *is blamed for untruths;* Fabius Maximus *is reprehended by* Polybius *for defectively writing the* Punicke *warres; and himselfe againe with* Silenus, Timæus, Antigonus, *and* Hierom, *as much found fault with by* Dionysius Halicarnasseus *for writing the* Romane Histories so unperfectly. *And a man may use the very same speech against* Dionysius, *saith* Bodine. These things *thus standing, let us give leave to* Antiquity, *who sometimes mingleth* falsehoods with truths, to make the beginnings of Policies seeme more honourable: *And whose* power *is so farre scrued into the* worlds *conceit, that with* Hierome *we may say,* Antiquity is allowed with such generall applause, that knowne untruthes many times are pleasing unto many. *Yet with better regard to reverend* Antiquity; *whom* Iobs *opposer wils us to inquire after, and to our owne* relations *in delivering their* censures, *let this be considered, That* more things are let slip, then are comprehended in any mans writings, *and yet* more therein written, then any mans life (*though it be long*) will admit

him

Lucretius.

Thucydides.

Tully.

Iosephus contra Appion. lib. 1.

M. Cato in a fragment of his

Titus Livi.

Fenestella, Plutarch in the life of Romulus.

* But that cannot be, for Herodotus affirmeth the Persians long before, used kisses to salute each other, Herod. l. 1.

Thucydides lib. 1. cap. 1.

Iosephus contra Appion. lib. 1. Hellanicus. Acusilaus. Diodorus. Ephorus. Timæus. Philistus. Callias. Thucidides. Suetonius in vita Cæsar. Sect. 53. Tertull. Fabius Maximus. Polybius. Silenus. Antigonus. Hierom. Dionysius. Halicarnasseus. Bodine. Augustinus civit. Dei lib. 3. c. 1. Hieron. in lib. Eusebij de Temp.

him to reade. *Neither let us be foreſtalled with any prejudicate* opinions *of the* reporters, *that in ſome things may juſtly be ſuſpected, or in* affection, *which by Nature we owe to our* naturall Countrey; *nor conſent (as* Livie *ſpeaketh) to* ſtand to the ancientneſſe of reports, when it ſeemeth to take away the certainty of truth. *To keepe a meane betwixt both, my ſelfe with* Bildad *doe confeſſe, that I* am but of yeſterday, and know nothing, *and therefore will relate the* Originall names *and* Nations *of this famous* Iland, *with the* ſucceſſions *of her* Monarches *and* Hiſtoricall actions, *ſo farre onely as is moſt approved by the beſt* Writers, *and will leave other* Cloudes *of obſcuritie to be cleared by the* Labours *of a* more learned

PENNE.

Thine in the Lord

IOHN SPEED.

Titus Livius lib. 8.

THE

THE SITE AND CIRCVIT OF GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

BESIDES thoſe fruitfull *Ilands* that diſperſedly are ſcattered about the *Maine*, like to beautifull Pearles that incompaſſe a *Diademe*, the Ile of GREAT BRITAINE, doth raiſe it ſelfe firſt to our ſight, as the body of that moſt famous and mighty Empire, whereof many other Kingdomes and Countries are parcels and members. Being by the Almighty ſo ſet in the Maine Ocean, as that ſhe is thereby the high Admirall of the Seas; and in the terreſtriall Globe ſo ſeated, as that ſhe is worthily reputed both *The Garden of pleaſure*, and *The Storehouſe of profit*, opening her Havens every way, fit to receive all forraine trafficke, and to utter her owne into all other parts: and therefore (as the Soveraigne Lady and Empreſſe of the reſt) deſerves our deſcription in the firſt place.

BRITAINE Admirall of the Seas.

(2) This Iland is ſo ſpacious and ample, that *Ceſar* (the firſt *Romane* diſcoverer thereof) ſuppoſed that he had found out another *World*: for to his ſeeming it appeared, that the Ocean was rather contained within that *Mayne*, then that *Mayne*, to be compaſſed with the *Ocean* about. And *Iulius Solinus*, for her circuit and largeneſſe, ſaith that *it deſerveth the name of another world*. But *Ariſtides* a Greeke Author ſpeakes much more properly, who by way of excellency termeth BRITAINE, *The Great Iland*: As likewiſe *Tacitus*, that undertooke to deſcribe BRITAINE by his owne knowledge, who ſaith, that *of all Ilands knowne to the Romanes it was the greateſt*: And ſo doth *Dionyſius* in his deſcription of the *World*.

In Panegyr. Orat. to Conſtantium.

Ariſtides.

Tacit. in vit. Agr.

BRITAINE the greateſt Iland knowne to the Romanes.

Dionyſius. Strabo. Rutil. Numat.

(3) But as *Strabo* compares the then knowne *World*, to a Cloake; *Rutilius Numatianus*, *Italy*, to an *Oken leafe*; and *Dionyſius Spaine*, unto an *Oxe-hide*: ſo the ſaid *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, from *Livie* his ancient, and *Fabius Ruſticus* his moderne, doth liken the faſhion thereof to a long *Diſh*, or *two-headed Axe*: whoſe forme notwithſtanding may better be expoſed to the eye, in the draught before ſeene, then can be explained in words to conceit, or unto any other thing be compared beſides it ſelfe: eſpecially ſeeing that ſo many good Writers have had but very bad ſucceſſe in their reſemblances of Countries. And this of them is rather unlike to either, if we ſpeake of the whole, which then was unknowne, as it ſeemed by *Tacitus*. And the hugeenorme tract of ground beyond *Caledonia*, which runneth unto the furthermoſt point, growing narrow and ſharpe like a wedge, was firſt redoubled with the *Romane* fleet by *Iulius Agricola*, and BRITAINE diſcovered to be an Iland, one hundred thirty and ſix yeares after *Iulius Ceſars* firſt entrance therein.

Fabius Ruſtic.

BRITAINE diſcovered to be an Iland 136 yeares after *Iulius Ceſars* entrance into it. *Tacitus in vit. Agric.*

(4) Some have beene induced by the narrowneſſe of the Sea, and likeneſſe of the *Soile*, to thinke that BRITAINE was ſometime joyned to the continent of *France*: whereunto *Servius Honoratius* ſubſcribeth in his Commentary upon the firſt *Eclog.* of *Virgil*, who thereamentioneth.

——*Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos,*

The Britaine people quite from all the world diſjoynd.

BRITAINE thought one continent with FRANCE. Servius Honorat.

As likewiſe by *Claudian* another ancient Poet it is ſtiled,

——*noſtro dedu&a Britannia mundo,*

The Britaine ſoile removed from our worlds continent.

Claudian.

And *Vinianus* with them affirmes, that in the *beginning, Britaine and Gallia were both one Land*. The like doth *Virgil* verifie of the Ile of *Sicile*, which in times paſt he reports to have beene one with *Italy*. Others hold, that all Ilands had their firſt ſeparation from the *Maine* by the rage of the generall *Deluge*, and that the mountaines thereby ſhewed their tops above the plaine grounds; and the plaines ſetling lower, became deepe vallies. When or whoſoever, by *Gods* divine ordinance and wiſedome, wee ſee that theſe *Ilands* ſituated in the *Seas*, doe no leſſe ſerve and adorne the *Ocean* it ſelfe, then the *Lakes* and *Pooles* of water doe the dry land, and all of them (as members of one maſſe) to miniſter ſuſtenance for the life of all things living, and pleaſures to the uſe and ſervice of man.

Vinianus.

Sicile thought once one continent with Italy. Dionicius Nigr. Though of ſome that all Ilands had their firſt ſeparation from the *Maine* by the rage of the *Generall Deluge*.

(5) The *Iland* of BRITAINE, of all others the moſt famous (by *Catullus* reputed the furtheſt towards the *Weſt*) is bounded on the *South* with *Normandie* and *France*, upon the *Eaſt* with *Germany* and *Denmarke*, upon the *Weſt* with *Ireland* and the *Atlanticke Ocean*, and upon the *North* with the vaſt *Deucaledon Seas*. The length thereof, meaſured by the *graduations* to both extremes, that is, from the *Lyſard Point* Southward in *Cornwall*, which lieth in the *Latitude* of 50 *degrees*, and 6 *minutes*, to the Straithy *head* in *Scotland* (being the furtheſt point of this Iland towards

Catullus.

Britains length.

towards the North) set in the degree 60. and 30. minutes containeth (according to the scale of the terrestriall *Globe*) six hundred twenty foure miles: not to trouble the Reader with other accounts, seeing the same so exactly to agree with the spaces of the Heavens. And the extent of Land in the broadest part is from the Landsend in *Cornwall*, in the West (situated in 14 degrees, and 37 minutes of Longitude, according to *Mercator* his *Atlas*) unto the Iland *Tenet*, in the East of *Kent*, (lying in 22 degrees, 30 minutes) and containeth miles 340, as they have delivered, that with curious search have laid the dimension thereof.

Britains bredth.

(5) The site of this Iland is set by the *Mathematicks* in the eighth Climate for Latitude, and the Longitude likewise placed betwixt the Parallels fourteene and twenty six: a seat as well for *Aire* as *Soile*, both fruitfull and milde; and for length of dayes, pleasant and delightfull: for in the height of Summer the day is said to be eighteene Equinoctiall houres long, whereof sixteene and a halfe are spent from Sun to Sunne. Yea, and *Tacitus* saith, that *in the furthest North part of the Iland, the nights are so short, that betwixt the going out, and comming in of the day, the space is hardly perceived, and the Sunne seeme neither to set nor arise: Because* (saith he) *the extreame and plain parts of the earth project a low shadow, and raise not the darkneſſe on high, so the night falleth under the skie and stars.* Better might he have said, by reason of the inclination of his Circle to the *Horizon*, descending not directly, but passing obliquely, razing as it were under their *Horizon*.

BRITAINE in the eighth Climate for Latitude, and for Longitude placed between the parallels fourteene and twenty five.

In the furthest North part of *Britaine* the nights so short, as the space betwixt the dayes going and coming can hardly be perceived. *In vit. Agricolæ.*

(7) The aire, saith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*, is rather inclinable to showres then to snow. And *Cæsar* commends it to be more temperate, and the cold lesser, then that in *France*, as not subject to either extreames as the more Northerne and Southerne countries are: to which temperature *Cæcenius Getulicus*, a very ancient Poet seemeth to have respect, when of this Iland, thus he verifiieth:

Cæsar com. 5.

The cold in *Britaine*, lesse then in *France.*

Non illic Aries vernò furit asperus agris,
Gnosia nec Gemini præcedunt cornua Tauri.
The horned Ram there butteth not the aire of tender spring:
The Twins, nor Bull do to this soile vnimely seasons bring.

Trolus in Virgil. Georgic. 1.

(8) And although the Seas thereof are accounted and called by *Nubiensis* the *Arabian*, *The darke and dangerous Seas*, in regard of the misty vapors that therefrom arise, yet in the Winter season those clouds are dispersed into still showres of raine, that doe dissolve the rigour and great extremitie of the cold: yea, and those Seas themselves stirred and working to and fro with the windes, doe thereby waxe warme (as *Cicero* saith) *so that a man may easily perceive within that world of waters a certaine heate enclosed.* And *Mitrutines Felix* proving that God hath a speciall regard to the severall parts of the world, as well as to the whole, saith, that *Britaine, though other whiles wanting the aspect of the Sunne, yet is it releeved with the warmth of her invironing Seas*; and as much refresheth, we may well say, by those sweet and gentle winds that in the height of Summer are sent from those seas, and doe abate the rigour of the Suns great scorching heat; and yeeldeth not onely entercourse for Trafique into all parts of the World, but plentifully aboundeth with all sorts of fish, to the great benefit of the Inhabitants; and bringeth forth Pearles, as *Tacitus* sheweth, which were usually *cast out with the flood, and gathered at the ebbe.* These Pearles though not altogether so orient as they in *India*, by *Amianus* in his 23 Booke and 12 chapter, are called *Rich gems.* And *Pliny* in his ninth booke and thirtie fifth chapter, useth the like tearme: The desire whereof (as *Suetonius* saith) *drew Cæsars affection* for the Conquest of *Britaine.*

British Seas warme. De natura Deorum lib. 2. Mitrutines Felix, adjoyned to *Arnobius* his eighth booke.

Britaines winds in summer assuage the heat.

Tacit. Agricola.

Ja vit. Cæsar. cap. 47.

Britaine abounderh with all sort of graine.

(9) *The soile* (saith *Tacitus*) *setting aside the Olive, the Vine, and such other plants as are onely proper to hotter* Countries, *taketh all kinde of Graine, and beareth it in abundance: it shooteth up quickely, and ripeneth slowly: the cause of both is the same, the over-much moisture of the soile, and the aire.* And *Cæsar* writeth, that for timber it was stored of all kindes, as in *Gallia*; the *Beech* and *Firre-tree* onely excepted. For abundance of *Graine, Britaine* is said to bee *The seat of Queene Ceres*, by *Orpheus* the old *Poet*; and the *Granary* and *Storehouse* for the *Westerne World*, as *Charles* the Great termed it. And by our owne ancestors in the blacke booke of the Exchequer, it is called *A Paradise of Pleasure.* From whence the *Romans* were wont yearely to transport (with a fleet of eight hundred vessels bigger then Barges) great store of Corne for the maintenance of their Armies. But vnto the particular relation of each severall blessing belonging to this most happy Iland, we will not againe enter, seeing that in every Country we have sufficiently, and no more than truly, spoken thereof. Onely, if ye please, heare what hath been said of this Land by the *Romane* Orators, and first in the *Panegyricke* to *Constantius* the Emperour.

Cæsar com. lib. 5.

Britaine called the seat of Queene Ceres.

Panegyric. to Constantius.

(10) *O happie* BRITAINE, *and more fortunate then all other parts beside, which first dedst see* Constantine *Emperour! For good cause hath nature endowed thee with all blessings both of aire and soile: wherein there is neither excessive cold of Winter, nor extream heat of Summer: wherein there is so great abundance of graine, that it sufficeth both for bread and drinke. There the forrests are free from savage beasts, and the ground voyd of noysome serpents: in whose stead is an infinite multitude of tame cattle that are with their Vdders strutting full of milke, and loden with fleeces to the ground. And verely* (*that which for the use of our lives we much esteeme*) *the dayes are therein very long, and the nights never without some light, for that those utmost plaines by the sea side cast and raise no shadowes on high; and the aspect both of skie and starres passeth beyond the bound of the night: yea, the very Sunne it selfe, which unto us seemeth for to set, appeareth there onely to passe by a little, and goe aside.*

In Britaine neither excessive cold of winter, nor extreame heat of Summer. *Britaine* abounding with all plenty of food for mans sustenance and delight.

Britaine nights never without some light.

And in another, spoken to *Constantine*, the father of *Constantine* the Great, thus is said:

Panegyr. spoken to Constantius.

Though Britaine *be but a single name, yet surely the States losses have been manifold, in forgoing a Land so plentifull in fruit and graine, so rich in pasturage, so full of mines and veines of mettall, so gainefull in tribute and revenewes, so accommodated with many havens, and for circuit so large and spacious.*

BRITAINE full of mines of mettals. *Remayns.*

And a Poet of good antiquity, of natures motherly affection towards this our Iland, hath thus written:

Tu nimio nec frigida gelu, nec sydere fervens,
Clementi cælo temperieque places.
Cum pareret Natura parens, variaque fevore
Divideret dotes omnibus una locis,
Sepositit potiora tibi, matremque professa,
Insula sis felix, plenaque pacis ait.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid desiderat usus,
Ex te provenient, vel alunde tibi.
Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art;
Thy ayre a heavenly temper, sweetly breath'd,
So pleas'd Dame Nature when she first bequeath'd:
To every soile of her rich gifts a part;
Then Mother-like best choice for thee she sought:
Be thou (*quoth she*) *the Blessed Ile of peace.*
What ever pleasure yeelds, or wealths increase,
From thee shall grow, or shall to thee be brought.

(11) And that *BRITAINE* hath beene taken for those fortunate Ilands whereof the Poets have imagined a perpetuall spring time, is certaine by *Isacius Tzetzes*, a Greeke Authour of good account. And in *Robert of Avesbury* we read, what time Pope *Clement* the fixt had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine*, to be Prince of the *Fortunate Ilands*, raising him powers both in *Italy* and *France*, the *English* Leigier Ambassadours, that lay then in *Rome* for King *Edward* the third, were so deepely set in the opinion, that this preparation was made against BRITAINE, that they wrote their suspicions conceived, and presently with-drew themselves into *England*, to certifie the King of these designes. And it seemeth Pope *Innocent* the fourth was of the same minde, when (as *Matth. Paris.* Writeth) hee said, *Vere hortus deliciarum est Anglia: vere puteus inexhaustus est: Et ibi multa abundant, de multis multa possunt extorqueri, &c. Certes, the Kingdome of England is the very Paradise of pleasures, a Well which can never be drawen dry: where many things doe abound, and whence many things may be extorted, &c.* With which his conceit he was afterward so farre transported with a longing desire, as he made great meanis and earnest suit to the King of *England* (as the said Author writeth, *ad ann.* 1250.) that hee might come into *England* to see that Country which was every where so much renowned. In a word, BRITAINE is so rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, and so resplendent in all glory, that if the *Omnipotent* (as one hath said) *had vouchsafed to fashion the world round like a ring, as he did like a Globe, it might have bin most worthily the onely Gemme therein.* Whose *Vallies* are like *Eden*: whose *Hills* are as *Lebanon*: whose *Springes* are as *Piscah*: whose *Rivers* are as *Iordan*: whose *Walls* is the *Ocean*: and whose *defence* is the Lord IEHOVAH.

Cæsar. com. lib. 5.

Britaine full of Cities.

Tzetzes.

Robert of Avesbury.

Britaine taken for the fortunate Ilands.

Adam. 1246.

(12) The body then of this *Imperiall Monarchie* (wherein not onely the greatnesse of it selfe in it selfe, but also extendeth her beautifull branches into many other *Countries* and *Kingdomes* farre jacent and remote.) This greatnesse is made the more sensible, for that the *Iland* in times past sustained at once no lesse then eleven Kings in their royall estates, all of them wearing Crownes, and commanding great powers. Such was the *Heptarchy* of the *Saxons* seven Kingdomes, seated on the South of *Severius* his *Wall*. Two Kingdomes thence had their sites in that Northerne part, and their severall Kings of *Scots* and *Picts* ruling on both sides the *Clude*, even unto the *Deucaledonian* Seas. And two Kingdomes (if not more) divided into North and South, and their Kings of the ancient *Britaines* ruling the West part of this Iland beyond the *Clavdh Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, commonly called WALES.

Pope Innocents suiteth the King of England to see *Britaine.*

Iosephus Iscan. lib. 7. cap. 13.

BRITAINE sustained at once no lesse then eleven Kings commanding great power.

(13) The Ilands likewise belonging to this Empire had Kings of their owne, as that of *Man*, the *Orkades*, and in *Ireland* at one time five Kings raigning together. *France* also is annexed; and so was *Cyprus* sometimes with some Provinces of *Syria*, subdued by K. *Richard* the first, surnamed *Cœur-de-lion*. And at this present in the new World of *America*, a Colony of BRITAINS is seated in that part now called VIRGINIA, whereby the borders of our Soveraignes command and most rightfull title may be inlarged, and the Gospell of *Iesus Christ* further preached, which no doubt will in time be imbraced, to the salvation of many and great honour to the BRITAINES. And that the borders of this most royall Tent have beene wide spread in former times, *White* of *Basingstock* is of opinion, who affirmeth that *the limits of the British Empire in old time was from the Orcades unto the Pyrenean* mountaines. And that King *Athelstan*, after his conquest of those Northern parts with that of *Denmarke* wrote so his title: which further is confirmed by the Charter of King *Edgar* for the foundation of the Cathedrall Church at *Worcester*, wherein likewise he so stiled himselfe. The inlargement whereof we pray to be accomplished, especially in those parts where God is not knowne, according to the saying of the Prophet, that *the curtaines of our habitations may be further spread, with increase on the right hand and on the left and that our seed may possesse those* GENTILES, *and dwell in their Cities*: Whereby the ninth Nation may be converted unto CHRIST, as eight others before this time by *English-men* have been.

Britaines in old time was from the Orcades unto the Pyrenean mountaines.

Athelstan.

Denmarke.

Worcester.

Isa. 54.

Eight Nations converted to Christ by *Englishmen.*

D. *Powell* in his Chron. of Wales in *Roderick* the Great.

The Isle of Man belonging to *Britaine*: a kingdome within it selfe.

Cyprus and some provinces subdued to *Britain.*

A Colonell of *Britaines* in VIRGINIA.

Pitts Eulogy. The limits of the *British* Empire in times past from the *Orcades* unto the *Pyrene Mountaines.*

THE NAMES THAT HAVE BEENE ATTRIBVTED VNTO THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER. II.

The first inhabiters of this Iland being meerely barbarous, never troubled themselves to transmit their originals to posterity. *Cæsar. com. lib. 6. Druides* the onely wise men among the first Inhabitants of this Iland. If the first inhabitants of this Iland had written any thing of their originall, yet it must needs have perished. *Gildas de excidio Britanniæ.* No understanding of the first affaires of this Iland, but from forraine Writers. *Polybius.*

AS touching the first Inhabitants and originall Names of this Iland, things are so farre cast into the misty darknesse of obscurity and oblivion, that there is no hope left us, so lately borne, to discover them; especially knowing that the first Inhabitants being meerely barbarous, never troubled themselves with care to transmit their Originals to posterity: neither if they would, could have done, being without letters, which onely doe preserve and transferre knowledge unto others. But admit they had letters, yet was it not lawfull for them to commit their affaires to writing, as *Cæsar* doth testifie of the *Druides*, the onely wise and learned men among them, that had the managing both of Iustice and religious Rites. And had they committed these things to writing, yet doubtlesse had they perished in the revolutions of so many ages as are passed, and so many conversions or eversions of the State. *Gildas* and *Ninius*, the *Britaines* first Historians, confesse plainely, that *they had no understanding of the ancient affaires of this Iland, but from forraigne Writers*; and neither that *above two hundred and odde yeares before the birth of our Saviour Christ*. At which time *Polybius* a most grave Writer, and an attendant upon *Scipio*, faith, that *Regions Northward from* Narbona (as this is) *were utterly unknowen; and whatsoever was written or reported of them, was but a dreame.* And therefore untill such time as the *Romane* Writers reach forth their hands to direct us, wee shall wander, as without a guide, and shall seeme to heape more rubbish upon former ruines.

Tzetzes. Writers the best directers for the antiquity of *Britaine.*

(2) Yet let this be granted, that the Originall names of Countries and Provinces were first assumed from their possessors, whereof *Iosephus* in the seventh Chapter of his first booke of *Antiquities*, is a sufficient Witnesse, who in the dispersion of *Noahs* sonnes and his nephewes, named the Countries according to their families. So did the children of *Dan* name *Laish* their families. So did the children of *Dan* name *Laish* after their father: *Iair* his Cities that he conquered in the land of *Gilead*: and *Iudea* from *Iudah*, whose King was of him. And that this also was the practice of the *Gentiles*, *Perionius* doth shew, who saith, that *himselfe knew no Nation in the earth, which would not have their names either from their Prince, Captaine, or King*: the example whereof he inferteth, that *Spaine* was so named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus*, and the like.

The originall names of countries and Provinces assumed first from their possessors. Iudg. 18. 29. Iudg. 10. 4.

Perionius de origin. Gallicæ. Spain named from *Hispalus*, *Italy* from *Italus.*

(3) And accordingly from *Samothes* the sixth sonne of *Iaphet* (whom *Moses* calleth *Mosech*) the brother of *Gomer*, and of *Iavan*, whose seed is said in the tenth of *Genesis* to have replenished the *Iles of the Gentiles*

Samothes the first sonne of *Iaphet*: the first inhabiter of this Iland, who named it *Samothea* after his owne name. *Diod. Sicul.*

Gentiles, is brought by some Authors into this Iland, the yeere after the generall *Floud* two hundred fifty and two, where he feated, and gave Lawes to his people, and left to his posterity the name thereof to be called *Samothea*, after his owne. But fith the credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea* ariseth onely from a small and new Pamphlet, bearing the name of *Berosus* the *Chaldean*, bolstred out under a flew of aged *Antiquity*, and thrust into the World under the countenance of the ancient Historian himselfe: I meane not to enforce, seeing my purpose is to expose this most beautifull *Iland* in her owne beseeming attire, and not deformed by these rotten and patched rags. And of this forged *Berosus* wee have better cause to upbraid *Iohannes Annius* his Countenancer & Commenter, then the *Egyptian* Priests had to twit *Solon*, in accusing the *Grecians*, that *for History he had not attained to the yeares of a gray head*. For it exceeds not much one hundred and twenty yeares since the same Booke first appeared in the World; and then vehemently suspected as fabulous by *Lodovicus Vives*, and afterwards convicted by the learned *Gasperus Varrerius* in a severall Treatise, and now universally rejected of all skilfull *Antiquaries*.

The credit of this *Samothes* and his *Samothea*, stifleth only from a small and new Pamphler, bearing the name of *Berosus* the Chaldean.

Plato in Timæo.

Solon quippeth the *Grecians*, as not having attained to the yeares of a gray head for History.

Ludovicus Vives, Gasperus Varrerius. *Berosus* rejected.

ALBION the name of this Iland so termed by the *Grecians*.

(4) But the name ALBION is better received, being found so tearmed of the *Grecians* in ancient time, as in the Booke *De Mundo*, written to *Alexander*, and supposed to be *Aristotles*, *Pliny* in his *Naturall History*, *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, and others: yet upon what ground it should be so called, there arise many conjectures. *Pomponius Mela*, *Nicolas Perottus*, *Rigmanus Philelfus*, *Aristotle*, and *Humphrey Lhuyd*, derive it from *Albion Mareoticus* a Gyant, and sonne of *Neptune*, that conquered (as they say) these *Samotheans*, and seated himselfe in this *Iland* the yeare after the *Floud* three hundred thirty five. And if that be true which *Perottus* and *Lilius Giraldus* have written, then may this *Albion* give name to this *Iland*. Notwithstanding, *Strabo*, *Munster*, and Frier *Bartholmew*, will have it so named, *ab albis rupibus*, of the rockes and white cliffes appearing towards the coasts of *France*: which carrieth the more likelihood through the credit of *Orpheus* a most ancient Poet, who in his *Argonauticks* (if so be they were his) calleth the *Iland* next unto *Hibernia*, or *Hernin*, which questionlesse is this of ours, ἀκτὴν, λεύκην, that is, *the white Land*. And accordingly have the *Welsh Poets* called it *Inis Wen*. And this is further confirmed from *Cicero*, who termeth these whitish cliffes *mirificas moles*; as also by the anticke *Coins of Antoninus Pius*, and *Severus* the *Roman Emperors*, wherein BRITAIN is stamped in a womans attire sitting upon *rocks*. And the same being chalky, or of a plaster-like substance, *Fracastorius* supposeth was the cause of the sweating sickneſſe, and whereof *Albion* had the name. Unlesse some will derive it from *Alphon*, which as *Festus* saith, doth signifie *white* in *Greek*, or *Olbion*, rich or happy, in regard of the fertility of the soile, wholsome temperature of the Aire, and the rich commodities in the same: either from *Alpion* for the high situation. But from the Latine *albis rupibus* it could not be derived, when that language was unknown to the world. *Marianus* the Monke, *Iohn Rous*, *David Pencair*, and *William Caxton*, from others more ancient, do fetch the name thereof from *Albina* the beaurifull daughter of *Diocletian* King of *Syria*, who with her fifters thirty in number, for the slaughter of their husbands, were banished their Countrey, and without man, oares, or tackles, were committed to the mercy of the *Seas*, who after many adventures, lastly arrived upon this shore, where they inhabited, and gave name to this *Iland*, calling it *Albion* after the name of their eldeſt ſiſter: and accompanying with *Divels*, brought forth a Progeny of *Gyants*, if we will beleeve the *Legend* of this moſt impudent liar, which is worthily rejected by *Badius*, *Volaterranus*, *Harding*, *Bale*, *Iohn Rous*, and others. But that the name *Albion* was both of great acceptance and long continuance, is apparent by the worthy *Epitheton* of King *Edgar* the *Saxon*, who in his *Charter* for the foundation of the *Abbie* of *Ely*, hath these words: *Ego Edgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis mihi sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace fruens, &c.* By which he knitteth the whole *Iland* together, as a land worthily to be beloved, and calleth it ALBION.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia. The name *Albion* from *Albion* the Gyant.

Strabo lib. 4. Munst. Cosmog. Barthol. de propriet. rerum.

Albion called the white Land.

Irish Poets called this Iland *Inis Wen*.

Britaine stamped in a womans attire, sitting upon rockes. *Francis. de morbis contagiosis, lib. 1.*

(5) The next name ascribed unto this *Iland* is *Britaine*, and that first found and given by the *Grecians*, who were the first discoverers of these Westerne parts of the world: either from their painted bodies, as their neighbours (if not ancestours) the *Gaules* were named of their long *shaggie haire*, or of their rich mettals therein gotten, and thence carried in abundance into other Countreies; or from *Brute*, that with his dispersed *Trojans* conquered it, as he of *Monmouth* hath translated; or what occasion soever I dispute not: onely in feares me I shall give but small satisfaction to the desirous Reader, of the cause and originall of this name, being consorted with so many uncertainties, wherein the further we follow this intangled *threed*, the further are we led into the *Labyrinth of ambiguity*. But as *Plutarch*, *Livie*, and other *Latine Writers* have complained of the many *fictions and fables of Poets intermingled with the histories of truth*, whereby truth it selfe was often made incredible; so we in rehearsing the divers names of *Britany*, and the reasons thereof by sundry Writers alledged, reſt free in our relations, either from impeaching the power of *Antiquitie*, or approving those things that are as yet wrapped up in *Times oblivion*, leaving the credit to them that have left the same unto us, and the censure of their opinions, to the judgement of the learned, and those of better experience.

Hunfrey Lhuyd in Breviar. Brit.

Marianus Scotus. Iob. Rous. Albion, from *Albina* the beautifull daughter of *Diocletian*.

A ridiculous opinion for a progeny of Gyants in *Albion*.

Britaine the name of this Iland thought to take his name from *Brute*.

(6) The vulgar received opinion, held on with foure hundred yeares continuance, (some few mens exceptions had against the same) is, that this *Iland* tooke the name of *Britannia* from *Brute* the sonne of *Sylvius*, of whom more shall be spoken in the next Chapter for the peopling of this *Iland*, & from whom some (following a suspected *Gildas*) doe write the name *Britaine*: for so doth *Hieronie*, who translating *Aethicus* that excellent *Scythian Philosopher*, calleth both this and the *Ilands* adjacent, *Insulas Brutannicas*. But besides the many objections made both by forraine and home-bred Writers, that seeme to make the Story of *Brute* doubtfull, *Humphrey Lhuyd* a *Cambre-Britaine*, a learned and diligent searcher of *Antiquities*, doth confidently deny the name *Britaine* to be taken for *Brute*; and among many other observations, makes this an infallible argument, that *the letter B, is not the first radicall of that name*; and affirmeth boldly, that there is not any *British* word *whose first radicall letter is B*. And therefore he will have it to be anciently written PRYDCAIN, compounded of two *British* words, PRYD and CAIN, which signifie (as he saith) *Beauty* and *White*; the C. *being lost in the latter word, for the more easie pronuntiation in the British tongue; and the P. in the former changed into B. by the Latines, for the more gentle and pleasant sounds sake*: so that himselfe thinketh, that those learned and expert men in the *British* tongue, wch wrote the *Ilands* name with *B*. doe therein rather follow the *Latines*, then judging that to be the true name indeed: for proofe whereof hee citeth both ancient *Copies*, and *Traditions* of their own old *Poets* the *Bards*, by whom (saith he) it was usually called *Prydain*, as the fitteſt denomination for so beautifull a land. But if either colour or commodities were her *God-fathers* at the *Font-stone*, why was she not rather named, *The Palace of Queene Ceres*, or old *orpheus* termes her; either *Insula florum*, as it hath beene found written in a very ancient manu-script? And yet to second this his conceited name, I finde recorded by *Bishop Cooper*, a learned Writer, that which makes for that purpose. *At Eryschurch* (saith hee) *two miles from* Salisbury, *in the digging downe of a wall, a booke containing twenty leaves of very thicke velome was found, which from the hands of* Master Richard Pace, *chiefe Secretary to the King, Ireceived; but being sore defaced, could read no one sentence thorow;*

The name *Albion* received in Charters of some of our later Kings.

BRITAINE. The *Grecians* first named this Iland by the name *Britaine*.

Britaine the name of this Iland thought to take his name from *Brute*.

In his Breviary of *Britaine*.

The letter B. no radicall in the *British* tongue.

PRYDCAIN.

Britaine usually called *Prydain*.

Britannia the *Insula florum*.

Bishop *Cooper* in his Dictionary.

Britannia written *Prytania*.

King *Edward* VI.

thorow, yet did I well perceive the word PRYTANIA, (not called so, from the adjuncts *White* and *Beauteous*) *but rather from the Greeke word* Πρυτανία, *Prytanya*, which as he saith, doth signifie *mettals*. For the *Grecians* flourishing in wisedome, and experience, entred the *Ocean*, and finding this Iland full of *Brasse*, *Tynne*, *Lead*, *Iron*, *Gold* and *Silver*, gave name thereunto accordingly, and called it *Prytania*. Thus farre he. And some in regard of these rich commodities thence brought, will have it named *Britannia*, as upon like occasion *Vibius Sequester* affirmeth *Calabria to have beene some time so called*. Others, and those many, do hold a more strange opinion, namely, that this *Iland* was called *Britannia*, of *Breta a Spanish* word which signifieth *Earth*, for that it was separated from the maine land, and, say they, *it was once ioyned with the continent of France*. Of this opinion are *Antonius Volscus*, *Dominicus Marinus Niger*, *Servius Honoratus*, *Vinianus Bodine*, *Twyne*, and *Verstegan*. But how that name from that separation may be gathered, I understand not: for if it be granted that this *Iland* also was cut from the continent (as it is thought all others in the world were) by the violent rage of the universall flood, yet it followeth nor that this only should claime that name, and from that occasion more then any other, or then all of them so divided and set apart in the maine *Ocean*. Others there are that would have the name *Britaine* to bee brought from *Britona a Nymph in Greece*, daughter to *Mars*, who (as they say) to avoid the lascivious intents of *Minos*, forsooke the countrey, and passing the seas, arrived in this *Iland*, and by her the name arose, this hath *Textor*. But I might as well cite *Calepine* for his *Anglia*, and *Marianus* for his *Albina*, being all Fables, consorting alike together and fictions of the same authority that *Virgils Dido* is. *Hefychius* deriveth the name *Britaine* from *Britannus* the father of *Celtice*, on whom *Hercules* begat *Celtus* the original of the *Celtæ*, as *Parthenius Micæus*, a very ancient author writeth. And Sir *Thomas Eliot*, a learned Knight, draweth the name of this *Iland* from the *Greeke* fountaine *alfo*, but of other signification, viz. Πρυτανία, *Prutania*, by which terme the *Athenians* signified their *publike revenues*, and yet that is justly excepted against, seeing that it is a peculiar terme onely to the *Athenians*, and that the *Grecians* called this *Iland* Βρεττανία, not Πρυτανία, *Goropius Becanus*, in his *Originall of Antwerp*, saith, that the *Danes sought here to plant themselves*, and so named this *Iland Bridania*, that is, *free Denmarke*. And others derive it from *Prutenia*, a country in *Germany*. But that both these are fictions it manifestly appeareth, for that this *Iland* was famous by the name of *Britaine* many hundred yeares before that either *Dania* or *Prutania* were heard of in the world.

Tibius Sequeſt.

Britannia of *Breta a Spaniſh* word.

Iuſtey ap. Arthur.

Antonius Volſcus Dominicus Marinus Niger, &c.

How this Iland came to have the name *Britannia*, is very uncertaine.

The fainings of Poets have bred diſtruſt in many true Hiſtories.

Britania named of *Britona* a Nymphe. *Textor Ciroon.*

Textor.

Heſychius.

Parthenius Miceus. Sir *Thomas Eliot.* *Britaine* of the *Greeke* word Πρυτανία,

Pomponius Latus would have it *Briton*, and that name given it from the *Britons* in *France*. Indeed it is probable, that from the *Celtes*, the old *Gaules*, our originals defeended: but that the name should come of them, hath no colour of truth, seeing that those *Britons* came from us, and not we from them: and in *Cæſars* time that coaſt was called *Armorica*, but this of ours *Britaine*. *Forcatulus* deriveth the name thereof from *Brithin* a drinke, which as *Athenæus* saith was used among the *Greeks*. And others will have it from the *Brutij* a roaving and ſtragling people in *Italy*: both which are accounted but idle conceits, and for no leſſe we will leave them. *White* of *Baſingſtocke* will have the name thereof derived from an *Hebrew* word, and *Iſidore* from a word of her owne language. Thus then is *Britanny* burthened with many titles under one truth; and theſe are the aſcriptions, cauſes and exceptions, as farre as we are able to gather: all which muſt give place to that we which, to follow out of the collections and judicious obſervances of Maſter *Camden*. Whoſe words I will abridge, and by his good favour bring to furniſh this chapter, the further to ſatisfie the unſatisfied Reader.

Greeceans called this *Iland* Βρεττανία, and not Πρυτανία. *Goropius Becanus in Orig. de Antuerp. lib. 6. Britannia*, or *Free-Denmark*. *Britaine* to named before either *Dania* or *Prutania* were heard of in the world. *Pomponius Latus.*

Britons in *France* came of us. *Camden. Britannia. pag. 8. Forcatulus.* *Britaine* called of *Brithin* a drinke.

White. *Britaine* called of an *Hebrew* word. *Iſidore.*

Britaine uſually called *Prydain.*

Britannia the *Inſula florum.*

Camdenus Britannico.

Bishop *Cooper* in his Dictionary.

Ancient Nations had names of their owne: afterwards

(7) This then he holdeth for granted, That *ancient nations in the beginning had names of their own: and that after from these the Greeks and Latines by wreſting them to the analogie or proportion of their ſpeech, impoſed names upon Regions and Countries, which tooke their denominations from their people and in-dwellers.* So lewry *was named from the Iewes*, Media *from the Medes*, Perſia *of the Perſians*, Scythia *of the Scythians, &c. And why not then by the authority of* Martial, Iuvenal, Auſonius, Procopius, *and in old inſcriptions ſet up by the Britaines themſelves*, BRITTA, BRITO, BRITONES, BRITTVS, *from* BRIT, *or* BRITH, *from whom any one being of that nation might be termed* NATIONE BRITTO, *as is ſeene ſo inſcribed in Saint* Mary *the Round at* Rome: *The* Saxons *likewiſe themſelves called the* Britaines Brithy, *and* Witichindus *the Saxon every where nameth the* Britaines Britæ: *ſo that the word* BRITIS *doubleſſe the Primitive, from whence* BRITTO *is derived, and from whence the firſt glimpſe of light leading to the word* BRITAINE, *ſeemeth to appeare, And that all nations deviſed their names of that, wherein they either excelled others, or were known by from others, whether in regard of their firſt founders honor, as the* Ioues *of Iavan, the* Iſraelites *of Iſrael, the* Cananites *of Canaan, or whether in reſpect of their nature, conditions, and inclinations, as the* Iberi *after the Hebrew Etymologie, becauſe they were Miners; the* Heneti, *becauſe they were ſtragglers; the* Nomades, *for that they were breeders of cattell; the* Almanes *for their eſteemed valour and manhood; the* Frankners *for being free; the* Pannonians, *as* Dio *conceiteth, of their coats with cloth-ſleeves; the* Æthiopians *of their blacke hue: and the* Albans, *becauſe they were borne with white haire, for ſo ſaith* Solinus, *that the colour of their heads gave name unto the people. Seeing the that theſe our* Ilanders *were known & called by a name cõmon to both them & their neighbors,* Cimbri *or* Cumeri, *and had no better marke to be diſtinguiſhed and knowne from the borderers, then by their cuſtome of painting their bodies, whereof the moſt approved authors doe witneſſe, as* Ceſar, Mela, Plinie, Martial, *and others, who affirme that the* Britains *uſed to colour themſelves with woad, called in the Latin* glaſtum (*and* Glaſe *at this day with them doth ſignifie blue*) *what if I then ſhould conjecture* (ſaith hee) *that they were called* Britains *from this their painted bodies? for what is thus ſtained or coloured, in their ancient countrey ſpeech is called* BRIT. *Neither let this Etymologie of* Britains *ſeeme to be either harſh or abſurd, ſeeing the very words found alike, & the name alſo as an expreſſe image repreſenteth the thing which in Etymologies are chiefly required: for* Brith, *and* Brit, *do paſſing well accord: And the word* Brith *among the* Britaines, *impliesth that which the* Britains *were indeed, to wit, painted, ſtained, died, and coloured, as the Latine Poets deſcribe them: having their backs pide or medly coloured, as* Oppianus *termeth them.* From which colours and uſe of painting, the ancient *Britaines* (as he thinketh) had their names, and is yet in uſe among the Welſh. *But this is certaine that a* Britain *is called in the Britiſh tongue*, BRITHON, *and as* BRITHO *came of* BRITH, *ſo did* BRITANNIA, *who as* Iſidore *ſaith, tooke the n ame from a word of their owne nation: for what time the ancient Greeks (that firſt gave name to this* Iland) *either as Rovers, or Merchants travelled into other remote and farre diſioyned countries (as* Eratoſthenes *reporteth) learned from the Inhabitants themſelves, or elſe of the* Gaules *which ſpake the ſame language, that this our nation was called* Brith *and* Brithon: *They then unto the word* BRITH, *added* TANIA, *which in the Greek Gloſſaries betokeneth a* REGION, *and where of they made a compound name* Βρεττανία, *that is, the* BRITONS-LAND. *And that this is ſo, the countries alſo lying in the Weſt part of the world, as* Mauritania Luſitania, *and* Aquitania, *doe ſufficiently confirme: for the Grecians being the firſt Surveiors of thoſe regions of* Mauri, *who,* Strabo *ſaith, was called* Numidia, *made* Mauritania, *of* Luſus *the ſonne of* Bacchus, Luſitania; *and of* Aquis (*waters, as* Ivo Carnotenſis *is of opinion*) *called the country* Aquitania: *as alſo* Turditania, *and* Baſtitania, *Provinces in* Spain, *might ariſe from the* Turdi, *&* Baſti *their poſſeſſors. And that this maner of compoſition is moſt uſuall in the names of countries we ſee: For came not* Ireland *by compoſition of the Iriſh word* Erim? *Did not* Angle-terre, *grow together of an* Engliſh *and* French *word*

wrelled by *Greeke* and *Latines*.

Iewry ſo called of the *Iewes*. *Medea of the Greeke*. *Scythia of the Scythians*. *Britta, Brito, Britones* and *Brittus, from Brit* or *Brithe*.

BRIT. *whitiſhindus.*

Brit the primitive from whence *britis* is derived.

Iſraelites ſo called in honour of their firſt founder *Iſrael*. *Heri* why ſo called. *Nomades* named of their breeding of Cattell. *Dio.* *Æthiopians* ſo called of their blacke hue. *Iulius Solinus. Britaines* and their neighbours called both by one name, *Cimbri*, or *Cumeri*. *Ceſar, Mela, Plinie, Martial.* The *Britaines* colouredthemſelves to bediſtinguiſhed from their neighbours.

Brith and *Brid* doe accord.

Oppianus: Cynegetic. li. 3. *Britains* ſo named for painting themſelves.

Iſidore.

Eratoſthenes.

The *Grecians* unto the word *Brith* added *tania*.

Strabo. *Tania* added to divers countries, by the *Grecians*. *Ivo Carnotenſis.*

England coming of *Angle-terre.*

Danmerk compounded of Dan and *danck.*

S. Hierom. in Genes.

Phlegon.

Greekians inhabited well neere all the Sea-coasts of the whole world.

Athenæus.

The certainty of the *Greeke* inhabiting in *Britaine.*

Bredenus Miscellaneo.

Ziglers Altar in *Caledonia.*

Thule thought to be one of the Iles of the *Orcades* in Scotland.

Low countries.

Thule much mentioned in *Greeke* writers.

Lord Bayfius. As other nations may glory that they deriue many words from the Greeke, so may we.

Athenæus. For so by the Scriptures account I place the time, In *Britaine* great store of large trees.

Philens Thurinites.

Cæsar.

In *Scotland* Firre trees for Masts.

and became England? Doth not Franc-land proceed from a French and Saxon word? Came not Poleland from a Polonian word, which with them betokeneth a plaine? and was not Danmarch compounded of Dan, and the Dutch word March, which signifieth a bound or limit? Neither have we cause to wonder at this Greeke Addition TANIA, seeing that S. Hierom in his questions upon Genesis, proueth out of most ancient Authors, that the Greeks inhabited along the Sea-coasts and Iles of Europe thorowout as far as to this our Iland. Let us read, saith he, Varroes bookes of Antiquities, and those of Sisinius Capito, as also the Greeke writer Phlegon, with the rest of the great learned men, and we shall see, all the Ilands well neere, and all the sea coasts of the whole world, to haue been taken up with Greek inhabitants, who, as I said before, from the mountaines Amanus & Taurus, euen to the British Ocean, possessed all the parts along the sea side. And verily, that the Greeks arrived in this our region, viewed and considered well the site and nature thereof, there will be no doubt nor question made: if we obserue what Athenæus hath written concerning Phileas Tauromnites, who was in Britaine in the yeare one hundred and sixty before Cæsars comming: if we call to remembrance the Altar with an inscription unto Vlysses in Greeke letters, erected in Caledonia as Solinus saith, and lastly, if we marke what Pytheas before the time of the Romans heere, hath delivered and written as touching the distance of Thule from Britaine. For who had euer discovered unto the Greeks, Britaine, Thule, the Belgick countries, and their sea coasts especiall, if the Greeke ships had not entred the British and German Ocean, sea, and related the description therof unto their Geographers? had Pytheas, thinke you, come to the knowledge of six dayes sayling beyond Britaine, unlesse some of the Greeks had shewed the same? Who euer told them of Scandia, Bergos, and Nerigon, out of which men may saile into Thule? And these names seeme to haue been better known unto the ancient Greeks, then either to Pliny or to any Roman. Whereupon Mela testifieth, that Thule was much mentioned and renowned in Greeke Writers: Pliny likewise writeth thus; Britaine an Iland famous in the Monuments and Records both of the Greeks and of us. By this meanes therefore, so many Greeke words haue crept into the Britisb, French, and withall into the Belgick, or Low-Dutch language. And if Lazarus Bayfius, and Budæus, doe make their vaunt and glory in this, that their French-men haue been of old colonies, that is, lovers & studious of the Greeks, grounding their reason upon few French words of that Idiome, which receiue some marks and tokens of the Greek tongue: if Hadrianus Iunius joyeth no lesse, because in the Belgike words there lie coverily Greeke Etymologies: then may the Britaines make their boast in whose language many words there be derived from the Greeke. Thus farre Master *Cambdens* judgement for *Britannia.*

Which name we finde first mentioned by *Polybius* the Greeke Historian, who lived and travelled with *Scipio* thorow most parts of *Europe*, about 265. yeeres before the birth of *Christ.* And after him *Athenæus* a Greek Author of good account, and before the yeare of Grace, 179. mentioneth the name of *Britaine*, and that upon this occasion: King *Hiero*, saith he, framing a ship of such hugenesse and burden, as was admirable to the world, was much troubled for a tree, whereof he might make the maine Mast: which at last with much adoe was found in Britaine, by the direction of a Swineheard: and by Phileas Tauromnites the Mechanicke conveyed into Sicilie, whereby that want was sufficiently supplied. To this let not the *Criticks* from *Cæsar* lay, that *Britaine brought forth neither Beech nor Firre*, as he in his fift booke of Commentaries affirmes (if by *Fagus* he meane the *Beech*) seeing that the same kind doth most plentifully grow in all parts of this *Iland*, and the *Firre-trees* for Masts in the North-West of *Scotland*, upon the banks of the *Lough-argick* of such great height and thicknesse, that at the root they beare 28. handfuls about, and the bodies mounted to 90. foot of height, they beare at that length 20 inches Diametre, as hath been measured by some in commission, & so certified to his Majesty; and at this present growing upon the lands of the right worthy Knight, Sir *Alexander Hayes*, his Majesties principall Secretary for Scotland. But among the *Latine* Writers, *Lucretius* was the first that before *Cæsar* mentioneth *Britaine* in these verses:

Lucretius.

Nam quid Britannum cœlum differre putamus,
Et quod in Ægypto est, quia mundi claudicat Axis:
We for the difference in the Spheares where Britains Sunne doth goe,
From Ægypts Clime, wherein Charles-waine is fore'd to draw so low.

(8) Other names hath this *Iland* beene termed by, and that either by way of note for her situation, as *Insula Cæruli*, the *Iland in the Sea*, so written in the *sonet* or parodia made against *Ventidius Bassus*, and by *Claudian* confirmed, *whose fides* (saith hee) *the azure Sea doth wash.* And in a very ancient Manuscript it is found written, *Insula florum*, an *Iland of Flowers*, for her abundance of Graine therein growing: as also for her subjection to the *Romans*, hath beene called by *Aegisippus*, the Romane *World*, and by her own Historian *Gildas*, *Romania*, for being first subdued by them, the very name of servitude (saith he) *stucke fast to the soile.* And *Prosper Aquitanicus* in expresse words calleth it, the *Roman Iland*, and so did the South-saiers when the statues of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* the Emperours were by lightning overthrowne, who prophesied, that an *Emperour should arise out of their familie that should send a Pro-consull to the Roman Iland.* Vpon the like cause of conquest and subjection wee reade in *Amianus*, that what time the *Iland* had affaied a dangerous revolt in the raigne of *Valentinianus* the Emperor, *Theodosius* as then Governor of *Britaine*, reducing them under their wonted obedience, in honour of *Valentinianus*, caused the *Iland* to be called *Valentia*, which name notwithstanding died either with, or immediately after the death of the said Emperour.

Britaine called *Insula Cærulea.*

Britaine the *Roman* world. *Prosper Aquitanus.* A prophecy of the *Romans* southsayers concerning *Britaine.* This Iland *Britaine* named the *Roman* Iland.

Amianus Marcellinus. lib. 28. cap. 7

This Iland named *Valentia.*

(9) But about the same time, when as by Gods decree the *Romans* fulnesse was come to the wane, and the greatnesse of their glory did abate; by the downfall of that one Empire, many Kingdomes began to arise, and to have their Rulers, Lawes, and Limits of themselves. Among the rest, this *Iland Britaine* shortly came to be divided into three severall Kingdomes, and each of them to retaine an absolute power in their owne dominions, and were knowne by their severall and proper names. The first was *Scotland* from *Scotia*, and that from *Scythia*, as the best suppose, whose Southerne bounds was the famous *Wall* from *Carlile* to *Newcastle*, and from thence the enorme tract of all that Northerne Promontory was called *Scotia*, or *Scotland.* The second was *Cambria*, of us called *Wales*, sited in the West of this *Iland*, inclosing those waste mountaines with a *ditch* drawen from *Basinwarke* in *Flint-shire* in the North, to the mouth of *Wye* neere *Bristoll* in the South, so separated by great *Offa* the *Mercian* King. And the third was *Angle-land*, the East, the most fruitfull, and best of the *Iland*, lying coasted with the *French* and *German Seas*, so named when the united *Heptarchie* of the *Saxons* was ruled by king *Egbert*, who by his Edict dated at *Winchester*, *An.* 819. commanded the same to be called *Angle-land*, according to the name of the place from whence his ancestors the *Angle-Saxons* came, which was out of the continent part of *Denmarke*, lying betwixt *Iuitland* and *Holsatia*, where to this day the place retaineth the name *Engleen.* And therfore *Calepine* is to be rejected, that would haue the name from *Queene Angela*, and *Goropius*, of sacred *Anglers*; either from Pope *Gregory* his attributing *Angel*-like faces; or from others that would faine it from *Angula* the *Giant*-like brother to *Danus*; or force it from *Angulus Orbis.*

This Iland now called *Britaine* divided into three kingdomes. The first, *Scotland*, whose partition Southward is from *Carlile* to *Newcastle.*

The second, *Cambria*, or *Wales*, whose partition is from *Basingwarke* to *Wye.*

The third, *Angle-land* coasted with the *French* and *German Seas.*

(10) Neither indeed was it called *England* before the dayes of *Canutus* the *Dane*; but with *Angle-land*, retained still the names both of *Albion* and *Britaine*, as in a *Saxon* Charter made by King *Edgar*, the tenth in succession from *Egbert*, and no lesse then one hundred fourty and nine yeares after this Edict is seene, where in the beginning he stileth himselfe thus: *Ego Edgar totius Albionis Basileus*, &c. And in the end of the same charter thus: *Edgar Rex totius Britannia Donocaenem,*

This Iland named *Angle-land* of a place in *Denmarke*, called *Engleen.*

Gregory 1.

This Iland not called *England* before the dayes of *Canutus* the *Dane.*

This Iland usually called both *Angle-land*, *Albion*, and *Britaine*, before *Canutus* dyes.

The name *England* not changed either by the *Dane* or *Normane* Conquerours.

Hath the fifth place in all Generall Councels.

new cum sigilla S. Crucis confirmavi. And yet upon his *Coynes* wrote himselfe *Rex Anglis*, whereby wee see the rellish of the former names not utterly extinct, though a new was impoſed by the *Saxons.*

(11) This laſt name this *Iland* still retained, though two severall Conquests of two severall Nations were made of the same. Neither did *William* the Conqueror attempt to alter it, it founding belike so *Angel-like* in his eares, accounting himselfe most happy to bee King of so worthy a Kingdome: the glory whereof is further inlarged by the ranking of Christian nations, assembled in their generall Councels, wherein *England* is accounted the fifth, and hath place of precedency before kingdomes of larger territories. This name of *England* continued for the space of seven hundren eighty and three yeeres, unto the comming in of our Soveraigne Lord King JAMES, in *Anno* 1602. who by the hand of God hath united all these *Diademes* into one Imperiall Crowne, and reduced the many Kingdomes in one *Iland*, under the government of one *Monarch*: and after the manifold conquests, irruptions, and dissensions, hath setled an eternall amity; and extinguishing all differences of names, hath given the whole *Iland* the ancient name of *Great* BRITAINE, by his *Edict* dated at *Westminster*, quartring the royall *Armes* of his severall *Kingdomes* in one royall *Scutchion*, and for his *mott*, as is most meete,

BEATI PACIFICI.

Hath continued and kept the name *England* the space of seven hundred eighty and three yeeres.

Now reduced to the name of *Great Britaine.*

THE ANCIENT NATIONS INHABITING THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE BEFORE THE CONQVEST THEREOF BY THE ROMANES.

CHAPTER III.

Britaine replenished with people before *Noahs* flood.

IT is not to bee doubted, but that this *Iland* with the *Vniversall* was replenished with people, immediately after that men began to bee multiplyed upon the earth, euen in the dayes of the former *Patriarkes*, and long before the *Flood* of *Noah*, as sundry ancient Writers have related. And surely if we consider in those first ages of the world the long life of many (the onely meanes to multiplication) and the worlds continuance for one thousand sixe hundred fifty and sixe yeeres before it was destroyed, wee shall easily yeeld, that every Country and corner of the earth was plentifully peopled and inhabited. And so much doe the *Sacred Scriptures* intimate unto us, where, by the Prophet *Isaiah* it is said: *Thus saith the Lord, that created heaven; God himselfe, that framed the earth, and made it: he hath prepared it, he created it not in vaine; he formed it to be inhabited.*

Wolfang Musculus Origen. l. 9. cap. 2. Wolfang. Lazius. Theophilus Epis. Antioch. ad Autol lib. 2.

Sebastian Munster.

Stories of the first times meerely conjecturall.

Isai. 45. 18.

(2) But when the wrath of God was executed upon the world for sinne, and all over-whelmed with a *Flood* of waters, the whole earth thereby became altogether unpeopled, *eight persons* onely with the breed-reserved creatures saved in the floting *Arke*: Whose Port or Haven was the mountaine of *Ararat* in *Armenia*; whence with the blessing of procreation, mankind againe began to be multiplyed upon the earth; and from the confusion of *Babels* building, to be scattered by *Tribes* and *Colonies*, according to the diversity of Languages, into divers parts and Countries of the world, giving names to the places where they seated, according to the names of their Princes or chiefe Commanders. Amongst whom the sonnes of *Iapheth* the eldest sonne of *Noah* (whom *Moses* declareth to have peopled the *Iles* of the *Gentiles*) betooke themselves into *Europe*, these westerne parts of the world: as *Sem* did into *Asia*, and *Cham* into *Africa*: whose posteriities accordingly dispersed, *Iosephus* in his first *Booke* of *Antiquities* hath both branched into their severall divisions, and reduced them to their first rootes and originals.

Noahs flood.

The heaven of *Noahs* Arke, *Mount Ararat.*

Babels Tower the cause of sundry Languages, and dispersion of people.

Iapheths progeny peopled *Europe.* Genesis 10.

Sem planted in *Asia.* *Chams* offspring seated in *Africa.* *Iosephus lib. 1.*

Europe the Iles of Gentiles.

(3) Now that the *Iles of the Gentiles* mentioned by *Moses*, were these of *Europe*, all learned men confesse: and therefore those especially of *Britanny* and *Sicilie*, as *Wolfangus Musculus* is of opinion. And that *Europe* fell to *Iapheths* portion, *Iosephus* and *Isidore* doe agree: who affirme his off-spring to have inhabited from the *Mount Taurus* all *Europe Northward*, so farre as the *British Seas*, leaving names both to places and people. And *Gildas*, as *Nubrigensis* witnesseth, and *Polydore Virgil* granteth, will have this *Iland* inhabited even from the *Flood.* But of these ancient things, saith *Sebastian Munster*, no man can write certainely, it depending only upon conjecturals, and the same by hearesay, and flying reports of private men, as *Origen* speaketh.

(4) *Gomer* then, the eldest sonne of *Iapheth*, gave name to the *Gomerians*, who filled almost this part of the world, leading (as *Villichius* saith) in the 10. yeere of *Nimrod*, a *Colonie* out of *Armenia* into *Italy*, which of *Gomer* were called *Combri*, and afterwards *Cimbri*: whence such as departed *Italy* went into the *North* parts and gave name to *Cimbrica Chersonesus*: from whence it is certaine wee the *English* proceed, and of whom also it is likely the *Britaines* came. For so judgeth a learned *Britaine* himselfe, who saith his countrymen the *Welsh* which are unlearned, as yet know no other name for their land and people, but only *Cumbri.*

Gomer the eldest sonne of *Iapheth.* *Villichius.* A Colony of *Gomerians* called *Cambri* or *Cimbri*, of *Gomer*, came into *Italy.* Englishmen were of *Cimbrica chersonesus*, which came from Italy. *Iohn Leyns in Reform. hist. l. 1. cap. 9.* Gaules of the *Gomerians.*

(5) And that of these *Gomerians* were also the *Gaules*, learned *Clarenceaux* that brighteſt lampe to all Antiquities, out of *Iosephus* and *Zonaras* sufficiently had observed; who that they were also called *Cimbri*, he proveth out of *Cicero*, and *Appian Alexandrinus*; that those *Barbarians* whom *Marius* defeated, *Cicero* plainely termeth *Gaules*, where he saith, *C. Marius* represt the armies of the *Gaules*, entring in great numbers into *Italy*: which, as all *Historians* witnesse, were the *Cimbrians.* And the *Habergeon* of their king *Beleus* digged up at *Aquæ Sextiæ*, where *Marius* put them to flight, doth shew the same: whereon was engraven in strange characters BELEOS CIMBROS; as also the testimony of *Lucan* doth no lesse, who calleth the Ruffine hired to kill *Marius*, a *Cimbrian*, whom *Livy* and *Plutarch* in the life of *Marius* affirme to be a *Gaule.* They also who under the conduct of *Brennus* spoiled *Delphi* in *Greece*, were *Gaules*, as all writers with one voyce agree, and yet that these were named *Cimbri*, *Appian* in his *Illyrickes*

Appian. Alexand. Lib. Celtica.

Gaules by all history were the *Cimbrians.*

Marius Habergeon. *Marius* killed by a *Cimbrian.* *Delphi* spoiled by *Brennus.*

Armenus a Britaine ouer vs Cimbriam. Virgil eatsd. li. lib 8. cap. 3. Quintilian.

The Turkes, the Tartars, Medes, and Persians come of Neuths nephewes.

Britaines or Cimbrians the offspring of Gomer.

Isidore. Armenia the fountaine region of all Nations. Places neereft Armenia firft peopled.

The occafions why people difperfe.

Each Nation peopled from places neere.

Britaine had her firft inhabitants from the Gaules.

Belgarum Cambdenis.

Cæfar Comment. lib. 5.

The Sea coafts of Britaine peopled out of Belgia.

Cæfar Com. lib. 2. A part of Gaule and Britaine governed by one Prince.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

The Caledonians are import a Germane defcent. The Silures from Spaine.

Britaine moft likely to bee peopled by the French.

Appian. Alexandrinus in Hannibale.

doth teftifie. And for *Brennus* their *Grand-Captaine*, our *Hiftorians* report him to be a *Britaine*: as likewife *Virgil* (though in taunting wife) termeth that *Grammarian* the *Britaine Thucydides*, whom *Quintilian* affirmes to be a *Cimbrian*.

(6) And if of the reft of *Noahs* nephewes, feated in feverall countries, the *Nations* proceeding from them, are knowne by their originall names, as the *Turkes* of *Togorma*, whom the *Iewes* to this day fo terme, the *Ionesi* from *Iaven*, the *Medes* from *Madai* the *Thracians* from *Tiras*, and fo of the reft, whofe names as yet found not much unlike to their firft planters; why then fhall not we thinke, that our *Britaines* or *Cumerians*, are the very of-fpring of *Gomer*, and of *Gomer* tooke their denomination, the name fo neere according? Sith granted it is, that they planted themfelves in the utmoft borders of *Europe*, as *Isidore* hath faid. For the *Arke* refting in *Armenia*, and the people thence flowing like waters from the fpring, replenifhed thofe parts firft that lay next their fite, as *Afia* the leffe, and *Greece* before *Italy*: *Italy* before *Gaule*, and *Gaule* before *Britaine*. And if we confider the occafions that might bee offered, either for diftburdening the multitudes of people, for conqueft, deftre of novelties, fmalneffe of diftance, or commodities of the ayre and foile, we may eafily conceive this *Iland* to have beene peopled from thence. For it ftandeth with fenfe that every country received their firft inhabitants from places neere bordering, rather then from them that lay more remote: for fo was *Cyprus* peopled out of *Afia*, *Sicile* and *Candie* out of *Greece*; *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, out of *Italy*, *Zeland* out of *Germany*, *Iſland* out of *Norway*, and fo of the reft. Now that *Britaine* had her firft inhabitants from *Gaule*, fufficiently is proved by the name, fite, religion, manners, and languages, by all which the moft ancient *Gaules* and *Britaines* have beene as it were linked together in fome mutuall fociety; as is at large proved by our Arch-Antiquary in his famous worke, to which I referre the ftudious reader.

(7) And although the inner parts of the *Iland* were inhabited, as *Cæſar* faith, of fuch whom they themfelves out of their owne records, report to have beene borne in the *Iland*: yet the *Sea coaſts* were peopled by thofe, who upon purpofe to make war, had paffed thither out of *Belgia*, and *Gaule*, who ſtill carried the names of thofe cities and ſtates, out of which they came: as the *Belgæ*, the *Atrebatii*, *Pariſi*, and the like names of people both in *Gaule*, and in *Britaine*, that after the warres there remained. Which is the more confirmed in that both the *Provinces* were governed by one and the ſame *Prince*, as *Cæſar* in his owne remembrance knew, and nameth one *Diviticacus* to hold a good part of *Gaule*, and alſo of *Britaine* under his government. Yea and *Tacitus* the moſt curious ſearcher into *Britaines* affaires, in the life of *Agricola* thus diſciphereth them. *Now* (ſaith hee) *what manner of men the firſt inhabitants of* Britanny *were, forraine brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainely knowne. Their complexions are different, and thence may ſome conjectures bee taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in* Caledonia, *and mighty lymmes import a Germaine deſcent. The coloured countenances of the* Silures, *and haire moſt commonly curled, and ſite againſt* Spaine, *ſeeme to induce, that the old* Spaniards *paſſed the Sea, and poſſeſſed thoſe places. The neereſt to* France *likewiſe reſemble the* French, *either becauſe they retaine of the race from which they deſcended, or that in Countries butting together, the ſame aſpect of the heavens doth yeeld the ſame complexions of bodies. But generally it is moſt likely, the* French *being neereſt, did people the Land. In their ceremonies and ſuperſtitious perſwaſions, there is to be ſeene an apparant conformity. The Language differeth not much: like boldneſſe to challenge and ſet into dangers: when dangers come, like feare in refuſing: ſaving that the* Britaines *make ſhew of great courage, as being not moliified yet by long peace.*

(8) Whereby wee ſee, that theſe *Cimbrians* (of whom, as *Appian Alexandrinus* ſaith, came the *Celtæ*, and of them the *Gaules*, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* affirmeth, with whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* agree) were the ancient progenitors of theſe our *Britaines*: and them, with the *Gaules*, to be both one and the ſame people, is allowed by *Pliny*, that placeth them both in the continent of *France*; for ſo *Euſtathius* in his Commentary underſtandeth *Dionyſius Aſar*, that theſe *Britaines* in *Gaule* gave name to the *Iland* now called GREAT BRITAINE, as *Pomponius Lætus* and *Beda* before him had done. Theſe things conſidered, with the neereneſſe of their ſites for eaſy entercourſe, made both *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* to conceive as they did. Neither were theſe things following ſmall motives unto them: for their religion was alike, ſaith *Lucan* and *Tacitus*: their boldneſſe in warres, and manner of armes alike, ſaith *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Pliny*, *Herodian*, and *Mela*: their building alike, ſaith *Cæſar* and *Strabo*: their ornaments and manners alike, ſaith *Pliny* and *Cæſar*; their wits alike, ſaith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*: their language alike, ſaith *learned Bodine*; and in all things the unconquered *Britaines* to the ancient *Gaules* alike, ſaith *Tacitus*. And all theſe doe warrant us (me thinkes) to come from the *Cimbrians*, whoſe ſonnes, and our fathers, were the *Celts* and *Gaules*: the bands of whoſe amities were ſo linked together, that the *Britaines* gave ayde, and aſſiſted the *Gaules* againſt *Cæſar*, which was no ſmall cauſe of his quarrell againſt them.

(9) Not to derive the truth of our Hiſtory from the fained inventions of a *forged Berofus*, that bringeth *Samothes* to people this *Iland*, about one hundred fifty two yeeres after the *Flood*, to give lawes to the Land, and to leave it to his poſterity, for three hundred thirty five yeeres continuance: although he be countenanced by *Amandus Zirixeus* in the annotations of *White of Baſing ſtoke*: and magnified unto us by the names of *Dis* and *Meſhech* the firſt ſonne of *Iapheth*, from whom this *Iland* with a Sect of *Philoſophers* tooke their names, ſaith *Textor*, *Bale*, *Holinſhead*, and *Caius*: yet ſeeing this building hath no better a foundation but *Berofus*, and he not onely juſtly ſuſpected, but long ſince fully convicted for a counterfeit, we leave it, as better fitting the pens of vulgar *Chroniclers*, then the reliſh or liking of judicious Readers: whileſt with *Laertius* wee judge rather, that thoſe *Sophies* were termed *Semnothees*, and they not from *Samothea*, as *Ariſtotles* would have us beleeve.

(10) Neither foundeth the muſicke of *Albions* legion tunable in our eares, whom *Berofus* with full note, and *Annius* alloweth to be the fourth ſonne of *Neptune*, and him the ſame that *Moſes* calleth *Naphthahim*, the fourth ſonne of *Mizraim*, the ſecond ſonne of *Cham*, the third ſonne of *Noah*, (becauſe his fictions ſhould be countenanced with the firſt) who being put into this *Iland* by *Neptune* his father (accounted forſooth the *god* of the Seas) about the yeere after the *flood* three hundred thirty and five, overcame the *Samotheans*, as eaſily he might, being a man of ſo great ſtrength in body, and largeneſſe of limmes, that he is accounted among the *Giants* of the earth. Him *Hercules* ſurnamed *Lybicus* in battle aſſailed for the death of *Oſiris* his father, and after for 5 foure yeeres tyranny (ſaith *Bale*) ſlew him with his brother *Bergion* in the continent of *Gallia* neere to the mouth of the river *Rhodanus*: whence *Hercules* travelled into this *Iland*, as *Giraldus* (from *Gildas* the ancient *Briton* Poet) conjecture th, whoſe fifth dialogue of Poetrie hee had ſeene; and the rather beleeved, becauſe *Ptolemy* calleth that head of *Land* in *Cornwall*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and left the poſſeſſion of the *Iland* unto them of *Cham*, contrary to the meaning of the *Scriptures*, that made him a *Captive*, but never a *Conqueror* over his brethren, whiles their firſt *Policies* were ſtanding.

(11) The laſt, but much applauded opinion, for the poſſeſſing and peopling of this *Iland*, is that of *Brute*, generally held for the ſpace of theſe laſt foure hundred yeeres (ſome few mens exceptions reſerved) who with his diſperſed *Trojans* came into, and made conqueſt of this *Iland* the yeer of the worlds creation

2887.

Plutarch. Plato. Ariſtotle.

Britaines and Gaules both placed in the Continent of France.

Pomponius Lætus. Beda Hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. c. 1.

Pliny. Varro.

A falſe deſcent may not bee challenged. Geffry of Monmouth dyed in Anno 1152. Acts 17. 28.

Monmouth his excuſe.

Lucan. Britaines and Gaules alike in many reſpects. Strabo, Tacitus, Dion, &c. Cæſar, Strabo. Bodin.

Tacitus.

The Celts and Gaules our fathers. Bale Cent. 1. Britaines aſſiſted the Gaules againſt Cæſar.

Henry of Huntington dyed in Anno 1148.

Henry Huntington alſo records Brutes line and arrivall in Britaine. Geffry ap Arthur. A booke hereof found.

Berofus thought a forged author.

Holinſh. hiſt. 1. li. cap. 2. Viues hiſt. Brit. lib. 1. Annius 145. Geneſ. 10. 2.

Textor, &c. Joh Caius in Antiq. Cantorb. lib. 1.

Leofrices Inſcription upon Angelſtone Circle. Dee, lib. 7. cap. 7. Laertius in vita Philoſophorum, cap. 1. Villichius.

Hollinſhead. An unlikely ſtory of Britaines firſt peopling.

Samothea this Iland Britaine conquered by Chams poſterities.

Pompon. Mela.

Bale.

Giraldus.

Hercules in Britaine ſeiſt the poſſeſſion thereof to Chams poſterity.

An opinion much applauded.

Brute and his Trojans conquered this Iland.

Brute deſcended from Iupiter.

Pliny. Varro.

2887. and after the *univerſall flood* 1231. in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his *Prieſthood* in the land of *Iſrael*, and before the incarnation of *Chriſt* our *Saviour* one thouſand fifty nine. This *Brute* is brought from the ancient *Trojans* by deſcent, yea and from the perſons of the heathen deified *gods*: as that he was the ſonne of *Sylvius*, who was the ſonne of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *Aeneas*, the ſonne of *Anchiſes* by *Venus* the *Goddeſſe*, and daughter to *Iupiter* their greateſt in account. And if *Pliny* and *Varro* hold it praiſe-worthy to challenge deſcents (though falſely) from famous perſonages, whereby, as they ſay, appeareth an inclination to vertue, and a valorous conceit to perſwade unto honour, as ſprung from a race divine and powerfull: then by all meanes let us liſten to him of *Monmouth*, who hath brought his Nation to ranke in degree with the reſt of the *Gentiles*, which claime themſelves to be the *generation of the gods*.

(12) By why doe I attribute the worke to him, as the Author, ſith he profeſſeth himſelfe to be but the *tranſlator* of that hiſtory out of the *Britiſh* tongue, which *Walter* the *Archdeacon* of *Oxford* brought out of *Normandie*, and delivered unto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his ſtory, *Henry of Huntington*, who lived in the time of king *Stephen*, and wrote likewiſe the *hiſtory* of this *land*, bringeth the line of *Brute* from *Aeneas* the *Trojan*, and his arrivage and conqueſt to happen in the time of *Heli* his *Prieſthood* in the land of *Iſrael*, as *Geffrey ap Arthur* hath alſo done: not taking (as ſome thinke) any thing thereof from him, but rather out of an ancient booke intituled *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, found by himſelfe in the *library* of the Abbey of *Bec*, as he travelled towards *Rome*: which hiſtory began at the arrivall of *Brute*, and ended with the acts of *Cadwalader*, as by a treatiſe of his owne indiring, bearing the ſame title, hath beene compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar hiſtory, as indu ſtrious *Lambard* affirmeth himſelfe to have ſeene. And *Ninius* is ſaid by the writer of the *reformed hiſtory*, to bring theſe *Britaines* from the race of the *Trojans*, foure hundred yeeres before that *Geffrey* wrote: yea and long before *Ninius* alſo, *Taliefin* a *Briton* Poet in an *Ode* called *Hanes*, or *Tajeſſ* his courſe of life, in theſe words, *Mia deythynyma at Wedillion Troja*, that is, *I came hither to the Remnants of Troy*.

Will. Lamb. Peramb. Ninius and Taliefin bring the Britaines from Brute.

Dyed in *Anno* 1142.

Malmesb. de Geſtis rerum Anglorum lib 1.

(13) That *William* of *Malmesbury* (who wrote in the dayes of King *Henry* the firſt) was before him of *Monmouth*, is moſt certaine; yet doth he make mention of *Arthur*, a *Prince* (ſaith he) *deſerving rather to bee advanced by the truth of records, then abuſed by falſe imputation of fables; being the only prop and upholder of his country*. And *Beda*, his ancient alſo, nameth *Ambroſius Aurelianus* to bee *King* of the *Britaines*, long before that *Geffrey* was borne: So was *Brennus* mentioned by *Livy*; *Bellinus*, (if he be *Belgius*) by *Iuſtine*; *Caſſibelan* by *Cæſar*; *Cunobilin* by *Suetonius*; *Arviragus* by *Martiall*; *Lucius* by *Euſebius*; *Coel*, *Conſtantius*, *Caraufius*, and others by *Eutropius*, and *Paulus Diaconus*; and *Helena* by *Nicephorus*, *Ambroſe*, and *Socrates*. Theſe are the affirmatives that give countenance to the *Archdeacon* of *Monmouths* tranſlation, and credit to *Brutes* conqueſts and ſucceſſours; yea and *John Harding* his *Herauld*, in his home-ſpun poetry, can eaſily emblaze his *armes* to be *Gules*, charged with two *Lions rampant* endorſed *Ore*, and the ſame to be borne by the Kings of *Troy*. And his banner diſplayed at his entrance is ſaid to bee *Vert a Diana of gold* fitchell, crowned, and inthronized, the ſame that *Aeneas* bare, when he entred the land of the *Latines*. But the cenſures of theſe relations I leave to the beſt liking of judicious Readers, onely wiſhing them to be unlike the inhabitants under the rockes of the Cataracts of *Nilus*, whereof *Cicero* and *Amianus* make mention, who were made deafe by the continuall noiſe of the fall of *Nilus*: leſt by the ſound and loud voyces of theſe writers, the exceptions of others cannot be heard, which from the fulneſſe of their pennes I will likewiſe declare, without offence, I hope, unto any.

Hollinſh. Beda Hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Livy. Iuſtine. Cæſar. Suetonius. Martiall. Euſebius. Eutropius. Nicephorus. Ambroſe. Socrates. Harding Chron. Chap. 11. Iohan. Hanvill. Nichola. Upton.

Stowe.

Cicero de Som. Scipionis. Amianus Marcell. lib. 22. c. 14. Hiſtories muſt bee weighed with judgement.

(14) Firſt (with a reverend reſervation had to the *ſacred hiſtories*) *Varro* the moſt learned Latine writer, dividing *times* motions into three ſeverall parts, that is, from the *creation* to the *flood*, which he termeth altogether *uncertaine*: from the *flood* to the firſt *Olympiad* (by *Beroaldus* computation ſet in the yeere of the world 3154. and thirty one of the raigne of *Ioas*, King of *Iudah*: ſeven hundred ſeventy and foure yeeres before the birth of our *Saviour*) he calleth *fabulous*: and the laſt age from the firſt *Olympiad* to himſelfe, hee nameth *hiſtoricall*. Now the ſtory of *Brute* beginning two hundred ſixty ſeven yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*, falleth in the time wherein nothing elſe is related, either of the *Greekes* or *Latines*, the onely learned writers, but fables and tales, as both himſelfe and others have told us, much more then, among the barbarous, unlettred, and uncivill nations, as all theſe parts of the world then were.

Varro.

Times meaſured divided into three parts. Beroaldus.

The third not eaſy hiſtoricall.

The ſtory of Brute fabulous.

(15) Whereupon *Gildas* our ancienteſt homeborne writer, (cited and in whole ſentences followed by *venerable Beda*, who termeth him the *Britaines hiſtoriographer*) in this of *Brute* is ſilent, and in his lamentable paſſions never dreames of him but as one overwhelmed with griefe bewaileth the wickedneſſe of the time wherein he lived, who was borne, as himſelfe ſaith, in the forty fourth yeere after the *Saxons* firſt entrance, about the yeere of *Chriſts incarnation* 493. and dyed, as *Bale* citeth out of *Polydore*, the yeere of our redemption 580. *Ninius* alſo another ancient writer, who lived above eight hundred yeeres ſince, taking in hand the *Chronicles* of the *Britaines*, complaineth that their great Maſters and Doctors could give him no aſſiſtance, being ignorant of skill, and had left no memoriall of things paſſed, nor committed their acts unto writing, whereby hee was inforced to gather what he had gotten from the *annals* and *Chronicles* of the holy *fathers*. *Beda* likewiſe, whoſe hiſtory ended in *Anno* 733. beginneth no ſooner then with *Iulius Cæſars* entrance notwithſtanding he had the aſſiſtance of the *Abbat Albinus*, who was brought up under *Theodorus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and had begun the hiſtory of this land with moſt diligent ſearch from the records of the Kingdome of *Kent*, and the provinces adjoyning; as alſo being further aſſiſted by *Daniel* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, who ſent him all the records that were to be found of the ſame Biſhopricke, *South-Saxons*, and the *Ile of Wight*. The like helpes had he from *Abbat Eſſius*, for the country of *Eaſt-Angles*; from *Cymbertus* and the brethren of *Leſtinge* for the province of *Mercia*, and *Eaſt-Saxons*. And from the brethren of *Lindisfarnum*, for the country of *Northumberland*; beſides his owne paines in collections, knowledge and experience: all which he did diſgeſt and hiſtorically compile, and before the publication thereof ſent it to King *Ceolulphe* at that time raigning in *Northumberland*, to be approved or corrected by his moſt learned ſkill: yet in none of theſe found he that hiſtory of *Brute* nor his ſucceſſors, which as ſome would have it, was then unbegotten in the world.

Gildas.

Beda hiſt. Angli. lib. 1. cap. 22. Gildas maketh no mention of Brute.

Beda out of Proſpher. Ninius alſo ſaith nothing of him.

Beda hiſt. Angli. lib. 1. cap. 1. Beda begin eth but at Iulius Ceſar. Beda had the helpe of the Abbat Albinus.

Of Daniel Biſhop of Weſt-Saxons.

Of Abbat Eſſius.

Of Cymbertus and brethren of Leſtinge. Of the brethren of Lindisfarnum.

(16) After him *Elward*, as *William of Malmsbury* calleth him, or rather (as he writeth himſelfe) *Patricius Conſul fabius Queſtor Ethelwerdus*, a diligent ſearcher of antiquities, a reverend perſon, and of the blood royall, wrote foure bookes, briefly compriſing the whole hiſtory of *England*, from the beginning of the world unto the time of king *Edgar* wherein he lived; of *Brute* nor his *Britaines* ſpeaketh a word; but paſſeth with ſilence to the *Romans* and *Saxons*. What need I to cite *Ingulphus*, who dyed *Anno* 1109. *Florentius of Worceſter*, that flouriſhed in the dayes of King *Henry* the firſt, or *William* of *Malmsbury*, that wrote unto the end of his raigne; all of them writers before *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, but none of them mentioning this ſtory of *Brute*. This moved *Williams* of *Newbourgh*, borne (as himſelfe ſaith) in the beginning of King *Stephens* raigne, and living at one and the ſame time with this *Archdeacon* of *Monmouth*, too too bitterly to inveigh againſt him and his hiſtory, even ſo ſoone as the ſame came forth: as in the procme of

The hiſtory of Brute not to be found in Beda his time. Elward.

Elward ſpeaketh nothing of Brute. Ingulphus. Florentius of Worceſter.

William of Malmsbury. All theſe Writers before Geffrey, and yet none mention Brute but he.

William of Newborough a Chronicle inveighing against Ieffry ap Arthur.

of his book is to be seen. And that the words are his and not our owne, take them from him as they lye. *In these our dayes* (saith he) *there is a certaine writer risen up, deviſing fictions and tales of the* Britaines *out of the vaine humors of his owne braine, extolling them farre above the valorous* Macedonians, *or worthy* Romanes; *his name is* Ieffrey, *and may well aſſume the ſirname* Arthur, *whoſe tales he hath taken out of the old fables of the* Britaines, *and by his owne invention augmented with many untruths, foiling them over with a new colour of the* Latine *tongue, and hath inveſted them into the body of an hiſtory. Adventuring further to divulge under the name of authenticke* prophecies, *deceitfull conjectures and fore-deemings of one* Merline (*a wizzard*) *whereunto alſo he addeth a great deale of his owne.* And againe, *In his booke which he hath intituled the* Britaines hiſtory, *how ſhamelеſſely, and with a bold countenance he doth lye, there is no man that readeth therein can doubt, unleſſe hee hath no knowledge at all in ancient true hiſtories; for having not learned the truth of things indeed, he admitteth without diſcretion and judgement, the vanity and untruths of fables. I forbeare to ſpeake* (saith he) *what great matters this fellow hath forged of the* Britaines *acts before the* Empire *and comming in of* Cæſar. *Thus farre* Parvus. But I know the anſwer to this ſo great an accuſation: namely, that this *William* making ſute unto *David ap Owen Gwyneth*, Prince of *North-wales*, for the Biſhopricke of *Saint Aſſaphs*, after the death of *Ieffrey*, and thereof failing, falſly ſcandalized and impudently belyed that moſt reverend man. Which ſurely had been a great fault, and might of us be beleeved, had not others of the ſame ranke and time, verified aſmuch.

A device to put by this *William* of Newburghs accuſation.

(17) For *Sylveſter Giraldus*, commonly called *Cambrenſis*, that flouriſhed in the ſame time with the ſaid author, made no doubt to terme it *The fabulous ſtory of Ieffrey*. The like is verified by *John Weathamſtead* Abbat of *Saint Albanes*, a moſt judicious man that wrote in *Anno* 1440. who in his *Granary* giveth ſentence of this hiſtory as followeth. *The whole diſcourſe of* Brutus (saith he) *is rather poeticall, then hiſtoricall, and for divers reaſons is built more upon opinion then truth; firſt becauſe there is no mention thereof made in the* Romane *ſtory, either of his killing his father, or of the ſaid* birth, *or yet of baniſhing the ſonne. Secondly for that* Aſcanius *begat no ſuch ſonne who had for his proper name* Sylvius *by any approved Author: for according to them, he begat onely one ſonne, and his name was* Iulius, *from whom the family of the* Iulii *tooke their beginning. And thirdly*, Sylvius Poſthumus, *whom perhaps* Ieffrey *meaneth; was the ſonne of* Æneas *by his wife* Lavinia, *and hee begetting his ſonne* Æneas *in the thirty eight yeere of his raigne, ended his life by courſe of naturall death. The Kingedome therefore now called* England, *was not heretofore, as many will have, named* Britaine *of* Brutus *the ſonne of* Sylvius. *Wherefore it is a vaine opinion and ridiculous to challenge noble blood, and yet to want a probable ground of the challenge: for it is manhood onely that ennobleth a nation; and it is the mind alſo with perfect underſtanding, and nothing elſe, that gaineth gentility to a man. And therefore* Seneca *writeth in his Epiſtles to* Plato, *that there is no King but hee came from vaſſals, and no vaſſall but he came from Kings. Wherefore to conclude, let this ſuffice* (saith he) *that the* Britaines *from the beginning of their nobility have beene couragious and valiant in fight, that they have ſubdued their enemies on every ſide, and that they utterly refuſed the yoke of ſervitude.*

Deſcript. Cambr. cap. 7. He flouriſhed in *Anno* 1210. *Giraldus Cambrenſis* calleth *Brutts* hiſtory the fabulous ſtory of *Ieffrey*. *John Weathamſtead.* The diſcourſe of *Brutus* diſproved by *John Weathamſtead.*

Aſcanius had no ſonne whoſe proper name was Sylvius.

(18) Now that *William* of *Newborough*, had ſufficient cauſe (ſay ſome) to exclaime againſt the fantacies of *Merline*, and the fictions of *Arthur*, is made manifeſt in the ſequell, not onely by the decree of that obtruded *Councel* of *Trent*, wherein was inhibited the publication of *Merlines bookes*; but alſo (in effect) by the ſtature enacted the fifth yeere of our laſt deceaſed *Queene Elizabeth* of *bleſſed and immortall memory*, wherein is forbidden ſuch fantaſticall predictions, upon occaſions of *Armes, Fields, Beaſts, Badges, Cognizances*, or *Signets*, ſuch as *Merline* ſtood moſt upon; and likewiſe *William* of *Malmsbury* ſaith, that *Arthur* being the onely proppe that upheld his country, deſerved rather to bee advanced by truth, then abuſed with fables wherewith that ſtory is moſt plentifully ſtored. And alſo, that *Weathamſtead* had reaſon to account *Brutes* acts and conqueſts, to be rather poeticall then any wayes warranted by the records of truth, appeareth by the ſilence of the *Romane* writers therein, who name neither *Brute* nor his father in the genealogie of the *Latine* Kings: and if any ſuch were, (ſaith the contradictors) how could they bee ignorant of the untimely death of their king, ſlaine by the hand of his naturall (though in this act unnaturall) ſonne? or what ſhould move them, being ſo lavish in their owne commendations, to be thus ſilent in their *Brutes* worthineſſe, that with ſeven thouſand diſperſed *Trojans* warred ſo victoriouſly in *Gallia*, conquered a *kingdome of Giants*, ſubdued a moſt famous *Iland*, raigned gloriouſly, and left the ſame to his poſterity; none of them, either in proſe or poetry once handled, but left to deſtiny to be preſerved by a long enſuing meanes, or to periſh in oblivion for ever? And ſurely this moved the whole ſenate of great Clerks to give ſentence, that never any ſuch *Brute* raigned in the world; ſuch as were *Boccace, Vives, Hadrianus Iunius, Polydore, Buchanan, Vignier, Genebrard, Molineus, Bodine*, and others.

Merline a wizard.

Brute not mentioned in the geneologie of the Latine Kings.

(19) Yea, and there are ſome *Critickes* that faine would take advantage from the defenders of *Brutes* hiſtory themſelves, as from Sr. *John Prys*, that produceth many uncertaine enſamples of the originall of other nations, which granted, (ſay they) doth no wayes confirme the truth or certainty of our owne; neither is it any honour to derive theſe *Britaines* from the ſcumme of ſuch coopered people as the *Trojans* were. *Humfry Lhuyd* likewiſe denying abſolutely the derivation of the *Britaines* name from *Brute*, and bringing it from two compounded words, (as wee have ſaid) doth thereby weaken the credit of his conqueſt of this *Iland* to their underſtanding, as alſo the catalogue of his ſucceſſors, which are ſaid to raigne ſucceſſively for many hundred of yeeres after him. And another induſtrious *Britiſh* writer, having the helpe of two moſt ancient *Britiſh* copies, the collections of *Caradock of Carnarvan*, their owne *Bardies* every third yeeres viſitation, and twenty ſeven Authors of good account, (all of them cited in the preface of his *Chronicle*) beſides his helpes had in the offices of *records* for this realme; yet aſcending no higher then to the perſon of *Cadwallader, Prince of Wales*, whoſe raigne was in the yeere of *Chriſts* incarnation 682. and no leſſe then one thouſand ſeven hundred twenty and ſixe yeeres, after that *Brute* is ſaid to come into this Iland, doth not warrant (ſay they) the ſtory that is included betwixt, but rather even the ſame is interlaced with many doubtfull uncertaineties, and ſo left diſputable by the ſaid compiler himſelfe, as namely whether that this *Cadwallader* whom the *Britaines* claime to bee their King, bee not the ſame *Chedwald* whom the *Saxons* would have theirs; both living at one *time*, both in *acts* alike, and *names* neere, both abandoning their *Kingdomes*, both taking the habit of religion, both dying in *Rome*, both buried in one *Church*, nay, ſay they, in one *Sepulchre*. The like he bringeth of the *Britaines Ivor*, and the *Saxons Ive*, in the like coherences of *names, acts, devotions*, and *deaths*: ſo that this hiſtory of *Brute* carrieth not ſo ſmooth a current for paſſage as is wiſhed, nor is that *Gordians* knot ſo eaſily unlooſed.

The Authors owne opinion of *Brutes* hiſtory.

Brutes conqueſt in the eighteenth of *Heli* his Prieſthood.

Never any ſuch king in the World as *Brute*. *Boccace, Vives, Hadrianus Iunius, &c.* The *Critickes* argument.

1 Sam. 4. 18.

Heli his Prieſthood in *anno mundi* 2887.

No honour to the Britaines to be derived from the Trojans.

Againe, the *Reformer* of the *Britiſh hiſtory* himſelfe, although hee hath written one whole chapter in defence of *Ieffrey Monmouth*, and ſtraineth to make his booke authenticall, complaining often and accuſing learned and unpartiall *Cambden* ſeverall times, for blowing away ſixty of the *Britaine* Kings with one blaſt: yet when he compareth the generations with the time, is forced thus to write: *From* Porrex *to* Minogen *are twenty one Kings in a lineall deſcent, and but yeeres ninety two: now devide 92. by 21. and you ſhall find, that children beget children, and thoſe* (saith he) *by George Owen Harry* in his booke of pedegrees dedicated *to his Majeſty, appeareth to be in a lineall deſcent, beſides three or foure*

The Britaines hiſtories weakened by themſelves.

Bartoch 6. 2. *Joſeph. contra Appion. lib. 1.*

D. *Powell* beginneth his hiſtory of *wales* but at *Cadwallader.*

Herodotus in Euterpe.

Iudg. 8. 28. *Clemens Alex. Stromat. 1.*

Cadwalladers ſtory alſo doubtfull.

Ran. chell.

Menelaus returned from *Troy* when *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Salomon.*

Rob. Fabian.

2 King 11. 3. *Brute* his conqueſt rather in *Athalia* her time. *Joſeph. cont. Appion. lib. 1. & 2.*

John Lewis.

Phœnician records. *Carthage* built after King *Hirams* raigne 155 yeares. *Virg. Aeneides lib. 1.*

Maller Cambden accuſed by the defender of *Ieffrey of Monmouth.*

Tacitus annal. lib. 16. cap. 1.

A further diſproofe of *Brutes* hiſtory.

Athan. how ſhould have ſaid. *Rabbi Iſack. Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. 16. c. 43. Hieron.*

foure collaterals. And yet goeth further: *Though the Scripture* (saith he) *alledge* Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, *and* Ezekiah, *to be but yong when they begat their ſonnes, which* (as Rabbi Iſack *ſaith*) *might be at thirteen yeeres of age: And although* Saint Auguſtine *ſay, that the ſtrength of youth may beget children yong*; and Hierome *bringeth inſtance of a Boy that at ten yeares of age begat a childe: yet this doth not helpe to excuſe the miſtaking of yeares for the Britiſh Kings above mentioned.*

Thus far *John Lewis*: and for the exceptions made againſt *Brute*: wherin I have altogether uſed the words of others; and will now (without offence, I hope) adde a ſuppoſall of mine owne, ſeeing I am fallen into the computation of times, which is the onely *touch-ſtone* to the truth of hiſtories, eſpecially ſuch as are limited by the bounds of the ſacred *Scriptures*, as this for *Brutes* entrance is. And that the ſame cannot bee ſo ancient (ſuppoſing it were never ſo certaine) as the vulgar opinion hitherto hath held, the circumſtance of time, to my ſeeming ſufficiently doth prove.

(20) For *Brutes* conqueſt and entrance are brought by his Author to fall in the eighteenth yeare of *Heli* his *Prieſthood* in the Land of *Iſrael*, and ſo is faſtned into a computation that cannot erre. Now the eighteenth yeare of *Helies* government, by the holy *Scriptures* moſt ſure account, is ſet in the yeare of the *worlds creation*, 2887. after the *niverſall flood*, 1231. and before the *birth of our bleſſed Saviour* 1059. yeares. *Brute* then living in this foreſaid time, was foure deſcents from the conquered *Trojans* (as he of *Monmouth* hath laid downe) which were *Æneas, Aſcanius, Sylvius*, and himſelfe: ſo that by theſe generations ſucceſſive in order, the very yeare almoſt of *Troyes* deſtruction may certainly be pointed out and knowne: which in ſearching hath been found ſo doubtfull, that by ſome it hath been thought to be a meere fable. Yet with more reverence to antiquity obſerved, let us caſt and compare the continuance of theſe foure generations unto *Brutes* Conqueſt, not ſhortning them with *Barach*, to be but ten yeares to an age: neither lengthning them with *Joſephus*, who accounteth one hundred and ſeventy yeares for a generation: but with more indifference let us with *Herodotus*, who wrote neerer theſe times, allow thirty yeares for a ſucceſſion, as hee accounteth in his ſecond booke. Now foure times thirty, make one hundred and twenty, the number of yeares that theſe foure Princes ſucceſſively did live: by which computation likewiſe meaſured by *Scripture*, the ruination of *Troy* fell in the thirty eight yeare of *Gideons* government in *Iſrael*, and was the yeare after the *worlds creation*, 2768. But the authority of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, alledged out of *Menander, Pergamenus*, and *Letus*, deſtroyeth that time of *Troyes* deſtruction, and placeth it fully two hundred and thirty yeares after, even in the Raigne of King *Salomon*: for in his firſt booke *Stromaton* thus he writeth: *Menalaus from the overthrow of Troy*, came into *Phœnicia, at that time when Hiram King of Tyrus gave his daughter in marriage unto* Salomon *King of* Iſrel. Where, by him we ſee, that *Troyes* ruines and *Salomons* raigne fell both upon one time. And ſo *Brute* hath loſt of his antiquity, by this account, 230 yeares; and entred not in *Helies* Prieſthood, but rather in the uſurpation of *Iudahs* Kingdome by *Athalia*, and in the yeare of the world 3118.

(21) To whom let us joyne *Joſephus*, an Author of great credit, and without ſuſpicion in this caſe, who in his Nations defence againſt *Appion*, in both his bookes, confidently affirmeth himſelfe able to prove by the *Phœnician* Records of warrantable credit, that *the city* Carthage *was built by* Dido, *ſiſter to* Pigmalion, *one hundred fifty and five yeares after the Raigne of King* Hiram, *which was* Salomons *friend, and one hundred forty three yeares, and eight moneths after she building of his moſt beautifull Temple*. Now we know by *Virgil*, from whom all theſe glorious tales of *Troy* are told, that *Carthage* was in building by the ſame *Dido*, at ſuch time as *Æneas* came from *Troyes* overthrow, through the Seas of his manifold adventures. If this teſtimonie of *Joſephus* be true, then falls *Troyes* deſtruction about the twentieth yeare of *Ioas* raigne over *Iudah*, which was the yeare of the *worlds creation* 3143 whereunto if we adde one hundred and twenty yeares for the foure deſcents before ſpecified, then will *Brutes* conqueſt of this *Iland*, fall with the twelfth of *Iothams* raigne in the Kingdome of *Iudah*, which meets with the yeare of the worlds continuance 3261. And ſo hath he againe loſt of his antiquity no leſſe then 375. yeares.

Athaliah cited by *Joſeph. cont. Appion. l. 2. Iſraelites departure from* Egypt, *was almoſt a thouſand yeares before the wars of* Troy. *Joſephus accompt. Appion. lib. 1. Brutes conqueſt after Alexander the Great.*

(22) And yet to make a deeper breach into *Brutes* ſtory, and to ſet the time, in a point ſo uncertaine, as from which neither circle nor line can be truely drawne; *Manethon* the *Hiſtorian Prieſt* of *Egypt*, in his ſecond booke cited by *Joſephus*, affirmeth that the

Two hundred forty ſix yeares in time too ſhort for the raigne of ſeventy two Kings.

(23) But unto theſe objections I know the anſwer will be ready; namely, the diverſities of *Scriptures* account, being ſo ſundry and different, that the ſtory of *Brute* cannot thereby bee touched, but ſtill ſtandeth firme upon it ſelfe. Indeed I muſt confeſſe, that from the firſt *Creation*, to the yeare of mans *Redemption*, the learned *Hebrewes, Greekes*, and *Latines*, differ much, and that not onely each from others, but even among themſelves ſo farre, that there can be no indifferent reconciliation made, as by theſe ſeverall computations may be ſeene, as followeth:

A ſuppoſed anſwer.

Hebrewes:	*Beat Seder Holem*	3518.
	Talmuddiſtes	3784.
	New Rabbins	3760.
	Rabbi Nahſon	3740.
	Rabbi Levi	3786.
	Rabbi Moſes Germidiſi	4058.
	Joſephus	4192.
Greekes:	*Maſrodorus*	5000.
	Euſebius	5190.
	Theophilus Antioch.	5476.
Latines:	*Saint Hierome*	3941.
	Saint Auguſtine	5351.
	Iſidore	5210.
	Oroſius	5190.
	Beda	3952.
	Alphonſus	5984.

The great differences in computation of yeares among Writers.

And yet doe theſe diſagreements helpe little the *objectors* if this be conſidered, that the maine foundation of theſe diverſities conſiſteth chiefly in the *firſt world*, before the *Flood*, wherein it is manifeſt, that the reputed *Septuagint* addeth to the *Hebrew Originall*, five hundred eighty and ſix yeares. And from the *Flood* to *Abrahams* birth, is accounted eight hundred and fifty yeares more then *Moſes* hath. As likewiſe the like is done in the latter times: for from the *Captivity* of *Babylon*, to the death of *Chriſt*, one hundred thirty and ſeven yeares, are added more then the Sunnes courſe hath meaſured: ſo that it ſeemeth the differences were not great for the times of *Heli, Salomon*, nor *Iudahs* Kings, in whoſe raignes *Brute* is brought to people, and poſſeſſe this *Iland*. But leaving theſe diverſities, and to come to a certainty, let us calculate, the yeares of the *holy Hiſtory* according as *Functius, Beroaldus*, and ſundry other *Theologick Chronologers*

These differences were chiefly before the Flood. *Septuagint.*

Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Functius Beroaldus.

The accounting of yeares by the Scriptures, is a moſt ſure manner of computation.

nologers have done, who from the *Scriptures* moſt ſure account ſo tye the ſtories of times together, that like to a golden chaine, the linkes are faſtned each to other, and the whole ſo compleate, that a yeare is not miſſing from the *fall of man*, unto the full time of his *redemption*.

From the creation to the flood. 1656.

(24) Firſt then from the *Creation* to the *Flood* are reckoned yeares 1656. gathered by a Triple account, from the ages, begettings, and deaths of the fathers. The like is thence obſerved for foure hundred twenty and ſeven yeares, that is, to the ſeventy fifth of *Abrahams* life, wherein God began to tie the times accounts in holier ſummes: for *Terah*, the firſt recorded *Idolater*, was the laſt in honour that had the *Sunnes* courſe meaſured by mans life. And now the bonds of time tie the *Promiſe* to *Abraham*, to be before the *Law* foure hundred and thirty yeares, as the *Apoſtle* to the *Galathians* affirmeth. From the *Law* to the *building* of *Salomons Temple*, and that in the fourth yeare of his raigne, were yeares foure hundred and eighty: and from that *foundation*, to his *death*, were thirty ſix yeares: for his whole raigne was fourty. From his *death* and Kingdomes diviſion, unto the burning of that *Temple*, which was executed in the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babel*, were yeares three hundred and ninety, as by the dayes of *Ezekiels* ſiege and ſleepe appeareth in the *ſecond* and *fifth* verſes of his *fourth Chapter*. From the burning of the *Temple*, to the end of *Iudahs captivitie*, were yeares *fifty* and *one*, for the whole time of *Babels* bondage contained ſeventy yeares, as *Ieremie* 25. 11. whereof nineteene were expired; and fifty one remaining unto the firſt yeare of *Cyrus* their *deliverer*, whom the Lord in that regard calleth *his anointed*, *Iſay* 45.1. In the *firſt* yeare of whoſe *Monarchie* he publiſhed an *Edict* for the returne of the *Iewes* and new building of their *Temple*, as in the books of *Chronicles* and of *Ezra* is ſeene. And from this *firſt* yeare and *proclamation* of King *Cyrus*, unto the *laſt* yeare and death of *Chriſt our Saviour*, the great yeare of *Iubile*, *the acceptable time*, wherein hee *trod the Winepreſſe alone*; to the finiſhing of the *ceremonies*, the taking away of ſinne, the reconciling of iniquity, the bringing in of *everlaſting righteouſneſſe*, to the ſealing up of *viſion* and *prophecie*, and to the *anointing* of the *moſt holy*; were yeares *foure hundred and ninety*, as the Prophet *Daniel* from the *Angel Gabriel* received, and unto us hath delivered, *Dan.* 9. 24. all which added together, make the number to be three *thouſand nine hundred and threeſcore yeares*. And by this ſaid *computation*, I have accounted *Brutes* ſtory, as all others wherein I ſhall be occaſioned to ſpeake.

From the Promiſe to *Abraham*, till the *Law*, 430. Galat. 3. 17. From the *Law* to *Salomons Temple*, 480. 1 King. 6. 1. From the foundation of the Temple, to *Salomons* death, 36 yeares. 1 King. 11. 42. From *Salomons* death, to the burning of the Temple, 350. yeares 2 King. 25. 8. Eze. 4. 5. & 5. From the burning of the Temple, to the end of *Iudahs* captivity, 51. yeares. Ier. 25. 11. Ita. 45. 1. 2 Chron. 36. 21, 22, 23. Ezra 1. 1. 2. From the firſt yeare of *Cyrus*, unto the death of *Chriſt*, 490. yeares.

Dan. 9. 24.

(25) Laſtly, if from among theſe miſty clouds of ignorance no light can be gotten, and that wee will needs have our deſcents from the *Troians*; may wee not then more truely derive our blood from them through the *Romans*, who for the ſpace of foure hundred threeſcore and ſix yeares were planted amongſt us: in which continuance it is moſt certaine, they tooke of our women to be their wives, and gave their women to be wives unto us, ſeeing that ſome of their Emperors did the like themſelves, and from whoſe blood, ſaith *Beda*, the *Britaine Ambroſius* lineally deſcended. And if beauty & parts be the inſtigators unto love, as in the firſt world we ſee it was, no doubt then the features of the *Britaines* were moving Angels unto the *Romans*, whoſe faces even in thoſe times were accounted to be angelicall, and whoſe perſonages as yet, are reſpected as the beſt (if not better) then any other in the world. But that the *Romans* themſelves deſcended from the *Trojans*, or *Aeneas* ſhould be the root of the *Iulian* family, howſoever the fictions of Poets as a Spring-tide, have flowed from the fulneſſe of their pennes, yet *Tacitus* their beſt Writer, accounteth thoſe things not far unlike to old fables, wherein he judgeth that *Nero* to win credit before the Conſuls, and to get reputation in the glory of eloquence, undertooke the pleading of the *Ilienſes* cauſe, declaring the *Romans* deſcent from *Troy*: and the *Iuly* from the loynes of *Aeneas*, which notwithſtanding he cenſureth as is ſaid. And *Ioſephus* in the diſperſion of *Noahs* ſonnes and families, affirmeth that *Romus* was the Originall of the old *Romans* and he of *Chus*, and *Cham*, if he meane as he ſpeaketh. To conclude; (by what deſtiny I know not) nations deſire their originals from the *Trojans*, yet certaine it is, that no honor from them can be brought, whoſe city and fame ſtood but for ſix deſcents, as under the raignes of *Dardanus*, *Erithonius*, *Tros*, *Ilus*, *Laomedon*, and *Priamus*, during which time they were three vanquiſhed; twice by *Hercules* in the daies of *Laomedon*, and the third time raſed by the rage of the *Grecians*, in the raigne of *King Priamus*, and the *Trojans* themſelves, made, as it were, the ſum of a conquered people. And therefore as *France* hath caſt off their *Francio* King *Priamus* his ſonne, *Scotland* their *Scotia* King *Pharaoes* daughter, *Denmarke* their *Danus*, *Ireland* their *Hiberus*, and other Countries their *Demi-gods*; ſo let BRITAINES likewiſe with them diſclaime their BRUTE, that bringeth no honour to ſo renowned a Nation, but rather cloudeth their glory in the murders of his parents, and imbaſeth their deſcents, as ſprung from *Venus* that laſcivious Adultereſſe: of whom ſaith *du Pleſſis*, I am aſhamed 'that the heathen were not aſhamed of this ſhamefulneſſe; but much more that Chriſtians bluſh not to name her in their verſes.

Britaines may more truely derive their deſcent from *Troy* by the *Romans*. *Britaines* tooke wives of the *Romans*, and they of the *Britaines*. *Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. c. 16.* Gen. 6. 2.

Romanes to be deſcended of the *Troians* is a Fable. *Tacit. an. 12. 13.*

Ioſeph. l. 7. Romus the originall of the old *Romans*.

To have a deſcent from *Troy*, cannot be an honour to any Nation. *Troians* thrice vanquiſhed.

Brute embaſeth the deſcent of the *Britaines*.

Truth of Religion. *cap. 22.*

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES.

CHAPTER IV.

HAving thus farre ſpoken of the ancient Names of this famous *Iland*, and of the Nations acknowledged to be the firſt Planters and Poſſeſſors thereof; it remaineth that ſomewhat bee mentioned of the *Manners* and *Cuſtomes* of thoſe people and times, though not ſo pleaſing or acceptable as were to be wiſhed, for that the clouds of ignorance and barbarous incivility did then ſhadow and over-ſpread almoſt all the Nations of the earth: wherein I deſire to lay imputation, no further then is ſufficiently warranted by moſt authenticke Writers: and firſt from *Caſar*, who formoſt of all the *Romans*, diſcovered and deſcribed our ancient *Britaines*.

Of their Perſons. *Caeſ. Comment. lib. 5.* where he uſeth the word *Luteus*.

(2) Touching their perſons: *All the Britaines* (ſaith *Caſar*) *uſed to die themſelves with woad, which ſetteth a blue colour upon them, and that maketh them more terrible to behold in battell.* But *Pomponius Mela* therein moveth

Herodian.

Pliny alſo addeth another ornament, and ſaith that the Britaines were rings on their middle finger. The Britaines would not be clad, becauſe they would ſhew the gay paintings of their bodies. *Pliny. Quibuſdam* calles that herber *tritum*; and the Britaines call that colour glaſtu. Whence our Engliſh word glaſſe (called *Glaſs Virtum* in Latine) may ſeeme to bee taken, by reaſon of the colour thereof. *Dio Niceus. Caeſar.* Some Britaines clad in leather. *Solinus.*

veth a doubt. They dyed their bodies (ſaith he) with *Woad*; but whether to make a gallant ſhew, or for what other cauſe elſe is uncertaine. And yet *Herodian* herein abſolutely determineth, where he ſaith, that the *Britaines* knew no uſe of *garments* at all, but about their waſtes and neckes wore chaines of iron, ſuppoſing them a goodly ornament, and a proofe of their wealth: and their bare bodies they marked with ſundry pictures repreſenting all manner of living creatures, and therefore they would not be clad, for hiding the gay paintings of their bodies. To which painting *Pliny* alſo agreeth, and deſcribeth that hearb *Woad*, to bee like to the *Plantine* in *Gallia*, naming it *Glaſtum*, with the juice whereof (ſaith he) the *women* of *Britaine*, as well wives as young women, anoint and dye their bodies all over: reſembling by that tincture the colour of the *Aethiopians*, in which manner they uſe at ſolemn feaſts and ſacrifices to go all naked. And *Dio Niceus* out of the epitome of *Xiphilinus* ſaith, that the cuſtome of that Nation was, to abide in rents all naked and unſhod. Notwithſtanding, *Caeſar* doth elſe where report, that they clad themſelves in leather, which perchance is meant of the civiller ſort of them, and in time of battell. *Solinus* likewiſe ſpeaking of the *Britaines*, ſaith, their Country is peopled partly with *Barbarians*, who by meanes of artificiall inciſions of ſundry formes, have from their childhood divers ſhapes of beaſts incorporate upon them; having their markes deeply imprinted within their bodies, looke how their growth for ſtature, ſo doe thoſe pictured characters likewiſe increaſe. Neither doe theſe ſavage Nations repute any thing a greater teſtimony of their patience, then by ſuch durable skars to make their lims drinke in much painting and colour. Theſe skarres by *Tertullian* are tearmed *Britannorum ſtigmata*, *The Britaines markes*. And unto this skye colour, or bleiwiſh dyings, it ſeemeth *Martiall* had relation in his praiſes of Lady *Claudia*:

Claudia, cæruleis cum ſit Rufina Britannis,
Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?
Stilb Claudia comes of azur'd Britaines race,
Whence comes her mind ſo deckt with Romane grace?

Tertullian. Britannorum ſtigmata.

Martiall.

And of this uſe of *painting*, as our great *Antiquary* judgeth, both the *Britaines* had their primitive derivation; and the *Picts* (abranch of Britiſh race) a long time after, for that their acouſtomed manner, were called *Picti* by the *Romanes*, that is, the *painted* people.

Maller Cambden.

Picts of the Britiſh race.

Called Picti of their painted bodies. *Caeſar. com. l. 5.*

(3) The haire of their heads, ſaith *Caſar*, they let grow, and wore long, which naturally was curled, and of colour yellow (as in the Panegyricke Oration aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, and ſpoken in praiſe of *Maximianus*, is to be ſeene) all other parts of their bodies being ſhaven, ſaving onely the head and upper lip. Yet their complections were much different, as by *Tacitus* we ſee, who avoucheth that ſome of thoſe *Ilanders* were red of haire, as the *Calydonians* in the Northerne Promontories; the haire of the *Silures* coloured and curled, like to the old *Spaniards*; and thoſe neereſt unto *Gallia* reſembled their complections, though not altogether ſo yellow, ſaith *Strabo*. But their *wit* by *Tacitus* is preferred before them, and their ſtatures more tall, as *Strabo* affirmeth, whoſe lineaments ſhewed a good making of body; and meaſurable proportion in all parts anſwerable. Their *women* faire, and of exceeding good features, as is deſcribed by the *Romane* Writers. Such was *Boudicea*, ſaith *Xiphilinus*; *Claudia* and *Helena*, ſaith *Martiall* and *Eutropius*.

Mamertinus.

Tacitus in vita. Agricolæ. Calydonians the Northerne People. *Silures* the Weſterne.

Tacitus. Strabo.

Xiphilinus. Martial. Eutropius.

(4) That the ſtrength of nature wrought long in the *Britaines*, we read of out *Plutarch*, who reporteth that the people lived one hundred and twenty yeeres, for that, ſaith he, their cold and frozen Country kept in their naturall heat: whoſe conditions by *Diodorus Siculus* are commended to be plaine and upright, farre from the wilineſſe and craft of the *Romans*. And by *Strabo* their diſpoſitions are partly reſembled to the *Gaules*, but yet ſomewhat more rude and plaine; and thoſe moſt civill, who were the inhabitants of *Kent*, by reaſon of their often coaverſing with other Nations, as *Caſar* ſheweth. But the farther in the continent, the more rude, and leſſe acquainted with other kind of riches beſides cattell, as *Pomponius Mela* affirmeth.

Plutarch. They lived to a great age.

Diodorus Siculus.

Strabo.

(5) Now touching their domeſticke matters. *Their buildings were many, and like to them of the* Gaules *ſaith* Iulius Cæſar; *notwithſtanding they give the name of Townes to certaine comberſome woods, which they have fortified with rampires and ditches, whither they retreat, and reſort to eſchue the invaſions of their enemies.* Which ſtand them in good ſtead, ſaith *Strabo*: for when they have by felling of trees, mounted, and fenced therewith a ſpacious round plot of ground; there they build for themſelves houſes and cottages, and for their cattell ſet up ſtals and folds, but thoſe for the preſent uſe onely, and not for long continuance. Which, as *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, were uſually thatched with *reed*; but the Cities without Wals, and the Country without Townes, as *Dion* deſcribeth the *Calidonians* and *Meats*.

Caeſar. The Britaines in Kent the civilleſt. *Pomponius Mela.* Of their do meſticke matters. *Caeſar. lib. 5.* The Britaines towns are their woods being fortified. *Strabo.*

Diodorus Siculus.

Dion.

(6) Their *Wives* were ten or twelve a peece, as *Caeſar* hath alleaged, which they held common among brothers and parents, yet the iſſue repured his, who firſt maried the mother when ſhe was a maide, and *Dio* indeed affirmeth no leſſe, adding withall, that the children thus begotten, were foſtred and brought up in common among them. And *Euſebius* likewiſe teſtifieth, that many *Britaines* together kept one wife in common to them all. This community in marriage mooved *Iulia* the Empreſſe of *Severus*, to twit the wife of *Argetecaxus*, that the faſhion of the women of *Britaine* in accompanying with men, was very impudent; to whom ſhee replyed and ſaid, *wee Britiſh women doe indeed herein differ from you* Romane *Ladies; for wee ſatisfie our appetite, by accompanying with the worthieſt men, and that openly, but you with every baſe fellow, in a corner.*

The Britaines multiplicity of wives. *Caeſar. com. lib. 5.*

Dio.

Euſebius Caſtag. prepar. Lib.

Iulia her reproofe to a Britiſh woman.

The anſwer.

Dion. Caſſ. 76.

(7) For their diet; it was a hainous matter with them to eate either *Hen*, *Hare*, or *Goose*, ſaith *Caſar*, which notwithſtanding they bred for their pleaſures; neither fed daintily at full and rich tables, as *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, but rather in neceſſity could live upon barkes and rootes of trees, and with a kind of meat no bigger then a beane, after which for a good time they did neither hunger nor thirſt, ſaith *Dio Niceus*: who likewiſe teſtifieth, that the *Britains* did till no ground, neither eate *fiſh*, though their rivers thereof bee plenteouſly ſtored, but lived upon prey, veniſon, and fruits: to which alſo *Caſar* addeth *milke*, whereof (ſaith *Strabo*) they had not then skill to make *cheeſe*. And according to *Solinus*, their uſuall drinke was made of *barley*. But for *tillage*, *Pliny* ſeemeth to contradict *Dio*, affirming that the *Britaines* manured their grounds with *Marle* in ſteed of dung; which argueth no ſuch ſimplicity in gardning, planting, and in other like points of huſbandry as *Strabo* doth taxe them with: And this foreſaid temperance of dyet differeth much from that which *St. Ierome* chargeth their neighbours the *Anthropophagi* of *Ireland*, who uſed to feed on the buttockes of *boyes*, and womens paps, as their moſt dainty and delicate diſh.

The Britaines dyet. Prohibited meates. *Caeſar.* *Diodo Siculus.* The Britaines of a very ſpare dyet. *Dio Niceus.* They eate no fiſh. *Caeſar.* Vnskilfull to make cheeſe. *Strabo.* Their drinke of barley. *Solinus. Pliny.*

Strabo.

Hiero. adverſus Iacinianum l. 2.

(8) For their *religion*, or rather diabolicall ſuperſtition, it was as the reſt of the world (ſome few excepted) when *Satan* had clouded the truth of *Gods* doctrine, by the foggy myſts of confuſed darkneſſe. For *Tacitus* makes their ſuperſtitions, and ceremonies to be the ſame in conformity with the *Gaules*. And what that was, *Dio Caſſius* in his *Nero*, and *Solinus* in his hiſtory doe declare; who doe aſcribe to them the moſt inhumane offering of mans fleſh in their ſacrifices. And beſides their ancient Idols, ſuch as *Dis*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, and the like; they worſhipped *Andates* for their goddeſſe of *Victory*, unto all which they performed no ſmall adorations and honors, imputing their proſperities unto them: unto whom alſo they erected temples with ſuch magnificence as they then had; whoſe walls, as it ſeemeth, long after remained, whereon ſome of thoſe prophane porreitures with deformed lineaments were ſeene by mournfull *Gildas*,

Of their religion and learning.

Dio Caſſius. Solinus.

The Britaines inhumane ſacrifices. The names of their Idols.

Gildas.

carrying a sterne and grim countenance, after wonted heathenish manner: *here see wee* (saith hee) *upon these desert walles, the ugly features of the Britaines Idols, meerely diabolicall, and in number almost exceeding those of Egypt.* So by *Tacitus* they are noted with the common custome of the *Gentiles*, which was, that they sought for the direction of their *Gods* by the looking into the entrals of *Beasts*; yea and of men too; and that they honored the Altars of their Gods with the sacrifice and blood of such as they tooke captive in warres. And *Pliny* writing of *Magicke*, saith, that in his dayes the art thereof in *Britaine* was highly honored, and all the people thereunto so much devoted, yea and with all such complements of ceremonies in the same to be performed, that a man would thinke the *Persians* had learned all their *Magicke* skill from them. *Priests* and instructers had they, whereof the chiefe were called *Druides*, whose office was imployed about holy things, saith *Cæsar*, for they had the managing of publike and private sacrifices, and to interpret and discusse matters of religion. Vnto them doe resort great numbers of young men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reverence. For they determine almost all controversies, and matters in variance, as well publike as private. And if there happen any thing to be done amisse, if there be any murther committed, if there rise any controversie concerning inheritance or bounds of lands, they take the matter into their power, and award either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any, be he private person, or be it corporation, that will not stand to their judgement, they interdict him, which punishment among them is held most grievous. They that are so excommunicated, are accounted in the number of the wicked and ungracious: all men shun them, all men eschue their company and communication, lest by conversing with them, they should defile themselves and receive harme. If they demand law, they may not have it: neither may they enjoy any place of honor. Over all those *Druides*, there is one *Primate*, which hath chiefe authority over them. When he is dead, if there be any of the rest that excelleth in worthinesse, he succeedeth: or if there be any equall, he is chosen by voyces of the rest, and divers times they strive for the soveraignty by force of armes.

Plinie. Magick highly honoured of the Britaines.

Cæsar. com. 6.

The Druides determine almost all controversies.

Excommunication of great force in the time of the ancient Britaines.

Among the Druides one Primate and chiefe over the rest.

These men at a certaine season of the yeere, in the borders of the *Carnutes* (whose country is counted the middle of all *Gallia*) doe sit together in a place hallowed, whereunto resort from all sides all such as have any controversies: and looke what is decreed and Iudged by them that they stand unto. This order of discipline is thought to have had beginning in *Britaine*, and from thence to have beene brought into *Gallia*. And at this day, they that are desirous to attaine this skill more exactly, doe commonly repaire thither to learne it. These *Druides* custom ably are exempted from the warres, neither doe they pay taxes and tallages with other folke; for they are priviledged as from the warres, so from all other burthens. Allured with so great rewards, many even of their owne accord, doe register themselves in that order, and divers are sent thither by their parents and kinsfolke. Where they are reported to learne a great number of verses by heart. Whereof it commeth to passe, that divers continue twenty yeeres in learning. Neither doe they thinke it lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in all other things, for their accounts, as well publike as private, they use the Greeke letters.

They assemble once a yeare at a place in France to hear controversies.

Here appeareth that Academicks were then amongst the Britaines, and from their example derived into other countries.

They are exempted from warre.

Their schollers must learne a great many verses by heart.

This order they seeme (in mine opinion) saith he, to have taken for two considerations: partly because they will not have their discipline published among the common people; and partly because they will not that they which shall learne, trusting too much to their bookes, should have the lesse regard of remembrance: in that it hapneth well neere to most men, that upon trust of the helpe of their *booke*, they are slacker in learning things by heart, and lesse care to beare them in mind. This is one of the chiefest things that they labour most to beat into mens minds, that

They use the Greeke letters left their skill should be too common.

Their Theology is, that the soule dyeth not, but passeth from one to another: and hereby they thinke men should bee most stirred unto vertue, when the feare of death is nothing regarded. Also they dispute many other things: as of the starres, and their oft movings: of the bignesse of the world, and the earth: of the nature of things: of the strength, and power of the goddesse immortall: and doe therein instruct the youth. Vnto these *Druides* and their doctrine had *Lucan* the Poet relation in his first booke towards the end, where he writeth thus of them.

Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque sinistrum
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosce Deos & Cæli sydera vobis
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis Lucis, Vobis autoribus, umbræ
Non taciturnæ Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est. Certè, populi quos deficit Arctos,
Felices errore suo, quos, ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignavum est reditur a parcere vitæ.

In English thus.

You (Druides) *free from wars, with barbarous devices*
Sinistrous rites performe, and uncouth sacrifices:
High Mysteries, of God, and Heavens, you onely know;
Or onely erre therein. Where shady woods doe grow;
There you repose; and teach, that Soules immortall bee;
Nor silent Erebus, nor Plutoes Hall shall see.
And (if your Sawes be sooth) Death is no finall dome,
But onely Mid-way, twixt life past, and life to come.
Brave Britain bloods perdi! warmd with this happy error
Death (greatest feare of fears) amates thee with no terror.
Hence t'is, they manly rush on pikes, and grisly death,
And scorne base minds, that flicke to spend reviving (breath.

The Britaines Iudols exceed Ægypt for number.

Pliny writing of Magicke, faith, that in his dayes the art thereof in Britaine was highly honored.

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Vno them doe resort great numbers of young men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reverence.

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(9) These *Britaines* being meerely barbarous, as most of the Westerne parts of the world then were, lived privately to themselves with scarce any commerce, or entercourse with any other nation: neither indeed were much knowne to forraine people for a long time. For the first notice of them extant, was by *Polybius* the Greeke writer, that accompanied *Scipio* in his warres about the yeare of the *Worlds creation* 3720. and two hundred and nine before the *birth* of *our Saviour Christ*. Which Author nameth their *Iland* to bee plenteously stored with *Tynne*: but of other things therein is silent, saying that al those parts which lay betwixt *Tanais* and *Narbon* bending Northward, in his dayes were unknowne and uncertaine, and therefore the reporters of them he held as dreamers. So doth *Cambden* another *Polybius* account it a prodigall humor of credulity, to be perswaded that *Himilco* from the estate of *Carthage* to discover the coasts of *Europe*, in the said expedition entred this *Iland*: or that *Hannibal* should warre in this *Iland*, because *Polybius* in the *Eclogues* of his tenth booke saith, that he was inclosed within the streets of *Britain*, which place is mistaken for the *Brutii* in *Italy*, or that *Alexander* came from the *East Indians*, to *Gades*, and from thence into *Britaine*, though *Cedrenus* say so, seeing all other writers are against it; or that *Vlysses*, (ancient enough if he bee that *Elishah* the sonne of *Iavan*, the fourth sonne of *Japheth*) should visit *Britaine* in his travels, whereof *Brodeus* maketh doubt; though *Solinus* report that an Altar in *Caledonia* was erected, and *Vlysses* in Greeke letters thereon inscribed. Which might very well be: for who doubteth but that the *Greekes*, in their vaine devotions, did both build and sacrifice unto their Gods, which they made of their worthiest men? and saith *Vlysses*, (in regard of his farre sea-travels) was had in speciall account among all navigators, why might not such monuments bee reared, and his name inscribed, as farre as the *Grecians* travelled, though his person never came there?

Their naturall Philosophy.

Lucan.

The *Britaines* unknowne to their next neighbours. *Cæsar com. lib. 4.*

Their Merchandise of small use. *Strabo.*

Their shipping very meane. Ships first invented in *Britaine*, is a matter to be doubted.

The ships of this *Iland* according to *Cæsar*.

Of their commerce and traffique.

Polybius the first that spoke notice of this Iland.

Polyb. lib. 3.

Cambd. Britannia de moribus Britan.

Matters farre to be believed. That *Himilco* entred this Iland. *Polib. Relig. lib. 10.* That Hannibal should warre here. That *Alexander* came hither.

That *Vlysses* should visit Britaine.

And if the *Romans*, at whose greatnesse the whole world trembled, were so lately knowne in those ancient

Iosephus contra Appion lib. 1. Gaules and *Spaniards* for many yeeres unknowne to historiographers.

Cæsar. com. 5.

The *Britaines* Coynes.

In Sr Rob. *Cotton* his library.

The first Romish Coynes with Kings image were in *Cæsars* time.

The like examples we have now of *Captaine Henry, &c.*

The Romanes not mentioned either by *Thucydides* or *Herodotus*.

ent times, as that neither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus* made mention of them: yea and with much adoe at last were heard of by the *Grecians* themselves: as *Iosephus* affirmeth; And if the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, (inhabitants in the continent) for many yeeres together were utterly unknowne to the worlds historiographers; shall we then thinke, that this remote *Iland*, and people then farre from civility, were noted forth with markes of more certainety? surely to my seeming, nothing lesse: seeing that their next neighbors the *Gaules* knew not so much as what manner of men they were: none resorting thither, except some few Merchants, and they no further, then upon the Sea coasts, neither able to describe the bignesse of the *Iland*, the puissance of the inhabitants, their order for warre, the lawes that they used, the customes of the people, nor their havens for the receit of ships; all which *Cæsar* by diligent inquiry sought after, but could find no satisfaction till he had sent some purposely to search it out.

(10) Neither is this their want of knowledge to be wondred at, seeing the entercourse of their trafficke was upheld by so meane commodities: for *Strabo* saith, that their merchandizing chiefely consisted in Ivory Boxes, Sheeres, Onches, Bits, and Bridles, Wreathes and Chaines, with other conceits made of Amber and Glasse; for which notwithstanding they were compelled to pay customes and imposts unto *Octavian Augustus*, as elsewhere shall be shewed.

(11) And as their commodities were very meane, so were their meanes either for exportation or importation very slender in those times; I meane their shipping. It is true, that some are of opinion, that Ships were first invented in these our Seas: but that this should be true, I have cause to doubt, that Art being long before inspired by God himselfe into the heart of *Noah* for making the Arke: and no doubt practised by that patterne of many others. But that the ancient *Britaines* had ships of reasonable use, though of simple Art, *Cæsar* testifieth, saying, *that the keeles and ribs of their ships were of light wood, and covered over with leather*: which kind the now *Britaines* call *Corraghs*: and *with them* (saith *Polybistor*) *they did saile betwixt Brittanny and Ireland*, (which Sea for roughnesse and danger may be compared with any other whatsoever) *though the bulke of their vessels were but of some flexible wood, covered with the hides of Buffles: and as long as they were sailing, so long did they abstaine from meat*; whereby it seemeth they never sailed any great journeys. And of this their shipping *Pliny* also speaketh, and *Lucan* singeth, thus:

Primùm cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque induta juvenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum super emicat amnem:
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus,
Navigat Oceano.
At first, of hoary sallowes wreathed boughs, the ships
Small bulke is trimly twist, and clad in bullockes hide:
Then, patient to be rul'd, on swelling waves she skips.
Thus on the spacious Poe the Venice Merchants glide,
And Britaine Pilots saile on surge of Ocean wide.

Their shipping very meane. Ships first invented in *Britaine*, is a matter to be doubted.

The ships of this *Iland* according to *Cæsar*.

Pliny and *Lucan* of the ships of this *Iland*.

But aftertimes brought the *Britaines* to more exquisite skill in navall affaires, insomuch as the royall Navy of this Kingdome hath beene reputed (and so is at this day) not onely the invincible walles of our owne, but the incredible terror of all other kingdoms which have or shall envy our happy peace: and the adventures likewise of Merchants, and the skill of our Seamen, hath left no corner of the world unsearcht.

(12) And their trafficke amongst themselves was not of much worth, in that, as *Cæsar* saith, *the Coynes which they had were either of Brasse, or else Iron-Rings fixed at a certaine waight, which they used for their monies.* Of which kind I my selfe have seene found, and lately taken up in little cruses or pitchers of earth. But as times grew more civill, and trafficke more frequent, they shortly after stamped both *silver* and *gold*; and thereon the faces of their *Kings*, even in the dayes of *Iulius Cæsar*, who was the first that had his owne

Cæsar. com. 5.

The *Britaines* Coynes.

In Sr Rob. *Cotton* his library.

The first Romish Coynes with Kings image were in *Cæsars* time.

The like examples we have now of *Captaine Henry, &c.*

The Romanes not mentioned either by *Thucydides* or *Herodotus*.

stampe on the *Romane Coynes*. Many of these are amongst us remaining, whereof I have inferred some few, as in their due places shall follow, which I received from the liberall hand of that most learned Knight Baronet, and worthy storer of Antiquities, Sr *Robert Cotton*, of *Cumington*. These *Coynes* are commonly imbossed outward and shield-like, whereon the *inscription* or *face*, is seene; the reverse hollow, and therein their *devise* set: and by these formes are they knowne to be the *Britaines*, no other nation stamping the like, except some few among the Grecians.

S^r. *Robert Cotton.*

The markes to know *British* Coynes from forraine.

(13) Wee come lastly, to speake of the manner of their warfare, which *Cæsar* thus describeth. First (saith he) they ride round about all parts of the battell, casting their darts: and often times with the terrible noise of their horses, and the ratling of their chariot wheeles, they amaze the enemy and breake their array. And when they have wound themselves in among the troopes of horsemen, they leape forth of their waggons, and fight on foot. In the meane while the waggoners withdraw themselves somewhat out of the battell, and set their waggons in such order, that if they be overcharged by the enemy, they may have speedy and easie recourse unto them. By meanes whereof they are both as ready to remoove as the horsemen, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and supply both duties in one. And they are come to such perfectnesse by daily practice and exercise, that even in steepe and falling places they will stop their horses running a full gallop, and guide and turne them in a short roome, and run upon the vergies, and stand stedfastly upon the beames, and quickly recover themselves backe againe into the waggons.

Of their warres *Cæsar com. 5.*

These would often give ground to egge their enemies from their maine battell, and then would leape out of their chariots and fight on foot. And they kept also such an order in fighting on horseback, that whether the enemies chased, or were chased, they were alwayes in danger. For they never fought in great companies together, but scatteringly a great way distant the one from the other, and had stals lying in divers places one to supply another, having ever fresh and lustly men in the roomes of them that were weary. Of this their manner of fight in chariots, *Strabo* also declareth; and *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that the *Britaines* lived after the manner of the first age of the world, using chariots in their fight, as the report goes of the ancient *Greekes* at the *Trojan* warres. *Pomponius Mela* also describing these *Britaines*, affirmeth that their fight was not only with horsemen and footmen, but also with waggons and chariots, harnessed, and armed at the ends of the Axle-trees with hookes and Sithes, after the manner of the *Gaules*; but with apparance of greater courage, as *Tacitus* saith; as being not yet mollified by long peace. Their strength in field consisteth most of footmen, yet some countries there are (saith he) that warre in waggons, the greatest persons guiding the same; and so much doth *Iuvenall* intimate, who in shew of prophecy, but indeed in flattery of the Emperor *Domitian*, salutes him after this manner:

They fight not in great companies together.

They have ever fresh men in the roomes of them that are weary. *Strabo. Diodorus Siculus Ius.*

Strabo.
Diodorus Siculus Ius.

The *Britaines* fight in chariots, as the like was in the worlds first age. *Pomponius Mela.*

Pomponius Mela.

Is hoads thee Triumph great to captivate some King;
Or fierce Arviragus *from Chariots beame to ding.*

Iuvenal.

Their chiefe strength consists in footmen. *Iuvenal.*

Dio Nicæus from *Xiphilinus* more particularly declareth their strength; *Their horses* (saith he) *are but little, yet therewithall swift of pace: their footmen also runne very speedily, but in their standing are the strongest: their armor are shields, and short speares, in the nether end whereof is fastned a round bell of brasse like unto a ball, which at the first onset of incounter they shake with great courage, supposing that such a ratling noise doth much amate the enemy.* And *Herodian* saith, *that their shields were narrow and speares short, wearing swords hanging downe their naked loynes, having neither knowledge nor use either of corslet or helmet.*

Dio.

Their footmen run swiftly. Their armor.

Herodian.

(14) Some have thought that their women also were not exempted from the wars; but certaine it is that many of that sex were renowned for their valour amongst them. Which made *Tacitus* to say, *it was usuall*

Many *British* women renowned for valour.

Tacitus.

usuall for the Britaines *to fight under the conduct of women,* (which the *Romans* found to their smart) *nor to make any difference of sexes for government.* A more noble patterne whereof, never had any age, then in our late glorious Virgin Queene, (the wonder of her sexe; and of all future ages,) who, as she was inferiour to no Prince ever living, for her admirable government in upholding of her Kingdomes peace, so was shee a match (to say no more) to the proudest monarchs, in her managing of her warres; as (when occasion was offered) shee was ready to make good, in her owne royall person in the field. But besides the use of armes, the ancient *British* women had another imployment in the field, which I will onely set downe in *Tacitus* his words, speaking of *Paulinus Suetonius* his affailing of *Anglesey: The British Army* (saith he) *stood on the shore, thicke of men and munition, and women running up and downe amongst them, like furies, carrying burning firebrands in ruffull attire, and with their haire hanging about their shoulders. The* Druides *meane while went with their hands lift up to Heaven, powring out prayers and imprecations.* The strangenesse of which sight so amazed the *Roman* souldiers, that they stood still like stockes, whiles the other wounded them at their pleasure; till *Paulinus* encouraged them, and they excited one another, not to bee so daunted by an army of *Women* and *Wizards, &c.*

Queene *Elizabeth* a glorious Virgin Queen.

A most valorous Princesse in warre.

Tacitus.

The *British* womens ruffull attire and the *Druides* behaviour in prayer amaze the *Roman* souldiers.

(15) In the relations of these things, let no man thinke, that the glory of this ancient and warlike nation of *Britaines*, is any wayes disparaged, or made inferiour to them that would be more famous, whose beginning have beene as meane, and state as rude, if not more. For let us consider the *Romans* so lavish in their owne worths and greatnesse; who notwithstanding, bring their name and originall from *Romulus*, a bastard by birth, nourished by a beast, educated among a sort of rusticke shepheards: and growne to the ripenesse of his owne affections, he became ringleader of a damned crue, that lived by robberies and without lawes: besides the shedding of his naturall brothers blood, as *Titus Livius* their owne historian witnesseth: and both himselfe and followers, had in such contempt and derision by their neighbour nations, that they both disdained and refused to give them their daughters in marriage, left in time they also should become lawlesse, untill that by subtilty and force, they had ravished their virgins, and thereby made them unworthy of other matches. Yet when their after fortunes and successe had mounted them upon the wings of glory, and seated them on the neckes of their subdued neighbours, their *Cæsars* would needs be more then mortall, and their pedigrees must lineally be brought from the gods.

The *Romans* derive their name from an infamous person.

Titus Livius, &c.

(16) And, to let passe many others, the like may be said of the beginners of the *Scythian* and *Turkish* Empires, two golden pillers raised upon leaden bases: howsoever now, the power of their command, circles three parts of the earth. Nay, what more is, that precious, royall, and *Gods* onely people, from whom the *eternall King of Kings* descended, in their offerings made in time of their highest glory, were by *the Lord* thus commanded to acknowledge and say: *A Syrian was my father, who being ready to perish for hunger, went downe into Ægypt, and sojourned with a small company.* And the richest stone of that most beaureous building in his highest pride is counselled by the Prophet, *to looke backe to the rocke whence it was hewne, and to the hole of the pit whence it had beene digged.*

The poore beginnings of *Scythian* and *Turkish* Empires.

And of Iewish.

Deut. 26. 5.

Isai. 51. 1.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAINE.

CHAPTER. V.

The *British* government.

WEE come, at length, to speake of the government and political estate of the *Britaines*, which doubtlesse (the times then considered) was as honourable in their rulers, and as manageable in the subjects, as any other nations in these West parts of the world: their temperance, religion, learning, and noble resolution shewing no lesse. But in this point I must crave pardon of our *British Heraulds*, and some learned *Antiquaries*, if I bring not a lineall succession from *Brute*, and a *Monarchicall* government in those times of obscurity, through whose mists no *Eagles* eyes could pierce, before the dayes of *Geffrey ap Arthur*, as before was touched. And therefore following his counsell, who is best able in these things to give direction; I will begin the succession of *Great Britaines Monarchs*, at the entrance and person of *Iulius Cæsar*; at which time, it seemeth by him and other *Latine* writers (the best Recorders of Kingdomes affaires,) this *Iland* was governed rather after the manner of an *Aristocratie*, that is, by certaine great Nobles and Potent men, then under the command of any *One* as an absolute *Monarch*: though herein is a difference, in that in the *Aristocraticall* regiment, the rulers are all *Peeres* of one Common-wealth; whereas here, as many *Princes*, so *many severall Publike weales.* For so

Their successi-on doubtfull.

Not meerely monarchicall.

How in *Cæsars* time and after.

Cæsar himselfe found the state of *Britaine* to bee divided into *Provinces* under the names of her inhabitants; and to bee ruled by divers *Peeres*, or petty Kings.

Tacit. An. 14. 33.

(2) And such a *Governour* was *Cassibelan*, over the *Trinobants*: *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, all foure *Rulers* together in *Kent*: *Comius* supposed to be King of the *Atrebatii*, and to bee the same *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæsar* imployed to tease and worke the *Britaines* to his subjection: *Caractacus* the warlike King of the *Silures*, *Galgacus* the worthy King of the *Caledonians*; yea and *women* also, without exception of sex, held government among them, such was faithlesse *Cartismandua* Queene of the *Brigantes*, and famous *Boudicea* Queene of the *Iceenians*. Whereby it seemeth that every severall Province owed service and allegeance onely to their owne Prince. And as their governements were confined unto certaine bounds and limits, so were the *Inhabitants* divided and distinguished by divers *Names*: of whom because we shall have occasion hereafter often to speake, it shall not therefore be amisse in this place once for all, table-wise to lay downe the same, whereby our narrations may passe untroubled without more explanations, and the readers minde carried with lesse incombrances. Those ancient names of people, and places for abode, thorowout the whole *Iland*, from *Ptolemy* were as follow.

Tacit. Histor. l. 3. cap. 9.

A TABLE OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS, AND THE SITES OF THEIR POSSESSIONS AS THEY WERE CALLED BY PTOLEMY, AND OFTEN SINCE MENTIONED IN THE ROMAN WRITERS.

People.	Countries.
CANTII.	Kent.
REGNI.	Sussex. Surrey.
DVROTRIGES.	Dorsetshire.
DAMNONII.	Devonshire. Cornewall.
BELGÆ.	Somersetshire. Wiltshire. Hampshire.
ATREBATII.	Barkeshire.
DOBVNI.	Oxfordshire. Glocester.
CATIEVCHLANI.	Warwickeshire. Buckingham. Bedfordshire.
TRINOBANTES.	Hertford. Essex. Middlesex.
ICENI.	Suffolke. Norfolke. Cambridge. Ely Iland. Huntington.
CORITANI.	Rutlandshire. Lincolnshire. North-hampton. Leicestershire. Darbyshire. Nottingham.
CORNABII.	Staffordshire. Worcestershire. Cheshire. Shropshire.
BRIGANTES. PARISI.	Lancaster. Yorkeshire. Richmondshire. Durum. Westmerland. Cumberland.
ORDOVICES.	Flintshire. Denbighshire. Caernarvon. Montgomery. Merionethshire.
SILVRES.	Herefordshire. Radnorshire. Brecknocke. Monmouth. Glamorgan.
DIMETÆ.	Caermarden. Penbrookeshire. Cardiganshire.
OTTADINI.	Northumberland. Teisdale. Tweedale. Merch. Louthien.
SELGOVÆ.	Lidesdale. Eusdale. Eskedale. Annandale. Niddisdale.
NOVANTES.	Galloway. Carick. Kyle. Cunningham.
DAMNII.	Clydesdale. Renfraw. Lennox. Striveling. Memeth. Fifa.
CALEDONII. GADINI.	Perth. Strathern. Albin. Argile. Lorne.
EPIDII.	Cantire.
VICEMAGI.	Murray.
VENNICONES.	Mernia. Auguis. Mar.
TÆZALI.	Buquhane.
CANTÆ. CREONES. CERONTES.	Rosse. Sutherland.
CARNONACÆ. CARINI. CORNABII.	Strathnaverni.
SIMERTÆ. LOGI.	Caithnes.

(3) These

Their emulations and ambitions.

(3) These *States* ambitiously banding each against others, to raise their owne Prince to a more soveraigne supremacy, and to enlarge their *Provinces* upon the borders of the next, were ever ready, the least occasion ministred, saith *Pomponius Mela*, to enter quarels, and seldome held amity, or were quiet. This was the cause, as *Tacitus* tels us, *which brought that puissant nation into bondage: and was the onely helpe to the* Romans *victories:* for seldome it chanced (saith he) *that two or three States met in counsell, and concurred in opinion to repulse the common danger:* so that whilst they resisted and fought one by one, all at length were subdued. But this was not at once performed by *Iulius Cæsar* the first *Roman* enterer, who (as he saith) rather *shewed the place to posteritie, then gave them the possession thereof*, supposing it his glory sufficient, to have done what he did. For unto the dayes of *Domitian*, they held play with the *Romans*, and that with such valour, that the subduing of some small part of this *Iland* was accounted by themselves to match the conquests of other mightier countries, and more notes of honour shewed in their publike triumphs for one *Britaines* misfortune, then usually was solemnized for whole kingdomes subdued.

Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

Cæsar first enterer, not conqueror.

Caralitanus.

(4) That such people possessed, and that many Kings together raigned here in *Britaine*, *Pomponius Mela* doth shew: *Britaine* (saith he) *bringeth forth Nations, and Kings of nations, though they be all without civility and barbarous.* And *Cæsars* intendments being knowne unto them, it is said that many of their *Cities* sent him by their *Embassadors* proffers of submission: whereby appeareth their diversities of *States*, whereof onely two held promise, and the rest failing was the occasion of his *second expedition* for *Britaine*. And *Tacitus*, speaking of the shipwracke suffered by the *Romans* in the raigne of *Tiberius*, saith, that *many of their souldiers then distressed and torne, being cast upon the coasts of* Britaine, *were by the people curteously relieved, and by their petty Kings sent backe unto* Germanicus *their* Generall *into* Germany; which *Princes* or petty *Kings*, were drawne (as else where he saith) by emulation into many partialities and factions; which was indeed their owne destruction. And by *Gildas* these were termed cruell *Tyrants*, taking his authority out of Saint *Ierome*.

Tacitus Annal. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Gildas.

S. Jerome.

(5) Let thus farre suffice, in generall, of these ancient *Britaines*; whose particulars wee will further prosecute in the places of their resistances, lest otherwise they should seeme to fight onely against themselves. And therefore so many of these *Governours*, as either yeelded their subjections to the *Romans*, or stood their opposites till their owne strengths were spent, I will briefely touch, untill such time as the land was made a *Province*, by the valour and industry of *Iulius Agricola* the first *Roman* that found it an *Iland*, and left it more civill, and in subjection to the *Romane* Empire; and by the way I will inserte some of such ancient Coynes, as among them were then used, expressing their names, and places of coynage.

THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS OF GREAT BRITAINE WITH THE ANCIENT COINES VSED IN THEIR TIMES.

Chapter VI.



THE first *British Coyne* (as is supposed) both by the fashion thereof being shieldlike, and *Name* thereupon inscribed Rex Com: denoteth *Comius*, (if he be a *Britaine*) *King* of the *Atrebatii* in this *Iland*: whom some judge to have fled thence unto *Cæsar*, as a *Traytor* to his Native Countrey; and in *Gallia* vanquished those parts, that lay coasted against the *Wight*, wherein (by *Ptolomy*) the people called likewise the *Atrebatii* inhabited: over whom hee received the governement by the gift of *Cæsar*, and was by him employed to worke the *Britaines* to his obedience. And that hee was King of the *Atrebatii* in *Britaine*, may bee strengthned by that which *Cæsar* in his second booke of *Commentaries* affirmeth, where, by his owne knowledge hee saith, that one *Diviciacus* raigned over a great part of *Gallia*, and some portion of *Britaine* also: and so likewise this *Comius* is reported to bee of great respect among our *Britaines*, and able in that Countrey to doe much. Neither is it altogether unlikely, seeing the *Britaines* distasted his loyalty to *Cæsar*, and his Ambassage for their subjection, with such dislikes, that they laid violent hands upon him, and cast him in prison, using no such rigour against the rest of their owne Ambassadours. Notwithstanding when successe altered, they set him at liberty, and made him their meanes to pacifie *Cæsar*.

Ptolomæi Geographi.

Cæsar. comment. lib. 4.

Other Coynes I have inserted to such British Princes as by their inscriptions are knowne to bee theirs. And whereas some are not yet noted by that honour to the world; I have unto such added onely blankes, if happily more be revealed hereafter, and the bowels of the earth deliver to others her treasures hid, as formerly (and in these our searching dayes) she hath already done.

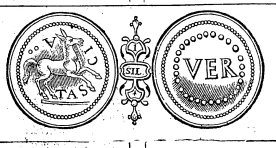
(2) *Cassibelan*



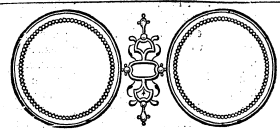
(2) *Cassibelan*, as the most worthy among the *Britaines Kings*, to withstand the common danger now ready to light upon them all, by the invasions and warres of the *Romanes*, was by a generall consent chosen their *Chiefetaine*, though in times past, he had molested his neighboring provinces to the inlargement of his owne. Whose signiories, as *Cæsar* saith, were severed from the *Cities* towards the sea coast by the river Thames, about fourescore miles from the same. He had obtained the governement of the *Trinobantes*, by the slaughter of *Imanuence*, and the expulsion of *Mandubrace* his sonne. And, with great valour, held opposite to the *Romans*, untill the revolt of his chiefe *City*, the *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Cassians*, and other States, which drew backe, and yeelded to the enemy; his confederates, the foure Kings of *Kent*, overthrowne, his owne towne won, and himselfe forced to yeeld unto *Cæsar*, and the land to pay a tribute of 3000. pound yeerely to *Rome*. A *British* coyne of gold with the inscription Cas in scattered letters we have inserted; as also another wheron is instamped the word ver, supposed to be his, because it is thought to have beene coyned in ancient *Verolam*, the City of *Cassibelan*, in his dayes, before the *Romans* wone it.

Cæsar. comment. lib. 5.

Verolam a famous City neere to the place where now Saint Albons is.

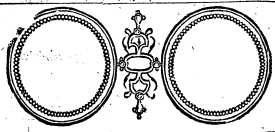


(3) *Cingetorix*: *Carvill*: *Taximagull*: *Segonax*: } whom *Cæsar* calleth *Kings* that raigned in *Kent*, were instigated by *Cassibelan* suddainely to set upon, and to assault the *Roman* forces, that lay incamped upon the sea shore whilst he kept *Cæsar* occupied further in the mayne: which thing they attempted, but failed of their hoped expectation, their men being slaine, three of them chased, and *Cingetorix* the chiefest taken captive. This heavy newes and unfortunate successe, forced *Cassibelan* to sue unto *Cæsar*, and by the meanes of *Comius* obtained his peace.



(4) *Mandubrace* a Prince of the *Trinobantes*, but a traytor to his countrey; whose father *Imanuence* being slaine by *Cassibelan*, and his owne life likewise sought after, and in danger, fled unto *Cæsar* into *Gallia*, and followed his fortunes in the warres; wherein, hee was a great spurre unto *Cæsars* forwardnesse for *Britaine*, both to be revenged upon the murtherer of his father, and to recover the government of the *Trinobantes* usurped by *Cassibelan*: preferring his owne ambitious desire, and the revenge of one mans death, before the freedome of his *native Countrey*, or the deaths of many his countrymen, that daily stopt the *Romans* passage with streames of their blood. He recovering his chiefest *City* with the protection of the *Romans*, yeelded subjection, & forty hostages to *Cæsar*: whose example drew others to sell their owne liberty, and to buy many miseries at too deare a rate, and with too late repentance: him doth *Beda* call *Androgorius*.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 2.

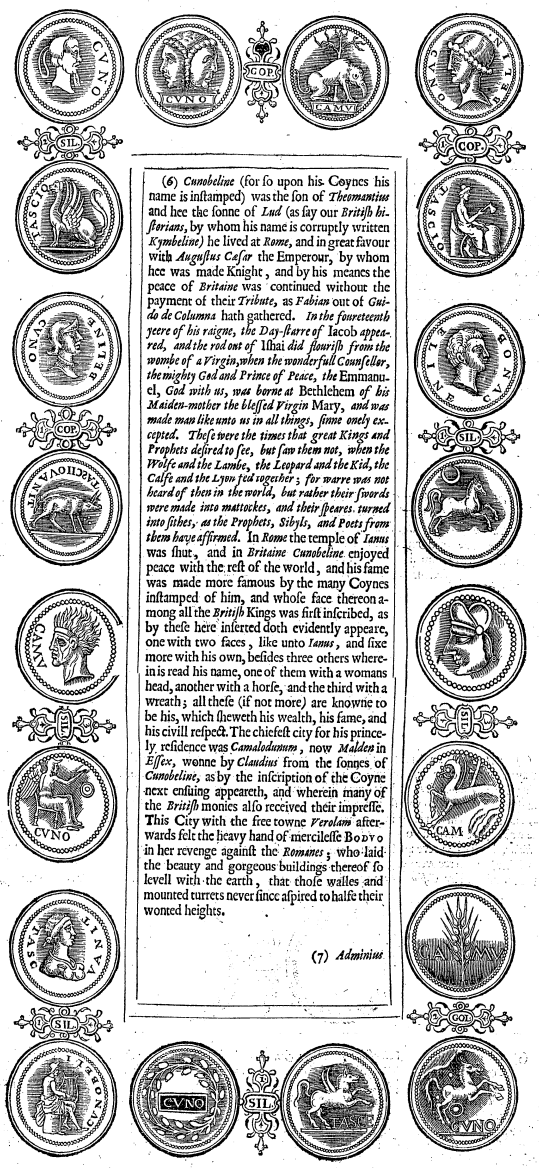


(5) *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bibroces*, *Cassians* } Inhabitants of { *Norfolke-Suff. Cam. &c.* *Hantshire.* *Hendly hund. in Oxford.* *Bray hund. in Barkeshire.* *Cailhow hund. in Hartf.*

These people or States, seeing the proceedings and happy successe of *Cæsar*, after the example of the *Trinobantes*, whose chiefest *City* had yeelded him obedience, and were thereby secured, and protected from the harmes of his souldiers, sent him likewise their submissions, and were accepted into subjection: so ready were they to save their owne stakes, that they left the whole to the hazard of losse, which soone after followed as an overflowing flood, wherein was lastly drenched the whole *Ilands* liberty.

Cæsar. comment. lib. 5. Cambd. Britan.

(6) *Cunobeline*



(6) *Cunobeline* (for ſo upon his Coynes his name is inſtamped) was the ſon of *Theomantius* and hee the ſonne of *Lud* (as ſay our *Britiſh hiſtorians*, by whom his name is corruptly written *Kymbeline*) he lived at *Rome*, and in great favour with *Auguſtus Ceſar* the Emperour, by whom hee was made Knight, and by his meanes the peace of *Britaine* was continued without the payment of their *Tribute*, as *Fabian* out of *Guido de Columna* hath gathered. *In the foureteenth yeere of his raigne, the Day-ſtarre of* Iacob *appeared, and the rod out of* Iſhai *did flouriſh from the wombe of a Virgin, when the wonderfull Counſellor, the mighty God and Prince of Peace, the* Emmanuel, *God with us, was borne at* Bethlehem *of his Maiden-mother the bleſſed Virgin* Mary, *and was made man like unto us in all things, ſinne onely excepted. Theſe were the times that great Kings and Prophets deſired to ſee, but ſaw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calfe and the Lyon fed together; for warre was not heard of then in the world, but rather their ſwords were made into mattockes, and their ſpeares turned into ſithes, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them have affirmed.* In *Rome* the temple of *Ianus* was ſhut, and in *Britaine Cunobeline* enjoyed peace with the reſt of the world, and his fame was made more famous by the many Coynes inſtamped of him, and whoſe face thereon among all the *Britiſh* Kings was firſt inſcribed, as by theſe here inſerted doth evidently appeare, one with two faces, like unto *Ianus*, and ſixe more with his own, beſides three others wherein is read his name, one of them with a womans head, another with a horſe, and the third with a wreath; all theſe (if not more) are knowne to be his, which ſheweth his wealth, his fame, and his civill reſpect. The chiefeſt city for his princely reſidence was *Camalodunum*, now *Malden* in *Eſſex*, wonne by *Claudius* from the ſonnes of *Cunobeline*, as by the inſcription of the Coyne next enſuing appeareth, and wherein many of the *Britiſh* monies alſo received their impreſſe. This City with the free towne *Verolam* afterwards felt the heavy hand of mercileſſe Bodvo in her revenge againſt the *Romanes*; who laid the beauty and gorgeous buildings thereof ſo levell with the earth, that thoſe walles and mounted turrets never ſince aſpired to halfe their wonted heights.

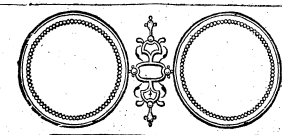
(7) *Adminius*

Numb. 24. 17.
Iſai. 11. 1.
Iſai. 9. 6.
Matth. 2.
Iſah. 11. 6.
Mica. 4. 3.



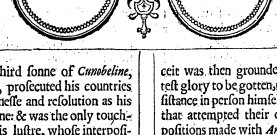
(7) *Adminius* the firſt ſonne of *Cunobeline*, *King* of the *Britains*, by *Suetonius* his report upon ſome offence was baniſhed the *Iland* by his father; and with a ſmall traine fled over the Seas into *Belgia*, where *Caius Caligula* was in making his ridiculous expedition againſt the *Ocean*. And yeelding himſelfe to his protection, added matter to his vaine-glorious humours, as of a great victory and conqueſt; ſending the newes hereof to *Rome*; with an eſpeciall command that his letters ſhould be delivered in the *Temple of Mars*, and that in the aſſembly of a full *Senate*. It is judged by learned *Cambden* that the *Roman* Coyne above prefixed, upon whoſe reverſe is inſcribed *Metropolis Etiminij Regis*, to be meant of this *Adminius* the ſonne of *Cunobeline*, whoſe Citie *Camolodunum*, *Claudius Ceſar* the Emperour afterwards wonne, and wherein a Temple was built, and conſecrated unto him, attended by the Prieſts *Auguſtals*: which heavily burdened the poore eſtates of the *Britaines*.

Suetan. in vita Caligulæ, fect. 44



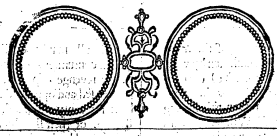
(8) *Caractatus* another ſon of *Cunobeline*, immediatly after the death of his father, found himſelfe agreeved at the *Romans*, for the retaining of certaine fugitives the betraiers of their native countrey; whereof one *Bericus* was a chief and a great firebrand of *Claudius* his attempts againſt the *Britains*. This *Caractatus* maintained reſiſtance againſt *Aulus Plautius* the *Emperors Deputy*, with ſuch noble reſolution and warlike encounters, that often he endangered both his perſon and army. But *Fortune* and *Victory* attending the *Romans*, brought at length *Caractatus* their captive into bands, with great ſlaughters of his *Britaines*, himſelfe led ſhortly after in great triumph through *Rome* in honour of *Plautius* his ſo fortunate ſucceſſe. The miſeries of others thus made the *Romans* to mount the chaire of their triumphs; and the chaines of their captives, the records of their preſent aſpired pride. But the bordering *Dobuni* ſeeing his fall, made their owne ſtandings ſurer by yeelding themſelves ſubjects to *Rome*.

Dio calls him Caractatus.



(9) *Togodumnus* the third ſonne of *Cunobeline*, and ſucceſſor to *Caractatus*, proſecuted his countries quarrell with the like boldneſſe and reſolution as his brother before him had done: & was the only touchſtone that gave *Veſpatian* his luſtre, whoſe interpoſition (as *Tacitus* ſaith) was the beginning of that greatneſſe whereunto afterwards he aſpired. And with ſuch manhood followed the chaſe of the *Romans*, that in a bloody battell hee ended his life, and brought *Plautius* their *Lieutenant* unto a ſtand, where ſtraitned in dangers both of place and people, he was forced to ſend to *Claudius* the Emperor; whoſe conceit was then grounded, that in *Britaine* was greateſt glory to be gotten, and therefore came to his aſſiſtance in perſon himſelfe, the firſt ſince *Iulius Ceſar* that attempted their conqueſt. His recorded compoſitions made with *Arviragus*, the marriage of his daughter, and building of *Glocester*, I leave to be read out of *Geffrey* of *Monmouth*, and to be allowed at the choice of his hearer; only noting that the poſſeſſion of ſo faire a land drew the affection and aged perſon of this Emperor to undergoe ſo farre diſtant and dangerous a journey, as this of *Britaine* lay from *Rome*.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.



(10) *Cogidunus* a *Britain* born, received in pure gift at the hands of the *Romans*, certaine *Cities*, over which he peaceably raigned their *King*. For when they had conquered the neereſt part of this *Iland*, and reduced it into the forme of a *Province*; according to their ancient policie, it was their cuſtome, (ſaith *Tacitus*) to

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

vse Kings themselves for instruments of bondage, both in admittance of their Authority, and in protecting them against their oppolites. Other memoriall of him none remaineth, but that he is reported to have rested ever most faithfull to the *Romans*, and was of them accordingly esteemed, albeit his owne people bare him no such good will, but rather accounted him and others his like, to bee *Romes* onely instruments, and *Britaine* Vipers, that brought in strangers to eat up the home-bred Inhabitants, and fettered the freedome of their land, with the heavie chaines of a forraine subjection.



(11) *Caractacus* the most renowned Prince of the *Silures*, in nine yeares resistance waded through many adventures against the common enemie. For when as the *Icenians*, *Cangi*, and *Brigantes* began to faint and give over, he onely with the *Ordovices* held out with such fervice and fame, that thereby he grew both famous and fearefull to the *Romans*. But *Destinies* determining the downfall of *Britaine*, the props that were set to stay it still up, proved too slender, and brake under the waight. For this bold *Caractacus* overthrown in battell, his wife, daughter, and brethren taken prisoners, and his forces defeated, committed himself to the protection of *Cartismandua* the *Brigants* faithlesse Queen: who by her was delivered to the *Romans*; and by *P. Ostorius* brought to *Rome*; where beholding the riches and glory of that Citie, he openly and boldly checked the avarice and ambitious humors of the *Romans*, who being owners of so great and glorious things, were (notwithstanding) covetous and greedy for the poore possessions of the *Britaines*. And there being led in triumph, with admiration hee was beheld of all the spectators, and for his undaunted spirit and magnanimous resolution released of bands, and taken into favour by *Claudius* the *Emperor*. And the Lords of the Senate assembled together, made glorious discourses touching *Caractacus* captivitie, affirming it to be no lesse honorable then when *P. Scipio* shewed *Syphax* unto the people, and *L. Paulus Perses*, or of any other exhibited, vanquished and overcome. The *Britisih Coine* here above shewed, by the scattered letters therein inscribed, is by the judicious observers of such ancient monies supposed to be his.

Zonaras.

Tacit. Annal. 12. 13. 37.



(12) *Venutius*, a famous King of the *Brigantes*, and husband to *Cartismandua*, (a woman of an high and noble linage, but of a base and unsatisfied lust:) finding his bed abused by *Vellocatus* his servant and harnesse-bearer, raised his power against her, and her paramour. With him sided his *Brigantes*, and the neighbour Countries adjoyning, whose good will went generally with the lawfull husband, fearing the ambitious authority of a lustfull woman. With her went the *Romans*, at the command of *Didius* their *Deputie*: and these striking battell won the day: yet so as the war continued to the *Romans*, the kingdome to *Venutius*, and the infamy with *Cartismandua*, both for betraying the pledge of her trust reposed by *Caractacus* in his distresse, and her truth to *Venutius* her noble Lord and husband: preferring the licentious pleasures of a vassall, before the bed of chaste mariage, or the nuptiall imbracements of a worthy King; and hath to ages following left her name noted with the scarres of infamy, that time nor continuance shall ever were away. His ancient Coyne is thought to bee as thou seest here above described.



(13) *Prasutagus* } King and Queene of the *Icens.*
Bodua } *ans*, a people unshaken by war, and themselves rich; (as *Tacitus* reporteth;) the only cause of their ruines, for which the *Romans* then watred; were brought to destruction upon this insuing occasion. King *Prasutagus* dying, by Will left *Nero* his heire (supposing by this meanes to leave his state the safer,) together with the protection of his two daughters. These, contrary to trust, were abused and despoured, the mother *Bodua* turned out of all, and against all manly civilitie, or womanhood respect, contumeliously and despitefully whipped. In the revenge of which unsufferable wrongs shee so opposed and oppressed the *Romans*, that at one battell seventy thousand, (or as *Dion Cassius* saith) 80000. of their slaughtered bodies shee sacrificed to her dead husbands Ghost; and hath left the fame of her proceedings registred, even by her enemies themselves, to her immortall and never-dying memory. The strong Cities, *Camaledunum*, and *Veralanium*,

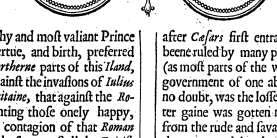
lanium, she sacked with the rage of mercilesse warre; *Petilius*, *Lieutenant* of the ninth *Legion*, the discomfited, *Catus* the *Procurator* she drove over the seas, *Posthumus* the *Campe-master* durst not resist her, and all indeed feared the valour of this heroicke Lady: whose lawes were not martiall to save upon ransome: whose revenge was not pacified with yeeldings or submission, nor did she thinke there was bloud enough in the *Romans* to imbrue the altars of her assisting gods, or to wash off the staine of their ignoble and unmanly injuries. But when successe altered, after losse, and valorous resistance, shee made an end of her life by poyson, lest living she should see either her owne miseries in their triumphs, or leave her remembrance in the records of their lavish and selfe-pleasing historians. Her Coyne of gold we have here expressed, the forme shield-like, and upon the embossement thus inscribed: B o p v o.



(14) *Arviragus*, the valiant british King, whom *Humfrey Lhuyd* confidently affirmeth to be the same man that is called *Meurigus*, and is said to withstand *Claudius* in his enterprises for *Britaine*, untill a composition of marriage was concluded betwixt the Emperors daughter and himselfe. Notwithstanding by *Iwienal* it is plaine, that this *Arviragus* was in his fame in the dayes of *Domitian*, unto whom the Poet, as a Prophet, would foredome his happy successe in the disposition of his government over the *Britaines*, as in these his verses are seene:

Is bodes great honour to thy selfe, some King thou shalt deprive;
Or else Arviragus *from the rule of* Britaines *waine shalt drive.*

An ancient *British Coyne* of silver is here inserted, and a mans head thereon instamped, which is supposed to be his, the letters alluding so neere to his name.



(15) *Galgacus*, a worthy and most valiant Prince of the *Caledonians*, for vertue, and birth, preferred before any other in the *Northerne* parts of this *Iland*, and made their *Generall* against the invasions of *Iulius Agricola*, was the last *Britaine*, that against the *Romans* stood out: accounting those onely happy, which were free from the contagion of that *Roman* tyranny, and themselves the flower of all the *British* nobility, that yet had not subjected their neckes to their yoake. The resistance which he made was great and warlike, but against the decree of God no man can stand; for the *Romans*, risen to their greatnesse, bare downe all that withstood them; and in a bloody battaile subdued him, and his forces; making all silent before them where they came, and leaving desolation in the places where they had beene. Thus then was the whole *Iland* subjected to the *Roman* Emperours, about one hundred thirty and sixe yeeres after *Cesars* first entrance, and the land that had beene ruled by many petty Kings, was brought now (as most parts of the world besides were) under the government of one absolute Monarch. Grievous, no doubt, was the losse of their liberties, but a greater gaine was gotten not many yeeres after; for from the rude and savage manners of the barbarous, they were reclaimed, and became most civill. And hee that had given their *Iland* to his *Christ*, prepared their hearts to receive him their King; unto whose subjection also they were motives to the *Romanes* themselves. Two ancient *British* Coynes stamped in silver wee have here set downe, attributing them both to this *Galgacus* of *Caledonia*. Notwithstanding in these (as in the rest) I must submit my selfe to the more experienced, and the censures of these ancient things to the learned and more judicious. Psalme 2.



(16 These then were the resisters of the *Romans* proceedings, that rather yeelded their brests to the sword, then their neckes to the yoake of a forraine subjection, and made their assaulters more famous in their conquests, and themselves more renowned to following posterities: neither in these relations have wee followed the records of our owne, but the approved testimony of their best writers, who have delivered what wee have said, and no doubt felt the like repugnancy of many others, both in the South and North of this *Iland*, though their names dyed with their valiant resistance. And as these *Britaines* held the *Romans* at even hand the space of one hundred thirty and sixe yeeres; neither then were subdued without themselves, that ever sided with the enemy against themselves, and whose factions made way for the feet of their conquerors, as from *Tacitus* we have declared: so their successors the *Saxons* found as warlike withstanders, till God, for the *Britaines* sinnes had cast downe their strength, whereof more shall follow (Christ assisting) in the due place of their stories, that from the raigne of *Vortigerne* the scourge

of his country to *Cadwallader* the last Prince of the *Britaines*, spent their lives in the quarrell of liberty, and hath left their memorials famous for their countries defence.

(17) But the state of Kingdomes (how largely so ever extended, or by what humane wisdome strengthned with defence) doe find their periods not to exceed much the number of sixe hundred yeeres, as by common experience among most nations is seene. In these times therefore when the world was shaken with warres, first by the *Romans* that strove to mount hye the spires of their intended glory, and were by Gods decree appointed to overrunne and afflict the earth, when Kings of people (I say) were inforced to lay the Crownes from their heads at their conquering feet; and free nations loaded with the yoakes of their bondage: then was fulfilled the resolution of this question demanded, *Alas who shall live when God doth this?* And then among the rest, *Britaine* gave place to necessity with as manlike resistance as did states more stronger, or kingdomes confined with farre more larger compasse. And *Cæsar* himselfe bought his entrance with such losse to the *Romans*, that no Emperour after assayed the like, before aged *Claudius*, whose opinion was, that thence the remembrance of his succeeding glory should wholly arise.

Num. 24. 23.

But when the props of that Empire began for to faile, as nothing can bee firme in this still-wearing world, the *Saxons*, for their valour a second triumphant nation, began as it were where the *Romans* left: for besides the continuall possession of their owne Countrey, as in that case unpartiall *Tacitus* doth tell us; their legions were transported into all parts of the world, and without whom almost no victory was wonne: of whose power and prowesse in the expeditions of warre both *Dionysius*, *Arrianus* and *Seneca*, doe speake. To these then likewise if the *Britaines* gave place, the lots came forth with the like price of the rest, and in this *Iland* they bought their conquests as deere as they had done in any other part of the world. Neither was *Britaine* subdued by either of these nations, or their inversion and exchange of policy altered, but with as unwilling subjection and streames of bloud as had beene sluced out of the sides of their mightier nations, or by them had beene tamed to follow their triumphall chariots. And more honour attributed to passe these *British* Seas, with more admiration onely to see the *Iland* it selfe, then was usually conceived of Kingdomes more larger, or that lay jacent as farre from *Rome*. And the conquest of some small parts of *Britaine* in no small selfe-glory to be inscribed as trophies of their victories upon their Coynes, and to give surnames to the Emperours and their sonnes: as shall bee shewed, when the age of this history shall be increased with the times of the *Romans* affaires in this *Iland*. Free from subjection before the attempts of *Caius Iulius Cæsar* by the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, and never had yeelded to any forraine power, as not provoked by *Dionysius* or *Hercules*, nor inforced by any to maintaine their liberties by the feates of warre.

Tacitus in his description of *Germany*.

But *Cæsar* in *Gallia* thirsting after novelties, or his conceited humor to purchase renowne, made the Sea seeme safe from dangers in passage; and himselfe resolute to venture his person amongst those bold and barbarous *Britaines*: wherein he left no meanes unassayed for their conquest and subjection, nor his successors omitted any provident care to retaine and keepe the land in their possessions, which whilest it stood a province in their obedience was held and accounted the faires plume in their triumphant Diadem, and the losse thereof (if no more but onely in name) as was publikely affirmed, would proove a great detriment to the Empire. This made the *Romans* to desire it as they did, who besides the great glory they conceived in the conquest, made it the granary for the Westerne garisons; besides the delicate provisions for their Emperors owne Tables.

And the *German Saxons* straitned in their owne Countries through increase of their people, or haply to supply their owne wants, infested with piracies these West parts of the world, and among all others set the eye of their affections upon this most beautifull *Iland*, and never left their attempts unassaulted till they set the glorious Diadem thereof upon their owne heads. Changing the name *Britannia* into *Anglia*, a terme most fit to expresse that subject, and pleasing in sound as Angelicall like, neither have themselves prooved unworthy of so rich a possession, that in warres have maintained, and by voyages made knowne her fame as farre as the Sunne hath his beames, or the endlesse *Ocean* her ebbes and tides. But of these things wee shall have occasion hereafter.

And now addresse our selves to describe our ancient *Britaines*, and to shew their true pictures as they are reported. At first rude and uncivill (I taxe them no further then all others then were in the world, some few excepted that were onely taught by God) and with the first were reclaimed to a more civill respect, both in their apparell and apprehension of literature; whose pictures in the Chapter succeeding wee will demonstrate as they are described by *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian* and others; at first altogether naked, cut, and painted as thou seest; afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their Countrey either for trafficke or conquest; in both which manner take them as they are reported to bee by these Authors, and impute no liberty in the draught to the workemans best liking, nor thy selfe any whit disparaged to bee brought from such parents, which here are set as the pillars spoken of by *Iosephus*, that after the flood did preserve the invented science of the celestiall bodies, lest time or elements should consume that knowledge, or devoure those rules before demonstrated: So the true portraiture of our ancient progenitors may by these bee preserved from the ruines of time, and made our motives to bee thankefull unto him that hath brought us forth in these most civill times, and not onely clad us with the garments of humanity, but by his spirit hath guided us unto a celestiall knowledge.

Ioseph. Antiquit. lib. 1. c. 3.

THE

THE PORTRAITVRES OF THE ANCIENT *BRITANES*, OF THEIR NAKEDNESSE, PAINTING AND FIGVRING THEIR BODIES, OF THEIR PERSONAGES, HABITES, AND HABILIMENTS, BOTH IN PEACE AND WARRE: AS ALSO OF THE *PICTS*, THEIR ORIGINALL AND HABITES, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

THE understanding and apprehensions of men clouded in ignorance, are by a great Philosopher compared to the eye sight of such men, as stand and behold things afarre-off; because both of these, though they apprehend some general shapes and notices, yet can they not discerne of the true proportions and proprieties of their Objects. The like happeneth in the search and survey, as of all other Nations, so of our owne, of our first beginnings, our antike customes, behaviors, habits, &c. the true circumstances whereof are the more difficill to find, in that those things are not onely remote many degrees beyond the kenning of our Eye, (yea so many ages from the times wherein we live,) but are also shadowed and enwrapped in manifold uncertaineties and contrarieties, wherewith even those Writers have perplexed our way, who undertooke to bee both our guides and our lights. Notwithstanding, our purpose being to propose unto the eye of our now glorious and gorgeous *Britaines*, some generall draughts of our poore and rude Progenitors, (that as King *Agathocles* in his chiefe feasts used onely Earthen dishes to put himselfe in minde that his Father was but a potter, so we may remember that true *British* Nobility is more in Vertue then in Ancestors;) let us first see what the principall notes and markes are, whereby the persons of those first *Britaines* were made so remarkeable among all other Nations.

Aristotle.

The reason why Nations Originals are so hardly found out.

The three chiefe notes of the Britaines.

(2) These notes were chiefely three; First, their going naked; Secondly, their staining and colouring of their whole Bodies; thirdly, their cutting, pinking and pouncing of their flesh with garnishments (for so they thought them) of sundry shapes and fashions, as the two first ensuing Icones or Portraitures doe represent. Touching all which, the reports of Authors are very discrepant: and therefore fith light is gotten out by collision of flintes, wee will essay, whether out of those writers contradictions (brought to the stroke, and confronted together) we may strike some glimering light to direct us how to paint them forth, who so delighted in painting themselves.

1. The first note of the Britaines, their Nakednesse.

(3) First touching their going naked, the authority of *Cæsar* must oversway (as being ancientest) the too generall reports of such others, as seeme to relate that the *Britaines* generally used no Coverture, as neglective either of weathers injury, or of civill modesty; for he saith, *interiores plerique pellibus sunt vestiti: the In-land men for the most part were clad with skinnes.* And yet these In-landers were the rudest of all the rest, the Kentish and Sea-borders being full of humanity, and little differing from the French civility: So that when *Herodian* saith, *Vestis usum non cognoscunt, nec induuntur quidem, They neither know the use of Garments, nor put any on:* either he speakes on hearesay, or his large report must bee restrained to some certaine Persons, times, and places. And for certaine Persons and times indeed *Pliny* somewhat limits it, saying; that *their married women, both elder and yonger, (coniuges, nurusque,) in certaine festivals used to goe starke naked:* so doth *Dio* also for certaine places: *in their Tents* (saith hee) *they lived naked and unshod*, where hee seemeth to allow them some coverture abroad. The like may be supposed in time of winter or warre; were *Herodian* himselfe saith onely, *pleraque corporis nudi, A great part of their body was bare.*

Cæsar.

Herodian.

Plin.

Dio.

Herodian.

(4) It may seeme hereby, that those originals of particular Nations were not much unlike that first beginning of the universall prosemination of mankind, when our first parents innocency walked in naked simplicity: the foundations of all things being, as farthest from our sight, so more simple and farre from those artificiall frauds, which some call wit and cunning. And though an * ancient Father bee mistaken, in conceiving that by the foure letters of the name of *Adam*, were signified the foure quarters of the world, (that being an Hebrew name of three letters, and not a Greeke of foure) yet all those quarters of the world participate somewhat of *Adams* dispositions; and as all naturall things returne by course to that whereof first they were framed, so if Lawes, discipline, and customes, did not restraine men, they would in time, of themselves revolve to that first neglective condition, and carelessnesse of those outward respects whence men are now named *Civill*.

* Saint *Cyprian* interprets. *Anatole*, East. *Dysis*, West. *Arctos*, North. *Mesembria*, South.

(5) But in our *Britaines*, three reasons there seeme of this their going uncloathed. First their hardnesse, which was partly naturall, and partly acquired by practise of their bodies to durance: of whom *Dio* records that *all of them had an excellent habit in tolerating hunger, cold, and labours, insomuch as they could endure to abide many dayes together in the water up to the chinne without any food at all*; that they *would live in the woods on rootes and barkes of trees*; though one kind of food he there mentioneth unknowne in our times, *whereof using to take as much as a beane onely, they were not subject either to hunger or thirst.* No marvaile, if those, who would endure this, could endure the want of garments: especially in a soile whereof we find this *Euloge.* *Tu nimium nec frisita gelu, &c.*

Causes of the Britisb nakednesse. 1. Hardinesse

Dio Nic.

See cap. 1. sect. 10.

Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art,
Twixt both thou hold'st the meane and pleasing'st part.

The like patience wee find even now not onely in the wilder *Irish*, and *Virgineans*, but in rogues and wanderers of our owne Countrey, who often pittilesse of them-





themſelves voluntarily deprive their Bodies of this Protection againſt the Aires offence, to procure pittie of others. And what ſpeake we of theſe? ſeeing even children for Cuſtome, and Women for pride, will ſuffer their Breaſts, and moſt tender parts of their Body, to be expoſed not only to offence of weather, but of modeſty alſo? yea generally, the *hands*, and *faces*, being of moſt ſubtileſt ſence, yet by cuſtome are enabled now to endure that, which by the like cuſtome the old *Britaines* endured in their whole Bodies; whereby *Plutarch* thinkes *they uſually lived ſo long even to the age of fiue ſcore, the externall cold keeping in and augmenting their internall heate.*

Plutarch.

(6) Abilitie to endure cold, ſo *ignorance* (in many) of meanes to prevent it, may ſeeme another occaſion of theſe *Britaines nakednesſe*. The *Romans* (it ſeemes) in their old *Conſuls* times, and after, had not the skill nor uſe of *Hats, Breeches, &c.* That *Britaine* abounded with *Woll* and other materials for cloathing, is paſt all doubt, for which cauſe, by one in a *Panegyrick* it is named *Fiche in Paſturage*, which by another is thus explicated, that therein was *an infinite multitude of tame cattell both with Vdders full of milke, and loaded with fleeces to the ground.* So then *Woole* was not wanting, but *Will* or *Skill*; the latter in moſt likelihood: for, as *Strabo* ſaith, that though thoſe *ſtruting Vdders* yeelded great *ſtore of milke, yet ſome of them had not skill to make cheeſe*, and having ſo *rich* grounds, *yet had not the art of tillage*, ſo their ſheepe might have ſuch *heavy fleeces*, yet ſome of their Owners no cunning to keepe themſelves warme therewith. Some of them, I ſay; for otherwiſe, as *Pliny*, touching *Tillage*, gives light to *Strabo*, witneſſing, that others of them were ſo good *Husbands as to manure their grounds with Marle*, as likewiſe doth *Dioſcorides*, ſaying *they had skill to make drinke of Barley*: ſo probable is it that thoſe other who were by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* ſaid to be ſo *like the French* in conditions, had alſo ſome part of their Art in fitting the Burthen of their Sheeps backs to cover their owne.

2. Ignorance.

Paneg. ad Conſtan. Paneg. ad Conſtant.

Strabo.

Pliny.

Dioſcorides.

Cæſar. Tacitus.

(7) The laſt reaſon of ſuch their going *naked* ſometimes, was out of an opinion that no cloathing ſo adorned them, as their painting and damasking of their Bodies, for which cauſe (ſaith *Herodian*) *they would not cover themſelves, leſt then their gay painting ſhould not be ſeene*: but *Pomponius Mela* makes doubt, whether their thus painting themſelves were for *ornament* or for *ſome other uſe*; which doubt *Cæſar* ſeems to reſolve, as if the men did it becauſe it *made them looke more terrible in warre.*

3. Pride.

Herodian.

Mela.

Cæſar.

(8) And thus wee are now orderly falne on the ſecond of thoſe three notes appropriated by *Authors* to our *Britaines*, which is their *painting* and *ſtaining of their Bodies*, which appeares by *Cæſar* to have beene more univerſally uſed then going naked, for *all the Britaines* (ſaith he) *die their bodies with ſtaining*. As Authors differ in the reaſon of this their *painting*, (as we ſhewed) ſo in the *name*, perchance alſo in the *ſubſtance* of that wherewith they ſtained themſelves, and ſomewhat alſo in the *colour* it ſelfe. The *ſubſtance Cæſar* calles *luteum*, which yet in vulgar acception is thought to be ſome *yellow* ſubſtance, as *Pliny* calles *luteum ovi, the yolke of the Egge*; *Pliny* himſelfe ſaith the *Frenchmen* call it *glaſtum*, deſcribing it to be an herbe like *Plantaine*, which *Oribaſius* (as learned *Cambden* ſheweth) doth terme *Vitrum*, in which ſenſe *Mela* is underſtood to ſay that they were ſtained *Vitro* (and not *Vltro*) it being generally taken to be *Woad*, from thoſe ancient times hitherto uſed for the ſureſt ſtaine. But for the *colour* which is made, *Cæſar* and the reſt agree, it was *Cæruleus, blewiſh or azure*, which colour the *Cambro-Britannes* doe yet call *glaſt*, whence our *glaſſe* for windowes (called alſo *vitrum*) ſeemeth by reaſon of the *colour*, to have taken name. Onely *Pliny* leaveth ſome ſcruple, in ſaying, that *the naked painted women imitated the Aethiopian colour*; which muſt be underſtood either *comparatively*, in reſpect of People white and unpainted, or becauſe *blew* a farre off hath the appearance of *blacke*.

2. The ſecond note of the *Britaines*, their painting. Cæſar.

Cæſar. Pliny.

Cambd. in Brit. p. 24. Mela.

Pliny.

(9) That the *Britaines* tooke their *Name* from this

See Chap. 2. §. 7.





Iſidore. What the Picts were.

this painting, hath beene already ſhewed out of *Iſidore*, who writes, that *they had that name from a word of their owne language*, wherein *Breath* ſignifieth as much as *painted* or *ſtained*; but whether thoſe other Inhabitants of the more Northerne parts of this Iland, called alſo *Picti* or *painted*, had their name upon the ſame ground, & whether they were ſome branch of the *Britiſh ſtocke*, or of ſome tranſmarine *Colony*; it is a queſtion not yet decided. *Pomponius Lætus*, and ſome other, derive them from *Germany*, ſome from the *Pictones* in *France*; but *Beda*, from *Scythia*, whence ſaith he, *they are reported to have come into Ireland in a few long bottomes*, and finding no ſeating there, to have entred into *Britaine*. Though *Beda* his authoritie be venerable, yet the learned finde reaſons to induce them rather to beleeve, that they were the remaines of thoſe ancient *Britaines*, which either inhabited the *North-part* of this *Iland*, before the *Romans* entrance, or which (upon their Conqueſt) fled thither to avoid the *Romiſh* yoake, where the difficulties of the aire and ſoile protected them from the *Romans* ambition and invaſion. Whereto *Tacitus* well accordeth, ſaying, that *Agricola* drove the *Romans* Enemies (he means the more untractable *Britaines*) into thoſe parts, as it were into another *Iland*. And it is thought incredible, that thoſe *Enemies of the Romans*, who ſent forth againſt *Agricola*, an Army of *thirty thouſand* ſtrong, and who ſo vexed *Severus*, that in one expedition he loſt *ſeventy thouſand* of his *Romans*, and their Aiders were ſo utterly extinct, as that none of them remained; but that rather they wonderfully multiplied, being thoſe who afterward much perplexed and over-ran the *Roman Province*, and to whom (not unlikely) ſome other, ſuch as *Beda* mentioneth, did afterward joyne themſelves.

Cambden p. 82.

Tacitus.

* Beda makes them divers tongues, but they were only different Dialects. See Cambden.

(10) If we would adde *Reaſons* unto *Authorities*, to prove that theſe *Picts* were no other then that multiplied of-ſpring of thoſe *Britains*, we could produce their * *Language*, their *manners*, their kind of *Government* (all bearing *Britiſh* Reſemblance) to confirme the ſame. But what need? ſince the ſelfe-manner of *painting*, is an undoubted marke in the Children repreſenting of what *Parents* they were borne. That they were *painted*, *Claudian* ſhewes, calling them, *The Picts, ſo truely named*; which *Iſidore* well expounds, *The Britiſh Nation had their name from their Bodie, depainted with the juyce of an herbe, growing amongſt them.* When therefore the *Romans* excluded them from their other *Provinciall Britaines*, this name (*Picts*) for diſtinctions ſake was in uſe amongſt them; before which times, yea, and long after, they were knowne to Writers by no other name then *Britaines*, and the *Roman Emperours, Commodus, Severus, Baſianus, Geta*, and upon the Conqueſts of them, inſtiled themſelves *Britannici, Britiſh* (not *Pictiſh*) *Conquerors*. But after the *Roman tongue* had prevailed with the *Roman ſword*, the *Britaines* themſelves uſed to name any thing *painted* by the name of *Picte*; as may bee gathered out of *Vegetius*, who ſaith, that the *Britaines* called certaine *Sallops, Picts*, becauſe their *Sailes, Tackle*, and *Mariners apparell*, were *coloured blue*, the very colour, wherewith theſe *Britiſh Picts* (as * ſomewhere they were truely called) uſed to ſtaine themſelves. When afterward the *Iriſh-Scots* had confederated themſelves with theſe againſt the *Romans*, they all began by degrees to be more civillized: the more *Southerly* of them being by *Ninian* the *Britaine* converted unto Chriſt, about the yeare of Grace, 430. thoſe other more *Northward*, by *Columbanus*, Anno, 565. by which time, it is likely, that Civilitie increaſing, their *painting*, and other like ruder Cuſtomes were well-nigh forgotten, both among them, and alſo amongſt thoſe other *Britaines* under the *Romans* Government. In which regard we have beſides thoſe præfixed *Icones*, and Patterns of their firſt and moſt ſavaged times, heere added alſo their *Habits*, when they began to put on, with conditions, a little better cloathing alſo.

Claudian: Why the Picts were ſo called. Iſidore.

* Vet. Annall. Anglorum.

(11) Neither may wee thinke that formerly they refuſed ſuch Apparell, onely to ſhew this *ſtaining and colouring*

3. The third note of the *Britaines*, their ſtaining of their bodies.

colouring of their bodies: for besides it, some other bellishments they had, which they esteemed much more gracefull, then either their painting was, or any Cloathes could be. Which of the *Britaines*, *Solinus* thus delivereth: *The Countrey is in part* (note that he makes it not generall) *inhabited by people barbarous, who by artificiall formes of incision have from their Childhood sundry shapes of Beasts depourtrayed in their bodies, and as their limmes increase in growth, so doth the pictured worke together therewith, neither doe these wilde people boast of any greater kinde of patience, then in bearing long-lasting scarres, where the paint had deepely sunke into their sliced flesh.* The very parallel whereof is also by *Isidore* set down touching our *Picts*, *whose bodies sliced and pinked by an artificiall punchion, did sucke in the iuyce of the staining herb, carrying these Rasures on their pictured limbes, as badges of their Noblenesse, thus endamasked.* Neither onely the shapes of *Beasts*, but of all other things, were so printed in their flesh; which *Herodian* takes to be the prime reason, why they delighted to goe *naked*, lest they should hide these their pleasing garnishments. Where also by the way may be observed, since *Solinus* saith that the *barbarous* onely used so to doe, and *Herodian*, that those who did so, used therefore to *goe naked*; that therefore not the *Britaines* in generall, but the most barbarous of them used to goe naked. And very answerable to *Solinus* (who elegantly calleth such their figuring of themselves, *inscriptis visceribus*, *a writing on their bodies*) is that of *Claudian*, *Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras, On dying Picts he reads the breathlesse shapes*, as if the *Beasts* so lively portraited on them, seemed to lie dead together with the murdered bodies of the *Picts*.

Solinus.

Isidore.

* Masculose Nobilitas.

Herodian.

Solinus.

Claudian.

(12) By these varieties of picturing, (if * some have not misinformed us out of their alleadged ancient *Authors*) those people so distinguished themselves, that the *married women* were knowne by having pictured on their *shoulders, elbowes, and knees*, the heads of some foure beasts, as Lions, Gryphons, &c. On their *belly*, the Sunne spreading his beames: on their *Pappes*, Moones and Starres, &c. On their *Armes thighes*, and *legges*, some other fancies of their owne Choice. But for their *Virgins*, their whole body was garnished over with the shapes of all the fairest kinds of flowers and herbes; which (to speake indifferently) could not but yeeld, though a strange, yet no unpleasing aspect. Whereas the *Men* were (as *Cæsar* speakes) *very horrible to be looked on*, having all their breast and body disfigured with ugly Beasts, Serpents, ravenous Birds, scales and finnes of Fishes, &c. in which relation yet, this scruple will not easily be removed (if it be true, *that from their childhood their prints increased with their bodies*) how those, who being *Virgins*, had no prints but of herbes and flowers, becomming *Wives*, were so easily transformed either into Beasts or heavenly Creatures.

The use of their different picturing.

* The Appendix to Harlots Virginea.

Their married women.

Their Virgins.

The men.

(13) The later *Women* (as you see by the later portraiture,) became farre more modest, that is indeed more *womanly*; having learned that then they openly shew most beauty, when openly they shew not their beauty: much lesse should they expose to the view, that which Nature most endevoured to hide, as knowing it least worth the viewing: yea, * some observe that *women* being drowned, naturally swimme with their face and fore-parts downward, whereas *Men* doe contrary; as if the impression of modesty were not to leave a Woman even after death. *Agrippa*, who mentioneth it, reporteth also of some Matrons, so roo-modest, that they chose rather to die, then to expose some hidden diseases to their Chirurgians view: A point unfortunately inferred into his witty booke, *in praise of women*, which hee dedicated to *Margaret*, wife to *Maximilian* (afterward *Emperour*): the, of womanly bashfulnesse, choosing rather to die, then to have her thigh cured, which was broken with a fall from a horse. The picture of this *Brittish woman* here last deportraied, is framed to that description of the most valiant *Brittish Lady Boudicea*, of whose brave attempts on the *Romans*, you shall reade more hereafter in the seventh Chapter of the sixth Booke.

Agrippa de nobil. fœminarum.

The later *British* women.

(14) Of which Sex, though naturally the weaker, yet in most *Writers* there are remembrances of some whose Actions both *politicke* and *warlike* have been no way inferiour to the worthiest Men; as our owne Age hath given testimony to the World in another *Great Lady* of British race (the of-spring of the valiant and lovely *Meridycke of Wales*) the glory of whose Raigne and Regall vertues shall bee as lasting as the World. Whose just, wise, and resolute kinde of Government hath justified that Custome of our old *Britains* and *Picts*: of the former of which *Tacitus* reports, as *Beda* doth of the later, *that they made no difference of Sex for the Soveraigne command, yea, and used to warre under the conduct of women.* In which respect though their ordinary fort of *women* were not imployed in martiall services, otherwise then before we shewed in the fourth Chapter, yet because some of the choisest of them have been so imploied, wee have so deciphered them in their Martiall habit.

Of their women Governours.

Queen Elizabeth descended from Queen Teadar, whom Leiland calleth Meridycke. Tacitus. Beda.

(15) For their other habiliments of *warre*, and the manner thereof, we have described it in the same fourth Chapter; their *fight* being (as *Diodorus* saith) *after the fashion of the Heroes in the first Age of the World, who fought in Chariots*; yet *on foot also they were most strong* (saith *Dio*) and also *most swift*; which makes me marvaile why *Strabo* should say, *they were* pedibus male suffulti, *not strongly underpropped*; Who also addes, that they were (as himselfe observed at *Rome*) *much taller then the Gaules, but yet of no very elegant shape and timber*; Vsing as (*Cæsar* saith) *to weare their haire very long and curling, otherwise shaven all their bodies over, except onely the upper lip.* Their *weapons* (saith *Herodian*) were *narrow shields*, and *short speares*, at the end whereof (saith *Dio*) was *a little bell like a ball*, which they shooke at their first encounter in *Warre*, for terrour of the Enemy. *Swords* also had they, but short, *hanging at their naked sides*; but *helmes* and *Corslet* they used none, as esteeming *them burdens* rather then helps in warre. But *about their necks they wore a round circle of Iron, (as an ornament no lesse esteemed then gold with other Nations) as also about their waste*, whereat they hung their skeines: being (doubtlesse) *a most warlike Nation*, (as their posterity have ever since proved) and *most desirous to spill blood*, wherein yet their Of-spring by divine blessing are now most different from their Ancestors.

Of the Britains habits in war.

Diodorus.

Dio. Strabo.

Herodian.

Dio.

Herodian.

THE

THE SVCCESSION OF THE MONARCHS OF GREAT *BRITAINE* IN THE TIME OF THE *ROMANS*, WITH AN HISTORICALL RELATION OF THE LIVES, ACTS, AND GOVERNMENTS OF THEIR EMPERORS AND LIEVTENANTS: SO FARRE AS TOVCHETH THE AFFAIRES OF THIS ILAND, AND SO LONG AS IT STOOD A PROVINCE TO THAT EMPIRE.

THE SIXTH BOOKE.



CHAPTER. I.

THE next Nation to the *Britaines* that obtained possession, and soveraignty of this *Iland*, were the *Romans*, and of them *Caius Iulius Cæsar* the first, what time their *State* had undergone all kinds of governments, and now aspired almost to their highest pitch of glory. This *Cæsar* bearing the office of *Questorship* in *Spaine*, and naturally disposed for great assayes, was thereto the more incited at the sight of *Alexanders* portraiture, standing in the Temple of *Hercules* at * *Gades*, where beholding it with great admiration fell into a sudden dislike of himselfe, and (as *Alexander* in seeing *Achilles Tombe*) with an ambitious, yet honourable emulation, sighed and said: *Hast thou at my yeeres atchieved the conquest of the whole world, my selfe hitherto having done no memorable act?* Ever after which hee disdained that his petty charge, and made suite to the *Senate* to be dismissed; holding that the cloude which overshadowed his following and (soone after) flowing fortunes. And forthwith returning to *Rome* observed every occasion that might make him gracious in the peoples eyes, having the advantage of the time which then was swayed with most dislikes: and entring into many factions, yea and some of them not without suspition of conspiracy, did notwithstanding so manage his proceedings, that their constructions were ever made honourable, and himselfe the man by all assents that did support the glory of their *State*; unto whom offices of high dignities were assigned, which daily increased his credit and power. And in the time of his *Consulship*, tooke upon him the government of *Gallia*, where he remained ten yeeres together, and forbare no occasion for warre, were it never so unjust or dangerous: insomuch that framing a bridge of wood over the broad and swift River *Rhene*, he entred the country of the *Swevians*, being the first *Romane* that assailed the *Germans*: and thence with victory returning, found his charge the *Gaules* in quiet: both which fortunes were as spurres to his aspiring mind, and set his thoughts to worke upon other attempts.

The Romans the second possessors of this Iland.

Iulius Cæsar the first Roman attempter.

* Cales. Suet. in vita Cæsar. Sect. 7.

Cæsars speech beholding Alexanders picture.

Cæsars complottings for the Empire.

Cæsar ten yeers in Gallia.

Cæsar the first Roman that assailed the Germans.

(2) For now intending a voyage into *Britaine*, he prepared thitherward, as well to inlarge the extent of his ambition and glory, as to satisfie himselfe with the sight and feate of the *Iland*, as for a further knowledge of those people the inhabitants, after whom he had most diligently inquired, yet by no relation could find content. But his pretence was revenge against the *Britaines*, for that thence (as himselfe speaketh) the *Gaules* had received most of their supplies against him in all his warres; or as some have written, for the desire of *Pearles* that therein plentifully grew, whose beauty and weight he had oft observed.

But because the Summer was almost spent, and that the voyage seemed dangerous through want of knowledge, either for place of entrance, or safety in harbour (for our learned Countryman *Roger Bacon* was doubtlesse in an error, who thinketh that *Cæsar set up perspective glasses on the coasts of France, and thence saw all the ports and creeks in England*) he thought good to send one *Caius Volusenus* a military Tribune in a Galley before him, giving sufficient instructions for so great an enterprise in hand, himselfe drawing towards those parts of *Gallia*, that lay neerest coasted unto *Britaine*, thence expecting his successe.

The first silver Coyne of the Romans was stamped 450. yeeres after Romes foundation. Lud. Vives annotations upon S. Augustine de civit. Dei lib. 4. cap. 31. Cæsars Commentaries lib. 4. Strato. in vita Cæsar. Sueton.

Beyond the seas & narrow.

Volusenus Cæsars spye.

(3) These things were not so secretly done, but that the *Britaines* received notice thereof, and thereupon some of their private States sent Ambassadors with proffers of submission under the assurances of their hostages. Which *Cæsar* accepted and sent backe againe with liberall promises, joyning in commission with them *Comius* a King of the *Atrebatii* (for so he is stiled upon his Coyne) a man well reputed, and respected among the *Britaines*, that he might perswade the rest of the States to imbrace *Cæsars* amity. In effecting of which businesse, some five dayes being spent, *Volusenus* returned, having wafted upon the coasts of *Britaine* so farre, as with safety he might, which was no further then to view it with the eye, his foot not daring to tread the shoare replenished with those barbarous



The *Morines* were of the hither parts of *France*, as *Turnine, Calie, &c. Athenæus* reports he had 100. ships. The Romans divided their night into foure equall parts, each part being called a watch. *Cæsar* commeth in person against *Britaine*.

* Thought to be *Deale*.

This ensigne was an Eagle of silver standing in a little shrine upon the top of a speare. *Valer. Max. l. 3. cap. 2.*

Cæsar bell. civili.

Iosiph. Iscanus in antiochaide.

* Vix. *Pompey*.

The first assay for the conquest of this Land. *Ante mundi.* 3873.

Cæsar putteth the *Britaines* to flight.

people, as it hath pleased the *Romans* to terme the *Britaines*. His discovery and relation gave small encouragements to *Cæsars* hoped successe, and had not the *Morines* yeelded him their obedience, it may be thought his voyage at that season had beene stayed.

(4) But now composing his affaires in *Gallia*, and having ready an hundred ships (wanting but two) besides many *Gallies* also for transporting his army, he loosed from the shoare, having a good wind, about the third watch of the night, taking order for his horsemen to imbarke with all speed and follow after him; himselfe early in the morning attained the sight of *Britaine*, whose cliffes he found covered with armed men, and place for entrance so naturally beset, being strengthned with steepe hils and rockes, that he there cast anchor, and called to counsell the *Legats* and *Tribunes*, declaring unto them the danger of the haven that gave such advantage to their enemy, whose darts from the higher ground might much impeach their arrivage, and therefore determined their landing elsewhere.

(5) Their Councell was no sooner dismissed, but *Cæsar* (both tide and wind fitting him) not foreslowing the occasion, gave signe of remoove, and some eight miles distant came to * *a plaine and open shoare*, and made preparation to land his men. Thither also the *Britaines* had removed part of their forces, and so valiantly withstood the enemies, that *Cæsar* himselfe, though wholly addicted to honor himselfe and his *Romans*, yet confesseth that his army was sore overlaid and terrified with that incounter: and had they not beene assisted from the *Gallies* with an unusuall kind of *Engines*, which did beare backe the *Britaines* (unexpert of that strange manner of assault) the *Romans* had not set foote on *British soile*, neither durst they then adventure it, untill the *Standard-bearer for the tenth legion* desperately leapt forth of the ship with his *Eagle*, calling on the danted souldiers and asking whether they would dastardly forsake their *ensigne* and betray it through cowardize to the enemy: which opprobry provoked them to follow his example, and so they got the shoare after an encounter fierce and terrible on both parts, as *Cæsar* acknowledgeth. But the first of all (even before the *Stander-bearer*) who put courage into the *Romans* and taught them how to deale, was (as testifieth *Eutropius*) one *Sceva a Britaine* (who formerly had fled to *Cæsar*) and guiding foure other souldiers in a boat to a rocke neere the shore, where the tide leaving them, his fellowes slunke backe in the boat, but hee most boldly defended himselfe from the rocke against the *Britaines*, like a Beare at a stake among a multitude of mastives, till having all his armour broken in peeces, and himselfe all wounded with darts, he swamme to the fleet; and begging pardon for his foole-heady forwardnesse, *Cæsar* both forgave him, and rewarded his valour with the honour of a Centurion: and hee did *Cæsar* afterwards noble service at *Dyrrachium* in the civill warres. *Cæsar* confessing, that hee alone saved the fortification against *Pompey*, at which time his targe was shewed to *Cæsar*, having 230. holes pierced in it by the enemy, whereof *Iosephus Iscanus* that ancient Poet of *Excester* writeth thus:

Hinc & Sceva satus pars non obscura tumultûs
Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit melioraque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
The Britaine Sceva in civill warres well knowne,
*Besieg'd the * Great, and rampiers over throwne,*
Was Cæsars wall more strong then wall of stone.

The first attempt assayed, that is warranted by any true Record for the conquest of this Iland: which happened in the yeere of the worlds creation 3873. and before the birth of our Saviour Christ, 54.

(6) This enterprise for landing thus atchieved, *Cæsar* charged so fiercely upon the enemy, that he put them to flight; but wanting his horsemen to follow the chase, (which as yet were not arrived) he proceeded no further, but encamped his hoast upon a great plaine, not farre from the Sea, and not without likelihood thought to be *Barham Downe*: for so neere lay it upon the shoare, that thence he beheld the dispersion and losse of his 18. Ships (comming under saile with his horsemen to his assistance) through the violence of a storme, and rage of Sea.

At Barham Downe Cæsar seeth the dispersion of his Ships.

(7) In the meane time the *Britaines*, that after flight had againe recovered head, and in their assemblies advisedly considered their imminent dangers, concluded their submission for the safest remedy, and to that end sent their second Embassadors unto *Cæsar*, with whom *Comius* before remembred was employed, whom they had retained in strait prison for *Cæsars* cause, but now made him a meane to worke their peace; which was granted after some soft and gentle reproofes, with hostages received for performance of Covenants, and resort of their Nobles to *Cæsars* campe, to yeeld themselves and Cities to his will.

The *Britaines* second ambassage to *Cæsar*.

(8) These *Britaines*, although rude in regard of the *Romans*, and unmatchable to them in educated civility, yet were so skilfull in the affaires of warre, and so ready to discerne the least advantage, that they easily perceived the weakenesse of *Cæsars* power, both in want of horsemen to equall their wagons, wherein chiefely stood the strength and order of their fight, as also of ships for service and safty, as occasions should be offered: whereby their minds touching their promised submission began to waver, and the matter with better advice to be pleaded in their assemblies; for that not onely these foresaid ships for *Cæsars* supply were disperséd and hindred, but even his owne fleet, which lay then in harbour, by the rage of wind and Sea, (being then spring-tide, and the Moone in the full) was not onely filled with waves, but also their Tacklings, Sailes, and Anchors spoiled or lost, the violent storme so dashing the bulkes one against another, that their bruised bottomes were thereby made unfit for burden.

Cæsars ships distressed.

(9) This losse was so great, that it is accounted *the first of the three adverse fortunes which ever happened to* Cæsar *in all his proceedings*: and it was so well observed by the *Britaines*, that immediately they intended a revolt, and in Counsell urged this, as the materiall point that breathed hope and life to their former liberties, condemning themselves as impious, if they should refuse to joyne consent with the Heavens, whose Elements had thus farre fought for their freedome and full deliverance, assuring themselves (if on this advantage they might cut off these new guests) that never any afterward would adventure to enter *Britaine* in hostile manner.

Suetonius in vita Cæsar.

Britaines revolt.

And thereupon they began both to slacke the performance of Covenants, and daily to withdraw themselves from *Cæsars Campe*, which gave him just occasion to suspect whereat they aymed. And to prevent their proceedings he as wisely wrought: for first repairing his Navy with the Huls Timber, and Tackling of the most bruised Ships, with the losse of twelve Ships onely, the rest were made able to brooke the Seas. And providing against the advantavantage of the enemy, he sent forth the seventh Legion for forrage to supply any occasion.

(10) This Legion taking the coast cleare, and little surmising so suddena revolt, fell to the Sickle and Sithe like harvest labourers, and laid their weapons aside, mistrusting no enemy. Now the *Britaines* as forward to put in practise what they had determined, closely had laid themselves in ambush, for thither they knew the enemy would come, a peece of Corne there standing, whereas in all other parts harvest was past: and so having these workemen in their danger, suddenly fell upon them, slaying some, and forcing the rest out of their array, who not knowing the order of their fight, cast themselves in a ring (the best defensive forme of embattelling) and stood on their guard as they might: but had they not happily beene rescued, *Cæsar* had lost one whole Legion at that time.

The *Britaines* suddenly assaile the *Romanes*.

(11) For though the skirmish thus in acting was altogether unknowne and unexpected to the rest of the *Romans*, yet by the rising of the dust, appearing to the *Cohorts* that warded before their *Campe*, the same was mistrusted, which caused *Cæsar* in all haste to make thitherward with part of his *hoast*.

(12) The *Britaines* thus prevented, seeing more supply to maintaine the *battle*, stood still, without further stroke: and the *Romans* as much amazed at this sudden attempt, and order of their fight, *made a stand*, not venturing any further. Which *order in fight* so often mentioned, and so much admired, in *Cæsars* words we will declare, the rather because some have thence collected, that the *Britaines* were the off-spring of the *Trojans*, who with other *Easterne Nations* only used this kinde of fight in *Chariots*.

Clem. Edmonds his observations on Cæsar Comment. Lib. 4. cap. 22. obser. 2.

Cæs. Comment. l. 4.

The manner of the Britaines fight.

(13) *They used* (saith he) *to ride in waggons against the approch of the enemy, and to circulate them about with a whirling compasse, and rattling noise, each waye casting their darts as they did drive, and ever as they saw advantage would winde themselves in amongst the Horse and Foot, to breake the array; which done, they would forsake their Wagons, and on foot most dangerously assaile the enemy. In the meane while the Waggoners would with-draw themselves somewhat out of the battle, and place their Waggons in such ordor, that if their Masters were overcharged, they might have speedy accesse, and opportunitie of retrait, by which meanes they were ever as quicke to moove as were Horsemen, and as stedfast to stand the battle as were the Foot, whereby they did supply the duties of both at once, and by daily exercise grew so expert in managing their Horses, that running them forcibly downe a steepe hill, they would stop, and turne them in the mid-way, and they would run along the beame, and stand firme upon the yoke; whence with like facilitie they would againe returne into their Chariots.*

This order *Cæsar* so well observed, as that notwithstanding his desire of revenge, yet wanting his *Horsemen* (as he pretended) wherein consisted the *chiefest resistance*, hee durst attempt no further on them, but was content to keepe the *field* without proffer of *battle*.

(14) The *Britaines* likewise hopelesse of further

The *Britaines* gather a greater power.

Cæs. Tacitus in vit. Agric.

Comius supply eth *Cæsar* with 30. horse.

The *Britaines* submit themselves the third time.

Acquinoctium's when the day and night are both of a length.

Cæsar was now the first that had 20. dayes ever granted the greatest victories having before him but five dayes, or ten at the most.

successe at that present, departed without any *impeachment*, intending to prosecute their cause with a greater and more *generall supply*: and thereupon sent *messengers* to their severall *States*, with notice of their hopes against so small a power, whose *Campe* by them if any way might be vanquished, the purchase of *spoile*, besides their *freed liberties*, would require the paines.

(15) These States, though maintaining *civill factions* among themselves, yet seeing the intended danger of this *generall enemy*, presently assembled *a great power*, purposing yet once againe to try the hazard and fortune of warre. *Cæsar*, whose vigilancy did ever equall his valour, prepared his *army*, wherein now only 30. *horsemen* were present, and those brought to him by *Comius* the King. The battle joyning continued *not long*, but that the *Britaines* gave backe and *fled*, whom the *Romanes* pursued as farre as strength indured, and *returned* with the slaughter of many, burning the Countrey where they came.

(16) Thus the *Britaines* once againe *vanquished*, foorthwith sent their third *Embassage* unto *Cæsar*, desiring Peace, with promise of quict subjection; whom he with hard termes now reprooved, and imposed a double number of *hostages* to bee brought him into *Gallia*, whither he made all possible preparation, for that the *Aequinoctium* drew neere, doubting his *crazed ships* would hardly brooke the *Winter stormes*, that usually rage upon *these Seas*. And having gotten a faire wind, *imbarked* all his forces about *mid-night*, and so brought most of his *Fleet* safe to the continent. This enterprise so fortunately accomplished, *Cæsar* by his Letters made knowne to the *Senate*, who decreed and proclaimed to his honour *a generall supplication or thanksgiving* to their *Gods*, for the space of *twentie dayes* together, wherein all the *Romans*, clothed in white garments, and crowned with *garlands*, went to all the *Temples* of their *Gods*, and offered *sacrifices* for so glorious a *Victory*.



CAESARS SECOND EXPEDITION INTO *BRITAINE*.

CHAPTER. II.



Moſt of the Britaines breake covenant with *Cæsar*.

CÆSAR expecting the performance of *Covenants* agreed upon in the Treatie of *Peace* with the *Britaines*, received *hostages* from two of their *Cities* only, and no more: the rest drawing backe, refused his subjection: whereupon intending not to lose so rich a prey, nor to suffer that *Sunne* to bee *eclipsed*, whose glory thus farre in his *Horizon* had *ascended*, he appeased some troubles in *Gallia*, and in the *Winter season* began his preparation to that *enterprise*. And having had experience of his former wants, hee furnished himselfe accordingly, and the next *Spring* following drew his forces towards *Calis*, the shortest cut into *Britaine*. There committing the charge of *Gallia* to *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, himselfe with five Legions of souldiers, 2000. *Horsemen*, and 800. *Ships*, about the going downe of the *Sunne* looked from the shoare, and with a soft Southerne gale were carried into

Iccius Portus some thinke to be *Calis*, some S. *Omers*.

into the streame. But about midnight the winde failing, and their sailes becalmed, the tide diverted their course: so that in the dawning he well perceived his intended place for landing to be passed.

Cæsar againe landeth at the place of his first arrivall.

(2) Therefore falling againe with the change of tide, and endeavours of their Oares, about noone the same day hee recovered the shoare, even in the same place (and that without any shew of resistance) where he had found best landing the Summer before. There in convenient manner he encamped his Host, and by certaine *Fugitives* got notice of the power and place of the enemy.

(3) And lest delay should afford them advantage, he committed the government of his ships at anchor to *Q. Atrius*, and his campe on land to the guard of ten Cohorts, besides the strength of three hundred horsemen; and himselfe with the rest about the third watch of the night tooke their march towards the enemy, proceeding with such celeritie, that by the day dawning they were entred twelve miles higher into the Continent: where seeking to passe a river, which is supposed to be the water *Stowr*, the *Britaines* with their darts and chariots began in most terrible manner to assault the *Romanes*. But being at length by them repulsed, tooke into a wood strongly fortified both by nature and mans industry. For in the time of their owne dissensions they had formerly made this place one of their strongest fortresses, and had cut downe many trees, which overthwart the wayes of entrance they had bestowed.

Cæsar refitted at the river *Stowr*.

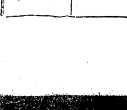
(4) In this they secretly kept, and where they saw advantage, would by companies sally out upon the enemy to their no little annoyance. Whereupon *Cæsar* commanded the seventh Legion to raise a banke, and to build a *Testudo* of boards, covered with raw hides, by which meanes the place without much adoe was wonne, and the *Britaines* forced to forsake the woods. Whose chase *Cæsar* forbade both in regard the day was neere spent, as also that the countrey was altogether unknowne to the *Romans*. But the next day the pursuit being begun, sudden newes was brought from *Q. Atrius*, that most of his ships the night before by a violent tempest were cast on Land, their bulks shaken, their cables broken, and anchours lost. *Cæsars* experience in like mishaps the Summer before, made him so much more ready to prevent the worst. And therefore recalling his forces, in all haste returned to his Campe, finding the relation too true in their wracke, wherein forty of his ships were quite lost. Wherefore hee wrote to *Labienus* his Lieutenant in *Gallia* for supply of ships, thence to be sent in all haste. Then gathering his shipwrights out of the legions, with the ruines of the bruised bulkes, he repaired the whole, and now having twice felt the dangers of these seas, caused his whole Fleet, (*a strange attempt*) to be drawne on land, even into the midst of the fortificaitions of his campe, so to secure them from the like mishap, and that one strength might defend both.

The *Britaines* driven from their fortresse.

Cæsars Navie greatly impaired by tempest.

He draweth his fleet on shoare.





(5) In which admirable toile ten dayes and nights were altogether spent, before hee could returne to the place from whence hee came; where now the *Britaines* through great confluence of people had increased their power, and entred againe their fortresse and wood. The chiefe command of these affaires was committed to *Cassibelan*, whose coine we have heere likewise set, a Prince of good repute for feats in warre, whose *Seignory* was severed from the Cities towards the Sea by the great and famous river *Thamisis*, and extended into the land full fourescore miles.

This *Cassibelan* present Governour of the *Trinobants*, had attained to the possession of their chiefest Citie by the slaughter of *Imanuencetheir* former *Ruler* (a man well respected, and much lamented after death) whose sonne *Mandubrace*, a gentleman of great hope,

Cæsar com. lib. 5.

fearing the like danger, by the new established authority of *Cassibelan*, had made over into *Gallia*, craving *Cæsars* assistance to set him in his right.

Flor. Hister. Fabian.

(6) *Cassibelan* (if amongst these authentike Authors the *British* Writers may be heard) was the *brother of King * Lud*, and in the nonage of his nephewes governed the *Trinobantes*, whose bounds he fought to enlarge upon the bordering Countries of his neighbours, and in his fortunes had so borne himselfe, that he was much maligned, and more feared. But now all their dangers yoaked alike in a common perill, they laid aside private grudges, and held him the only man to support the ftrength of their troubled and declining estate, and by a common consent made him Generall of their warres. The expectation of whose proceedings he long *delayed not*, but with a fierce and hot encounter *did assaile the Romans*, and so manfully discharged the parts of his place, that in the sight of the whole Campe *Quintus Laberius* a military Tribune was slaine (in memory wherof the place as yet, though somewhat corruptly, is called *Iul-laber*) and *Cæsar* himselfe professeth he learned many points of martiall policy by their brave and running kind of encountering.

**Cassibelan brother of King Lud.*

Cassibelan falleth for peace

(7) But his next dayes service prooved not so fortunate; for the *Romans* having learned their owne defects by the former dayes experience, *laid aside their weighty armour*, that with the more facility they might both assaile the enemies, and with like nimblenesse avoyde their fury, they having now bestowed their powers dispersedly, and scattered their troupes into companies, whereby the *Romans* were still matched with fresh supplies. A policy no doubt of no small consequence, had not destiny determined the fatall subjection of the *Britaines*, and *Fortune* now raised the *Romans* almost to the height of their Monarchy.

A great Tribute. So saith an old written Chronicle, the Author not named.

Lambert. Peram.

(8) For this failing, the *Britaines* never after shewed themselves with any united resistance, but having lost the day departed, thinking it better to secure every private by his owne meanes, then by a generall power to hazard all, as hopelesse any more to uphold that which the heavens (they saw) would have down. And *Cassibelan* himselfe despairing of happy successe, drew into his owne territories, keeping with him not above 4. thousand wagons. And fearing the *Romans* further approch, fortified the river *Thamisis* (then passable onely in one place) with sharpned stakes bound about with lead, and driven so deepe into the bottome, that *Beda* and *Asser* report them so to remaine in their times. All which notwithstanding, the *Romans* passed with the repulse of their enemies, and *Cæsar*, who grew now to the height of his honour, marched further into the Continent, and comming forward, was met by Ambassadors from the chiefest City of the *Trinobants*, which first of all the States proffered submission, and *promised subjection*, with this intreaty also, that *Mandubrace* (who being *Cæsars* follower, and doubtlesse the contriver of this submission) might be Governour of their City.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

Britaines retire to their severall Provinces.

Entrop. Plin.

Cæsars Ambition.

Cæsars death.

Thought to be Oatland.

Beda lib.1. ca.2.

British Writers vary from *Cæsar*.

That *Cassibelan* repulsed *Cæsar* twice.

The *Trinobants* submit to *Cæsar*

Beda calls him *Androgeius, li. 1. cap. 9.*

(9) *Cæsar* ready to worke upon such advantage, *seized them at forty hostages, with* sufficiency of *graine* for his whole army, which with all expedition those *Suppliants* performed, *preferring* the satisfaction of their owne *discontentments* before the common cause of their *Native country*, thus laid open, and betrayed into the enemies hands; from whose example many other States without stroke yeelded to *Cæsars* command: yea further treacherously shewing unto him both the power and place of *Cassibelans abode*, who had now retired himselfe into his owne City called *Verolam*, well fortified both with woods and marish grounds.

Menios won *Cæsars* sword.

Beda hist. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Cominagues, Segontiacus, Ancalites, Bibrokts, Cassianus.

S. Albons besieged by *Cæsar*.

The Governors of Kent joyne with *Cassibelan* against *Cæsar*.

Thither *Cæsar* came, and with little losse or labour won the place, and many of the miserable *Britaines*, were both taken and slaine. *Cassibelan* now despairing of his owne power, farre unable to match, and much lesse to overmatch his Enemies, instigated the Governours of *Kent*, being foure in number, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximangulus*, and *Segonax*, (whom *Cæsar* ter-

meth Kings) to raise all their strengths, and suddenly to set upon the *Romans* Campe that guarded their ships; which enterprise was accordingly attempted, but with such successe, that the *Britaines* were on each side slaine, and *Cingetorix* taken prisoner, the rest saving themselves by flight.

(10) *Cassibelan* beholding these unfortunate proceedings, feared the end of unhappy successe, for he saw his Country wasted, his owne designes defeated, and himselfe forsaken by the traiterous revolt of many Cities and States on every side. Therefore as boorlesse to bandy against fortune, he sought to hold his owne with others, and sent *Comius* King of the *Attrebatii* to be his meane to *Cæsar* for peace, which was the willinglier heard and granted, for that Princes great valour, and that *Cæsar* determined to winter in *Gallia*, his affaires so requiring it.

(11) The conditions were hard, but necessity must be obeyed: for *Cæsar* imposed a grievous Tribute to be raxed of the *Britaines*, of no lesse then three thousand pounds yeerely to be paid, and moreover included the safety of *Mandubrace*, with his *Trinobantes* taken into friendship, and protection of the *Romans*; and lastly, that these Covenants should be faithfully observed, he commanded hostages for assurance forthwith to be delivered. These things thus compounded, hee tooke the Seas, about the second watch of the night, which then began to equalize the day in length, and safely arrived in the continent of *Gallia*; having rather shewed the place to posterities, then delivered to the *Romans* the possession thereof, as *Tacitus* saith, supposing it his glory sufficient to undergoe a matter so rare and difficult, and at his comming to *Rome*, to have presented his *British* Captives; whose strangenesse for attire and behaviour, filled the peoples eyes both with wonder and delight. *He offered also in the Temple of Venus genitrix, a Surcoat made all of British pearles, as a Trophey and Spoile of the ocean.* And now his fortunes comming to the highest, the title of perpetuall *Dictator* (then which the state of *Rome* could affoord nothing greater) sufficed him not, but a King he will be, and sole governour over all, though contrary to the Law and liking of the *Romans*; whereof in short time grew such heart-burning and hatred, that seventy principall men conspired his death, and after his many dangers of enemies in battels abroad, was in the *Senate-house* amongst his supposed friends, and in peace, cruelly murdered, receiving in his body three and twenty wounds, whereof he dyed, after he had sate Emperour onely five moneths.

Tacitus in vita Agricolæ.

Entrop. Plin.

Tacitus.

Eutropius.

Lucan.

(12) I am not ignorant that the *British* Writers doe vary from *Cæsar* in relating these his proceedings, and speake more honourably of their owne resistance then himselfe hath set downe, namely, that by the valour of *Cassibelan* their King, in his first attempts he was twice driven backe without his purpose, and forced to take the Seas, to the great hazard of his ships and men, yea and with the losse of his owne sword, which with great prowesse was wonne from him in a single encounter by *Nenion*, *Cassibelans* brother. And surely howsoever *Polydore* accounteth their Story new, and *Cæsar* carrieth himselfe gloriously in his owne affaires; yet by sundry other renowned Writers it seemeth, that the currant of his Conquest went nothing so smooth and untroubled, or with so little losse of the *Romans*, nor the *Britaines* liberties forgone by so easie resistance: which may be collected even out of some covert passages of *Cæsars* owne words, where it appeareth, that hee durst not at sundry times give the *Britaines* battell, though they were onely harnessed in Leather, and his Souldiers were all old *Legionaries* of long service, called for their huge armour, *Milites gravis armaturæ*, as having helmet, corslet and boots, all of massy brasse or iron, with a large target, a strong two edged sword, and a great staffe or clubbe headed with an iron pike; which oddes notwithstanding had not *Cassibelan* been undermined by *Mandubrace*, and traiterously forsaken (which *Cæsar* himselfe confesseth) by the Princes

which promised him assistance, perhaps *Cæsar* might have missed this parcell of his glory: for all these helpes. *Lucan* saith expressely of him.

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis:
He Britaines found, but left them soone by flight.

Eutropius saith, *He was wearied out and quelled both with the fierce battels of the enemy, and crosses of tempests, Tacitus* saith, *Hee found out* Britanny *for the* Romans, *but could not winne it for them:* which was the very cause why (as *Dion* witnesseth) for twenty yeeres after *Cæsars* entrance, *Britanny* kept their owne Kings and their owne lawes, and had no forraine Prefects to command them. And *Beda* sheweth, that *Cæsar* in this Land was both received with sharpe and fore fight, and weakened by the losse of his ships, and with the most part of his men at armes. *Tacitus* also, using the speech of *Caractacus* to his Soldiers, hath these words: *Hee called* (saith hee) *upon the names of his Ancestors, which called Cæsar the Dictator out of the Ile, by whom and by whose valour they were delivered from Hatchets and Tributes, and enjoyed freely their wives and childrens bodies undefiled.* Againe, in the consultations of the *Britaines* intending a revolt, hee alledgeth their arguments, whereof one was *the sudden departure of Cæsar out of this Iland, little better then a flight.* With whom *Dion Cassius* also agreeth, affirming that *Cæsar got nothing in Britaine besides the honour and renowme of that voyage, and flight of that Country, untill then unknowne to the Romans.* And againe (saith hee) *Cæsar departed thence having done no memorable act, which caused the Britaines to be secure and carelesse to provide themselves against his second arrivage.* Whereby is apparant (even by *Roman* writers) both the bold resistance that the *Britaines* made, and the deare subjection that the *Romans* bought. But in matters so farre past, it is hard for mee to avouch any thing resolvedly, unlesse I could meete with that aged *Britaine* whom *M. Aper* conferred with here in *Britanny* (as *Quintilian* writes) *who avowed that hee was in the British Campe when they did beat Cæsar from the shoare.*

Tacitus.

Tacitus. lib. 11. cap. 8.

In vita Agric.

Dio. lib. 39. *Cæsar* got nothing in *Britaine*, save the sight of the Country.

Quintilian.

(13) Neither will I urge that for truth, which *Authors* have left us in their repores, concerning the many prodigies before going, and forewarning his death: things rather to be accounted the superfluities of their owne pens, and vaine imageries, ever working upon accidentall events, and ascribing issued successe to a supernaturall cause. Such conceit had *Cæsar* of himselfe, that for his fortunes hee would be stiled amongst the gods: and his deity to that credulous generation was further strengthned by the appearance of a blazing starre, which mooved (no doubt) an overlarge opinion of his humane power, and caused his glory much to surmount it selfe. And therefore lest ignorance should any way blemish his immortality, they have fained the manner of his dying best pleasing to himselfe, and many ominous signes to foreshew the same: all which he either lightly despised, or carelessely neglected, as they would have their Readers beleeve.

Cæsar would be stiled amongst the gods.

Sueton. Plutarch.

(14) Such was that of *Spurina* his diviner, that forewarned him of great danger, which should not passe the *Ides* of *March*. And *Suetonius* out of *Cornelius Balbus* reporteth, *that in the ancient Monuments of Capua, discovered but few moneths before, was found a Table of brasse, wherein was written the manner of his murder, and the revenge that should follow: his owne dreames the night before, wherein he seemed to flye in the clouds, and to shake hands with Iupiter: as also his wives, that thought him stabbed in her armes, and to lye all bloody in her bosome.* Besides many other observances both of beasts and birds, and that in such plenty, as it yeelded sufficient matter for *Ovid* the Poet to furnish and fill up the latter part of his last booke of *Metamorphosis*. His feature, qualities, and fortunes, are by them thus described: Of personage to be tall, strong, and well limmed, faire, and full faced, with blacke eyes,

Cæsar forewarned to take heed of the *Ides* of *March*. *In vita Cæsar.*

His dreames.

His wives dreame.

Ovid Meta. lib. 15.

His personage.

eyes, and bald headed, to cover which he usually wore the *Triumphant Lawrell Garland*. He was well learned, and therewithall very eloquent: and although so great a warriour, thirsting after fame, yet would he bee easily reconciled to his enemies, yea and often times seeke the meanes first himselfe. And he held it no lesse valour to subdue his wrath, then his enemy; as likewise in his disasters hee was of great temper and moderation, insomuch that *Seneca* writeth of him, that *whiles hee was in Britaine, hearing newes of his daughters death (which was lamented as a great losse to the whole State) hee conquered that sorrow as easily and as quickly as he subdued all things where ever he came.* And of his other moderateness, *Cotas* (who then held the second place of honour and command in the Army) writeth, that though *Cæsar* was then so great and glorious a Commander, yet he was so *farre from outward pompe*, as that *when he came into Britaine he had onely three servants to attend him.*

Easie to bee reconciled. *Seneca.*

Cotas apud Athenæum.

(15) In his enterprises hee was both valiant and fortunate, and is therefore singled out for an *Idea* or *Paterne of an absolute Generall*, especially for *foure military properties* very resplendent in him: *first, laboriousnesse* in his affaires: *secondly, courage* in his dangers: *thirdly, industrious contriving* of what he undertooke: *fourthly, quicke dispatch* in accomplishing what hee had once begun: In all which he proceeded with such successe, that *in fifty severall battels by him fought, he always prevailed, one onely excepted*, as both *Pliny, Solinus*, and others have recorded. *Foure times* he was created *Consull*, and *five times entred Rome in triumph*, bearing still the stile of *Perpetuall Dictator*. And therefore with lesse dishonor did nations subject themselves unto him; and this of *Britaine* with them, whose lot being cast amongst the hazards of the world, was drawne with an equall chance, as the rest, and yeelded their freedomes with as hard conditions, as did countries of more extent, and Kingdomes of greater account. *But most especially the decree of God could not be gaine-stood, who had foreshewed by his Prophets the rising of these* Chittims, *and them a meanes to make the metalline image dust.*

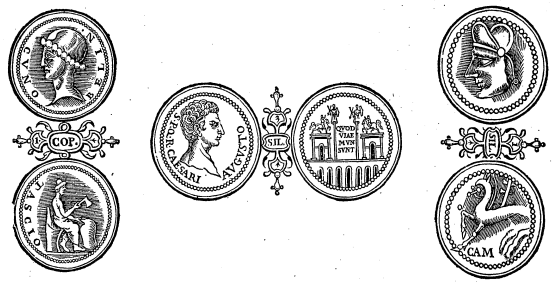
His successe in war, and number of battels.

His Offices.

Num. 24. 24. Dan. 11. 30. Dan. 2. 35.

OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS.

Chapter III.



AFter the death of *Cæsar*, thus slaine in the *Senate*, *Octavian* (the grand-child of *Iulia*, *Cæsars Sister*) whom hee had adopted, and declared his heire, returned unto *Rome* from * *Apollonia*, where he studied *Philosophy*, intending to prosecute the revenge of *Cæsars* death; where falling at oddes with *Marcus Antonius*, a man of great spirit and power, and setting himselfe against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their complices, for the murder of his uncle, secretly wrought the friendship of the Citizens, before whose eyes also *Cæsars* wounds seemed yet to bleed.

* From *Apollonia*, lay some.

Cæsar against *Antony. Suetan. in vita Augusti.*

(2) These factions thus begun, grew to such height, that in the *Senate-house* their causes were pleaded, and by the instigation and eloquence of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Antonius* was proclaimed enemy to the State: against whom *Octavian* was sent, with *Ensignes of Consul*, and *title of Proprætor*, being yet not twenty yeeres of age; which duty and office hee so well discharged in the parts of a valiant Captaine, that *Antony* was forced out of the field, albeit in this battle the one *Consul* was slaine, and the other deadly wounded. For which service so effected, he entred *Rome* in Triumph; though the glory thereof was much blemished, being obtained but in an intestine and civill warre. *Marcus Antonius*, to recover himselfe, and to make good his cause, joyned friendship with *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, Captaine of the horse, who together interposed themselves against *Octavians* proceedings; but by mediation of friends all three were reconciled, and joyntly erected that forme of government which thence was named the *Triumvirat*: for the establishment whereof they had severall jurisdictions assigned them: to *Lepidus Africa*, whereof he was present Governour: to *Antony*, the Countries as well of *Greece* as *Asia*, that lay betwixt the *Ionian* Sea entring at the gulfe of *Venice*, unto the River *Euphrates*: and unto *Octavian* all these West parts of *Europe*, amongst which this our *Britaine* was one.

Antonius discomfited.

Octavian and *Antony* reconciled.

Cæsar com. lib. 5.

A generall peace thorow all the world. Micah 5.2. Isaiah 9.6. Genesis 3.5. Isaiah 7.14. Galatia. 4.4.

Tacitus in vita Augusti.

(3) In these civill broiles, and bandings of great men (as *Tacitus* termeth it) the State of *Britaine* lay long forgotten, and stood in peaceable termes, *Augustus* thinking it wisdome (saith he) to restraine the infinite desire of inlarging the *Roman* Empire, whose extent was growne to that vast greatnesse, as it seemed even burdensome unto it selfe, whereby this remote *Iland* lay overshadowed from their sight: whereunto may be added, that the presence of *Kimbeline* the *British* King (as their history recordeth) in great favour with *Octavian*, was a great furtherance to the peace, even without payment of the former imposed *Tribute*. But yet the truth is (as *Dion Cassius* hath it) that *Octavian* desirous in all things to bee like unto *Cæsar*, seeing their tribute neglected, had intended a voyage towards *Britaine*; but having set forwards into *Gallia*, he had there tidings of the sudden revolt of the *Pannonians*, against whom he diverted his prepared power, and left his first desingement for that time. Notwithstanding, he still retained the desire of their subjection, and foure yeeres after made a second very great preparation thitherward, proceeding with his power againe into *Gallia*.

The Empire too great.

Fabian out of Guido. Columna.

Dion Cass. lib. 49. Octavians preparation for *Britaine.*

Dio Cass. lib. 53.

The Britaines appeale *Octavian.*

Strabo lib. 4.

Augustus third preparation against *Britanny.*

The *Britaines* excuses.

Customes first paid in *Britaine.*

The *Britaines* loyalty.

Cunobeline Prince of the *Trinobantes. Matalen.*

The first stamped Coynes in *Britaine.*

Cæsar com. lib. 5.

(4) The *Britaines* that had felt the force of the *Romans*, and in regard of their owne distractions at home, were hopelesse of ttrength to withstand them, sought the favour of *Augustus* by their submission, and to that end sent over their Ambassadours, who presenting themselves before him in *Gallia Celtica*, appeased his wrath, with promise of obedience and full satisfaction for their Tributes detained: whereby *Cæsar* was againe stayed, and the *Britaines* taken into favour and protection. Notwithstanding, the minds of their Magistrates were so unconstant, or else the money so hardly drawne from the people, who naturally hated all such obliged servitudes, having ever lived a free Nation, (as *Ægisippus* speaketh of them) that they againe *failed their payment*; whereat *Augustus* was sore offended, and the third time prepared his voyage that way, which yet a while was hindred by the revolt of the *Byscayans*, and some other Provinces.

(5) The *Britaines* seeing themselves thus still sought after, sent unto *Cæsar* their excuses, with presents to be offered in the capitoll to the *Roman* gods, having now learned with the rest of the world to appease Princes by gifts and rewards, yeelding part of the *Iland*, and swearing him fealty in the temple of *Mars*, and so were registred subjects to the *Roman* Empire. At which time also they agreed to pay tols and customes for all wares which they transported into other parts, their merchandize chiefely consisting of Ivory boxes, and Iron chaines, and other small trifles of Amber and Glasse. All which agreements and compositions were afterward so loyally observed, and the Land so composed to quietnesse, that *one band of souldiers*, with *a small troope of horse* (as *Strabo* saith) or foure Legions (as *Iosephus* writeth) were sufficient to containe so great a multitude in a settled forme of obedience.

(6) Over the *Trinobantes*, the greatest and most potent State of the *Britaines*, then raigned the happy Prince *Cunobeline* (for so in his Coynes yet remaining wee find it) corruptly written *Kimbeline*, the sonne of *Theomantius* nephew to *Cassibelan* before spoken of, whose abode and principall seate was *Camaladunum*, as by the reverse of the said Coynes may appeare. This Prince to make his estate more respective, caused his owne Image to be stamped thereon, after the manner of the *Romans*, (who now had newly taken up that fashion) his payments before consisting for the most part in rings of iron, and plates of brasse, seized at a certaine waight, which usually passed for currant amongst the *Britaines*, as *Cæsar* reporteth, and as those rings are yet witnesses, whereof we have seene some.

This man trained his people to a more civill life then formerly had beene accustomed, and enjoyed peace with the rest of the world, which then stood *universally in quiet, as waiting the comming of that Prince of peace, whose going forth had beene from everlasting, and of whose kingdome there shall bee no end: even Christ the anointed Emmanuel and sonne of the living God: so long before expected, and now in the fulnesse of time manifested*: at whose birth warre went downe, as *Virgil* speaketh, or rather to use the words of the Prophet, *When swords were made into mattocks, and speares broken into sithes: And as in the building of* Salomons *Temple neither noise of axe, nor the sound of hammer was heard; so his body being the true Temple, he came and was incarnate at such time, when the sound of warre did not awake the world, but a calme and quiet peace incompassed it, as by the Angels was proclaimed amongst the Iewes*, and now was more publikely made knowne amongst the *Gentiles* by the shutting of *Ianus* Temple in *Rome*. This universall peace was so famous and so admirable, that it found matter for the finest wits amongst the Heathens to enlarge themselves: whereupon *Virgil* framing the perswasions of *Iupiter* to his daughter, foresheweth the happy succesfe of her seed, and in what tranquillity they should sit, when the hands of *Mars* were thus restrained from fight, as hee thus expresseth:

Micah 4.3.

1 Kings 6.7. The birth of Christ like the building of Salomons Temple. John 3.19. Luke 2.14.

Paulus Orosius Ianus Temple in thist.

Aspera tum positis mitescent sæcula bellis:
Cana fides, & Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt: diræ ferro, & compagibus arctis
Claudentur belli portæ: furor impius intus
Sæva sedens super arma, & centum vinctus ahenis
Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 1.

Then men shall milder prove: cease shall fierce warres:
Faith, Gods, and Princes all shall justly guide:
Warres gastly gates with bolts and iron barres
Fast shut shall stand: and Mars *caitiverd shall bide*
Mongst heapes of rusty armour, where his hands
Bound fast shall be with hundred brazen bands.

The fruits of a true pegee.

And yet further in his *Ecloge* (from the *Sibyls*, who in all likelihood had it from the divine *Oracles*) hee useth the very words of the Prophets in speaking of a *Maid*, and a *Child of a new progeny borne and sent downe from heaven*, by whom the brassy and iron-like world should cease, and a pure golden age succeed. Thus he sweetly singeth:

Lactan. Elbas. cap. 6. Daphet. extra. cap. 23.

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo:
Iam redit & virgo: redeunt Saturnia regna:
Iam nova progenies cælo dimittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, &c.

Eclog 4.

Now is the time of which Sibylla *said,*
The old world doth his prime againe renew:
Now hath the world a pure unspotted Maid:
*Now raignes the * God of Gods, whose off-spring new*
Descends from heaven. Blest d be the Babe who so rayes
Hath turn'd our iron age to golden dayes.

* *Saturne* (whom *Virgil* nameth) was esteemed the father of the Gods.

In which *Ecloge* are sweetly couched many other most divine allusions to *our Saviours* [a] *Deity*, [b] *birth and humanity*, [c] *poverty*, [d] *graces*, [e] *crosses*, [f] *kingdome, and* [g] *redemption of the world from* [h] *sinne*, [i] *death, and* [k] *hell.*

So likewise *Marcus Tullius Cicero saw in his dreame* (as himselfe reporteth) *a child of an ingenuous and beautifull countenance, let downe from heaven by a golden chaine.* And *Suetonius* in the life of *Augustus* from *Iulius Marathus* hath observed, that certaine predictions in *Rome* happening, were so respected and generally expounded, *That Nature was about to bring forth a King that should raigne over the whole world.* And albeit these and other Heathen Writers ascribe these things either to *Augustus* himselfe, or to some of his favorites, yet wee see them accomplished in none other but *Iesus Christ the Messiah our blessed Saviour*, in whom only the kingdome of God began, with the utter subverfion of all their heathenish Oracles, which at his birth, or at furtherst at his death, ceased all, and gave place to His eternity. Which time of his birth by the Scriptures moft certaine account, was from the worlds creation, 3927. and is set by the *Britaines* in the fourteenth of their *Cunobelines* raigne, and by other authenticke Writers in the two and fortieth of *Augustus Cæsar*, even in the top of that Empires greatnesse,

* *Saturne* (whom *Virgil* nameth) was esteemed the father of the Gods.

a *Magnum Iovis incrementum, &c.*
b *Nascenti puero, &c.*
c *Nec Deus hunc mensa, &c.*
d *Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum, &c.*
e *Cui non risere parentes, &c.*
f *Pauca tamque regat patria, &c.*
g *Ipsi lætitia voces, &c.*
h *Selecti famina terras, &c.*
i *Si quos manet sceleris, &c.*
k *Pallas te hoc vulnere, &c.*
Occidit & serpens, &c.
Sueton. in vita Augus. Sect. 94. Daphet. extract. Christi 32. fol. 118. Metaph. l. 1. cap. 17. Funccial. Satyr. 3.
Zephan. 3. 11. Our Saviour Christ was borne in the fourteenth yeere of *Cunobeline*.

nesse, when *Rome* was with an universall subjection acknowledged the absolute *Lady of the knowne earth*. For so in Saint *Luke* we reade, that this *Augustus then first taxed the world*. A text most strong for the full dissolution of the foure forgone kingdomes represented in *Daniels Image*, by *the fall of this stone Christ, the rocke and stay of our eternall happinesse*.

Luke 2.

Dan. 2.

Augustus described. His raigne.

(7) This *Emperour* raigned in great honour the space of fifty six yeeres, and was obeyed both by the *Easterne Indians*, and the *Northerne Scythians*, with the subjection of the *Parthians*, a fierce and untamed people, and generally with the love of all. Hee was a *Prince* induced with *great wisedome, magnanimitie*, and *Iustice*; yet faultie is this, that he tooke from *Tiberius Nero* his wife *Livia*, both great with child, and having also formerly borne him a sonne. Devout he was in the worship of the *Romane Gods*; amongst whom in the *Capitoll* he built an Altar unto the *Hebrew childe*, with this inscription: *The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God*: being thereunto mooved by the *Oracle of Apollo* that had answered his owne destruction by the birth of *this childe*. Of *stature* he was but low, and of a good complexion; gray-eyed, his haire somewhat yellow, and his body freckled with spots, which as his flatterers would have the world beleeve, were in forme like starres. Predictions foreshewing his government and death are alleged, the which I willingly overpasse, holding most of them rather fantasies then truth. At his death hee demanded of the standers by, whether he *had well acted the enterlude of his life upon this stage of this world*: and dyed fourteene yeeres after *Christ* his incarnation; leaving after him so honourable an estimation of his glory, that as the succeeding *Emperours* in remembrance of *Iultus Cæsar* gloried to be called *Cæsars*, so they ever held the name of *Augusti* to be *sacred*, and only befitting persons destinated to imperiall Majesty. And both their names were inserted in the Yeeres moneths, that the honour of them both might *never perish while Times eviternitie indured*.

His endowments of body.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 5. cap. 1.

His devotion to Christ. Nicephol. 1.c.37. Suidas.

Sueton. in vita Augusti.

Tacit. Annal. 1. cap. 5.

The moneths of *July* and *August*.

Jeffry Monm.

TIBERIVS.

Chapter IV.



Avgvstvs Cæsar thus gloriously raigning, and peaceably dying, had ordained for his successour *Tiberius Nero*, the sonne of *Tiberius* the *Patritian*, and of *Livia* his wife, whom (as we said before) hee had taken for his *Empresse*, and by whose incitements and continuall instigations it was procured: though *Suetonius* attributeth it unto *Augustus* his owne ambitions, to make himselfe the sooner misled, and the more lamented, in leaving his unlike to succeed: whose conditions as they stood upon their owne basis, hee knew to bee reproveable, and contemptible.

Tiberius Nero his parents.

Sueton. in vit. Tiber.

(2) But before the death of *Cæsar* could be divulged, to write his imperiall stile as it were in blood, he began with the murder of young *Agrippa*, the sonne of *Iulia*, daughter to *Octavian*, and once his own wife, and continued his raigne with such *tyranny* and murther, that many he slaughtred, without respect of person or cause; and in his looseſt lasciviousnesse, thought of nothing but how to subvert the *Nobility*; for rare it was in his dayes that any such dyed a naturall death: and maintaining a race of *men (Promoters, as Tacitus* tearmes them, found out for *a common overthrow* and destruction of *others*) *allured* them by rewards *to accuse* the rich, though *guiltlesse*; only this favour granted to the condemned, that if they slew themselves before the day of execution, their *bodies* should have burial, their *goods* at their owne disposse, and their *testament* stand good in law.

His actions and conditions.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 5. His plotting against his Nobles. Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 7.

(3) A great *dissembler* he was, *seeming* ever *to hate* those *vices* which in truth he loved, and to *love* those *vertues* which he did most deadly hate: and *for life* and libidinous filthinesse so extreme, that a Christians pen may not expresse, when the *Heathen* themselves doe *blush to name* such *things* as *he shamed not* openly *to commit*: his publike drunkennesse, and continuall *banquettings*, whereat hee spent *whole dayes and nights* together without intermission, caused exchange of names from *Tiberius Nero* to *Biberius Mero*.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 7. Tiberius his hypocrisie.

His libidinousnesse.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 2. His Epicurisme.

*A Wine-bibber.

Carelesse in government. The Provinces undefended.

Mero. Dissolute and carelesse he was in government, though some have accounted him a wise and politicke Prince: for the *Provinces* he left to defend themselves, and yet daily *charged* them *with larger Tributes*, to their great impoverishment, and almost utter ruine.

Britaine without forraigne garrison or government.

(4) In this state, amongst others neglected, *Britain* stood, wherein *Tiberius* neither maintained garrison, nor attempted alteration, and whereby (as it may bee thought) their owne Lawes and Princes bare sway among themselves, howsoever the cause for *Tribute* was ballized betwixt them. And most certaine it is, the *Britaines*, if not in subjection, yet were well affected to the *Romans*, as appeareth by *Tacitus* in the kinde entertainments, and in releeving their shipwracked souldiers, that in crossing the *Seas* were by tempests driven upon their Coasts, and courteously sent thence by their *petty Kings* unto *Germanicus* their Generall. Notwithstanding, *Jeffrey Monmouth* seemeth to affirme the contrary, that bringeth the raigne of one *Guiderius*, and the valour of *Arviragus*, the sonnes of *Cunobeline* (of whom more hereafter) to withstand the *Romish Command*, and utterly to refuse the paiment of *Tribute*, banding both against *Tiberius*, as also against *Caligula* and *Claudius* the Emperours succeeding.

Tacit. Annal. 2. cap. 5.

(5) Other remembrances of these times concerning us, finde we none, besides that which is common to all, namely the death of our *Saviour Christ*, which under this Tyrant, and in his eighteenth yeare was accomplished by the proceeding of his (as wicked) Deputy *Pontius Pilate*, who *both adjudged him to die, and to be guiltlesse of deserving death*: whereby was wrought the mystery of our *Redemption*, with such signes and evidences of his *Deitie*, that the wicked Judge himselfe wrote thereof to *Tiberius*, and hee to the *Senate*, to have him consecrated among the *Roman Gods*: Which they refused to doe, that the wisdome and divine *power of God* in the doctrine of *Salvation* should *not need* the allowance and commendation *of men*, as *Eusebius* hath well observed.

Our Saviour Christs birth.

Tertul. in Apologet. cap. 5.

Euseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 2. cap.

(6) Finally, when he had raigned (hated of all men) the space of three and twenty yeares, with no better liking then is read of *Joram* King of *Judah*, that lived without being deplored, hee was smothered to death (as is thought) by *Caligula*, the seventeenth Kalends of *April*, the yeare from *Christs Nativity*, thirty nine, and the seventy eight of his owne age. Hee was of *personage* tall, and of *body* strong, broad chested, and used both his *hands* alike, faire of *complexion*, but great and goggle-eied, whereby he saw so cleerely, as is incredible to report.

Tiberius his raigne, age, and death. Tacit. Annal. 6. cap. 7. 2 Chron. 22. Tacit. l. 6. c. 11.

CAIVS CALIGVLA.

Chapter V.



Caius Caligula his parents. Tacit. Annals. cap. 9.

Next unto *Tiberius* succeeded his nephew *Caius Caligula*, the son of *Germanicus* the sonne of *Drusus*. His mother was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Iulia*, *Cæsars* wife; and his Coines as thou seest above, being rather liked for his fathers vertues, (who was for *learning, vertue, valour* and *courtesie*, the most admired man of that age) then for any parts of his own answerable to so high a place, as being neither naturally framed for good presence in Throne, nor qualified in minde for an Imperiall Command. Ever in condition opposite to all, (& which is more) most times to himselfe. One while lasciviously *prodigall*, in excessive *banquets*, and admirable *Sea-workes*, with needlesse *levelling of mountains*, and filling up their vallies: Another while extremely *covetous, imposing taxes* upon the Provinces, and exacting gains out of the base earnings of pollutions of harlots: Alwaies cruel and libidinous. His owne *mother* he defamed to be incestuously begotten; his *grand-mother* he poisoned; his *brother Tiberius* he murdered; his *three naturall sisters* hee polluted incestuously, and upon *Drusilla* the second so *incredibly doted*, that he used to sweare by her sacred name, *and deified* her for a *Goddesse* by the name of *Panthea*, commanding divine honors to be done unto her. The like *deity* conceited he of *himselfe*, causing his *Statue* to be worshipped, and placed in his usuall roabs amongst the *Roman Gods*, and would have set it in *Jerusalems Temple* (as *Josephus* recordeth) had not that *Great God* cut him off by death. His *Imperiall government* was without either inlargement of circuit, or inforcing by armes a dutifull subjection, rather seeking to make

His prodigality

His covetousnesse.

His vilenesse.

Philo Iude. Euseb. lib. 2. c. 6.

Joseph. Antiq. 18. cap. 11.

himselfe feared by *Tyranny* at home, then any wayes famous by *Acts abroad*.

Tacitus vit Agric.

(2) How the other *Provinces* stood affected, I leave to themselves; but by *Tacitus* it should seeme the *Britaines* and *Germans* were not his best subjects: for these are his words, that *Caius had a meaning to invade Britaine, it is certainely knowne: but his rash running head, and hasty repentance in his attempts against Germany, turned all to nothing*. And *Suetonius* ascribes the foolish erection of that admirable bridge over a creeke of the *Sea* in *Campania* (whereof *Dion* writeth at large) to his vaine-glorious conceit, that by a brute blazed abroad of so huge and monstrous a worke, hee might terrifie *Germany* and *Britaine*, upon which Countries he meant to make warre. The issue whereof was as fruitlesse as his great cost was ridiculous. For having set forward for the conquest of *Britaine* with no small preparation, hee proceeded no further then to those parts of *Holland* that confront against *Northfolke*, where he suddenly pitched his Tents and stayed.

Caligula intendeth to invade Britaine.

Dion Cass lib.59

Suetonius invite Caligula.

Adminius banished, flieth to Cæsar.

(3) At which time, *Adminius* the sonne of *Cunobeline* King of *Britain* being banished by his father, fled over *Sea* with a small power, and submitted himselfe unto *Cæsars* protection: whereupon *Caligula* wrote vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as if the whole *Iland* had beene yeelded into his hands: commanding the messenger that his letters should be carried in a Chariot into the *Curia*, and not delivered but in the Temple of *Mars*, and that in a frequent and full assembly of the *Senate*. And having no further matter to worke upon, hee caused certaine *German prisoners* secretly to be conveied into a wood, and word to be brought him in great feare and amazement of the sudden approach of the enemie; against whom with shew of great manhood and noble resolution in all haste and warlike manner he marched, and in chaines openly shewed them as his captives taken in warre, forbidding the *Senators* the wonted celebration of their *Feasts*, or to enter their *Theaters* to take solace, seeing their *Cæsar* exposed himselfe to so many perils, and fought so great battels with hazard of his life. Last of all, as if he had meant to make a finall dispatch for ever of the warre, hee drew his forces downe to the Sea-coast of *Belgia*, and embattailed his army upon the *Ocean shoare*, planting his *ballists* and other *Engines* of artillery in their severall places, no man witting what he meant: which done, himselfe in a *Galley* launched into the *Sea*, and immediately returning, caused the *Trumpets* to sound the battle, and commanded his *Souldiers* forthwith to fall a gathering of cockles and muscles into their helmets, terming them the *Spoiles of the conquered Ocean*: Against which hee also built a Tower, as a Trophey of his victory, the ruines whereof as yet remaine in *Holland* to this day, and is called *The Britons house* in memory of that fantasticall service vpon which exploit he made a glorious Oration to his souldiers, commending and requiting their valours with rewards, and avowing their *shell-spoiles* worthy offrings to be presented in the *Capitoll*, writing letters to *Rome* of this his great *Conquest*, and demanding *Triumph*, and divine honours to be affigned him: which when

Adminius banished, flieth to Cæsar.

Caligula his vaine ambition.

His deluding of the Senate.

His warring with the Sea.

Caligula his great victory.

Orosius Georg.

His ambition.

the *Senators* made some question of, he threatned them with death. But this *Sea-service* (as it seemeth) so ranne ever after in his minde, that one night hee dreamt that the *Sea* in dreadfull shape came and expostulated with him, which cast him into an incredible horrour and affright.

Caligula his great victory.

(4) In his last yeare of life and raigne, *Pontius Pilate*, under whom *christ Iesus* suffered, was apprehended and accused at *Rome*, deposed and banished to the Town of *Lions* in *France*, where in despaire he slew himselfe in the yeare from *Christ* his incarnation, forty one, and from his death, the seventh, as *Eusebius* hath noted.

Pontius Pilate banished, killeth himselfe.

Euseb. lib. 2. c.7.

(5) And now both the *Ambition* and *cruelty* of *Caius* was grown so intollerable savage, as that he often *lamented that some* rare and unusuall disaster (as either some *horrible slaughter* of huge Armies, or some universall *plague*, or *famine*, or *fire*, or *opening of the earth*, or *over-flowing of the Sea*) *happened not in his time*, whereby his raigne might be made memorable to posterity. And *hee wished* that all the people of *Rome* had but *one necke*, that he might have the glory of giving the bravest blow that ever was given, *whereby* so *infinite multitudes* of men *might be killed* by him *at one stroke*. But this his wish was prevented by a blow on himselfe, his death and downfall being complotted and executed by certaine *Tribunes*, whereof *Cherea* was chiefe; who following him from the *Theater* with resolution of the fact, tooke the time when *Caligula* turning suddenly aside into a narrow Cloister to see certain boyes sent him out of *Asia*, lost the defence of his forewarders, and the straitnesse of the place permitted not his guard to follow, on which advantage *Cherea* demanded his watch-word, which he (according to his usuall manner) gave in great disdaine and scorne, whereunto *Cherea* replied, and with his sword wounded him in the necke, and jaw; and then the rest of the *Conspirators* comming in, with *thirty wounds* made an end of his life, after hee had most impiously raigned three yeares and tenne monethes.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib.19. cap.1.

Caligula slaine.

(6) He was of *stature* tall, of *complexion* pale and wan, of *body* somewhat grosse and unfashionable, his *necke* and *legges* exceedingly slender, his eyes sunke into the hollow temples of his *forehead*, and that also frowning and full of wrinkles: his *haire* was thin and shaggy, but bald on the crowne, though otherwise so hairy of body, that all the time of his raigne if a man did but name a *Goat*, it was held a touch and offence of *Læsa Majestatis* against his imperiall person. His *Countenance* naturally sterne and grimme, which by composing and gesture he purposely made more ugly and terrible. His *apparell* always costly, but not always Court-like, neither civill: his *beard* he wore of gold like *Iupiter* or *Æsculapius*. In his *hand* for a Scepter, a Mace three-tined, as *Neptune* or *God* of the *Sea*, and upon his *body* the *Curace* of *Alexander* the *Great*, taken from his *Sepulchre* and *Monument*. Hee died aged twenty nine yeares, whose *memory* was so *hated* all unto all, that all the Copper Coines or Modals stamped with *his picture* were *melted* downe by decree of the *Senate*, whereby (if it were possible) *his name* and feature might be *forgotten* unto future ages.

His person age.

Sabellic. Aenaid. 9 lib. 2.

Claudius his parentage.

The Britaines detaine their Tribute.

Dion. lib. 60.

His hatred after death.

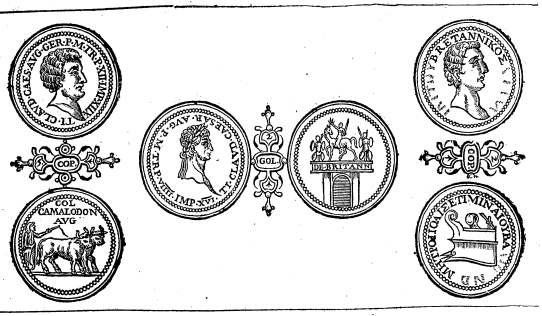
Dion Cass lib. 60. Anno Dom. 45.

Aulus Plautius sent against the Britaines.

His Souldiers unwilling. Dio lib. 60.

CLAVDIVS DRVSVS.

CHAPTER. VI.



Claudius Drusus Emp.

BVt *Claudius Drusus* a man of better spirit and temperature, immediately upon the death of *Caligula*, and even in the height of those disturbances, by the *Pretorian Souldiers* (who were encamped neere the walls of *Rome*) was nominated, and chosen *Emperour*; whereas the *Senate* had *decreed* and *determined* to *reduce* the *Citie* into her *ancient libertie*, *without* admission of any *Cæsar* or *subjection* to such *absolute* and *sole authoritie*; notwithstanding, the power of this *Armie* so *prevailed*, that the election was confirmed, and the Imperiall dignity by him affumed, as the next, and onely man to whom it muft of right belong: whofe father *Drufus* was the fonne of *Livia*, wife to *Octavius*, from whom the *Emperours* fucceeding held it a glory to be any wayes allied.

Claudius Drusus chosen by the Pretorian Souldiers.

Ioseph antiquit. l.19.c.3.

(2) In his first proceedings with the *Provinces affaires*, hee determined warre against the *Britaines*, whose *Tribute* had beene a long time *neglected*, and whose *subjection* was now to bee *feared*: all of them being raised in a tumultuous uprore. The cause pretended was certaine fugitives, (the betrayers of their *State and liberties*) lately departed, and by the *Romans* received with protection of the *Emperour*: a matter that moved them to great discontents, and served as a shew for their just revolt.

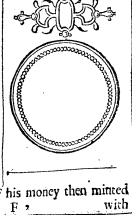
(3) *Claudius*, as ready to prevent the worst, being thereto further incited by *Boricus*, one of those *British* fugitives as *Dion* reporteth, in the second yeare of his Empire, and from *Christs Nativitie*, forty five, sent *Aulus Plautius*, a *Roman Senator*, well experienced in the affaires of warre, to take charge of the *Army* remaining in *Gallia*, and with those old trained Souldiers to make over into *Britaine* to retaine their obedience. Which service upon them thus repofed, was generally distasted, as apparantly was shewed by their unwillingnesse thitherward, muttering and complaining, *that they must now be inforced to make warre out of the world*, and protracting time, could hardly bee drawne forward, though the *Emperour* sent his second command.

(4) But being at last imbarked and crossing the *Seas*, their ships were beaten with contrary winds, which still added discouragements unto their proceedings, and had not an accident the same time happened, the edge of their courage had beene more abated: for even in this distraction suddenly *a fiery flame* shot it selfe *from East to West*, the same way that their shippes made saile: which presently gave hopes to their despairing hearts, being *heathenishly* interpreted for *a signe of good lucke*, and so sent from their *Gods*; whereupon without any resistance, they came to shoare and tooke land.

Aulus Plautius Lieut.

Encouraged by a signe from heaven.

(5) The *Britaines* that mistrusted no such sudden invasion, and now thus *surprised unawares*, dispersedly secured themselves in woods and marishes, thereby to detract time, and the more to weary the Enemy by delaies: which thing *Plautius* well perceived, and with much labour, and hazzard followed so extreamly, that many he slew and tooke *prisoner Caratratus* their Captaine, the son of *Cunobeline* but lately deceased, which brought such terrour amongst the *Britains*, that thereupon the BODVNI, the Inhabitants of *Oxford* and *Glocester-shires*, yeelded themselves to *Plautius* devotion: for which service thus effected, the *Senate* decreed his Triumphs; & it is probable that this defeat of the *Britaine* forces, and surprise of their King, fell out in the sixt yeare of this *Emperours* raigne, by the reverse of his money then minted



Caratratus taken prisoner.

with a triumphall arch and inſcription, *De Britain:* as above is ſeene.

Tacitus in vita Agric.

(6) But he following ſtill the Enemy, being ſeconded by *Flavius Veſpaſian* (afterward Emperour) the leader of the ſecond legion (the foundation of whoſe ſucceeding fortunes was firſt laid here in *Britaine*) gave them againe another overthrow. The chiefeſt meanes whereof was a *policie* they had gotten to gall the Chariot horſes, whereby their riders were maſtered, and their whole powers diſordered: many *Britaines* in this battaile were *ſlaine*, and more in danger, had not the night ended the ſkirmiſh.

C. Sidius Geta his valour.

(7) The next day the *battaile* was againe begun and *maintained* on both parts with equall advantage, till *C. Sidius Geta* enforced the *Britainer* to *retire*, whereby the victory reſted in the *Romans*: for which exploit *Triumphall honours* were aſſigned him, although he had not yet attained to the *Conſular degree*. In this Conflict *Veſpaſian* hardly eſcaped, being ſore oppreſſed by the Enemy, and in ſuch fort, that had not *Titus* (his renowned ſonne) come to reſcue, he had beene ſlaine, whoſe *valour afterwards was tried in one and thirtie battailes, & in the Conqueſt of the Ile of Wight.*

The *Britaines* retire to places of advantage.

(8) After this conflict, the *Britaines* withdrew themſelves into places of more advantage, and in the mouth of *Thamiſis* neere her fall into the Sea, paſſed the ſhallowes and firme grounds in ſafetie, whereas the *Romans* ignorant of both, brought many into danger, and in their diſtreſſed paſſage, were ſharpely aſſailed by the Enemie, in which turmoile, a bloody battaile was begunne, wherein *Togodumnius* a *Britiſh Prince*, brother to *Catacratus*, and ſonne to *Cunobeline*, was ſlaine: Notwithſtanding, the courage of the *Britaines* was nothing abated, but rather *exaſperated* to a further revenge: for effecting whereof, *new forces* were *gathered*, and confluence of people aſſembled *from each part of the Ile*. *Plautius* the *Lieutenant ſeeing* daily the increaſe of *their power*, *Veſpaſian imploied* in other parts, and *himſelfe* ſtreitned *in a place of danger* proceeded no further, but ſent word to the *Emperour* of the doubtfull eſtate of their affaires,

Togodumnius ſlaine.

(9) At that time (ſaith *Suetonius*,) the *Senate* had by decree *allowed Claudius* his *Triumphall ornaments*. But *he ſuppoſing* that *ſuch* a bare title of *honour* was *inferiour* to the Maieſtie of *an Emperour*, and *willing* of himſelfe alſo to enterpriſe ſome exploit whereby he might win *the glory of a compleat Triumph*, *made choice* before all other Provinces, *of Britaine*, attempted by none ſince *Iulius Ceſar* of famous Memory. And with great ſtrength entred into the iourney, having with him a mighti*e Armie* both of horſe and foote, as alſo *Elephants*, a beaſt of great bigneſſe and burthen, whoſe ſtrangeneſſe then amazed the *Britaines*, and whoſe Carcaſes falling in this Land, their late found bones (no doubt) have bred our errour, being ſuppoſed to be of men, and not of beaſtes.

Claudius the Emperor, commeth into Britaine with a great Army.

Dio Caſſius lib. 60. Elephants firſt brought into *Britaine*.

(10) With very great danger he paſſed the *Seas*, and joining ſtrength with his *Lieutenant* and *Veſpaſian*, they all together croſſed the *River Thamiſis*, where preſently they were encountred by the *Britaines*, who a while maintained the battaile very deſperately, but in the end gave place & fled, whom the *Romans* purſued even to their ſtrong *Camulodunum*, then the ſeate of *Adminius*, *Cunobelins* ſonne, as may aptly be conjectured by the Medal of *Britannicus* the *Emperours* darling, figured in the front of this Chapter; which City they ſurpriſed and fortified with their owne Garriſons, & the *Emperour* afterwards in the eleventh of his raigne (as appeareth by the other coine) turned to a Colony of *Romane* Citizens. *Claudius* now diſarming the *Britaines*, remitted further puniſhment either vpon their bodies or confiſcation of their goods: The which his favorable clemencie moved thoſe diſtreſſed *Britaines* to ſuch liking and love, as they *erected a Temple* and *Altar in his name*, and gave him divine honour, as a God: The reſt, as unable to reſiſt proffered their ſubmiſſions, and promiſed a peaceable ſubiection under the *Romans* government.

Claudius ſurpriſeth *Camulodunum*.

He ſurpaſſeth *Cæſar* in ſtretch him to be honoured for a God.

(11) Theſe things thus atchieved, at the end of ſix moneths *Claudius* in his ninth yeare returned and *entred Rome in triumph* with more then uſuall manner, ſtamping againe upon his monies his arch of victory, as appeareth in the face of this Chapter, a perpetuall trophie of his victories and memory of our ſervitude. After whoſe *Triumphant Chariot* rode *Meſſalina* his wife, the *Monſter* of her ſexe *for impudencie* & laſciuious life: and upon the top of his *Palace* he placed a *Navall Coronet* in memoriall of the *Ocean* by him ſailed over, and therefore by his flatterers ſaid to be ſubdued; withall aſſuming to himſelfe, & ſonne, the *Sirname Britannicus*: And honoured *Plautius* with his preſence in his Triumphs for *Britaine*, giving him the right hand, aſcending the *Capitoll*, & beſides graced divers Captaines that ſerved under him in that warre with *Triumphall ornaments*. So great an eſteeme was held of the Conqueſt of ſo ſmall a part of this *Iland*.

Claudius returneth to *Rome*, and entreth in Triumph. *Suetius in vita Claud. Tacit. 13.*

(12) The *Britiſh Hiſtorians* relate theſe things farre otherwiſe, reporting that their King *Arviragus*, the youngeſt ſon of *Kymbeline*, withſtood *Claudius* in his enterpriſe, with whom (ſay they) he came to compoſition by giving him his daughter *Geniſſa* in marriage, in memorie whereof, he built the Citie *Glauceſter*, according to his name; which now is called *Glocester*: But *Suetonius* writing the life of *Claudius*, his wives and children, nameth his daughters onely to be *Claudia*, *Antonia*, and *Octavia*, without mention of *Geniſſa* at all, and therefore not likely to have any ſuch. And *Dion Caſſius* reporteth, that *Claudius* himſelfe ſtaied not above ſixteene daies in *Britaine*, a time too ſhort for the ſending to *Rome*, and thence for the returne with his daughter, or for the building of ſo great a Citie as *Glocester* is. Neither indeede was *Arviragus* knowne in the daies of *Claudius*: But rather lived in the time of *Domitian* the ſeventh in ſucceſſion after him, as plainely appeareth by *Iuuenal the Poet*, in thoſe his verſes ſpoken to *Domitian*, wch elſewhere we cited. Whereby appeareth that the ſtirres of this King could not accord with *Claudius* raigne, and that the trueth of this report is much weakned from more ſufficient authorities. But to proceede, *Aulus Plautius* (the firſt *Lieutenant* authoriſed over the *Britaines*) upon ſome occaſion was thence revoked, the warres not quieted, and with a ſmall Triumph (as *Tacitus* ſaith) entred *Rome*. Vnto him ſucceeded *P. oſtorius Scapula*, for reputation in martiall affaires nothing his inferiour, who at his firſt landing found all in an uprore: Of whoſe proceedings let us heare *Tacitus* ſpeake: The *Britaines* (ſaith he) *that were yet unconquered, ranged the countries of the confederates, preſuming both vpon the approach of the winter, and the Propretors unacquaintance with his Army: But he knowing that the firſt ſucceſſe breedeth either feare or confidence, gathered the Cohorts, and made towards the Enemy, playing all that made head againſt him, and diſarming thoſe whom hee moſt ſuſpected.* And to retaine *Cogidunus* the King in ſtricter aſſiurance and fidelity to the *Emperour*, granted divers Cities and States to him by way of Donation.

The British Hiſtorians varie in relating *Claudius* being in Britaine.

Dion Caſſ lib. 60.

Lib. 5. c. 3. fol. 13.

His manner of encamping.

His animating of his ſoldiers.

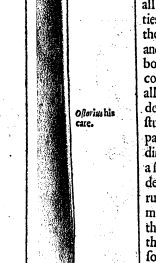
Aulus Plautius, firſt Lord Deputy.

His reſolution.

Tacit. in vit. Agric. Tacit. annal. lib. 13. cap. 7.

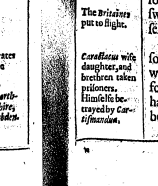
Tacit. lib. 12. c. 68

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 8.



Oſtorius his care.

The firſt that beganne to ſtirre, were the *Icenians*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington-ſhires*, a ſtrong people unſhaken with warres: And with them (at their inſtigation) their neighbours adioining. Theſe together choſe a fit place for fight, compaſſed in with a rude, but defencible trench, which had only one narrow entrance whereby the *Horſemen* muſt be much impeached. This Rampire notwithſtanding the *Romane Captaine*, with the onely aide of the * *Allies*, brake downe, and diſordered the Enemy even in this their owne fortreſſe, who (ſeeing all paſſages for eſcape to bee ſtopped up, *Oſtorius* having hemmed them in with Garriſons between the *Rivers* * *Antonia* and *Sabrina*) ſhewed great valour in defending themſelves and

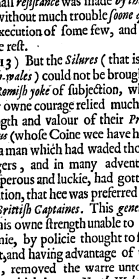


Confederates perchance is meant.

New in Northamptonſhire, ſaith *Camden*.

and by their deaths gave place to the *Romans*. This overthrow and ſlaughter of the *Iceni* wrought a more ſtaied reſolution in thoſe that before were wavering betweene warre and peace. And the *Army* led againſt the *Cangi*, with waſte and ſpoile conſumed the Country; the inhabitants not daring to be ſeene in field. Whereupon the *Romans* pierced thorow the Land even vnto the *Sea-coaſt* that lookes towards *Ireland*.

Here ſtiled the *Romans* nine yeares. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 8.*



A ſmall *reſiſtance* was made *by the Brigants*, but without much trouble *ſoone quieted*, by the execution of ſome few, and pardoning of the reſt.

Caractacus led triumph.

(13) But the *Silures* (that is, thoſe of *South-wales*) could not be brought to beare the *Romiſh yoke* of ſubiection, who beſides their owne courage relied much upon the ſtrength and valour of their *Prince Caractacus* (whoſe Coine wee have here expreſſed) a man which had waded thorow many dangers, and in many adventures both proſperous and luckie, had gotten ſuch reputation, that hee was preferred before all the *Britiſh Captaines*. This *generall* knowing his owne ſtrength unable to match the enemie, by policie thought to ſupply that want, and having advantage of the Country, removed the warre unto the *Ordovices*, which is now *North-Wales*, where all joyned to him that either feared or diſdained to hold peace with the *Romans*. Here he choſe a place to encampe his *hoſte*, even on the top of a hill naturally defenced from acceſſe: and where any doubt was, there he ſtopped up all paſſage with heapes of ſtones in manner of a *Rampire*; neere the foot whereof ran a *River* with a foord ſomewhat dangerous, and not eaſily found, where a troope of his beſt ſouldiers were ſet in order to receive the *Enemy*.

His habit and attire.

Ex hiſtor. magn. Britan.

His vndaunted reſolute.

The more to animate their mindes, the *Leaders* went about exhorting and encouraging the Souldiers, taking all occaſions of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all inducements of reſolution: eſpecially *Caractacus*, who courſing hither and thither, proteſted that day and that battle ſhould bee the beginning either of a recovered liberty, or elſe a perpetuall ſervitude and bondage: and ever hee called upon the names of his valiant *Anceſtors*, who formerly had chaſed *Cæſar* the *Dictator* out of the *Ile*, by whoſe valour they were delivered from *Hatchets* and *Tributes*, and enjoyed freely their wives and childrens bodies undefiled. The *Souldiers* alſo themſelves *ſhewed* as great *forwardneſſe*, and as *Echoes* redoubled his words, *vowing* according to the *Religion* of their Country, *never to yeeld* for wounds or life, which they all were ready to ſacrifice in the cauſe of their liberties. This their apparant reſolution much appalled the *Romans* cheerefulnes, and moſt of all the *Captaines* and *Leaders*, who before their faces ſaw the *River*, on both ſides of them had the hanging hills, and the Fort commodious for the enemie, but deadly unto them: all which notwithſtanding the common Souldiers deſpiſed, and demanded the battell; *Oſtorius*, whoſe ſtudy was chiefly to performe the parts of a *Generall*, paſſed the *River* with ſome little difficulty, and leading his *Army* up to the *Rampire*, was met with ſuch a ſhowre of darts, that many therewith were wounded and ſlaine. Yet at length breaking downe thoſe rude compacted ſtones, joyned battell with the enemie, and afront came cloſe to handy ſtrokes; wherein the *Britaines* having better courage then armour (for they had neither headpeece nor coat of defence) were ſore galled with their Iavelings and two-handed ſwords, and ſo diſordered, that they betooke themſelves to flight.

His reſolution.

The *Britaines* put to flight.

(14) This victory, as it was almoſt unexpected, ſo was it made famous by the taking of *Caractacus* his wife, daughter, and brethren, and himſelfe flying for ſuccor and protection to the *Brigantes*, was (as we have before ſhewed) by *Cartiſmandua* their *Queene* betrailed, and delivered into the hands of th Conquerours after his nine yeares moſt generous reſiſtance. Whereupon his fame being carried over the *Ilands*, and ſpread abroad thorow the Provinces, was alſo renowned in *Italie*, and they deſired to ſee him that ſo many yeares had contemned their forces. Neither was his name meanly eſteemed of at *Rome*; for whileſt *Cæſars* worth and power was there commended, a more glorious conceit was held of the conquered *Caractacus*: and againſt his comming to the City the people from all parts were aſſembled, as to behold ſome notable and moſt rare ſpectacle. The *Emperors Guard* in armes and good order were placed in the field before the Campe, thorow whom the Captives and Trophies were carried, and preſented after this manner: firſt the vaſſals of *Caractacus* going formoſt, bowed their bodies to the people as they paſſed, and ſeemed by their ruefull countenances to diſcover the ſenſe of their calamity. The capariſons, his chaines, and other ſpoiles gotten in the warres, were carried after them. Then *Caractacus*, his brethren, wife, and daughter followed, and laſt of all himſelfe, whoſe attire and ſtout behaviour filled the peoples eies with wonder and delight. His *bodie*, for the moſt part, was *naked*, and *painted* with figures of divers beaſts. Hee ware a chaine of iron about his *necke*, and another about his *middle*: the haire of his *head*, hanging downe in curled lockes, covered his *backe* and *ſhoulders*, and the *haire of his upper lip* parted on both ſides, lay upon his *breaſt*. Neither was his behaviour leſſe noted then the ſtrangeneſſe of his habit: for he neither hung downe his head as daunted with baſe feare, nor craved mercie, as the reſt; but with a confident ſpirit, and bold countenance, held on till he came before the *Imperiall Seat*, where making his ſtand, and a while beholding *Cæſars Maieſtie*, at laſt with great courage ſpake to this purpoſe,

His Oration to *Claudius Cæſar*.

"(15) If my *moderation* in proſperity had beene "anſwerable to the greatneſſe of my birth and eſtate, "or the *ſucceſſe* of my late attempts to the reſolution "of my minde, I might have come to this *Citie* rather as a friend to be entertained, then as a Cap"tive to be gazed upon; neither wouldſt thou diſ"daine to have received me on termes of *amitie and* "*peace*, being a man of royall deſcent, and a Com"mander of many warlike Nations. But what cloud "ſoever hath darkened *my preſent lot*, yet have the "*Heavens* and *Nature* given me that in birth and "minde, which none can vanquiſh, or deprive mee "of. I well ſee, that you make *other mens miſeries* the "ſubject & matter of *your triumphs*; and in this *my* "*calamitie*, as in a mirrour, you now contemplate *your* "*owne glory*. Yet know that I am, and was a *Prince* "furniſhed with ſtrength of men and abliments of "warre; and what marvell is it if all bee loſt, ſeeing "experience teacheth, that the events of *warre* are "*variable*, and the *ſucceſſe* of policies *guided* by un"certaine *fates*: As it is with me, who thought that "the *deepe waters*, like a wall incloſing our land, and "it ſo ſituated by heavenly providence, as in an ano"ther world, might have beene a ſufficient priviledge "and defence for us againſt forraine invaſions: but "I now perceive that the deſire of *ſoveraignty* admits "no *limitation*; and if you *Romans* muſt command "all, then all muſt obey. For mine owne part, while "I was able I made *reſiſtance*, and unwilling I was to "ſubmit my necke to a ſervile yoke, ſo farre the law "of *Nature* alloweth every man, that he may defend "himſelfe being aſſailed, and to withſtand force, by "force. Had I at firſt yeelded, thy glory and my ruine had not beene ſo renowned. *Fortune* hath now "done her worſt: wee have nothing left us but our "lives, which if thou take from us, *our miſeries* end: "and if thou ſpare us, we are but the objects of *thy* "*Clemency*.

Events of War variable.

Britaines wall.

Ambition hath no bounds.

Nature diſtaineth ſervitude.

(16) *Cæſar* wondering to ſee ſuch reſolutions and ſo free a minde in a Captive eſtate, pardoned *Caractacus*, his wife and brethren, who being unbound, did their reverence to *Agrippina* the *Empreſſe*, that ſate aloft *on a Throne Royall*. This conqueſt and Triumph

Caractacus wife daughter, and brethren taken priſoners. Himſelfe betrayed by *Cartiſmandua*.

umph over *Caractacus*, miniſtred matter of diſcourſe and admiration thoroughout all *Rome*, and the *Lords* of the *Senate* held it no leſſe honourable, then that of *P. Scipio*, who triumphed over *Syphax* the *Numidian King*, or that of *Perſes*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquiſhed, or then any other King that had beene taken in warre, or exhibited to the view of the people. Then were alſo publike *Triumphall honours* decreed for *Oſtorius*; whoſe fortunes untill then had beene very proſperous, but now began to be doubtfull, or rather to decline, either becauſe *Caractacus* (the foile of his glory) was removed, and thereupon (as though all had beene ſubdued) a more careleſſe ſervice entertained, or elſe the courage of the *Britaines* was more inflamed to revenge, through the fervent compaſſion of the fall of ſo mighty a King.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 8.

Oſtorius and his fortunes decline.

The *Britaines* take heart againe.

(17) For immediately they invironed the *Campe-maſter*, and the *Legionary Cohorts*, which were left to build fortreſſes in the Countrey of the *Silures*, whom with *eight Centurions*, and the *forwardeſt Souldiers*, they ſlew, and had put all the reſt to the ſword, if reſcue had not ſpeedily come from the villages and forts adjoyning. The *Forragers* alſo and troope of horſe that were ſent to aide them, they *put to flight*. Theſe affronts touched *Oſtorius* to the quicke, and left their aids ſhould grow to a greater head, he ſent forth certaine light-harneſſed companies, which with the *Legionary Souldiers*, undertooke the *battle*, and with ſmall oddes was it continued till the night came, and parted them: divers other *skirmiſhes* afterwards the *Britaines* made, though for the moſt part in *woods and mariſhes*, whence taking their advantage in ſallying forth, they may times prevailed, ſometimes by *ſtrength*, ſometime by meere *courage*, and ſometimes by *chance*; neither were they always commanded by their Captaines, but many times fought voluntary and without preſſe.

Their victory.

(18) The principall motive that induced the reſt to take Armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were moſt reſolutely bent, as being *exaſperated* by certaine *ſpeeches* that the *Roman Emperour* himſelfe had *uſed*, which was, that the name of the *Sugambri* was deſtroyed, and the people tranſported into *Gallia*, ſo the memorie of *Silures* ſhould utterly bee extinguiſhed: And in this heate, as men deſperate (whoſe deſtinies were read & lots caſt already) they intercepted the ſcattered troopes of the *Romans* that uncircumſpectly waſted and ſpoiled the Country, taking of them many priſoners, and recovering rich booties, which they ſent and diſtributed amongſt their neighbours; whereby many other were drawn to revolt: Theſe proceedings fare ſo neere *Oſtorius* his heart, who with long cares and travels had wearied his ſpirits, ſpent the ſtrength of his body, and thereunto had now added the diſcontentment of his minde, that in theſe vexations hee gave up the *Ghoſt*, the *Silures* rejoycing that ſo worthy and victorious a Captaine was fallen in their warres.

Cæſars threates make the *Britains* more reſolute.

Oſtorius dieth.

(19) But *Claudius Cæſar*, left the Province ſhould make head, preſently ſent *Aulus Didius* for his Lieutenant into *Britaine*; where notwithſtanding all his haſte he found all out of frame. For *Manlius Valens* with his Legion had encountred the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe, yet not ſo bad as the *Ilanders* gave foorth, thinking thereby to terrifie their new eſtabliſhed *Governour*: which report himſelfe alſo in policy was contented to augment; *Thereby to purchaſe more praiſe in appeaſing ſo dangerous ſtirres*; or if he could not, to retaine his own credit without his valours impeachment. Theſe reſiſters had made many inroades into the ſubdued Countries; againſt whom upon his firſt arrivall, *Didius* entred the field, and for a while kept them in awe.

Aulus Didius ſent Lieutenant into *Britaine*.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 8. Manlius Valens encountred the *Britaines* with ill ſucceſſe.

Didius for a whole yeer, eeth them in awe.

(20) But *Venutius* a very expert man in Militarie affaires (truſty to the *Romans*, and defended by their power ſo long as the mariage betwixt him & *Cartiſmandua* continued) began a new rebellion: for *Cartiſmandua* (in ſpeciall favour with the *Romans* for the delivery of *Caractacus*) abounding in wealth, peace, and pleaſures (which commonly are the Nurſes of licentious living) fell in love (as before was touched) with *Vellocatus* her husbands ſervant, and harneſſe-bearer, and forgetting her owne honour, preferred him before *Venutius*, and laboured to make him *King*. The good-will of the Countrey notwithſtanding went generally upon the lawfull husband: who being deepely touched with this open injurie, raiſed a power againſt her and her *Paramour*. At the firſt this quarrell was onely betwixt them, untill that *Cartiſmandua* by policie had taken her husbands brother, and ſome of his neereſt kindred, priſoners. Whereupon the next Inhabitants fearing her purpoſes, and diſdaining to be brought under the yoake of a Woman ſo defamed, declared themſelves for *Venutius*, and with a choice bond of youthfull Soldiers invaded her Territories: whereof *Didius* having intelligence, ſent certain *Cohorts* to ſecond her and encounter them. In which conflict, the *Romans* for *Cartiſmandua* did prevaile; yet the kingdome remained to *Venutius*, and the warres ſtill unto them.



Tacit. hiſt lib. 3. cap. 9.

(21) For the *Silures* were not altogether quieted, and a Legion commanded by *Ceſius Naſica*, fought luckily againſt the *Britaines*. In all which ſtirres *Didius* in perſon was abſent, as being ſtricken in yeares, and having received many honours, held it ſufficient to execute his charge by the aſſiſtance of others. The State of *Britain* thus ſtanding, let us ſo leave it during this *Emperors* raigne, which now began to draw towards his laſt period, by the working of *Agrippina* his wife, and by her upon this occaſion.

Tacit. Annal. 12. 8.

(22) It chanced, *Claudius* in his Wine, to caſt forth a word of great ſuſpicion, in ſaying: *That it was fatall unto him firſt to beare the lewdneſſe of his * wives; and then to puniſh them.* She knowing her ſelfe guilty in diſinheriting of *Britanicus*, who was *Claudius* his owne ſonne, for the adoption of *Nero*, who was hers, beſides other inſolencies wherewith ſhee might bee taxed, ſought therefore to cleare her owne way by taking him out of the way: and with *Locuſta* a woman skilfull in poiſoning, and *Zenophon* a Phyſitian, as large of conſcience, conferred for the manner of his death: who, in fine, concluded that poyſon was the ſureſt and the leaſt in ſuſpect, or at leaſt wiſe the moſt difficult to be proved againſt her.

Claudius his own words the occaſion of his death.

* *Meſſalina* was his firſt wife, a woman of inſatiable lechery, who was put to death.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 12. cap. 13.

(23) This then reſolved, they temper poiſon in a Muſhrom, whereof he greedily did eate, and ſhortly after ended his life the 13 day of *Octobar*, when hee had raigned 13 yeares, 8 moneths, and 20 dayes, the yeare of *Chriſts Incarnation* 56, and of his owne age, 64. He was of *ſtature* tall, and of a pleaſing *countenance*, full of Majeſtie and comely gray haires, his *Head* continually ſhaking, ſomewhat ſtammering in his ſpeech, very learned, but therwithall very forgetfull, and altogether ruled by his wives, and domeſticall ſervants, the two ordinary banes of moſt men who are advanced to any eminent place of government and command.

Joſeph. Anti. lib. 20. cap. 5.

The continuance of his raigne. An. Dom. 56.

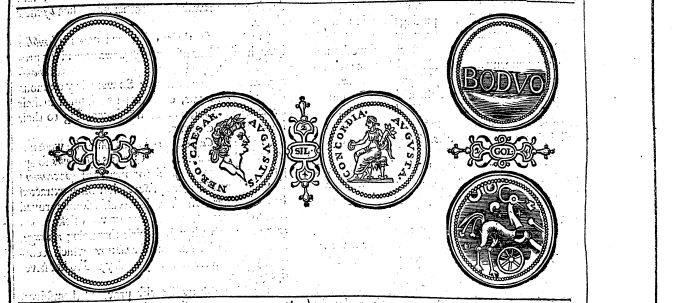
His Indowments of bodie, His imperfections. Wives and ſervants moſt miſlead great perſonages.

(24) *This Emperour* (ſaith *Seneca*) *might make his boaſt that he was the firſt Conquerour of the Britaines, for Iulius Ceſar did but ſhew their Iland unto the Romans, whereas Claudius made their neckes yeeld to the chaines of their captivities.* And *Aegiſippus* ſaith thus of *Claudius*, *His witneſſe is Britain, which lived without the world, but now by him reduced under the Romans Empire, and thoſe whom the former ages knew not, neither themſelves any ſervitude, are now by him both made knowen, and ſervants to the Romans.* And againe: *As great a matter it was to paſſe thoſe Seas, as to have triumphed over thoſe Britains, wherein* (ſaith he) *even the elements have done homage unto Claudius.* In joy whereof, and reverence to the *Gods*, in his triumph he mounted the *ſtaires* of the *Capitoll*, upon his aged knees, being ſupported and lifted up by his ſons in Law on either ſide, the glory of this *Ilands* conqueſt had ſo poſſeſſed this old *Emperours* minde.

NERO.

NERO.

Chapter VII.



THis violent and unexpected death of *Claudius*, gave breath and life unto *Neroes* further hopes: for whileſt the *Conſuls* were aſſembled to make ſupplications for their *Prince*, (not knowing him already dead) *Nero* ſuddenly ſet open the *Palace* gates, and accompanied with ſhouts and acclamations, entred the *Cohorts* that kept the watch, where of them and the reſt of the ſouldiers hee was ſaluted *Emperour*, the *Senate* as men affrighted with amazement, not once contradicting the ſame.

Nero aſſumeth the Empire.

(2) Hee was the ſonne of *Domitius Nero*, and of *Iulia Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, brother to *Claudius* the precedent *Emperor*, vitious by nature, as ſprung of thoſe parents from whom (as his owne father *Domitius* ſaid) *no goodneſſe could proceed*: and the ſame vile diſpoſition was perfected and augmented by his owne affected ſtudy, and purſuit of all poſſible leudneſſe, as one who could well fit his wanton and laſcivious humours to the unripeneſſe of his yeares, being not paſſing ſeventeene when he aſſumed the *Empire*. All Religion hee had in contempt, and all lawes violated, letting looſe the reine to all unnaturall luſts, and licentiouſneſſe of life.

His parents.

Suetonius in vita Neronis.

His exceſſive luſt and bloodſtied.

Suetonius in vita Neronis.

(3) For bloud and *libidinouſneſſe* hee was held a moſt unſatiate fury, and amongſt men a very monſter of Nature. His father he poyſoned: upon his mother he committed both inceſt and murder; upon males, pollutions againſt Nature: deflowred the *Veſtals* (a matter ſacrilegious and impious) ſlew his brother *Germanicus*, and his ſiſter *Antonia*, his wives, *Poppea* and *Octavia*, his aunt *Domitia*, his ſonne in law *Ruſinus*, and his *renowned Tutor Seneca*; With ſuch ſavage ſlaughter of the *Roman* Nobility, that *Tacitus* (their beſt Remembrancer) was wearied to record their names, *whileſt with a ſervile patience* (as he termeth it) *they died honourably*.

Tacit. Annal. 16 cap. 3.

(4) The City *Rome* hee ſet on fire, charging the Chriſtians with the fact, and inflicted ſuch torments and death upon them, that they were pitied of their enemies, and his owne cruelties thereby made more notorious. Whoſe *Religion*, through *Suetonius* tearmed *new*, and *a wicked ſuperſtition*: and *Tacitus* (as it were in contempt) nameth the Author thereof to be *Chriſt*, who in *Tiberius* raigne (as he with the *Evangeliſts* agree) was put to death under *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator of *Iudea*, where that religion firſt began; yet by the ſaid author it is confeſſed, that theſe men were innocent of the fact, and their doctrine to burſt forth further into many other parts, inſomuch that *Rome* it ſelfe did affect the ſame. Yea, and in *Neroes* Court alſo ſome embraced that faith, as by the words of the *Apoſtle* is manifeſt, who from the *Saints* in *Cæſars* houſe ſent ſalutations to the Brethren, *Phil. 4. 22.*

Suet. in vit. Ner.

Tacit. Annal. 15 cap. 10.

Rome ſet on fire by Nero.

Chriſtians in Neroes Court.

(5) And laſtly, to fill up the meaſure of his bloudy cruelty, he crucified *Peter* upon the *Croſſe*, and beheaded *Paul* with the ſword, two principall *Apoſtles* of *Ieſus Chriſt*, and worthy inſtruments of the *worlds ſalvation*; and forgetting the Majeſtie of his eſtate, fell into the ſinke of contempt and all *ſinnes*, giving his *minde* leave to digeſt all uncleanneſſe, and his *bodie* over to worke any baſe exerciſes, attending nothing beſides his *Harpes* and *Harlots*, whereby a careleſſe (but yet a cruell) goverment was intertained, and the *Senate* faſhioning themſelves to feed his *looſe humours*, ſtrove each to outſtrip other in their *baſe flatteries*.

Peter and Paul put to death. *Euſeb. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. Apol. 2.*

(6) In this ſtate the *Provinces* ſubjections began to ſtand doubtfull, and the greateſſe of the *Empire* to over-charge the foundation; for the *Parthians* under *Vologeſes* gave *Patus* the *Roman* a great *overthrow*, and that in ſuch wiſe, that thoſe which eſcaped were tearmed the *unfortunate army*. And in *Britaine* their affaires proceeded with no good ſucceſſe; for aged *Didius* could do no more then *keepe* that which hee had already *gotten*: and *Verannius* his ſucceſſor, only with ſmall inroads *aſſailing* the *Silures*, was in his firſt yeere *cut off by death*, inſomuch that *Nero* having neither wil, motion, nor hope to propagate and enlarge the *Empire*, minded once to have with-drawn the *Roman* forces out of *Britaine*, had it not been for very ſhame.

A great overthrow of the *Romans*. *Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 2.*

Tacitus in vita Agric. Suet. in vit. Ner.

(7) But *Paulinus Suetonius* attaining the government of that *Province*, in skill for ſervice, and opinion of people comparable to any, *ſought to match* his concurrent *Corbulo*, who with daily *victories* proſpered in *Armenia*, himſelfe wanting neither courage nor diſcretion to atchieve the like, only matter and occaſion *the Iland* affoorded none. Therefore determining an *expedition* into further parts, hee made preparation to invade the *Ile of Mona*, now *Angleſey*, ſeparated from the *Continent* by the *River Menai*, and fronted upon the midſt of *Ireland*, both ſtrong with *inhabitants*, and a receptacle of *Fugitives*.

Angleſey invaded.

(8) Againſt his approch the *Ilanders* had gathered their powers, which *flood* thicke upon the ſhoare ready

Romans amazed at sight of the Britiſh.

ready *armed* to make reſiſtance, their *women* running among in mourning weedes, their *haire* looſe, and fire-brands in their *hands*, like furies of hell, together with their *Druides* (men of religion) who with *hands* and *eyes* lifted up towards *Heaven*, cryed for vengeance, and powred out curſes as thicke as haile. With *the ſtrangeneſſe* of which ſight, the *Romans* ſtood *amazed*, not offering one ſtroke; *ſeeming* rather to preſent themſelves for a *prey* upon their enemies weapons, then for the *Conqueſt* of their land or lives: which ſtaſden and unexpected diſcouragement, their *Captaine* ſoone redreſſed, by putting them in remembrance of their wonted *valours*, which now was farre overmatchable unto a fearefull flocke of weake *women*, or a company of rude and franticke men: whereupon their *Enſignes* were diſplaid, and the *Enemy* preſently diſperſed and ſlaine, themſelves becomming maſters both of the *field*, and whole *Ile*: which no ſooner was thus obtained, but ſudden *newes* came to recall their powers, the *Provinces* being raiſed to a preſent *revolt*.

The receiver of tribute his oppreſſion. *Dion Caſſ lib. 62.*

(9) For the *Britaines* in abſence of the *Generall*, laid open their publique *grievances*, growne now both common and intollerable by the oppreſſions of the *Romans*, who from the diſeaſes of their *Head*, had ſucked and diſperſed their corruptions through-out the *Provinces* of the Empire: and *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator* here in *Britaine*, renewed the confiſcation of their goods, which *Claudius* had formerly remitted. The *Roman Colonie* at *Camulodunum*, thruſt out of the ancient *Inhabitants*, ſeating themſelves in their *poſſeſſions* without any other recompence, ſaving reproachfull *termes*, calling them their drudges, flaves and *vaſſalls*: beſides, the *Temple* there erected in honour of *Claudius*, was now become an eye-ſore unto them, as an *Altar* of their perpetuall ſubjection, while the *Auguſtall Prieſts* there attending, waſted all their wealth under pretext of *Religion*. But the very *Spring* or *Head*, from whence the cauſe of this ſudden *Rebellion* iſſued, was the preſent abuſe offered to * *Boduo*, *Queene* of the *Iceanians*, late wife to *Praſutagus*, deceaſed upon the inſuing occaſion.

Tacit. Annal 14 cap. 10.

Praſutagus his Teſtament.

(10) This *Praſutagus*, King of the *Iceanians*, famous for his riches, which along time hee had beene gathering, *made Ceſar* with his two daughters his *heire*, by Will; thinking by that flattery, his *kingdome* and *houſe* had been ſufficiently *warranted* from future injuries: which fell our cleane otherwiſe, for *his kingdome* by the *Centurions*, and his *houſe* by ſlaves were *ſpoiled* as lawfull booties; his *wife* whipped, and his *daughters* deflowred, and the chiefeſt perſons in that *Province* diſpoſſeſſed of their rightfull inheritance, and the *Kings kindred* reputed and uſed as *ſlaves*.

Tacitus vit Agricolæ cap. 190.

(11) Whereupon the *Iceanians* began ſeriouſly to diſcourſe of their preſent *miſeries* and bondage, made ſubject not onely to a *Lieutenant* that ſucked their bloud, but likewiſe to a *Procurator*, that fought their ſubſtance, while with a *ſervile feare* they yeelded to pleaſe the meaneſt *Souldier*; As though the *Heavens* had framed them onely for *ſervitude*, and the *Earth* appointed to beare their *injuries* unrevenged, whereas contrariwiſe, they faw both *heaven* & *earth* flexible to their deliverance: For (whether by policy or chance) the Image of victory at *Camulodunum* fell downe reverſed without any apparant cauſe knowne: the *women* diſtempered with furie, ranne in the ſtreets, *ſinging*, and prophecying *deſtructions*: ſtrange *noiſes* were heard in the Court, and *howlings* in the Theater, and ſtrange *apparitions* and *Edifices* ſeene in the River *Thamiſis*: the *Ocean* it ſelfe betweene *Gallia* and them ſeemed all *bloody*, and the prints of *dead bodies* left in the *ſands* at the *Ebbe*. Againe, weighing the preſent eſtate, they faw *Suetonius* abſent, and buſied to enlarge the *Confines*, the midſt but ſlenderly *guarded*, and by thoſe who were readier for *private gain*, then diligent to diſcharge the offices of warre. The examples of other *Provinces* alſo whetted the edge of their *encouragements*: for *Germany* (they ſaw) had well ſhaken off the yoke of *ſubiection*: The *Parthians* had revolted, and *Armenia* held play with *Corbulo*, as famous as *Paulinus*: Their cauſe was as juſt, their land as well defenced, their *anceſtors* as valiant in reſiſting the firſt *King-leader Ceſar*'s: and themſelves better experienced of their *adverſaries* powers, and their owne *abilliments*. So now having attained the *hardeſt point*, which was their aſſembled *conſultations* (a matter of as great *danger* to be taken with, as in acting their *intendments*) in fine this was reſolved, that *libertie* was to be preferred, though *bought* with their *lives*; and *bondage* to be *avoided*, if not otherwiſe, then *by* their *deaths*.

Their reſolution.

(12) Theſe their often and noted *aſſemblies* brought ſuſpitions of ſome *deſignements*, and the prodigies daily happening, as they were motives of *encouragements* unto the *Britaines*: So were they ominous ſignes to the *Romans*, of either part, framed in their owne *imaginations*, and conſtrued according to their hoped or feared events.

(13) The *Confederates* in this buſineſſe were not to ſeeke their *Leader*: their Queenes *diſhonours* ſo aparantly knowne, (and for matter of *government* they made no difference of *Sexe*) her birth extracted from their *Royall blood*, her hearts affection approved to her *Countrie*, her indignities received of the proud *oppreſſors*, and her haughty ſpirit threatning *revenge*, aſſured them of her uttermoſt *endevors*: which accordingly ſhe effected to her dying day, and to her never dying *fame*.

Boudicea ſurveieth her troopes.

Her attire.

Queene Boudice choſen Leader.

(14) The *Romans* likewiſe provided themſelves, and in the abſence of *Suetonius*, crayed aide of *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator*, who ſent them not above two hundred men, and thoſe but badly armed. Theſe joyning with the reſt, made no great power, all of them relying more to the *frenchiſe* of the place, then ſecuring themſelves with *Trench* or *Bulwark*. Being given over to pleaſure, and *play*, as in the time of a publike *peace*. Which advantages by the *Enemy* were wiſely *eſpied*, and by *Boduo* comming on as nobly *purſued*, when with ſword and fire ſhe *waſted all* in her way, the *Temple* onely *excepted*, whereinto part of the *Souldiers* were fled, but after two dayes *ſiege* it was battered and taken.

Her Oration to her Army. *Tacit. Annal. lib. 11.*

(15) In this heate of fury, the *Britaines* proceed, and meeting *Petilius Cerealis* Lieutenant of the *ninth Legion*, on a haſty March to *reſcue* that which was already *loſt*, they encounter his forces, and *ſlew* all his footmen, himſelfe with his troope of *Horſe* hardly eſcaping to his *Campe*, where in great *feare* he entrenched, not daring to *attempt* any further matter: At notice of theſe miſhaps, *Catus*, like a tall man, *tooke to* his heeles, and ſailed into *Gallia*: by whoſe cruelty and coveroufneſſe the *Britaines* were thus inraged to take Armes and *revolt*, and their entrance thus fortunately proceeding, gave *heart* and hope to further *ſucceſſe*.

The cuſtome of this and other Monarchies to be governed by women. *Juſtin. lib. 1.*

She ſurpaſſeth the *Romans*.

Semiramis.

Nitocris *Tomyris.*

Juſtin. lib. 1.

Cleopatra.

Meſſalina and *Agrippina.*

She putteth *Petilius Cerealis* to flight.

(16) For in this heat of blood and furie they ſet upon, and ſacked the free-towne *Verolanium*, both ſtrong for Garriſon, and rich in *Inhabitants*: which citie (as alſo *Camulodunum* had) felt the rage of their *mercileſſe hands*, from whence great booties were carried, and no leſſe then *ſeventy thouſand* Citizens and Confederates *ſlaine*. This commotion in *Britaine* by *Suetonius Tranquillus* is accounted one of the moſt infortunate loſſes to the *Empire*, happening under *Nero*, and the *more ignominious* to the *Romans* (as *Dion* obſerveth) in that it was *performed* under the Command of a *woman*, neither *experienced* in the feats of *warre*, nor uſing the *victory* according to the Law of *Armes*: for not any *priſoner* taken, in regard of ranſome was *ſaved*, nor *intercourſe* of *exchange* admitted, but kill, hang, burne, and crucifie, as though the meaſure of their *revenge* could never be ſufficiently *heaped*, or the wrath of their *Gods* ſatisfied with the bloud of their *Enemies*.

She diſclaimeth all ſuperiority.

She forceth *Catus* to flie into *Gallia*.

Rejoyceth in her innocency.

She ſacketh *Verolanium*.

(17) By this time *Suetonius* the *Lieutenant* was returned, and taking muſter of his forces in *London* (a Citie even then famous for concourſe of *Merchants* and of great renowne for proviſion of all *things neceſſarie*)

The indignities offered by the *Romans*.

Seventy thouſand ſlaine by her Army. *Suetonius in vit. Nero fol. 139.*

Dion. Caſſ lib. 62.

London long ſince renowned.

Dion. Caſſ. l. 62.

ſary) ſtood yet doubtfull whether hee ſhould chuſe that place for the *Seate of Warre*, or no. But better adviſing, diſlodged his *Hoſt*, and with the *fourteenth Legion*, the *Standard-bearers* of the *twelfth*, and other aydes from places adjoyning, incamped upon a plaine *incloſed* with woods, having a narrow entrance, and free from *Ambuſh* or enemy at his backe.

(18) The *Britaines* likewiſe, inferiour neither in number nor courage, *triumphed* abroad by ſuch troupes and multitudes, as the like had not beene ſeene, yea and ſo fierce of *courage*, and with ſuch aſſurance of *hope*, that they brought their *Wives* to the place to be witneſſes of their *valours*. *Boduo* in her Chariot doing the parts of a moſt noble *Generall* drove from troope to troope to ſee and commend their *forwardneſſe*, and diſmounting attended with her two daughters, and *two hundred and thirty thouſand* reſolute *Britaines*, gat her to a ſeat made of mariſh turfes, after the manner of the *Romans*, apparelled in a looſe gowne of changeable colours, wearing a *kirtle* thereunder very thicke *pleited*, the treſſes of her yellow haire hanging downe to the *skirts*. About her necke ſhee had a *chaine of gold*, and in her hand held a light *ſpeare*, being of perſonage tall, and of a comely, cheerefull, and modeſt *countenance*, and ſo a while ſhe ſtood pawſing, in viewing her *Army*, and being regarded with a *reverend ſilence*, at length to this effect ſhe ſpake unto them.

"(19) My *Friends* and *Companions* of equall fortunes, there needeth no excuſe of this my preſent "authority or place, in regard of my *Sex*, ſeeing it is "not unknowne unto you all, that the wonted man- "ner of our *Nation* hath beene to warre under the "conduct of a woman; and not onely ours but alſo of "the greateſt Monarchies ſwayed upon this univerſal "Globe: for the *Empire* of the *Aſſyrians* (the firſt and "moſt famous that ever was) under the command "of *Semiramis* triumphed over the fierce *Æthiopians*; "and the gold-veined *India*: *Babylon* for ſtrength and "beauty was both defended and inriched by *Nitocris* "her foile Empreſſe. The *Scythians* under *Tomyris* "overcame, and ſlew the great Conquerour *Cyrus*. "*Ægypt* governed by *Cleopatra*: yea and *Romes* Mo- "narkes themſelves ruled, if not over-ruled, by *Meſ- "ſalina* and *Agrippina* the monſters of our Sexe. My "blood and birth might challenge ſome prehemi- "nence, as ſprung from the roots of moſt *royall de- "ſcents*: but my breath received from the ſame ayre, "my body ſuſtained by the ſame ſoile, and my glory "clouded with impoſed ignominies; I diſclaime all "ſuperiority, and as a fellow in *bondage* beare the "yoke of *oppreſſions*, with as heavy waight and preſ- "ſure, if not more. Had I with *Ceſars* mother beene "ſuſpected of *Treaſon*, or with *falſe Cartiſmandua* de- "filed my *Bed*, to the diſturbance of their peace; my "goods might have gone under the title of *Confiſca- "tion*, and theſe prints of the whip under pretext of "juſtice. But why name I *Juſtice* in theſe grand Ca- "talogues of oppreſſions, whoſe *Actors* reſpect nei- "ther *perſon*, *age*, *ſexe*, nor *cauſe*? For what *abuſe* can "be ſo vile, that wee have not ſuffered; *or indignity* "ſo contemptible, that wee have not borne? My "ſtripes, yet felt and ſeene againſt their owne *lawes*, "and the violent rapes of theſe my harmleſſe daugh- "ters, againſt the *Lawes* of *God* and *Man*, doe witneſſe "well what government they intend: and your "*Wealths* conſumed by their waſtefull *wantonneſſe*, "your painefull travels upholding their *idleneſſe*, doe "ſeale the iſſues of our ſucceeding *miſeries*, if not "timely prevented by one joynt endevour. You that "have knowne the *freedome* of life, will with me con- "feſſe (I am ſure) that *liberty* (though in a poore e- "ſtate) is better then *bondage* with fetters of gold: "and yet this *Compariſon* hath no correſpondency in "us: for we now enjoy no *eſtate* at all, nothing now "being ours but what they will *leave* us, and nothing "left us, that they can *take away*, having not ſo much "as our very heads toll-free. Other ſubdued *Nations* "by death are quit from *bondage*; but we after *death* "muſt live ſervile, and pay *tribute* even in our *graves*. "Have the *Heavens* made us the ends of the *world*, "and have not aſſigned the end of our *wronges*? Or "hath *Nature* among all her *free workes* created us "onely *Britaines* for *bondage*? Why, what are the *Ro- "mans*? Are they more then men, or immortall? "Their ſlaine carcaſes ſacrificed by us, and their pu- "trified *blood* corrupting our *Aire*, doth tell us they "are no *Gods*. Our *perſonages* are more *tall*, our *bo- "dies* more *ſtrong*, and our joynts *better knit*, and (to "ſay as it is) every part of us framed more fit for the "*ſpeare* then for the *ſpade*. But you will ſay, they are "our *Conquerours*. Indeed overcome we are, but by "our ſelves, our *owne factions* ſtill giving way to *their "intruſions*: For had not the *Dictator* a *Mandubrace*? "*Caligula* an *Adminius*? *Claudius* a *Bericus*, and *Co- "gidunus*? *Nero* (that ſtrumpet, and our ſtill-living "ſhame) *Cartiſmandua*? *Romes* inſtruments, and *Bri- "taines* vipers? without which, you ſhall ſee *Ceſar* in "ſingle fight, loſe his *ſword*, and after flie the Coun- "try (*a diſhonour indelible*): *Tiberius* forgoe his *Tribute* "though extremely covetous; *Claudius* glad to make "peace, and be quiet: and *Nero* might ſtill have fol- "lowed his *fiddling trade* at home; had not our *diſ- "cords* made up his *Muſicke* here abroad. Our *Diſſen- "ſions* therefore have beene their only riſing, and our "deſignes ſtill weakened by home-bred *Conſpirators*. "Neither hath our *noble reſiſtance* ever beene with- "our deſert and *note of honour*: their publike *triumphs* "being made more *admirable* by one *Britaines* Con- "queſt, then uſually hath beene ſolemnized over "whole Kingdomes. *Caligula* for beholding our "cliffes onely would have divine honours: and for- "getfull *Claudius* remembred unto poſterites (in his "*Britannicus*) a glorious ſurname from us. Our "*ſtrengths* have beene acknowledged the maine *ſup- "port* of *other States*, and ſhall it not; bee ſupplied to "maintaine our owne? We have as much to keepe "as *Birth-right* hath given us, that is, our *Iland* poſ- "ſeſſed by our *Anceſtors* from all *antiquity*: *Ours* "by *inheritance*; *theirs* by *intruſions*, claimes ſo diffe- "rent in the ſcale of *Juſtice*, that the *gods* themſelves "muſt needs redreſſe, and ſet the *ballance* in their *equal "poiſe*. We have ſeene their *propitious beginnings*, in "making us inſtruments over ſeventy thouſand of "*our enemies*; and yet in their revenge *our forces* not "*diminiſhed* but much *increaſed* in number and pow- "er: which thing, as it ſerves to *our encouragements*; "ſo is it to *their feare*. For *Catus* hath ſet the *Seas* (a "ſure defence) betwixt him and us; yet not a *Britaine* "purſuing; for ſurely if any had, he would have hid "himſelfe in the waves. *Petilius* the *field-mouſe* doth "keepe his hole, and with the *Moale* workes the earth "for his faſeſt refuge: And *Poſthumus* their *Campe- "maſter* is too wiſe to venture all at a caſt. Only *Plau- "tius* fleſhed by his late victory over a company of "unarmed *Prieſts*, whoſe reſiſtance conſiſted onely in "prayers, and a few weake *women*, whoſe weapons "were only fire-brands, builds the hopes of his aſpi- "ring *minde*, as *Caligula* did his *Trophey* of *Cockle- "ſhells*. For ſee we not him encamped rather to *de- "fend* his owne, then to *offend* others? His *Army* "crouched together, as fowles flocked againſt a "*ſtorme*, or rather like to fearefull *Hares* ſquatted in "their buſhes, who no ſooner ſhall heare the cry of "their purſuit, but their *Muiſſe* or *Fortreſſe* will bee "left: and for their laſt refuge, as *Hares* truſt to the "ſwiftneſſe of their ſpeedy feet. Suddenly, as ſhee was thus ſpeaking, ſhe let ſlip a *Hare* which ſhee had ſecretly couched in her lappe, which with a great ſhout *eſcaped* thorow the Campe, and gave occaſion to the *Army* (who little ſuſpected it was done by her of purpoſe) to *conſtrue* it as an ominous and lucky *ſigne* of *victory*.

Tacit. Annal. l. 14. cap. 21.

Ceſar com lib. 5.

Britanniſo vi- pera.

Tacitus in vita Agric. Inſolencies moſt dangerous.

Ceſar com lib. 1.

Motives inciting to purſue the Romans.

(20) And thereupon with great force they aſſaile their enemies, whiles *Suetonius* was likewiſe encouraging his *Souldiers* to the like reſolution. The *fourteenth Legion* by his direction kept the ſtrait as a ſure place of *defence*, till the *Britaines* in the fury of their

Her device at concluding her ſpeech.

first onset had spent all their *darts* which with good successe they had *bestowed*: but then failing and wearied in their first comming on too hotly, the *Romanes* sallied out upon the plaine, the *Auxiliaries* and *Horsemen* with long launces making their way, and beating downe all that stood before them. The *Britaines* unable to endure or withstand such fierce *assaults*, were forced to give backe, and at length sought to save themselves by *flight*, but were hindred by their owne *Waggons* placed in the *rere-ward* of the Army, which gave the more *impediment* to their *retrait*, in that they were then *full of their women who in confidence of the victory came thither* to behold the fight, which were among the rest all slaine, without regard of sexe or mercie. This *day* was famous and comparable in renowne for *victory* to any other of former times, for therein were slaine of the *Britaines* to the number of *eightie thousand men*: And the Land brought under an unrecoverable subjection.

The Britaines vanquished.

(21) *Boduo* seeing the overthrow of her *Army*, was notwithstanding *unvanquished* in her owne *Noble spirit*; and scorning to be a spectacle in their *Triumphs* or a vassall to their willes, after the example of *Cleopatra*, shee made an end of her miseries and life, by poyson. And *Ponius Posthumus*, *Campe-master* of the second *Legion*, seeing the good successe of the *fourteenth* and *twentieth*: for that disobaying the *Generall* (contrary to the discipline of warre) he had *defrauded* himselfe and followers of their parts of *glory* in that service, for very griefe *slew himselfe*: and for their good service there performed, *Nero* greatly honoured the *eleventh*, *thirteenth* and *fourteenth Legions*, reposing a most sure trust in their *valour and fidelitie*, ever afterward.

Eightie thousand Britaines slaine.

Boduoc poisoneth her selfe. Tacit. Annal. l. 14. cap. 31.

(22) *Suetonius* animated with this victory, gathered his Army, and *encamped* againe; purposing to *end* the residue of the *War*, if any resisters should remaine: And at that present were sent him out of *Germany* two thousand *Legionary Souldiers*, eight *Cohorts of Auxiliaries*, & a thousand *Horse*, whereby his strength was augmented, and the *ninth Legion* which had beene much weakened by the rashnesse of *Petilius*, fully supplied: So that bootelesse it was for the poore *Britaines* to make any further resistance, and such as did, or stood *doubtfully affected*, were daily put to the sword. But nothing distressed them so much, as did *famine*, and want of *Corne*, being a people in all ages more given to warre then *Good husbandry*, and rather relying upon the provisions of others, than by *the plough* to provide for themselves; fierce of nature, and slowly lending eare to peace, or their minde to such *Arts* as either nourish, or are nourished by peace.

Poenius slew himselfe. Tacitus hist. lib. 2. cap. 4.

The Britaines miseries.

(23) In these stirres *Iulius Classicianus*, sent from *Nero* to succeed *Catus* in his office of *receipts*, an enemie, and at variance with *Suetonius*, the more to cloud *his renowne*, gave it forth for certaine, that a new *Lieutenant* was to be expected, who without either hostile rancour, or pride of a *conquerour*, would intreat the yeelders with all *Clemencie*: And likewise by letters sent to *Rome*, hee signified that no end of warre was to be expected, so long as *Suetonius* remained *Generall*; attributing every adverse lucke to his intollerable pride, and every prosperous successe onely to the good fortunes of *Cæsar* and *State of Rome*. These Great mens dissensions awaked *Nero*, fearing left the *Britaines*, thereby would be more forward to *advantage*, with whom experience had shewed there was no *dallying*; and his former losses among them being againe *recovered*, he thought himselfe discharged and *quit* from all fatall *Calamities*, as *Tranquillus* doth affirme. Therefore he sent *Polycletus*, one of his freed servitors, with *Commission* to examine the differences, and to interpose his *authoritie* to worke a *reconciliation*; at whose greatnesse it was also thought that the *Britaines* would have quaked, and come in under *feete*. Which thing fell out otherwise: for howsoever the *Captaine* and *Souldiers* regarded him for his place, unto whom hee shewed himselfe both arrogant and terrible, yet the *Britaines* made him but their laughing stocke, as being themselves borne free, and knew not what the power of freed-men was; much admired that such Commanders and *Armies* which had atchieved so great exploits, could be brought to obay, and yeeld account of their actions to so base a bondslave, as they termed him.

Iulius Classicianus a receiver.

Promiseth Clemencie.

Tranquillus in vita Nero. Sect. 40.

Polycletus sent to reconcile Classicianus and Suetonius.

(24) But *Suetonius* growne great by his fortunes in these warres, and as it should seeme both suspected and feared of *Nero*, was by him commanded (the warres yet continuing) to deliver up his Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had lately given over his *Consulship in Rome*, a man of a softer, and more *intreatable condition*; and as a stranger to the *faults* before committed was the readier to forgive; and having *composed* the former *troubles*, dares not any further, neither egging nor provoking the *Enemy*, but gave himselfe to a quiet, or rather *idle life*, which he thought might passe under the title of an *honourable peace*. In which estate hee gave up his charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, and was after slaine by *Galba*, nothing objected against him, but his faithfulnesse to *Nero*, in that hee would not betray him, as the rest had done. For *Nero* now growne *odious to God and Man*, Conspiracies were continually attempted, though not in act effected, untill that *Iulius Vindex* Lieutenant of *Gallia* opposed his proceedings, being the first stirrer, and rowling stone that (as *Tacitus* tearmes it) tumbled *Nero* out of his *Seate*.

Liberti or Freedmen, were such, as being first bond-slaves, by their service obtained freedome, and many of them about the Emperour came to be of great sway. Suetonius delivereth up his charge. Petronius his disposition.

Petronius Turpilianus slaine, because true to Nero. Iulius Vindex opposeth Nero. Tacit. hist. lib. 1. & Nero.

(25) For having proclaimed *Galba Emperour*, an old and weake man, at that time *Governor* of *Arragon*; neither privie to the conspiracie, nor assenting to the title, he set up daily many bitter and biting *Edicts* against *Nero*, whereby he was rowsed from his *lascivious rest*, and began to feare the fatall end, whereunto his *impious life* and bloody reigne had now lastly brought him; who destitute of all *power* of resistance, did now set his whole *hope* and refuge, upon that *meanes*, to which the compasse of his time had ever pointed; for relying onely upon his *skill in Musicke*, he intended his flight into *Aegypt*, there to teach the instructions of that *Art*: into such sudden *basenesse* was his minde dejected, that formerly had lashed out beyond all measure in *luxury*, *pride*, and *prodigalitie*. Vnto this conspiracie joyned *Virginius Rufus* Lieutenant of high *Germany*, with *Nymphidius*, *Sabinus*, and *Sophinius Tigellinus*, Captaine of the *Guard*, who after *Vindex* his death, (which happened upon an accident even in his entrance to *Armes*) maintained the election of *Galba*: and the *Senate* as forward to *Neroes* destruction, proclaimed him *Enemy* to the *State*, and pronounced his punishment *more majorum*, sending out each way to apprehend him alive.

Proclaimeth Galba Emperour.

Nero seeketh to flie into Aegypt.

(26) In this feare *Nero* attended with foure servants onely, had hid himselfe in a Countrey *Cottage*, not passing foure miles from *Rome*; whence hearing his decreed *judgement*, and demanding what was meant by that *sentence*, it was answered, that his *necke* should be locked in the forke of a tree, and his *body* all naked, whipped to death; whereupon lamenting that so good a *Minstrell* should be made away, he ran himselfe thorow on his sword, and so rid the world of a *Monster*.

Gellagot the Empire ere he looked for it.

Galba his policie to make Nero odious.

Nero hideth himselfe.

He killeth himselfe.

(27) Of *stature* he was indifferent, his *body* full of freckles, his *haire* somewhat yellow, his *countenance* rather faire then lovely, his *eyes* gray and dimme, his *necke* fat, his *belly* bearing out, and his *legges* slender and small; A most skilfull *Musitian* he was, and in that *Art* sought to excell others, and to equalize *Apollo* himselfe, as also in his *Chariot-riding* to imitate the *swiftnesse* of the *Sunne*. So prodigall in apparell, that he never wore one *Garment* twice, and so sumptuous in *buildings*, as is incredible. Hee *raigned* thirteene *yeeres* and eight *dayes*, and *died* the eight of *Iune*, in the one and thirtieth of his age, and after the birth of our *Saviour Christ* the threescore and tenth: as *Eusebius* doth account.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

His lineaments. Sueton. in vita Nero.

His qualities.

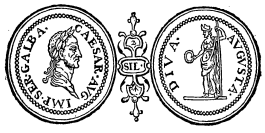
Ioseph. Bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 6. Euseb. l. 3. c. 5.

His raigne and age.

GALBA.

GALBA.

Chapter VIII.



With the death of this *Tyrant*, ended the progeny of the *Cæsars*, and the *Emperours* succeeding were afterwards elected, either for the opinion of their owne worths, or else, (and that oftner) by the *faction* and *voyce* of the *Souldiers*, whose violence the *Senate ever feared* to contradict, and whose *Colonies* in every Province, fought to raise their owne *Generall* to that high *estate*. In which time of Combustion, though little be recorded of the *British affaires*, yet because the *Monarchy* of this *Iland* was then and long after invested in the *Imperiall dignitie*, we may not omit to speake somewhat of the ensuing *Emperours*, as the chiefe Governors of this kingdome. Vpon *Neroes* declining, divers there were (as *Vindex* and *Virginius*, *Nymphidius* and *Sophinius*) set up against him, but *Galba* for his reputed integritie got the *Garland* from them all: who little dreaming of the *Imperiall Diademe*, fortune set it upon his head before his hand had roucht the same: for *Vindex* in *Gallia* having proclaimed him *Emperour*, and himselfe in *Arragon* not free from *Neroes* hatred, he fought rather to hazard his life with the glory of a Crowne, then depend upon his mercy, who had sent secretely the *sentence* of his death. And therefore mounting the *Tribunall*, the more to impresse a fresh remembrance of former cruelties, he placed before his throne, the *Images* of certaine *Nobles executed by Nero*, with some personages sent for out of *exile*, whose presence might provoke a deeper edge of hatred; and his *Army* about him ready for mutation, these, or the like words hee spake.

Nero the last of the Cæsars.

Sues in vit. Galb. Sect. 2.

The manner of chosing the succeeding Emperours.

"(2) *My fellow Souldiers and friends*, wee at this "time are assembled, to bestow that upon others, "which we our selves have finally enjoyed, I meane, "*liberty* from bondage, and *freedome* from feares of "a Tyrant. The life that I have hitherto ledde, will "sufficiently discharge mee from any aspiring con"ceit, and my owne *Conscience* doth witnesse that "I speake not upon malice or private respects: It "grieveth me to say, but it bootes not to hide, that, "which every man seeth. Hath ever *Bond-man* un"der a cruell master passed a yeare of harder service, "then we have done fourescore under *Nero*? what "kind of *exaction* hath he not proved, to supply with "*extortion*, that which with shame hee hath spent? "what kinde of cruelty hath he not practised? If we "would conceale or seeke to suppresse it, these dumb "stones would declare them: For behold, he poy"soned his *Father* and *brother*, abused and slew his "owne *mother*, murdered his *wife*, his *Tutor*, and "what else soever valiant or vertuous in *Senate*, in *Ci*"*tie*, in Province, without any difference of *sexe* or "*Age*. I need not to speake of the sorrowfull *sighes*, "and bitter *teares* of so many yong Gentlemen bereft "of their *fathers*, so many *wives* robbed of their hus"bands, so many great men deprived of their Coun"try, all which cry vengeance upon such a Prince: A "Prince? nay an Incendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a "Stage-player, a Cart-driver, a Cryer, no Prince, nay "no man, that hath a man to his husband, and a man "to his wife, but *a monster of mankinde*: And in truth "a subject, upon whom, *vice* hath made her full ex"perience, and raised her triumphs from the base of "*Cæsars throne*. Against whom, what *Vindex* in *France* "hath already intended, I am sure you doe know, and "I, for my part, am most sorry to heare. The whole "course of my former life hath been hitherto remo"ved from *ambition* in Court, or from aiming too "high abroad, and this little that remaines of my "daies, I could heartily wish were to be spent in more "ease: But sith I know not by what my *mis-fortune*, "some have imposed upon me a *part* which I never "meant to sustaine, and least of all at this *age*, I will "not refuse, if you will also approve it, to sacrifice "this old *carcase* of mine for the wealth of my coun"try, not as *Emperor* or *Augustus* (which *sacred names* "I adore afarre off, not daring to approach them) but "as ——— And no further heard, was with great "acclamations saluted *Emperour*.

Nero described.

Nero solemnely married one of his youths called *Sporphorus*, and kept him as his wife: to likenesse did he with *Sporus*, which he endevoured to transforme into a woman.

(3) But such is the height of *glory*, which is raised by the *blasts* of the multitude, that it fals againe as the *bubble* burst in the swelling, which leaves neither circle nor signe of his former pride. And so is the state of *Galba* with one breath applauded, and placed upon the *Imperiall Throne*; and that scarce cold, ere they dislike of their owne hasty *election*: for newes being brought that the State stood firme for *Nero*, and for certaine that *Vindex* was slaine, even in his first enterprise of revolt; that *Virginius* was fided by his *German Legions*, and his name described in their banners; and that *Nymphidius* was the man whose deserts could not be sufficiently honoured with lesse recompence then the princely *Diademe*: These distractions so much overswayed his aged and passionate heart, that he retired to *Clunia* in great dejection, repenting himselfe of that which he had done, and wished againe his private estate.

Glory like a Bubble.

(4) But the death of *Nero* commonly divulged, and *Virginius* his refusals of the *Imperiall Title*, gave strength and life to his former election, now further ratified by the full resolutions of the *Army*: who the more to seeme both strong and valorous, though indeed a weake, fickly, and filly old man, Souldier-like in his coat of Armes shewed himselfe, and in that array passed the vast mountaine for *Rome*. With whose entrance, entred the dislike of his person, as one unfit to support the state of others, that by age & imbecillity was not able to sustaine his owne; and the *imperfections* of his *government* carried every way farre under *expectation*, daily added their further *dislikes*; which assaying himself: to redresse, hee soone shooke the foundation of his own fabrick: for in a blunt and short

short Oration by him made unto the *Senate* and souldiers, he declared *Piso Licinianus* his *Cæsar:* joyning him in present power with himselfe, and after his decease, his successor in the *Empire*.

(5) Whereat howsoever others stood affected, yet *Marcus* * *Salvius Otho* (one, who for commerce in lewdnesse was very deare to *Nero*, and whose hope depended upon the common disturbance, for that his excesse in riot had now brought him to the brink of beggery) much envied thereat; the rather because himselfe had entertained a hope that *Galba* would have adopted him, but therein deceived, as his concurrent set his own aspiring mind for the *Crown*. And even now this time best fitted his attempts, being the wane of *Galbaes* authority, and before the full of *Pisoes* power; his *Astrologers* and *Star-gazers* forwarding him with their vaine predictions; a kinde of people ever to *Princes* unfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, and in a commonwealth always forbidden, yet always retained. And *Otho* prevailing with the *Pretorian* souldiers, by great gifts, and faire promises, practised, and wrought (within eight daies following) *Galbaes* death: which his treason he so cunningly carried, that still hee accompanied the *Emperour* with great observances, as his private, and especiall friend. But the conspiracy ripened ready for the blanche, *Otho* stole secretely from the Palace, unto the *Pretorian* Cohorts, purposely so appointed: where no sooner come and seene, but they saluted him Emperour, and upon their shoulders bare him towards their Campe.

Tacit. hist. 1. * Silvius. Salvius Otho conspireth Galbaes death.

Astrologers and Starre-gazers.

The rumour arising of this sudden revolt, sore affrighted *Galba*, then ready to doe sacrifice unto his gods, and so distracted his followers, that there were as many advices, as there were men, and messengers posting from Campe unto Court, brought as diverse relations, as their owne suspicions conceived: in which distraction, the weake and wavering old man was so wrapped, that besides throngings from place to place, nothing was effected, till lastly abandoned by his owne followers, a troupe of horsemen sent from the Campe, tumultuously slew him, and presented his head upon the point of a Lance to *Otho*. With him died *Piso* his elected *Cæsar*, whom *Sulpitius Florus*, one of the *British Cohorts* slew, and *Titus Iunius* a *Consull*, with others, that had beene deare unto *Galba*, whileſt he was *Emperour*.

His deſcription.

(6) He was of a good *ſtature*; his *head* bald, his *eyes* gray, and his *noſe* hooked, his *hands* and *feet* crooked by reaſon of the gout, and a bunch of fleſh or wen upon his right ſide. A great feeder and *Sodomite* hee was, fevere in juſtice, and over-ruled by his ſervants. Hee died aged ſeventy three yeares having out-lived five Princes. In proſperity happier under the Empire of others, then in his owne; for hee ſate onely ſeven moneths, and them with ſmall content. In his flouriſhing age with great renowne he had ſerved in *Germany: Africke* he ruled as *Proconſul*, and the neerer *Spaine* uprightly and well; ſeeming more then a private man whileſt he was private, and held capable of the *Empire*, had he never been *Emperour*.

His vices.

His age.

And raigne.

THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION IN BRITAINE.

Chapter IX.



HIs ſhort time of *Galbaes* government, with the conſpiracies againſt his *Predeceſſor*, admitteth ſmall remembrances of our *Britiſh* affaires: which *Province* (ſaith *Tacitus*) among all other ſtirres againſt both *Nero* and *Galba*, held amity, and ſtood in quiet; whether it was the farre diſtance of place, ſevered by *Sea* from the ſeditions of the *Revolters*; or that by continuall ſervice againſt the *Enemie*, the malice of their humours were ſpent, it is uncertaine. Therefore a while to digreſſe from the *Succeſſion* of our *Britiſh Monarkes*, and to fill up the emptineſſe of thoſe *Times*, with matters incident to our ſelves, let it not ſeeme either tedious or ſuperfluous, to ſpeake of the planting of his *Kingdome* in this *Iland*, whoſe *Rule* in ſhort time extended to the *Ends* of the *Earth*; and whoſe Ambaſſadours (as ſome have written) about the midſt of *Neroes* Raigne, and in the yeare of *Chriſts Incarnation*, ſixty three, approached for the Inhabitants ſalvation, *Arviragus* then ſwaying the *Scepter* of this Kingdome.

Britaine in quiet repoſe. Tacit. hiſt. 1. c. 3.

Chriſtianity ſuppoſed to bee brought into Britaine in Neroes time. Ex Antiq. Manuſcripto. Percalibus Lexaureſis, Tom. 2. lib. 1. cap. 4. Willelm. of Malmesbury.

(2) At which time (ſay they) were ſent certaine Diſciples out of *France* into *Britaine* by *Philip* the Apoſtle, whereof *Ioſeph of Arimathea*, that buried the body of *Chriſt*, was chiefe; who firſt laid the foundation of our faith in the Weſt parts of this *Iland*, at the place then called *Avalon*, (afterwards *Inis Witrin*, now *Glaſtenburie*) where he with twelve Diſciples his Aſſiſtants preached the Goſpel of life unto the *Ilanders*, and there left their bodies to remaine for a joyfull *Reſurrection*. This doth *Gildas* affirme, and *Malmsbury* in his *Booke* of the Antiquity of *Glaſtenburie*, written to *Henry de Bloys*, brother to King *Stephen*, and *Abbot* of the ſame place, reports, and is confented unto (for the *matter*, though all agree not touching the *time*) by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, grounded on the *Teſtimonies* of the beſt approved ancient Writers: who account the moſt happy influence of *Chriſtianity*, to have beene by thoſe *glorious conduits* convaied into the remote parts of the world: that ſo (according to the promiſe of *God* by *Eſaiah*) *The Iles afarre off which had not heard of his fame, ſhould be converted, and have his glory to them declared among the Gentiles*.

Bale Centur. 1. Harding ſaith fourteene, c. 47. Joſeph of Arimathea buried at Glaſtenbury. Gildas in vit. Aurel. Ambroſii. Malmesbury.

(3) And if the credit of *Dorotheus* Biſhop of *Tyre*, (who lived to ſee the apoſtacie of *Iulian*) weigh any thing with us; in his tract of the Lives and Deaths of the *Prophets*, *Apoſtles*, and *Diſciples*, he bringeth *Simon Zelotes* (an *Apoſtle* of *Ieſus Chriſt*) to preach the word, and to ſuffer Martyrdome upon the *Croſſe* here in *Britaine:* with whom *Nicephorus*, and after him *John Capgrave* (in his Catalogue of *Engliſh* Saints) agree, ſaying, that the ſame *Simon* ſpread the *Goſpell* to the Weſt *Ocean*, and brought the word of life into the *Iles* of *Britaine:* and, in the converſion of Countries wrought by the *Apoſtles*, the ſame *Nicephorus*, with *Egypt* and *Lybia* aſſigneth *Britaine* alſo to be one. And the foreſaid *Dorotheus*, as alſo *Mirmamus*, nameth *Ariſtobulus* one of the ſeventy Diſciples (the ſame whom S. *Paul* in his Epiſtle to the *Romans* among others ſaluteth) to have taught the doctrine of *Salvation*, and to have executed the office of a *Biſhop* heere in *Britaine*.

Combden in Brit. Bale, cent. 1. Matth. Paris, Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Polydor. Virg. & alij.

Nicepb. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Rom. 16. 10.

Baronius in hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. Mary Magdalen, Lazarus, and Martha in England.

(4) To theſe firſt *Planters* and *Sowers* of this heavenly *Seed*, *Cæſar Baronius*, that voluminous Hiſtorian, joyneth *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*, who (by his relation) being baniſhed *Ieruſalem*, in a maſterleſſe ſhip without tackling arrived in *Gallia*, and with them *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, who afterward landed in *Britaine* (*ut tradunt*, as he ſaith, out of an old *Manuſcript* which he ſaw in the Vatican *Library*:) yea and with them alſo *Eurgain* the ſiſter of *Joſeph*, who afterwards married a *Britaine* named *Siarklots*, if the authoritie whereon *George Owen-Harry* doth ground that report, be of any credit.

Eurgain the ſiſter of Joſeph married Siarklotz a Britain. George Owen in his pedegrees.

(5) But yet there are others, who upon a very good ground, from the words of *Gildas* (the moſt ancient of our *Britiſh Hiſtorians*) will have the *Sunne* of the *Goſpel* long before to have riſen in this our *Weſt*; and this *Iland* of *Britaine* to have enjoyed the very *morning* of his *Aſcent*, the brightneſſe wherof piercing thorow the miſtie clouds of errour, ſhined heere in *Britaine* even in the daies of *Tiberius*, towards whoſe end *Chriſt* ſuffered his death. Which aſſertion the ſaid *Gildas* doth not deliver coldly or doubtingly, but with great *confidence*, and relying upon good grounds, as it appeareth when he ſaith, *Scimus, &c. We know for certainty, that this was in the latter time of Tiberius*. Which was immediately after our bleſſed *Saviours Paſſion*.

Gildas de Excidio Britt.

To which *uncontroulable teſtimonie* ſome others have added (though not perhaps on ſo undoubted warrant) that *S. Peter* the *Apoſtle* preached the word of life in this *Iland*, as to other *Gentiles* he did, for whom *God* had choſen him, that from his mouth they might heare the *Goſpell* and beleeve, (as himſelfe alledgeth) and that hee heere founded Churches and ordained *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, which is reported by *Simon Metaphraſtes* out of the Greeke Antiquities, and *Guilielmus Eiſingrenius* in the firſt of his *Centurie*, who ſaith that *Peter* was here in *Neroes* time: whereas *Baronius* thinketh it was in the reigne of *Claudius*, when the *Iewes* were baniſhed *Rome*, and that therefore *Paul* in his *Epiſtle* to the *Romans* mentioneth him not. Indeed *Baronius* and ſome others plead very hotly for *S. Peters* preaching heere; but I ſee not well how it can ſtand either with *Euſebius* his account, which keeps him ſo long at *Rome* after he was *Biſhop* there, or with *Onuphrius*, who denieth that he went weſt-ward (being expulſed by *Claudius*) but to *Ieruſalem*, and thence to *Antioch*, where he lived till the death of *Claudius*: whence it muſt follow, that if *Peter* were heere at all, it was before euer he went to *Rome*, and that the *Goſpel* was preached heere before it was in *Rome*, if *Peter* were the firſt (as ſome hold) that preached thereboth which may be the more probable, if we conſider the huge multitudes of Chriſtians (fifteene thouſand, ſaith *Baronius*) which diſperſed themſelves into all parts of the world upon the martyring of *S. Steven* at *Ieruſalem*, (which was preſently upon the death of *Chriſt*) and that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea* was one of that number, *Baronius* doth confeſſe. I am here contented to ſtep over that Monkiſh tale reported by *Aluredus Rivallenſis* (the writer of *King Edward* the Confeſſors life) that a holy man (forſooth) ſtudious and carefull for a Governour to ſucceed, was in his ſleepe told by *S. Peter*, that the kingdome of *England* was his, wherein himſelfe had firſt preached, and would alſo provide him *Succeſſors*. For ſeeing it was a dreame, for a dreame we leave it; and *Peter* among the other *Elders* to attend His Throne, that now ſitteth in glorious *Maieſtie*, and who in this life minded no ſuch earthly *preheminence*, no not to divide betwixt brethren, though the *Kingdome* and rule of all things was his alone.

S. Peter the Apoſtle ſuppoſed to have preached in Britaine. Act. 15. 7.

Metaphraſtes.

Centur. 1. part. 2. diſt. 8.

Baronius.

Euſebius.

Onuphrius.

A Monkiſh tale of S. Peter.

Apoc. 4.

Luke 22. 23.

(6) Certes *Peter* was principally the *Apoſtle* of the *Circumciſion*, and therefore more likely to have ſpent his *endevours* on them: but for *Paul* (the *Doctor* of the *Gentiles*) his arrivall heere may ſeeme more warrantable, who doubtleſſe (after his firſt releaſement from *Rome*) confirmed the doctrine of *Chriſt* to theſe *weſterne parts* of the world, and among them, as may appeare, to this *Iland* of *Britaine*, as both *Sophronius* Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, and *Theodoret* an ancient Doctor of the Church, doe affirme and approve, ſaying that *Fiſhers*, *Publitans*, and the *Tent-Maker* (meaning *S. Paul*) which brought the *Evangelicall light* unto all Nations, revealed the ſame unto the *Britaines*. That *Paul* came into *Illyricum*, *Gallia*, and *Spaine*, and filled all thoſe parts with his doctrine, both *Euſebius*, *Dorotheus*, and *Epiphanius* doe teſtifie: and of this generall Amballage the Apoſtle himſelfe ſaith, that *the ſound of the Goſpel went thorow the earth, and was heard unto the ends of the world:* which his ſayings cannot more fitly bee applied to any other *Nation* then unto us of *Britaine*, whoſe land by the *Almightie* is ſo placed in the terreſtriall globe, that thereby it is termed of the ancient, *The Ends of the Earth*, and deemed to be ſituated in another *world*, for ſo in an Oration that *Agrippa* made to the *Iewes*, and *Agricola* to his *Romans*, it is called: which made *Solinus* write that the coaſt of *France* had beene the *End of the earth*, had it not beene for *Britaine*, which was as *another world*. And in *Dion* we reade, that the old Souldiers of *Gallia* whom *Claudius* commanded for *Britaine*, complained that they muſt beeinforced to make warre out of the *world*. And of this Land and latter *Apoſtle* (if credit may be given to a *Poet*) *Venantius Fortunatus* thus recordeth:

Sophr. in his Sermon of the nativitie of the Apoſtles. Theodoret. de curanda Græcorum affectionibus.

Euſeb. lib. 3. c. 1. Dorotheus of Saints. Epiphan. lib. 1. Tom. 2. Rom. 10. 18.

Transit Oceanum, & quæ facit Inſula Portum,
Quaſi ſ. Britannus habet terras, quaſi ſ. ultima Thule.
He croſt the ſeas unto the land, and utmoſt coaſts of Thule,
Arriving at the Ports & Iles where Britains bare the rule.

Amian. Lib. 29. c. 7. Joſeph. bell. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 16. Tacitus vit. Agric. Solinus. Dion caſſius lib. 60.

(7) Thus for *Paul*: well knowne in *Rome* by his long impriſonments, and (at that time) in reverend regard for his *doctrine* with many there: among whom alſo there were ſome *Britaines* that embraced the faith, whereof *Claudia Rufina* (remembred by *Martial* another Poet) was one, whom he thus extols:

Martial. lib. 2. Epig. 14.

Claudia cæruleis cùm ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Attthides eſſe ſuam.
How hath dame Claudia, borne of Britains blew,
Won fame for wiſdome with our ſages grave?
Her comely forme and learning, as their due
Rome claimes for hers, and hers would Athens have.

Matth. Paris, Acrob in Antiq. Eccleſiæ Brit. Bale, &c.

This *Claudia* is by the learned commended to have beene moſt skilfull in the *Greeke* and *Latine tongues*; of whom heare them (not me) ſpeake. At the commandement of the *Tyrant Nero* (ſay they from *Tacitus*) many Noble *Britains* were brought to *Rome*, who there remaining their *Confederates*, they held it an honour to have their *children* named after the Nobilitie of the *Romans*: and from *Claudius Cæſar* was this Ladie *Claudia* named, who according to her worth was matched in marriage to *Rufus* a gentleman of *Rome*, then a *Coronell*, after a *Senator*, a man of a milde *diſpoſition*: naturally modeſt, a great *Philoſopher* in the Sect of the *Stoickes*, for his ſweetneſſe of behaviour called *Pudens*, who by his grave perſwaſions cauſed *Martial* (the wittie but wanton *Poet*) to reforme many things in his writings; and by him is commended for his *humanitie*, *pietie*, *learning*, and *eloquence*: as alſo his wife *Claudia* the *Britaine*, for her *beautie*, *faith*, *fruitfulneſſe*, *learning*, and *languages*. In proofe whereof, *Bale* hath mentioned three ſeverall Treatiſes, beſides others by her compiled both in the *Greeke* and *Latine* tongues. *Dorotheus* nameth *Pudens* to be one of the ſeventie two, and *Volaterranus* affirmeth them both *Pauls* Diſciples, from whom he ſendeth greeting to *Timotheus* in theſe words: *Eubulus*

Claudia here learned writings. Dorath. of the lives of the Diſciples. Volaterranus lib. 8. 2 Tim 4. 21.

and

S. Paul preached in Britaine.

and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren salute thee. But some may object, that Martials Claudia could not be that Ladie, who living in Neroes time gave hofpitalitie unto Peter and Paul at their being in Rome; for that he could not retaine such beauty and perfection as the Poet to her doth ascribe in the reigne of Domitian, the seventh in succession from Nero, the time being too long (saith Ado, Bishop of Trevers, Vsuardus, and others) for beauty to be so freshly preserved. But howsoever these account her age then to be sixty, yet if we reckon according to Eusebius, we shall see that he sets the last of Claudius in the yeare of grace fifte five, and the first of Domitian in eighte three, betwixt which, are but twenty seven yeares; and yet Paul came not to Rome till the tenth of Nero, and in his thirteenth yeare, from the prison wrote his Epistle to Timothy, as the same Eusebius declareth: so that from hence unto Domitian, is left but fourteene yeeres, a time no whit unpossible to retaine Beautie, though twenty yeares and many moe of her age had beene formerly spent; seeing that in those times Plutarch praiseth Alcibiades to be passingly faire when he was threescore yeares of age.

The same Claudia that Paul and Martial speaketh of.

Eusseb. Eccle. hist. lib. 2. cap. 22.

Alcibiades his beautie in his old age.

This Claudia then with Pauls spirituall Manna, is said to send likewise the choicest and chastest of the Poesies of Martial for new-yeares gifts vnto her friends in Britaine, both for to feed their Soules with the bread of life, and to instruct their minides with lessons best fitting unto civill behaviour; which thing moved the Poet himselfe with no small selfe-glory in his verse thus to write:

Claudia sends both Pudens and Rufus writings from Britaine.

Dicitur & nostros cantare Britannia versus.
And Britaine now (they say) our verses learns to sing.

Martial. lib. 7. & 10.

(8) It hath also passed with allowance among the learned *Senate* of our *Antiquaries*, that when *Claudius* and *Nero* began to banish and persecute the Christians in *Rome*, (whose superstitions, as *Tacitus* pleaseth to tearme them, from *Iudea* had infected the *Citie* it selfe) many *Romans* and *Britaines* being converted to the *Faith*, fled thence unto these remote parts of the earth, where they might and did more freely enjoy the liberty of their *Professions*, untill the search of *Tyrants* by the flame-light of *Persecutions*, had found out all secret places for the safeties and assemblies of *Gods Saints*: as after in the dayes of *Diocletian* we shall finde: And from this *Sanctuarie* of *Salvation* the sad lamenting Lady * *Pomponia Gracina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius* (the first *Lord Lieutenant of Britaine*) brought that *Religion*, whereof she was accused and flood indicted upon life and death, which was none other, then the *Christian* Profession, seeing the same both by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, is every where termed the strange superstitions and new kinde of Sect that the *Christians* imbraced, and for which they were accounted unworthy to live.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 13. & 15. cap. 10.

Aulus Plautius his Wife became a Christian in Britain.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 13. & 15. cap. Suetonius in vita Neron. Sect. 20.

(9) And much about these times (as *Beatus Rhenanus* in his *History of Germanie*, *Pantoleon* and others doe report) one *Suetonius* a Noble mans sonne in *Britaine* converted to the Faith by the first *Planters* of the *Gospel* in this *Iland*, and after his *Baptisme* called *Beatus*, was sent by the *Brethren* from hence unto *Rome*, to be better instructed, and further directed by *Saint Peter* himselfe; and returning thorow *Switzerland*, found such willingnesse and flocking of the *people* to heare and receive the *Doctrine of Christ*, that he there staied and built an *Oratorie* not farre from the lake *Thun*, and neare the Towne called *Vnderfewen*, where in preaching and praiers he imploied his time to the day of his death, which happened in the yeare of grace 110.

Beat. Rhenan. in his Hist. of Germany. Pantoleon.

Holinshed descript. Britaine. cap. 9.

And that there were Christians in *Britain* at these times I make no question, though some exceptions may be taken against the *Monk* of *Burton* the reporter thereof, who saith in the 141 yeare, *and raigne of Hadrian nine masters of Grantcester were baptized themselves, & preached to others the Gospel in Britain*; howsoever he faileth in the Emperours name, which yeare was the second of *Antoninus Pius* his successor, and ascribeth to these men Schoole-degrees, altogether unknowne for nine hundred yeares after, yet these do not hinder the truth of the thing, though that *Monke* was none of the best *Historians*. It is reported also that *Patrick* the Irish *Apostle*, and Canonized *Saint*, long *before the Raigne of* King *Ethelbert preached* the *Gospel* in many places of *Wales*: As also that *Ninianus Bernicius* of the race of the British Princes *converted the Picts* to the Religion of *Christ*. Vnto these aforesaid authorities and testimonies howsoever we stand affected: yet it is certaine by *Chemnitius* citing *Sabellicus*, that the *Britaines* were with the *first Converts*: And *Tertullian* who lived within two hundred yeares of *Christs Nativitie*, sheweth no lesse: Who the more to *provoke* the *Iewes* against whom he wrote, *calleth to witnesse* the fruitfull *increase* of the *Gospel of salvation*, through many Countries and Nations, and *among them* nameth *the Britaines* to have received the Word of life, the power whereof (saith he) hath pierced into those parts whither the *Romanes* could not come. Whence *Petrus Cluniacensis* supposeth the *Scottish men the more ancient Christians*, as *not* being *in* the like *subjection to* the *Romans*, as other then were.

Patrick the Irish Apostle preached in Wales.

Chemnitius (in examin. Concil. Trident. loc. Sacrificio.

Tertull. cont. Iudeos. cap. 7.

Petrus Cluni. ad Bernard.

(10) *Origen*, who flourished not much above two hundred yeares after *Christ*, in his Homilies *upon Ezechiel sheweth*, that the first fruits of *Gods harvest* was *gathered* in the Iland of *Britaine*: who consented to the Christian faith by the doctrine of their *Druides*: that taught *one onely God*: with whom *Hector Boetius* agreeth, saying, that some of these *Druides* condemned the worship of God in Images, and *allowed not* the application of the *Godhead* unto any visible form: which might be the cause why *Claudius* the *Emperour* forbad their Religion, as favouring in these things too much of *Christianitie*; whom likewise he banished *Rome*, as some from *Suetonius* conjecture. Of these *Druides* we shewed before, that their offices were most imploied *about holy things*, and that their doctrine chiefly consisted *in teaching* the *immortalitie of the soule*, the *motions of the heavens*, the *nature of things*, and *the power of the Gods*: yea and *Pastellus* from others *will inforce*, that they *prophecied* likewise of a *Virgins conception*. These were the helps, saith *Tertullian*, that caused the *Britaines* so soone to imbrace the Doctrine of *Christ*, and thereupon immediatly after his death doth *Gyldas* fasten our conversion, where he writeth,

Adverf. Iouin. lib. 2.

Origen. in Ezech. homil. 4.

Epitaph Marcellæ Vidue.

Hector Boet. chron. Scot. lib. 2. The Druides allowed not Images nor any visible forme of the Godhead.

Psalme 2. 8.

Suetonius in vit. Claud. Sect. 25.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 10. Cæsar. Comm. lib. 6

Pastellus.

That *the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ, which first appeared to the world in the latter time of Tiberius Cæsar, did even then spread his bright beames upon this frozen Iland of Britaine.*

Gildas de Excidio Brit.

(11) Whereby we see the waters of life, flowing from *Ierusalems* Temple, into these farre set Countries and vttermost *Seas*, to be made both fruitfull and wholesome, according to the sayings of the *Prophet*, that *in that day the waters of life should issue from Ierusalem, halfe of them towards the East Sea, and halfe of them towards the vttermost Sea, and shall remaine fruitfull both in Summer and Winter*: and even in the infancie of *Christianitie*, both the *Apostles* themselves, and also the *Proselytes* their *Disciples* to become fishers therein for the Soules of Men, as *Christ* in chusing of them said they should bee; whereby his kingdome was foone enlarged unto these *Ends of the Earth*, and his Throne estabished among those *Heathen*, whom God his Father had given to be his. So fruitfull and famous was this spreading of the *Gospel*, that *Baptista Mantuan*, a *Christian Poet*, compares the increase thereof with that of *Noah*, thus alluding unto it:

Ezech. 47. 8.

Zach. 14. 8.

Matt 4. 19.

Psal. 2. 8.

Baptist. Mantt.

Sicut aquis quondam Noe fuit missa in orbem
Pignora fœditatis, ut Gens humana per omnes
Debita Cultuum Patri daret orgia terræ:
Sic fuit cum vellet Deus alta in regna reverti,
Discipulos quosdam transmisit ad Vltima Mundi
Littora, doctores Genes quo nunquam viros
Sint oranda, quibus Cultum placebile Sacrif.

In English thus:

As Noah sent from the Arke his sonnes, to teach

The

The Lawes of God unto the World aright;
So Christ his Servants sent abroad to preach
The Word of life, and Gospell to each Wight:
No place lay shadowed from that glorious Light,
The farthest Ile, and Earths remotest bounds,
Embrac'd their Faith, and joy'd at their sweet sounds.

(12) To which effect also the sayings of S^t. *John Chrysostome*, Bishop of *Constantinople* doe enforce, who shewing the increase of *Christianity*, and the successe of the *Gospell* preached, sheweth the power thereof to have extended, nor onely to the Countries farre jacent in the continent, but also to the *Ilands* situated in the *Ocean* it selfe, and amongst them expressely nameth this our *Britaine*; *whose Inhabitants* (saith he) *have also consented to the Word which is planted in every heart, in honour whereof they have erected their Temples and Altars*. And againe: Those *Britaines* (saith hee) which had formerly *fed upon humane flesh*, making no difference betwixt the blood of man and beasts, *now through* the power of *the Word* by them embraced, *have learned* the law of *true piety*, and give themselves to a religious *abstinence, and holy fasts*. Of which Barbarisme S. *Jerome* also complained, that some of those *Nations* used to eate the burtockes of Boyes, and Paps of Virgins, which in their Feasts were served for the daintiest dishes. But elsewhere speaking of the *Britaines* conversion, he saith, that *they had turned themselves from their westerne Paganisme, and now had directed their faces towards Ierusalem in the East, whose beauty shined in the Word of God*.

Chrysost. in ferm. de Pentecost.

Adverf. Jouin. lib. 2.

Epitaph Marcellæ Vidue.

Psalme 2. 8.

(13) And thus we see by the planting of the *Gospel* in this *Iland*, the saying of the Psalmist accomplished, that *God would give his Sonne Christ the Heathen for his inheritance, and the ends of the Earth* (the proper attribute of this our *Britaine*) *to be his possession*. And the successe in History most apparently sheweth *these parts* (by an especiall prerogative) *to bee Christs Kingdome*. For albeit that *Ierusalem* and *Antioch* may rightly claime the precedency of all other places, *the one* being as it were the *chamber* where *Christians* were first *borne*, and *the other* the *font* where they were first *Christened* with that most sacred name: yet *Britaine* in *some* other *graces* hath *outstript* them *all*, having the glory to bee *graced* with the *first Christian King* that ever reigned in the world, which was our renowned *Lucius*, the *first fruits* of all the Kings that ever laid their Crownes at the foot of our Saviours Crosse: as also for producing the first *Christian Emperour* that by publike authority *established* the *Gospell* thorow the world, which was *Constantine* the Great, borne and brought up heere in *Britaine* by Queene *Helena*, a most vertuous and *religious British Lady*: unto whose dayes the succession of *Christianity* did heere continue, as by the martyrdomes of many *Saints* under *Diocletian* is apparant. Heerein also raigned *the King that first uncrowned* the head of the usurping *Roman* Beast, and *freed the land from* his devouring *Locusts*: putting downe *Idolatry* with *Hezekiah* that *brake the brasen Serpent*: and with *Isaac* new *digged the Wels that those Philistines had stopped*. And lastly hath this *Iland* produced that most royall and *Christian Monarke*, whose learned penne hath first depainted *Antichrist*, and pierced the heart of all *Papall supremacy*, as the sword of *Gedeon* did *Zalmunna* (* *the Image of trouble*) *King of Madian*. And as a Lion hath hee met that *crooked* [a] *Serpent* in the way of his usurped authority; whereby in short time undoubtedly the [b] *Kall* of his heart will be broken, if other *Potentates* likewise by his most godly example, cast off the yoake of *vassallage*, and in their severall Dominions governe (as *free Princes* ought) the people that God hath committed to their charge. So that in those and many other the like Princes of this happy *Iland*, most properly is performed that *prophetical promise* made unto the *Church of Christ*: that *Kings should become her nursing Fathers and Queenes should bee her nursing Mothers*: Of both which may bee truely said to *Britaine*, in imitation of that of *Salomon*; *Many*

Britaine had the first Christian King. Ex Archiv. Civit. London.

Britaine had the first Christian Emperour.

Helena mother of Constantine a Britaine.

King Henry the Eighth the first that quailed the Pope. Apoc. 9. 2 King 18. 4. Gen. 26. 18.

King Iames.

Psal. 2. 8.

* For to the word Zalmunna signifieth, Indig. 7. 10. & Iud. 27. 1. & Hof. 13. 8.

Ibi. 49. 23.

Prov. 31. 29.

Britaine converted her Conquerours to the faith of Christ.

Hollinsh. lib. 4. cap. 9.

2 King. 9. 18.

1 Sam. 15. 20.

Or Gurme.

Cantains crowned and the Crucifixe with the Crowne hee wore. Ben. Hunt. lib. 6. Trithem. lib. 6. cc. 20. Bale votar. lib. 1. Acts and Mon. lib. 3. pag. 232. Gen. 9. 27. Origen upon Iosua, homa. 2.

Apoc. 7. 4.

Zach. 8. 23.

Rede vbi Nigr. Zeland.

Euseb lib. 4. ca. 5. & cap. 13 & li. 5. cap. 5.

Marcus Sabell. in Ennead. 7. lib. 5. Ex Bale. vot. lib. 1.

from

from some other hath these verses.

Sicut erat celebrie cultu numeroque Deorum
Cum Iovis imperium ſtaret, Britannica tellus:
Sic ubi terreſtres cælo deſcendit ad oras
Expectata ſalus, patribus fuit inclyta ſanctis.
Qui Neptunicolum campos, & Cambrica rura,
Coryneaſque caſas, loca deſolata colebant.

As were the Britaines *famous for their zeale*
To Gentile Gods, while ſuch they did adore;
So, when the Heav'ns to Earth did Trueth reveale,
Bleſſ'd was that Land with Truth and Learnings ſtore:
Whence Britiſh Plaines, and Cambri'as deſart ground,
And Cornewalls *Crags, with glorious Saints abound.*

Flaccus, vrigorn. Two learned Divines ſent to the Biſhop of Rome.

Alli Fagatius & Fugatius & Diuianus.

* Elutus Dean of London: a Manuſcript in the Kings Library, 18 Ma. 15B.

Saint Dubritius in Wales.

King Lucius the Apoſtle to the Bavarians.

Aegidius Scudius de Priſca Rhetia. Hermannus Schedelius, cap. 3.

Beda Hiſt. Anglic. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Dicetus ad annos. 167.

Malmesbury, Randulphus.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 7. At Liechfeld 1680. Saints ſuffered death. Branch. 27. Liechfeld. 44 Annos.

The Biſhops of Britaine with-ſtood the Arrian Hereſie.

Nicephorus Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Ath anaſius Apologia 2.

In which number were *Eluanus & Meduinus*, thoſe two learned Divines, which were ſent by King *Lucius* unto *Elutherius* Biſhop of *Rome*, with whom returned two other famous Clerkes, whoſe names were *Fagatius* and *Damianus*; theſe together, both preached and baptized amongſt the *Britaines*, whereby many daily were drawne to the Faith: And as a worthy and ancient * Hiſtorian ſaith: *The Temples which had beene founded to the Honour of their many Gods, were then dedicated to the one and onely true God: For there were in* Britaine *eight and twenty Flamins, and three Arch-flamins, inſtead of which, ſo many Biſhops and Arch-biſhops were appointed: under the Archbiſhop of* London *were the Provinces of* Loegria *and* Cornubia: *under* Yorke, Deira, *and* Albania: *under Vrbs Legionum,* Cambria: By which meanes, *this happy Kingdome* under that *godly King*, *was nobly beautified* with ſo many *Cathedrall Churches*, and *Chriſtian Biſhops Sees*, before any other Kingdome of the world.

That this *Lucius* ſhould be the *Apoſtle* to the *Bavarians*, or that his ſiſter *Emerita* was crowned with the flames of Martyrdome fifteene yeeres after his death, I leave to the credit of *Aegidius Scudius*, and *Hermanus Schedelius* the reporters, and to the beſt liking of the readers. But moſt certaine it is, that the *Chriſtian faith* was ſtill profeſſed *in this Iland*, found and undefiled, as *Beda* witneſſeth, notwithſtanding the cruell perſecutions of the bloody *Emperours*.

(19) For, all this time (ſaith the ſaid *Dicetus*) Chriſtian Religion flouriſhed quietly in *Britanny*, till in *Diocleſians* time, their Churches were demoliſhed, their holy Bibles caſt into Bone-fires, and the Prieſts with their faithfull flocke bloodily murdered. In which number, about the yeare two hundred ninety three, as we reade (in *Beda*, *Malmsbury*, *Randulphus*, and others) *Alban* with his teacher *Amphibalus* were both of them martyred for the profeſſion of the *Goſpell* at the old Towne *Verolanium*: as alſo in *Leiceſter*, thoſe two Noble Citizens, *Aaron*, and *Iulius*, with multitudes both of *men* and *women* in ſundry places (*ſaith Beda*) as ſhortly after no leſſe then a *thouſand Saints* ſuffered death at *Liechfield*, whereupon the place was called another *Golgotha*, *or field of blood*: In memory whereof, the City beareth for Armes to this day, in an *Eſcbucheon* of Landskipt, ſundry perſons diverſly martyred. And yet after theſe times alſo the *Britaines* continued conſtant in *Chriſtianity*, and the cenſures of their *Biſhops* (for the great eſtimation of their *Conſtancy*, *piety*, and *learning*) required, and *approved* in great points of *Doctrine* among the aſſemblies of ſome *Generall Councels*; as that of *Sardis* and *Nice*, in the time of great *Conſtantine* (the firſt *Chriſtian Emperour*, and this our Country man, whoſe bleſſed dayes gave free way to that *profeſſion*, to the councels *Authority*, and to the whole world *Peace*) had we our *Biſhops* preſent; whoſe forwardneſſe againſt the *Arrian Hereſie*, afterward *Athanaſius* advanceth in his *Apology* unto *Iovinian* the *Emperour*, among three hundred *Biſhops* aſſembled at the Councell of *Sardice*, in *Anno* three hundred and fifty: whoſe words (as *Nicephorus* reporrs them) are theſe. *Know moſt Chriſtian Emperour* (ſaith hee) *that this faith hath beene always preached and profeſſed, and that all Churches of* Spaine, Britaine, France *and* Germany *at this day with one voice doe approve the ſame.* As alſo at that of *Ariminum*, in the yeare three hundred fifty nine, and in the raigne of *Conſtantius*, who cauſed foure hundred weſterne Biſhops to be there ſummoned in favour of the *Arrians*, whereof three were out of *Britaine*, (as *Sulpitius Severus* the good *Biſhop* of *Burges* hath reported) that gave their ſuffrages *againſt that Hereſie*. Theſe doth *Hilary* tearme the Biſhops of the Provinces of *Britaine*, by whom they were ſomewhat derided, becauſe being farre from their owne Country they lived upon the *Emperours* charge. And *Beda* teſtifieth, that from *Dioclesians* time they both reedified their former *Temples*, and founded new alſo in memory of their then freſh-bleeding *Martyrs*, and enjoyed a generall and joyfull peace in their religious profeſſion, till that *Arrian Hereſie* having firſt filled the Continent, fought and found *paſſage* over the Seas into our *Iland*.

Gennadius in his Catalogues *Illuſtrium Divorum* tels us of an other learned Biſhop of *Britaine*, *Faſtidius*, who in the time of *Celeſtine* Biſhop of *Rome*, wrote unto one *Fatalis* a booke *de vita Chriſtiana*, and another *de viduitate ſervanda*; of much divine learning and comfort. *Chryſanthus* likewiſe is recorded by *Nicephorus*, to be ſonne of *Biſhop Martian*, who having beene a *Conſular Deputy* in *Italy* under *Theodoſius*, and made *Lievtenant* of *Britaine*, where with great praiſe he managed the common-wealth, was againſt his will afterward made Biſhop at *Conſtantinople* of the *Novatians*, that called themſelves *Cathari*, that is *pure*; making a ſchiſme in the *Church*, by their deniall of *Salvation* to ſuch as fell into relapſe of ſinne after *Baptiſme* once received. This is that *Biſhop* of whom we read, that of all his *Eccleſiaſticall revenewes* he reſerved only for himſelfe two loaves of bread upon the *Lords* day. And in the firſt *Tome* of *Councels* is mention of *Reſtitutus* Biſhop of *London*, whom (becauſe that, as is moſt probable, *Chriſtian Religion* had in thoſe primitive times taken *more firme* footing in *Britaine* then in *France*) the *French Biſhops* called to their Nationall *Councell*, the *ſecond at Arles*, in *Anno* 335. that he might with his *ſuffrage* approve their *Decrees*. About the yeere foure hundred ſeventy, was a *Provinciall Councell* held in *Britaine* for the *reforming* of *Religion*, and *repairing* of the *ruined Churches*, which the Pagan mariage of *Vortiger* had decayed, to the great griefe and diſcontent of the people, a pregnant ſigne of the continuing zeale, which unto thoſe dayes had left a ſtanding memorie.

(20) And the Enſigne of *Arthur*, wherein the *Virgin Mary with her ſonne in her armes* (as is noted by *Vincentius*) was portayed, ſo often diſplayed for Chriſt, and his Countries liberty, againſt the *Pagan Saxons*, is as a ſeale to confirme us of their *profeſſion*, and doth ſhew the badge of that ages *Chriſtianity*. But the famous Monaſtery of *Bangor*, as a *Colledge of divine Philoſophers*, and by *Clarivallenſis* truly acknowledged to be the *Mother of all other in the world*, and her *Monkes* diſtributed into ſeven ſeverall parts, every part numbring three hundred ſoules, and earning their bread by their daily labours, doth notably witneſſe to all ſucceeding ages, that *Chriſtian Religion* was then both *planted* and preached in *this Iland*. And in the *Synod* held at *Auſtins Oake* were *ſeven* old *Britaine Biſhops*, beſides other *Doctors*, who met with that *Romane* Legate; and not in points of *doctrine*, but rather in their ſeverall *rites* and *ceremonies* did *vary*, by any thing that in that Affembly appeared. For as it is moſt undoubted, that (if we ſpeake properly) *Ieruſalem is the Mother of us all, and of all Churches*; and our former allegations doe evince, that the firſt Plantation of the *Britiſh Faith* was altogether by *Iewes* and others of the *Eaſterne Church*: ſo the very rites of this *Religious Colledge* of *Bangor* doe evidently prove, that their firſt *inſtitution* in Religion came from the *Eaſt*, *Beda* ſhewing that in all of them they diſſented from the *Romane* Church; yea, and that they never did, nor then would *acknowledge* any authority of the *Biſhop* of *Rome over them in matters of the Church and ſervice of God*. All which accordeth right well with that before cited out of *Zachary*, *that the waters of life ſhould iſſue from Ieruſalem*. And that *S. Hierome* ſpake moſt properly, in ſaying, *the Britaines leaving Paganiſme, had turned their faces to Ieruſalem in the Eaſt*.

Sulpitius Severus. lib. 2.

Hilarie in an Epiſtle to the Biſhops.

Beda lib. 1. ca. 8.

Gennadius in Catal. Illuſt. Div.

Nicephorus in Eccleſ. Hiſt.

Tripart. Hiſtor.

The Biſhops of Yorke and London driven into the Deſarts. Ots and Mountaines, lib. 2. Fab. 1. 2. 5.

Glaſtenbury Abbey burnt.

Glaſtenbury Abbey new built by Henry the ſecond.

King Arthur a great benefactor to Glaſtenbury Abbey. The Armes of King Arthur at Glaſtenbury.

Glaſtenbury Abbey given to Ioſeph by Arviragus.

Two Divines ſent by Lucius to Rome from Glaſtenbury. Parels called Belge. Ang. Chriſt. lib. 2.

a In his Catalogue of Saints. Vide lib. 2. b In his preface. c De Antiq. cap. 1. d Cap. 47. e Throne.

Beda lib. 2. ca. 2.

The foundation of the ſaid Colledge is aſcribed to *King Lucius*, from whoſe time unto the entrance of this *Auſten the Monke*, foure hundred thirty eight yeeres were expired: in which ſpace we have ſeene that the *Chriſtian Faith* was both taught and *embraced in this land*, notwithſtanding the continuall perſecutions of the *Romans*, *Huns*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*: which laſt made ſuch deſolations in the outward face of the *Church*, that they drove the *Chriſtian Biſhops* into the deſerts of *Cornwall* and *Wales*. In which number were *Thomas* and *Thadiocus* Biſhops of *London* and *Yorke*, *chuſing rather to ſuffer adverſity with the people of God, then to enjoy the pleaſures of ſinne for a ſeaſon*. By whoſe labours the Goſpel was plentifully propagated among thoſe vaſt mountaines, and thoſe parts eſpecially above all other made very glorious, by the multitudes of their holy Saints and learned Teachers.

(21) Laſtly, (for the cloſe of all) that theſe teſtimonies are ſincerely by us produced, for the firſt preaching and planting of the Goſpel, and by ſuch meanes and men as we have declared, and particularly by *Ioſeph of Arimathea* and his aſſociates, the conſent of all Writers, both forraine and home-bred, doth ſufficiently *approve*: and the reverend regard had of the *place*, with the many *Charters* thereof to this day remaining, are ſtrong *inducements* for thoſe our firſt *Apoſtles Reſidencie* and *Burials*: whereof one, exemplified under the *Seale* of *King Edward* the third, is to bee ſeene at this day, reciting that the *Abbey of Glaſtenbury* being burned in the time of *King Henry* the ſecond while it was in his hands, at the requeſt of the *Patriarke of Ieruſalem* (then preſent in *England*) inſtigated further both by the *Biſhops* and *Nobility*, hee did reedifie the ſame, cauſing diligent ſearch to bee made for the *ancient Charters* of that foundation, and among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called, *Origo Religionis in Anglia*: in another, *Tumulum Sanctorum, ab ipſis diſpoſitis Domini adificatum, fuiſſe venerabilem*. Alſo in the ſame *Charter ſicatum*, *fuiſſe venerabilem*. Alſo in the ſame *Charter* amongſt many other *Kings*, there is mention made of *King Arthur*, to be a great *Benefactor* unto that *Abbey*; whoſe *Armes* upon the ſtone walles, both in the *Chappell* (called *S. Ioſeph*) and in divers other places of the *Abbey*, are cut: which is an *Eſchucheon*, whereon a Croſſe with the *Virgin Mary* in the firſt quarter is ſet, and is yet to this day remaining over the *Gate* of entrance, which is held to be alſo the *arms* of that *Abbey*. This place is ſaid to have beene given to *Ioſeph* and his brethren by *Arviragus* then King of *Britaine*: and from hence were thoſe two divine Doctors ſent to *Eleutherine* by King *Lucius*, as by their Epithets doth appeare: the one of them called *Eluanus Anglonus*, or of *Glaſtenbury*; and the other, *Meduvinus* of *Belga*, that is, *Welles* neere unto this place. And to theſe perſons & places, *Polydore Virgil*, that dwelled among us, and had peruſed moſt of our *Antiquities*, aſcribeth the originall and precedencie of our *Chriſtian Faith*, in theſe words: *Hæc omnia Chriſtianæ pietatis in Britannia extitere primordia, quam deinde Lucius Rex accendit & adauxit, &c.* And our other latter *Writers* likewiſe with him agree of this place, further affirming, that at firſt but poore, and without all pompe, it was their *Oratory*, built onely of *wrethen wands*, as both *Capgrave*, *Bale*, *Maior*, *Scroope*, *Harding*, *Throne*, and others affirme: Aterwards by divers *Princes* raiſed unto greater glory, with many large *priviledges* & *Charters* granted; to wit, of *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Elfred*, *Edward*, *Bringwalthius*, *Kinwin*, *Baldred*, *Ina*, *Kenwall*, *the Conqueror*, *Rufus*, and others: all which were diligently peruſed by *King Henry* the ſecond, as we have ſaid, and that *Rectory* in theſe Charters continually termed *The Grave of Saints: The mother-Church: The Diſciples foundation, and dedicated unto Chriſt, as the firſt place in this Land, wherein his Goſpel was firſt preached and embraced.*

(22) To conclude this *digreſſion*, grown much greater then was intended, we ſee it is moſt apparant, that the *Britaines* had a ſettled opinion in *Chriſtianity* before the found thereof was heard from *Rome*; and that the Lord had heere ſet up *his ſtandard*, whereunto theſe *Ilanders* reſorted as to the *Tower of their ſtrength*, and was the *firſt Kingdome* of the *Gentiles*, that are faid to *bring their ſonnes* thus in their armes, *and their daughters* thus upon their ſhoulders, *unto the Lords Sanctuary*: whoſe knowledge continually increaſing, hath hitherto, to *Englands* great joy and fame, beene ſtill continued, though the ſpirituall ſparkes thereof for a ſeaſon have ſometimes beene covered in the cinders of the *Pagans deſolations*, or with the ſuperſtitious worſhips of *mans inventions*; both which now *diſperſed* as clouds, before the Sunne, *the light appeareth* in his full ſtrength, and the moſt pure waters of *the word* run untroubled. This *Iland* then, in this thing made happy before the moſt, the *Inhabitants* became *Inſtructers of others*, and in their *earthly veſſels* bare this *heavenly liquor*, which thorow their *golden Conduits* ran into many other Countries, and filled their Ceſterne with this *water of life*. For from hence was *Netherland* converted to Chriſtianity, as teſtifieth the ſtory of *Swithbertus*: Switzerland by *Beatus*, as witneſſeth *Rhenanus*: Burgundy by our *Columbanus*, as ſaith *Siegebertus*: Scotland by *Brandadus*, as *Bernard* the French Monke affirmeth: *Swedia* by *Gallus*, as ſaith *Petrus de Natalibus*: *Friſia* by *Wilfred*, as is recorded by *Beda* and *Matthew of Weſtminſter*: and the *Francomians*, *Heſſians*, and *Thwringians*, by *Winifred* our Devonſhire man: the *Norwegians* by *Nicolas Brekſpere* of *Middleſex*: the *Lithuanians* by *Thomas Walden* of *Eſſex*, the *Iriſh* by *Patrik*, the *Picts* by *Ninius Bernicus*, and by *Chriſts* aſſiſtance the naked *Virginians* by us *Engliſh* ſhalbe. Againe, if wee caſt our eie on all the *reformed Churches* in *Chriſtendome*, and with them on *Luther*, *Huſſe*, and *Ierome of Prage*; they will all confeſſe, they firſt tooke their light from the *learned Wickliffe* of *Oxford*; the *Lampe* of whoſe ſacred *knowledge* hath illumined not onely all the corners of this *Kingdome*, but alſo all thoſe forraigne *States*, whom it hath pleaſed *God* to deliuer from the thraldome and *vengeance of Babylon*: ſo that with the *German Poet*, to *Gods glory* and *Britaines praiſe*, the *Engliſh* thus may ſing:

Quin ſe Religio multum debere Britannis
Servata, & latè circum diſperſa fatetur.
Religion doth confeſſe, to Britaine deepe ſhe ſtands.
In debt, by whom preſerv'd, ſhe now ſits forraine Lands.

In which regard, *Polydore Virgil* doth rightly call *England* the Parent or *Mother-Monaſtery* of all *Europe*. As likewiſe *Peter Ramus* termeth *Britaine* to bee twice *Schoole-miſtreſſe* unto the Kingdome of *France*. And the *Annals of Flanders* teſtifie, that no Nation had ſo many *Divine Nobles* (they might likewiſe have ſaid, ſo many *Noble divines*) as *England* hath had; neither any more *bountifull to Gods Saints*. Our *Kings* for ſanctity ranked before all other *Potentates* of the earth, as *Vincentius* recordeth: Our *Nobles* truly honourable, and the ſonnes of Princes: Our *divines*, for doctrine ſhining as Nazarites whiter then the ſnow: And all of us claming our *ſpirituall* lots of *Inheritance* in the midſt of the Tribes of *Iſrael*.

Many Kings Benefactors to Glaſtenbury Abbey.

Britaines profeſſed Chriſtianity before it came from Rome. Eſay 22. 22. Dan. 11. 31. Micah 4. 8. Eſay 2.

Swithbertus. Siegbert. Bernard. Petrus de Natalibus. Matthew of weſtminſter. The Britaines converted many Countries.

Polydor. Virgil.

Peter Ramus Annals of Flanders.

Vincentius Feeleſt. 10. 15. Ier. Lam. 4. 7. Ezech. 47. 22. Lamen. 4. 7.

OTHO.

CHAPTER X.



An. Dom. 70.

BVt leaving *Christs* proceedings to the disposé of himselfe, let us returne to the *subject* from whence we have wandered, and continue the successions of *Great Britaines Monarches*, unto them that have held it, whether by chance of *warre*, or voice of *Election*: In which sort (as is said) *Galba* got it, and but a short time kept it: And from him *Otho* tooke it, and a shorter time enjoyed it.

Otho his original. *Tacit. Hist. l. c. 37.*

(2) Whose Originall (saith *Tacitus*) was from *Ferrentium*, his Father a *Consull*, his mothers blood somewhat disparaged, but yet not base; his *youth* run over with voluptuous *wantonnesse* and prodigall *expences*, more ready for *disturbances*, then depending upon preferment or dignity of *State*; and having gone thorough all his *wealth*, retained onely the hearty affections of the *Souldiers*, which *Galba* had utterly alienated. Neither did *Otho* himselfe bandy against *Galba*, but *Vitellius* in Germany was favoured against both; Two persons so vile and ambitious, as was much feared, would prove the scourge of the *Empire*, and the ruine of *Rome*.

Vitellius much favoured.

(3) Vnto *Vitellius* sided the *Britaines*, under the Conduct of *Trebellius Maximus*, (remembred before) a man unfit for *warre*, and unexperienced of service, compounded altogether of *covetousnesse*, and for his niggardly sparings, and unmercifull pollings, exceedingly hated of his *Armie*: which was further aggravated by *Roscius Celius*, Lieutenant of the *twentieth Legion*, his ancient Enemy, betwixt whom the sparks of *envie* shortly burst forth into flames of reciprocall accusations. *Trebellius* being charged of insufficiency for command, with the beggering of the *Province*, and *Legions*; and he againe accusing *Celius* of factious behaviours, and dissolving of *discipline*: through which dissensions a negligent regard was held of the *Souldiers*, who carried themselves arragantly, even against both; and as men that had rather be doing ill, then doing nothing, grew daily into mutinies. In these stirres *Maximus* finding himselfe unable to withstand *Roscius*, (the common affection swaying on his side,) with his friends and followers entred *Germanie* in the quarrell of *Vitellius*, and joyned those British forces to maintaine his cause, who now presuming upon his owne strength, and others his *Confederates*, ambitiously plaied the Prince, growne to that height even of nothing.

1. Chap. fellon

Roscius Celius & *Trebellius* accuse each other.

The Souldiers thereby discovered.

(4) *Otho* his Concurrent (in this thing only commendable) fought by all meanes to stay the effusion of more civill blood; and that already spent, so possest his thoughts, that his minde was still distracted and nightly affrighted with the seeming appearance of *Galbaes* ghost: for which causes hee sent conditions of peace to *Vitellius*, offering him an equall part in the *Empire*, and to give him also his daughter in mariage. But *Vitellius* disdaining any *competition*, refuseth all Capitulations, and prepares himselfe for the *warre*. *Otho* thus constrained, sets forth his forces, and in three severall skirmishes had the victory, but in the fourth at *Brixellum* lost the day; yet not so much weakened or unrecoverable, (his *Armie* in number and courage surmounting the other) as himselfe was unwilling to try the chance of *warre* any more; for being importunated by his *Captaines* and *Leaders*, to reenforce the *Battaile*, with many reasons, and probabilities of an assured *victory*, in a thankfull and short *Oration* answered thus their *Petitions*.

Otho affrighted in the night.

Suetan. in vita Otho. c. 7. Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 8. His offer to *Vitellius*.

" (5) To hazard your *vertues* and *valours* for one " *Mans* estate, I hold it dangerous, and needlesse it is, " that my *life* should be prized at so deere a rate; al- " ready *fortune* and I have had sufficient *experience* " each of others, and not the least in this my short " time of glory, wherein I have learned, It is harder to " moderate *affections* in the excesse of *felicity*, then ei- " ther industry or hazard for attaining the same. " These civill warres *Vitellius* beganne; which I for " my part purpose not to continue; and hereby let " *Posterity* esteeme of *Otho*, that others have kept the " *Empire* longer, but never any that left it more vali- " antly. Let this minde therefore accompany me to " the *Grave*, that you for your parts would have died " for my sake, and I to save your lives, die voluntary " and unvanquished. I blame not the *Gods*, nor envy " your *Emperors* rising glory: it is sufficient that my " house hath touched the highest straine of *Honour*, " and my selfe to be left in records, *The soveraign Mo-* " *narch of the World.*

Hath the victory in three skirmishes. Lost the day in the fourth.

Importuned by his Souldiers to renew the battell, is unwilling.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

(6) And thereupon solemnely taking his leave of the whole Army, went to his *Tent*, and with his dagger wounded himselfe under the left pappe, whereof immediately he died, in the yeare of his age thirty seven, and daies of his raigne ninety five. He was of *stature* but lowe, feeble in his *feete*, and unto so great a *minde*, his *bodie* not any waies proportionable; his face without *haire* and woman-like, his *attire* nice and delicate, and his *life* and *death* nothing at all consonant or agreeable.

He killeth himselfe.

His age and raigne.

His lineaments and habite.

VITELLIVS.

CHAPTER. XI.



An. Dom. 70.

WHen certaine newes of *Othoes* death was brought *Vitellius*, he presently assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and administred the affaires of the Empire, with no lesse authority then the absolute Commander of the World. And of such acceptance was the accident, that he dedicated the dagger wherewith it was done, unto *Mars* in his Temple at *Coleyn*, as the lucky instrument of his advanced estate.

Vitellius glad of *Othoes* death.

Suetan. in vita Vitell. c. 10. Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 8.

(2) Naturally ambitious hee was, and now the fame the more inhaunced by his strengths of the *Germans* souldiers, and the flatteries of the *Senate*, which ever bare saile with the faireſt winde. His entrance into *Rome* was above measure magnificall, having the naked sword of *Iulius Cæsar* borne before him, with sound of Trumpets, Ensignes, Standards, Banners, and Flags, accompanied with an Army worthy of a better Prince then *Vitellius* was.

Vitellius magnificall above measure.

His descent diversly reported.

(3) His originall is diversly reported: either framed according to the affections of his flatterers, or blasted with the tongues of depraving backe-biters: and both in extremes, extremely disagreeing. For *Eutropius*, as *Suetonius* writeth, deduced his descent from *Faunus* King of *Aborigines*, and Lady *Vitellia* his wife, worshipped in many places for a goddesse. But *Cassius Severus* affirmeth him to bee sprung from no better roote then a Cobler, and a common naughty-packe the daughter of a Baker. Howsoever, true it is, that *Lucius* his father bare thrice the *Consulship* in *Rome*, was *Provost of Syria*, and in such credit with the Emperour *Claudius*, that in his absence and expedition into *Britaine*, hee had the whole charge of the Empire committed unto him: himselfe in speciall favour with *Tiberius*, and in use for his strumpets: with *Caius*, for his Chariot-running: with *Claudius*, for his dice-playing: and with *Nero*, for his flattery: unto whose Ghost in publike shew hee sacrificed, and disposed the Imperiall affaires at the discretion of base Stage-players.

Eutr. l. c.

Tacit. hist. 3. cap. 13.

Vitellius in favour with divers former Emperours.

(4) His unmeasurable gluttony was such, that the whole imployments of his captaines were to provide him Cates, and that in such excesse, that *two thousand dishes of fish*, and *seven thousand of fowle*, were *served* to his Table *at one Supper*; and yet was hee not asshamed to commend his owne Temperance, in a set Oration before the *Senate* and *People*, who well knew him to bee guiltlesse of that vertue: insomuch that *Tacitus* reporteth, in those few moneths wherein hee raigned, he had wasted *nine hundred millions of sesterces*, which amounteth to *seven millions, thirty one thousand, two hundred fifty pounds sterling*. And *Iosephus* thinketh if he had lived longer, the whole revenues of the Empire had not beene sufficient to maintaine his gluttony. A Prince otherwise no way memorable, as being indeed without skill in profession of Armes, without counsell in matters of the greatest importance, commonly drowned in surfet, and farre unmeet to weild weighty affaires.

His excesse in gluttony. *Suetan. in vita Vitell. cap. 13.*

Tacit. hist. 2. cap. 71. His huge expence of treasure. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 13.*

(5) These defects found ready vent to his opposites, and gave liberty of speech in the Assemblies of their Estates: among whom *Vespasian* was held the onely Morning-Starre worthy to ascend on the setting of this darkened Sunne; unto whom *Licinius Mutianus*, Governour of *Syria*, was averse, *Marcus Clunius Rufus* of *Spaine* stood very well affected, and *Tiberius Alexander* of *Ægypt* for him the foremost. Also with him sided the Kings *Sohemus*, *Antiochus*, and *Agrippa*, with the beautifull Queene *Berenice*: unto whom *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus* were well knowne Governours together in the Provinces of *Syria* and *Iudæa*.

Vespasian his Adherents for the Empire.

Tacit. hist. 2. cap. 73.

(6) The first that did revolt were the *Illyrian* bands: to suppresse which *Vitellius* sent unto *Vectius Bolanus* Lieutenant of *Britaine*, for ayde of that Province, having had good experience of their service in his wars before: as when *Hordeonius Flaccus* brought eight thousand *Britaines* to his quarrell against *Otho*: As also when *Trebellius Maximus* (formerly mentioned) joyned them to the *German* forces. Which last man had now againe resumed his former place in *Britanny*, without either Majesty or Authority, but rather ruled by way of intreaty, and at the discretion of the Souldiers.

The first revolters from *Vitellius*.

Tacit. hist. 2. cap. 80.

Tacit. in vita Agric.

(7) Vnto whom, this *Vectius Bolanus* succeeded for Deputy: a man of no great parts in warre, but more temperate, and not odious for any crime. His answer unto *Vitellius* was, that the Country of *Britaine* stood not so quiet, that he might spare any numbers thence, the souldiers and confederates having their hands full, to hold all upright. Neither (in truth) were they fast to his side, but rather affected *Vespasian*, whose reputation in warlike affaires was first gotten amongst them in *Britaine*, in the raigne of *Claudius*: though we find in *Tacitus* that the *Vexillaries* of three *British* Legions followed *Vitellius* in his expedition against the *Illyrian* Army, wherein the flower and strength of all the *Britaines* are reported to have been, and that their fourteenth Legion came to his ayde, in whom notwithstanding he had no good confidence: but hearing the daily revolts of the Provinces, and the approach of *Vespasian*, was minded to resigne his dignity unto him, had not the out-cries of the people beene against it.

Hist. 2. cap. 59. Hist. 3. cap. 1.

His raigne.

(8) Finally, when hee had raigned onely eighth moneths, and five dayes, as *Iosephus* accounteth, he was slaine in most ignominious manner: for his hands were bound behinde his backe, a halter fast about his necke, his clothes rent and torne, a sword point set under his chinne, and head held backward by a bush

His death. *Ioseph. bell. Iud. cap. 13.*

His age.

buſt of haire, as condemned malefactors were uſed, to the end, that he might ſee and be ſeene of all, to ſatisfie their malice, and augment his miſeries. Hee dyed aged fiftiy ſeven; and as hee is ſet in the Table after *Malmeshury*, *Huntington*, and others our Engliſh writers, the ninth Calends of *Ianuary*: but yet it ſhould ſeeme by his edicts ſet out againſt *Aſtrologers*, that commanded all of that profeſſion to depart out of *Rome* and *Italy* before the firſt day of *October*; that much about that time he ſhould dye: for *Suetonius* recordeth, that the ſaid *Aſtrologers* ſet another againſt him in the words as follow. WEE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS VNTO VITELLIVS GERMANICVS; THAT BY THE CALENDS OF THE SAID OCTOBER HEE BEE NOT SEENE IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER.

Sueton. in vita Vitel. Sect. 14.

(9) Of ſtature hee was exceedingly tall, his face red, and a fat paunch, and ſomewhat limping upon one legge, by a hurt formerly received.

FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XII.



Veſpaſian.

Petillius.

An. Dom. 72.

SO acceptable was the fall of this Prince, and ſuch hopes revived at the entrance of his ſucceſſor, as that all mens minds were raiſed to an expectation, that the glory of the Empire, ſo much Eclipſed through the civill broiles of *Galba*, *Otho*, and this laſt *Vitellius*, ſhould now ſhine againe in the beauty of her former liberty by the deſired government of aged *Veſpaſian*; whoſe integrity, valour, and ſervice, had beene ſufficiently approoved by his many expeditions, in all the Provinces wherein he had to doe.

An ancient prophecy in all the Eaſt parts.

Veſpaſians worth and eſtimation.

(2) His deſcent was from the *Flavian* family, and that but baſe and obſcure: his Father called *Titus Flavius*; his Mother *Polla Veſpaſia*, his Wife *Domitia*, and his Sonnes *Titus*, and *Domitian*, both Emperors ſucceeding after him.

His originall. *Sueton. in vit. Veſpaſ. ſect. 1.*

(3) In his young yeares, hee ſerved as a Military Tribune in the Country of *Thracia*, and as *Queſtor* in the Provinces of *Crete*, and *Cyrene*: Vnder *Claudius* the Emperour, he went forth into *Germany*, as Lieutenant of a Band, and from thence was ſent into *Britaine*, to be Leader of the ſecond Legion, where the foundation of that greatneſſe whereunto after hee attained, was firſt laid: for as *Suetonius* hath written, therein with victory hee fought thirty ſet Battailes, and was alſo Conqueror of the *Ile of Wight*: whereby two mighty nations were ſubdued to the *Romans*; and twenty Townes wonne from the *Britaines*: for which exploits he had Triumphall ornaments, worthily aſſigned him by *Claudius*, whoſe owne Triumph, (as *Ioſephus* ſaith) was gotten without any paines of his, but by the onely proweſſe of *Veſpaſian*. After this, he governed *Africke* with ſingular integrity and much honour, and was laſtly ſent by *Nero* for his Vice-roy into *Syria* upon this occaſion.

His imployments in former times. *Tacit. in vita Agric. fol. 189.*

Ioſephus Bel. Iud. lib. 3. c. 1.

Suetan. in vita Veſpaſ. Sect. 4.

(4) There had beene ſpread thorow all the Eaſt-parts, an old Prophecy and ſetled opinion conſtantly beleeved, that it was appointed by the *Deſtinies*, *there ſhould come out of Iury him that ſhould bee Lord of the whole world*: which how it ſerved for the *Iewes* to revolt, or for the *Romans* to apply onely unto *Veſpaſian*, the event ſhewech, which cannot agree to any other, then to the perſon and power of *Chriſt Ieſus*, *there borne, and throughout the whole world ſtill raigning*; Yet upon the confidence of ſuch an accompliſhment, the *Iewes* revolted from the *Romanes* obedience, and ſlew their Preſident *Sabinus* by name, putting to flight *Gallus*, Lieutenant Generall of *Syria*, that came to his ayde, and got from him the maine Standard, or Enſigne of the Eagle. This Nation was ſo populous and ſtrong, that none was thought fitter to ſtay their attempts, then was *Veſpaſian*, who with great honour and approbation, reduced that Province unto their former ſubjection, and there remained the ſhort time of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* their raignes; of whoſe proceedings there * *Ioſephus* writeth at large, unto whom I muſt referre the unſatisfied Reader.

The cauſe of the *Iewes* revolt.

* *Ioſeph. de Bel. Iud.*

(5) All which times, the civill ſtirres amongſt the *Romans*, gave the Provinces occaſion to attempt their former liberties; as did the *Batavians*, *Germans*, and *French*, with whom the *Britaines* alſo tooke heart to revolt; But the firſt that ſided with *Veſpaſian*, were two thouſand expert Souldiers, drawne out of the *Meſian* Legions, and ſent to ayde *Otho* againſt *Vitellius*; who marching as farre as *Aquileia*, they heard there of the certaine death of *Otho*, and thereupon taking the advantage of the offered opportunity, with an uncontrolled liberty, committed many robberies and outragious villanies: Inſomuch, that fearing condigne puniſhment, they held it their beſt policy, to combine ſome ſpeciall man by their favours unto them, whereby their facts might bee either quite ſmoothered, or lightly reprehended; neither in their opinion was any ſo gracious for deſert or power, as was *Veſpaſian*, and therefore with one aſſent they proclaimed him Emperour, and wrote his name in their Banners, thinking themſelves as worthy to make an Emperour, as were the Legions either of *Spaine*, or *Germany*.

Tacit. hiſt. 3. cap. 9.

Veſpaſian choſen Emperour by the *Meſſia* Souldier.

(6) Of the like minde were his owne Legions in *Syria* and *Iury*, growne now ſo famous by the proſecution of thoſe warres, that they highly conceited his

By his owne. *Ioſeph. bell. Iud. lib. 5. cap. 10.*

his valour, and their owne ſufficiency to be inferiour to none: And therefore all on the ſudden at *Cæſarea*, both Captaine and Souldier ſalute him Emperour; which title when he reſolutely gainſaid and refuſed, with drawne ſwords they threatned his death. Thus then being brought into danger every way, hee ſent his letters unto *Tiberius Alexander*, Lievtenant of *Ægypt*, who likewiſe at *Alexandria*, preſently proclaimed him Emperour.

Tacit. in vita Agric. fol. 187.

(7) At this time *Veſtius Bolanus* ſent by *Vitellius* was Lievtenant of *Britaine*, there ruling in a gentler and milder manner then was fit for ſo fierce a Nation: for the ſouldiers having gotten head, by the remiſſe Government of *Trebellius Maximus*, continued the ſame looſeneſſe in diſcipline ſtill: and *Bolanus* in ſtead of awe and obedience, retained onely their affections and good wils. But moſt eſpecially the ſhort raignes of theſe laſt Emperors (whoſe beginnings were altogether imployed to ſatiſfie their licentious pleaſures, and latter times ſpent for the defence of their Lives from violent Deathes) gave way to many imperfections of the Governours, and miſdemeanours of the common ſouldiers.

Petillius Cerealis Deputy in *Britaine.*

(8) But when *Veſpaſian* had aſſumed the Empire, great Captaines and good ſouldiers were ſent into the Provinces; and into *Britaine*, *Petilius Cerealis* that had formerly there made proofe of his ſervice under *Nero*, in the warres againſt *Boduo*, and afterwards in other parts, as againſt the *Gaules* and *Batavians*, with proſperous victories. The fame of this man ſtrooke great terror into the hearts of the wavering *Britaines*, and amongſt them of the * *Brigantes*, the moſt populous State of the whole Province: againſt whom at his firſt approach they warred, and in many battles, and ſome of them bloudy, the greateſt part of theſe people were waſted, and their Country came into the Romiſh ſubjection.

* *Yorkeſhire, Lancaſhire, Weſtmerland*, and the Biſhoprickes of *Durham.*

Iulius Frontinus ſubdueth the *Britoniers.*

(9) Whereby the glory of *Cerealis* might well have dimmed the fame of his Succeſſor, had not *Iulius Frontinus* a great Souldier alſo ſuſtained the charge with reputation and credit, in ſubduing the ſtrong and Warlike nation the * *Silures*: where he had, beſide the force of the enemy to ſtruggle with, the ſtraits, and difficult places of rockes and mountaines, for acceſſe.

* *South-wales.*

Iulius Agricola Lieutenant in *Britaine.*

(10) After whoſe government (no further Acts being mentioned,) *Iulius Agricola*, who in *Rome* had beene Queſtor, Tribune, and Pretor, and Lievtenant in *Aquitania*, was ſent Generall into *Britaine* by *Veſpaſian* the Emperour, the yeere before his death. This man formerly had there ſerved under the command of *Petilius Cerealis*, whereby hee had gained experience both of the People and Province; and at his firſt approach gathered the Enſignes of the Legions, and other aydes of the Auxiliaries (who for that yeere attended an end of their travels, becauſe the Summer was almoſt ſpent) left by protracting time, the violence of the *Ordovices* ſhould further burſt forth, who a little before his entrance, had utterly almoſt cut off a wing which lay on their Borders, the reſt of the Country, as men deſirous of Warre, allowing their example.

Hee overcommeth the *Ordovices.*

Againſt theſe *Agricola* addreſſed, who kept themſelves in places of advantage, and durſt not deſcend into indifferent ground. He therefore being himſelfe foremoſt, led up his Army to their encounter, and ſeconded with the courage of his trained Souldiers, put them all to ſword and flight, whereby the whole nation was almoſt quite deſtroyed.

(11) And now that his fame began to aſcend, hee knew well that with inſtance it muſt be followed, and as the firſt affaires had iſſue, the reſt would ſucceed; he therefore deliberated to conquer the *Iland Mona* from the poſſeſſion whereof *Paulinus Suetonius* was revoked, by the generall Rebellion under *Boduo*. But in a purpoſe not purpoſed before, and ſhips wanting, the policy of the Captaine deviſed a paſſage; for he commanded the moſt choice of the aydes, to whom the ſhallowes were well knowne (and without whom the *Romans* did almoſt attempt nothing) to put over at once; and ſuddenly to invade them. Theſe *Britaines*, after the uſe of their Country manner, were moſt skilfull ſwimmers, and in ſwimming armed, able to governe themſelves and horſes. The *Monaans* thinking themſelves ſecure, for that no Ships were ſeene in their River, now thus ſuddenly ſurprized, as men amazed, firmely thought that nothing could be invincible to them, who came with ſuch reſolutions to Warre, and therefore they humbly deſired Peace, and yeelded the *Iland* unto *Agricolaes* devotion.

He winneth the Iland of *Mona.*

(12) Who now in theſe proſperous proceedings of his fortunes, fought not with any glorious relations or letters of advertiſements, to improve and augment the greateneſſe of his honour; but rather in ſeeking to ſuppreſſe his fame, made it ſhine more bright; and addreſſing himſelfe for civill governement, reformed many abuſes in his houſe, his campe, and in the whole Province, and thoſe eſpecially that moſt touched the poorer ſort, as by moderating the increaſe of Tribute and Corne, wherewith the *Britaines* were daily burdened: by the ſuppreſſing of which enormities (and the like) an honourable opinion of him was every where entertained, and a generall inclination unto peace, which partly by the negligence partly by the avarice of former Governours, had beene no leſſe feared then Warre it ſelfe.

Agricola good to the poore.

(13) And whereas the *Britaines* hitherto ſtill harried with oppreſſions and Warres, had little leiſure or will to apply themſelves to things which accompany peace, and are the ornaments of civill and ſettled ſocieties, and therefore were prone upon every occaſion to revolt and ſtirre: to induce them by pleaſures to quieteneſſe and reſt, he exhorted them in private, and helpt them in publike, to build Temples, Houſes, and Places of Aſſemblies, and common reſort; and likewiſe provided that the ſonnes of their Nobles ſhould be inſtructed in the liberall Arts and Sciences, commending the induſtry, and preferring the wits of the *Britaines* before the Students of *France*, as being now growne curious to attaine the Eloquence of the *Roman* Gentrie, (yea even the Gowne the habit of peace and peaceable Arts) and to delight in gorgeous buildings, banquets, and baths.

His good courſe in winning the people from wildeneſſe.

The *Britaines* civilized.

(14) And thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded before the death of *Veſpaſian*, whoſe managing of the Imperiall dignity was every way anſwerable to ſo high a place, and whoſe death was as much lamented, as his Vertues did ſurmount his predeceſſours. But as touching his miraculous cures of the blind and the lame, as they ſerve nor either to be urged or inferred in this our preſent hiſtory; ſo yet may they convince the indurate Atheiſt, whoſe conſcience is feared with the ſinne of incredulity of the miracles wrought by our bleſſed Saviour Ieſus Chriſt. For if the wiſeſt hiſtorians of thoſe times have beleeved themſelves, and left records upon their credit to following poſterity, that by his touch onely hee cured a lame man, and with his ſpittle opened the eyes of the blind, being a mortall and ſinfull man; ſhall it then bee doubted, that hee which knew no ſinne, neither received the gift by meaſure, either in power could not, or in act did not worke ſuch miracles as were the witneſſes of his Godhead, and for ſuch are recorded, to confirme our faith? But to our purpoſe.

Veſpaſian cureth the blinde and the lame, and that miraculouſly.

Suetan. in vita Veſpaſ. ſect. 7.

Tacit. hiſt. 4. cap. 35.

Veſpaſians miracles convince Atheiſts that deny our Saviours miracles.

(15) When *Veſpaſian* had lived threeſcore and nine yeeres, ſeven moneths, and ſeven dayes, and had raigned tenne yeares, as *Euſebius* ſaith, he dyed peaceably in his bed; which no Emperour ſince *Auguſtus* ever did; having beene a great ſcourge and inſtrument of God againſt the miſerable *Iewes*: whoſe kingly race from *Davids* line he fought by all meanes to extirpate, that ſo all their hopes and expectations might for ever be cut off.

Veſpaſian dieth peaceably. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 12. & 13.*

A great ſcourge of God againſt the *Iewes.*

(16) Hee was of a middle ſtature, well ſet, and ſtrongly compact: his countenance not altogether amiable; neither any wayes deformed: *a great favourer of Learning, very Liberall, a luſt, Wiſe, and moſt Valiant Prince.*

His endowments of body. *Suetan. in vita Veſpaſ. ſect. 21.* His vertues.

TITVS

TITVS FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XIII.



Titus Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

An. Dom. 81.

RScently upon the death of this Emperour, *Titus* his eldest sonne, sirnamed *Flavius Vespasian*, without any contradiction was received and obeyed for his *right full successor*: aswell for that his father in his life time had made him his Partner in the *Empire*, and at his death by Testament declared him his *Heire*; as also for the generall opinion conceived of him who for his inbred goodnesse and noble conditions, was called and esteemed *the lovely darling and delight of mankind*. Indeed of a most comely *presence* hee was, and fitted thereunto with all heroicall *vertues*, a great *Souldier*, learned in the Arts, a good *Orateur*, a skilfull *Musitian*, and could by artificiall characters write both very fast and very faire.

Titus made Emperour without all contradiction.

Called the delight of mankinde. *Sueton. in vita Tit. fol. 1.* Fitted with all heroicall vertues.

(2) His youth he spent in Militarie qualities, and served in *Germanie* and *Britaine* with exceeding commendations, and in *Iury* warred with the like glory, which is nothing impaired by the learned stile of his Recorder *Iosephus*, unto whom againe for these affaires I must referre the curious Reader.

His implotment in former times.

(3) *Ierusalem*, with the slaughter of eleven thousand *Iewes*, even on the birth day of his daughter, with such honour he wonne, that thereupon presently he was saluted *Emperour*, even in the life time of *Vespasian* his father: and from that day carried himselfe as his Associate in the *Empire*; for with him he triumphed, and with him he joyntly administred the *Censorship*, his *Collegue* he was in the *Tribunes authoritie*; and his companion also in seven *Consulships*: In all which, though the *Edicts* went forth in his fathers name: yet were they penned by himselfe. Of this his victory over the *Iewes*, hee left the remembrance to posteritie by stamping upon the reverse of his coines IVD. CAP. with pictures expressing his Triumph and the *Iewes* overthrow, which in the front of this Chapter we have also placed.

Iosepholl. iud. lib. 6. & 7. He wonne *Ierusalem* in the life-time of his father.

His faults.

(4) Somewhat hee was blemished with the love of *Berenice*, the beautifull Queene of *Iewry*, and much more with the murther of *Aulus Cinna*, only through jealousie conceived of her; and whether that was the sinne whereof at his death hee repented is uncertaine, when lifting up his eyes to *Heaven*, hee complained why his *Life* should bee taken from him, that excepting one offence deserved not to die. As himselfe in glory weilded the *Emperiall Scepter*, so did his Substitutes governe the *Provinces*; at which time in *Britaine*, *Agricola* was President, and therein had spent almost two yeeres under the raigne of *Vespasian*, in such manner as wee have declared.

His repentance at his death.

(5) In his third yeere, he discovered new Countries and parts of this *Iland*, yet untouched, or at leastwise not thoroughly subdued, as altogether unsatiate of that which was gotten; and sought to draw the confines of the *Empire* with a larger compasse: therefore marching Northward to the *Frith* of * *Taus*, wasted all as he went, and without any resistance fortified the places with *Castles* and *Bulwarkes*, which hee stored with sufficient provision; where every *Garrison* wintring, guarded it selfe, and with the Summers service, ever repaired the Winters events, whereby evermore the Enemy went to the worse, and his designes prospered as himselfe wished.

Tacitus in vita Agric. Agricola enlargeth the Empire.

TWEEDE, as is thought.

(6) The fourth Summer was spent in perusing and ordering that which hee had over-run. And if the glory of the *Romane* name could have permitted, or so beene satisfied, it needed not to have fought other limits of *Britaine*: for * *Glota* and * *Bodotria*, two armes of two opposite *Seas*, shooting farre into the *Land*, and onely divided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, the same was both guarded and fortified with Castles and Garrisons: so that the *Romans* were absolute *Lords* of all the South-side, and had cast the Enemie as it were into another *Iland*.

His fleaping of killing.

Tacit. hist. 3. cap. 13. He dedicateth a Temple to *Iupiter*.

(7) In this state stood this *Province* of *Britaine* at the death of *Titus*, whose short raigne hath left no long matters of *discourse*, and his *Acts* greater under other *Emperours*, then when he was *Emperour* himselfe; yet that little time wherein he governed, was with *Iustice*, *Liberalitie*, and *Love* of all. A great Enemy he was to *Promoters*, *Pettifoggers* and *Extortors* of penall lawes, which *Cancker-wormes* of *Commonwealths*, and *Caterpillers* to Courts of *Iustice*, he caused to be whipped and banished out of *Rome*. Loving and familiar he was to all his *Subiects*, and so desirous to give them satisfaction, that his usuall saying was, *No man ought to goe sad from the speech of a Prince*. Mercifull he was to the poore, and so ready to doe them good, that one day being spent by him without any notable action, in sorrow he said: *I have quite lost a day*. He died the thirteenth of *September*, the yeere from *Christs Nativitie* eightie three, when hee had *raigned* two yeeres and two moneths, and in the two and fortieth yeere of his age, being poisoned by *Domitian* his Brother and *Successor*.

* The frith of Dunbretton. * Edenbrough frith.

Pliny in his Proeme of naturall historie. Martialis his Epigram. Ro. Emp. fol. 134. *Sueton in vit. Domit. fol. 4.*

Titus governed with love of all.

His propensitie to doe good. *Rosin. lib. 3. cap. 25.* His age and raigne. *Eutropius lib 3. cap. 21.*

Tacit. in vit. Agric.

FLAVIVS DOMITIAN.

CHAPTER. XIV.



Domitian. Emp.

Agricola Lieut.

An. Dom. 83.

DOmitian attaining the *Empire* by the death of *Titus*, (wrought by himselfe,) as farre differed from him in vertuous conditions, as hee was linked neere him in consanguinitie of blood: His youth not spent in *Armes*, with his *Father* and *Brother*, but inertiously consumed in lascivioustesse and penurie.

Agricola his opinion of *Ireland*.

(2) At *Rome* he was in the *Vitellian* troubles, where, with *Sabinus* his Vncle, hee had beene murdered, had not the Sexton of the Capitoll hid him in his house, and in the habit of a Minister unknowen, thence escaped: which place afterwards, when hee came to be *Emperour*, he gorgeously built for a *Temple to Iupiter*, his supposed Preserver, and consecrated himselfe in the lap of that heathenish *Idoll*. Hee very speedily apprehendeth the hope of an *Empire*, for no sooner was his Father made *Emperour*, but that he assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and in *Rome* carried himselfe with such prodigality, and so liberally made promises of the *Imperiall offices*, that his father hearing thereof, said, *hee marvelled why his sonne sent not one to succeed him in his place*. But to dissemble and cloake his idle conceits, he gave himselfe to the study of *Poesie*, (although with little affection, as the end proved) for which notwithstanding both *Pliny* and *Martial* doe highly commend him, as it is the manner of men to admire the *very shadow* of a good qualitie in Princes and great ones: and so doth *Iuvenal* and *Suetonius* praise his brave minde, for his shewes in the *Amphitheater*, wherein not onely men, but women also were brought, and forced to fight for their lives with wilde beasts: a cruell spectacle nevertheless, and unbeseeming to humanity,

He searcheth the creekes and harboroughs.

Caledonians most puissant.

(3) His first entrance into state and dignitie was neither greatly applauded, nor gainsaid, he seeming to carry an equall mixture, and his vertues to hold level with his vices. But ambition now supported with Soveraignty, did quickly set the scale onely for the worse side. The affaires of the *Empire* he altogether neglected; and impatient of labour, or affection to Armes, daily retired into a private Chamber or Gallery, wherein he usually applyed himselfe onely to catch *Flies*, and with the point of a Bodkin to pricke them thorow: whereupon one being asked what company was with the *Emperour*, replyed, *Not so much as a flie*. In which princely exercise let us a while leave him, and returne to his better imploied Lieutenant *Agricola*.

Agricola searcheth out the helmes of *Britain*.

(4) Who now in the fifth yeare of his government tooke the Seas, and with many prosperous conflicts subdued some adjacent places and people, before that time unknowen; and furnished with forces those parts of *Britaine*, which lay coasted against *Ireland*: to which *Countrey* also he had a minde, and would often say, that if the *Romans* were therein planted, the *Liberty* of the *Britains* would soone be banished quite out of sight, and out of hope.

(5) Now in the fixth yeare of his Prefecture, because a general rising of all his farther *Nations* beyond *Bodotria* was feared, and passages were all beset with power of the Enemies, he manned a Fleet to search the creekes and harboroughs of the ample Region beyond it, and with his Army marched further North. The *Britaines* hereat (especially at sight of their ships) much amazed and troubled, knowing now that the secret of their Seas were all discovered, and no refuge left if they were overcome; armed themselves with great preparation; and the *Caledonians* (a most puissant and strong Nation in those parts) the formost; who, as challengers, braved the *Romans* so boldly, and in such manner, that some counselled the *Generall* to retire his forces on this side *Bodotria*, and rather of his owne accord to depart, then to bee repelled with shame.

(6) *Agricola*, whose courage could not be clouded with any Dastardly feare, held on his intents; and hearing by prisoners taken, the manner of his Enemies proceedings, ordered his hoste accordingly, dividing his army into three battels, and so lay entrenched; the weakest whereof, containing the *Ninth Legion*, the *Britaines* by night assailed, and having slaine the Watch, brake into their *Campe* with a furious noyse: to whose rescue, *Agricola* sent his Light horsemen, and a Band of foot, whose *Ensignes* and *Armour* glittering in the appearance of day, so rebated the edge and further purposes of the *Britaines*, that they gave backe to the gates of the Trench; where, in the straites the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end they were forced to quit the field. Vpon this battell so manfully fought, and famously won, the *Romans* presuming that to their prowesse all things were now easie and open, cried to lead into *Caledonia*, and to find out the limits of *Britaine*, with a course of continued concourse: and those which erewhile were so wary and wise, waxt forward and bold after the event, and grew to speake bigly: such being the hard condition of Warres, that if ought fall out well, all challenge a part; misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise, the *Britaines* presupposing that not valour, but skill in the *Generall* by using the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit their wonted courage, but armed their youth, transported their Children and Wives into places of safety, and sought by Assemblies & religious Rites to establish an *association* of the *Cities* together. And so for that yeare both parties did depart, incensed to further preparations.

(7) In the beginning of the next, *Agricola* sending his Navy before, which by unexpected spoiling in

in severall places, should induce a greater and more uncertaine terrour; followed himselfe with his *Army* by land: having drawne to his party some of the valianteſt *Britaines*, whom by long experience in peace, he had found moſt faithfull for his Warres: and ſo arrived at the Mount * *Grampius*, where the *Britaines* had lodged themſelves before, and as men nothing dejected by the unfortunate chance of the former battaile, had now prepared themſelves, attending only for *Revenge* or *Servitude*. And being taught, that common danger muſt be repelled with mutuall Concord, by Leagues and Embaſſages they aſſembled the power of all their *Cities* together, above thirty thouſand armed men, as by view was taken, beſides an endles number of youth, which thither daily flocked unto them, and many luſty Old men renowned in the former warres, bearing the Badges due to their honour: at what time *Galgacus*, for vertue and birth, of all the *Leaders* the Principall man, feeing the multitude hotly demaund the *Battell*, is faid to have uſed this, or the like ſpeech.

" (8) When I behold this preſent Aſſembly, and " conſider the cauſe of this inſtant neceſſitie, I have " reaſon to preſume, that this day, and this our agree- " ment in conſent, will give a happy beginning to " our freedome, and an end of troubles unto our *I-* " *land*. For, we which inhabite theſe furtheſt pro- " montories, know no land beyond us whereunto " we may fly, nor no Seas left us now for faferie, the " *Roman* Navie thus (as you ſee) ſurveying our " Coaſts: So that Combat and Armes, which men of " valour deſire for honour, the very daſtard for force " muſt now vſe for his ſecurity. Wee that are the " flower of the *Britiſh Nobilitie*, and are ſeated here " in the uttermoſt part of the *Ile*, ſaw never yet the " borders of thoſe Countries which ſerved in ſlave- " ry, our eyes being unpolluted and free from all con- " tagion of Tyrannie. Our former *battailes* fought " with the *Romans* had their events, yet ſo, that re- " fuge and hope reſted ſtill in our hands; Wee have " hitherto lived in liberty, whereas none beſide us " are free; us hitherto this corner and ſecret receſſe " hath defended, now the uttermoſt point of our " Land is laid open: and things the leſſe they have " beene within knowledge, the greater the glory is " to atchieve them. But what Nation is there now " beyond us? what elſe ſee we but *water* and *rockes*, " and the *Romans* within, *Land-lords* of all, nay ra- " ther *Robbers* of all, both on Land and Sea? Whoſe " intollerable pride by humble ſubjection in vaine " ſhall we ſeeke to avoid. If the Countrey berich, " they ſeeke to winne wealth; if poore, to gaine glo- " ry: but neither *Eaſt* nor *Weſt*, can ſatisfie their gree- " dy affection, much leſſe this cold *North* can ſet an " end to their deſires. To kill, to ſpoile, and take a- " way by force, that falſly they terme *Empire* and " *Government*: and when all is made a waſte Wilder- " neſſe, that they call *Peace*. Moſt deare unto man " are his Children and blood; but thoſe are preſſed " for their warres, and ſerve as their ſlaves, we know " not where; our Goods are their tributes, our Corne " their proviſion; our Wives, Siſters, and Daughters " in *Warre* violently forced, in *Peace* under title of " friends and gueſts, ſhamefully abuſed, and our " own Bodies worne & conſumed in paving of Bogs, " and other ſervile drudgeries, with thouſands of " ſtripes, and many indignities more. Slaves which " are borne to bondage are ſold but once, and after " are fed at their owners expences; but *Britanie* dai- " ly buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her " owne bondage. We are the laſt to be conquered, " and therefore is our deſtruction moſt ſought, as be- " ing the moſt vile in account: No fields we have to " manure, no Mines to be digged, no Ports to trade " in, and to what purpoſe then ſhould they reſerve " us alive? Beſides, the manhood and fierce cou- " rage of the ſubject, pleaſeth not much the jealous " *Soveraigne*: and this Corner being ſo ſecret, and out " of the way, the more ſecurity it yeeldeth us, in them " it workes the greater ſuſpition. Then, ſeeing all " hope of favour is paſt, let us take courage to de- " fend and maintaine our owne ſafety as well as our " honour. The *Iceni*ans led by a *Woman*, fired the " *Colony*, forced the Caſtles; and if that lucky be- " ginning had not beene ended in a careleſſe ſecurity, " the *Southerne Britaines* might with eaſe have ſhaken " off the yoake. We as yet never touched, never ſub- " dued, and borne to be free, not ſlaves to the *Ro-* " *mans*; we (I ſay) now are to make proofe of our " valour, and to ſhew in this encounter, what men " *Caledonia* hath reſerved for her ſelfe. And do you " thinke, that the *Romans* are as valiant in Warre as " they are wanton in Peace? I aſſure you, nothing " leſſe: for not by their Vertues, but by our Iarrings " they are growne into fame: and of the Enemies " faults they make uſe to the glory of their owne *Ar-* " *my*, compoſed (we know) moſt of divers *Nations*; " and therefore as in proſperity they hold not al- " wayes together, ſo doubtleſſe, if fortune turne a- " ſide, their ſervices will appeare: unleſſe you ſup- " poſe the *Gaules* and *Germans*, and (to our ſhame be " it ſpoken) many of our owne Nation, (which now " lend their lives to eſtabliſh a *forraine Vſurper*) bee " led with hearts affection; whereas contrariwiſe it " is apparant, that *Terrour* and *Diſtruſt*, (weake wor- " kers to conſerve love) are the onely cauſe; which " once removed, then thoſe that have made an end " to feare, will ſoone begin to hate. All things that " may incite unto victory are for us: the *Romans* " have no *Wives* to harten them on, if they faint; no " *Parents* to upbraid them, if they flie; moſt of them " have no Countrey at all, or if they have, it is by in- " truſion taken from other: A few fearefull perſons " ſtand here before us, trembling and gazing at the " ſtrangeneſſe of the heaven it ſelfe, at the Sea, and at " the Woods, whom the gods have delivered, mew- " ed up and fettered into our hands. Let not their " brave ſhewes of gliſtering *Gold* or *Silver*, any way " diſmay you, which of themſelves neither offend " nor defend. And be you well aſſured, amongſt our " enemies wee ſhall finde many on our ſide; The " *Britaines* will agnize their owne Cauſe; the *Gaules* " will remember their wonted liberty and former e- " ſtate; And the reſt of the *Germans* will leave and " forſake them, as of late the *Vſipians* did. What then " ſhall we feare? The *Caſtles* are emptie; the *Colonies* " peopled with aged and impotent perſons; the free " Cities diſcontent, and in factions, whileſt thoſe " which are under, obey with ill will, and they which " doe governe, rule againſt right. Here you ſee be- " fore us is the *Generall* and the *Army*; on each ſide " Tributes, Servitudes and other miſeries inſepara- " ble: which whether we ſhall continue for ever, or " caſt off ſubjection as free-borne *Britaines*, it lyeth " this day in this *field* and your approved manhoods. " Wherefore I beſeech you in joyning battell, beare " in your minds your worthy *Anceſtors*, your Selves, " and following Poſterities, which if you faile, ſhall " for ever live in ſubjection and ſlavery.

(9) This ſpeech was ſo vehemently delivered, and ſo cheerefully of them all received, that with Songs and confuſed acclamations (after their accuſtomed faſhion) they cluſtered together on heapes, and ſome of the bold'ſt advanced forward, whilſt *Agricola* likewiſe was encouraging his men, who ſtraightwayes ran to their weapons, and ruſhed on furiouſly toward the Enemy.

(10) The *Britaines* were marſhalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the ſhew, and to terrifie: the firſt Batalion ſtanding on the plaine, the reſt on the aſcent of the hill, knit and riſing as it were one over another; the middle of the field was filled with clattering and running of Chariots and horſemen. *Agricola* ſeeing their number to exceed his, drew his battell in length, and leaving his horſe, advanced himſelfe before the *Enſignes* on foot.

(11) In the firſt aſſault before the joyning, both ſides encountred, diſcharging off their darts; wherein the

Womans valour ought to ſhame mens cowardize.

This time the fifteth to prove mens valour.

The *Romans* wanton in peace.

Their Army compoſed of divers Nations.

They are deſtitute of many encouragements.

Many cities in factions.

The number of *Britaine* exceeded the *Romans*.

The firſt encounter.

the *Britaines*, employing both art and valour, with their great ſwords and little Targets, avoided the volue of the *Romans*, ſhowring down withall great ſtore of theirs upon them, wherewith they were both galled and ſore wounded. *Agricola* ſeeing his men thus ſtoutly reſiſted, tooke another courſe; for ſpying the advantage, he commanded three [a] *Batavian Cohorts*, and two of the [b] *Tungrians*, to preſſe forward, and bring the matter to handy ſtrokes and dint of ſword, a thing which (in reſpect of their long ſervice) they were very expert in, but contrariwiſe to the *Britains* very prejudicial, by reaſon of their little Bucklers, and huge ſwords, being blunt pointed, and no waies fit for the cloſe in fight. This command advantaged the *Romans* much; for theſe with the pikes with the Bucklers, when they came to deale blowes, ſo mangled the faces of the *Britaines*, that they were not able to ſtand before them; and the reſt, gathering courage upon emulation of theſe, aſcended the hill, bearing downe all that was in their way; ſo that many halfe dead and ſome wholy untouched, were over-paſſed and left for haſte of winning the field. In the meane while the *Chariots* mingled themſelves with the battle of footmen, and the troopes of Horſemen began to flie: who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now diſtreſſed themſelves, by the unevenneſſe of the ground, and thicke rankes of the enemy, and were forced to fight ſtanding ſtill, and by the maine weight of Horſes to beare downe one another. The wandring Waggons alſo, and maſterleſſe Horſes, as chance or feare did guide them, over-bare many times their friends, and thwarted their way that met them.

(12) The other *Britaines* that kept the hill, and had leiſure to behold the manner of fight, began to come downe by little and little, and fought to compaſſe the backe of the enemy, which intent *Agricola* ſoone prevented, by ſending foure wings of *Horſemen* retained purpoſely about him for ſudden diſpatches and chances of warre. Theſe ſo fiercely aſſailed them, that a moſt ſharpe and bloody battle enſued, wherein the *Britaines* on each ſide were beaten downe and ſlaine, notwithſtanding many of them ſhewed both valour and revenge even to the end: the reſt disbanded, turned their backs, and fled toward the deſart: whoſe purſuit was followed untill night and fulneſſe of blood made an end of the chaſe.

(13) Of the *Romans* ſide were ſlaine (if we muſt credit their owne friends) onely three hundred and fortie perſons, and of them, one of extraordinary note and account, *Aulus* [a] *Articus*, *Captaine* of a *Cohort*, who upon a youthfull heate, and fierceneſſe of his horſe, was carried amidſt his enemies. Of the *Britaines* fell ten thouſand, and their deſignes ſo defeated and broken, that as deſperate men, they forſake their houſes, and in deſpight ſet fire on them themſelves: the hurt perſons they carry and draw with them, and call them that art unhurt, hoping to be releeved by them. One while they chuſe out holes to lurke in, for their lives ſafety; eſtſoones in great haſte forſake them, as doubting therein their owne ſecurity. Diſperſed aſſunder, they lament and attend death: aſſembled together, they expoſtulate of their meanes and life: one while conceiving a glimmering of ſome ſmall hope, another while dejected with utter deſpaire: Sometimes at the ſight of their deareſt beloved, mooved to pity, but much oftner ſtirred to rage, for revenge; and many of them, even by way of compaſſion, ſlew their deareſt *Wives* and *Children*, to rid them from their future miſeries.

(14) *Agricola* having made every where a deſolation and ſilence, withdrew his Army towards the * *Horreſtians*, where taking hoſtages for their fidelity, ſent the *Admirall* of his *Navy* to ſaile about the *North Coaſts* of *Britaine*, who with ſtrength and ſtore tooke the Seas; their terrour gone already before, himſelfe with eaſe and gentle journies diſpoſed his foot and horſemen in their Wintring places, and planted Garriſons upon the Borders betweene *Glota* and *Bodotria*. And his Navy with proſperous winde and ſucceſſe arrived at the port * *Trutulenſis*.

(15) Thus, after many conflicts, about the ſpace of one hundred thirty ſixe yeeres from *Iulius Caſars* firſt entrance, the utmoſt limits of *Britanny*, and the *Iles* of the *Orcades* lying on the North ſide of it, were by the valour and induſtry of *Iulius Agricola* firſt diſcovered, and made knowne unto the *Romans*: and the *South* part of the *Ile*, in the fourth yeare of the raigne of *Domitian*, (being the yeare of our Saviour eighty ſixe) reduced into a ſubject: d Province, the government whereof was ever annexed and appropriate to the *Romane Emperours* themſelves, and not at the diſpoſition of the *Senate*, as other provinces were.

(16) This State affaires in *Britanny*, *Agricola* ſignified by letter, without any amplifying termes to *Domitian* the *Emperour*, who (after his manner) with *a cheerefull countenance and grieved heart*, received the Newes, being inwardly pricked with feare and diſdaine, that his late counterfet *Triumph* of *Germany* (wherein certaine flaves bought for money, were attired, and their haire dreſſed as *Captives* of that *Country*) was had in deriſion, and juſtly ſcorned abroad; whereas now a true and imperiall victory of ſo many thouſand enemies ſubdued and ſlaine, was currant and famous in every mans mouth: as being indeed a thing dangerous, that a private mans name ſhould be exalted above his Prince. In vaine then had hee ſuppreſſed the ſtudy of *Oratory*, and other worthy politicke Artes, thereby to keepe downe other mens reputation, if he ſhould in *Military* glory be diſſeiſed by another. And to be a good Commander of an *Army*, was to be above a private eſtate, that being a Vertue peculiar for a *Prince*, and therefore not lightly to bee paſſed over. With theſe and the like incentives his minde was tormented; yet thought hee it beſt to diſſemble his malice, untill the heat of his glory, and love of his Souldiers were ſomewhat abated. And forthwith hee commanded for *Agricola*, *Triumphall* ornaments, ſtatue, honours, and what elſe uſually conferred in lieu of *Triumph*; hee yet remaining in charge, from whence, with the like policy alſo, hee was ſhortly diſplaced. For *Syria*, by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, lay deſtitute of a *Lieutenant*; and that place reſerved for men of great quality, *Domitian* gave forth, was purpoſed for *Agricola*, and ſent him both his *Patent*, and *Succeſſor* into *Britaine*; who thereupon delivered up the Province in a peaceable eſtate unto *Saluſtius Luculus*, and returned to *Rome*.

(17) Where the life of *Domitian* was now growne unmeaſurable vaine. The ſurname *Germanicus* he aſſumed to himſelfe, for ſome ſmall ſervice therein done. The Moneths *September* and *October* hee changed into the names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, becauſe that in the one he entred his *Empire*, and in the other was borne. He cauſed his Statue to be made in gold, and commanded, himſelfe to bee called God. His cruelty every way matchable to his pride. The *Senators* and *Nobles* upon ſmall furmiſes hee murdered: many new tortures hee invented: *Confiſcations* and *Baniſhments*, were favours, not puniſhments. Amongſt all which, the *Chriſtians* bare a part, whoſe *Second Perſecution* this *Tyrant* raiſed and began. The great *Evangeliſt Iohn* hee baniſhed into the *Ile* of *Patmos*, where hee received his *Revelations* from *Ieſus Chriſt*, appearing unto him in no leſſe Majeſty then *Daniel* before time had ſeene him in his *viſions*, and both (after a ſort) in one and the ſame manner: their *Viſions* alike, and almoſt to the like end: For as *Daniel* ſaw a *Lion*, *Beare*, *Leopard*, and *Monſter* with *Ten hornes* perſecute the *Iewes* Gods people, and to fall before the *Stone cut without hands*, which brake into powder the *Image* of their Tyrannicall Government, to give place to the peaceable *Birth* and *Kingdome* of *Chriſt*; ſo *Iohn* ſaw one *Beaſt* compacted of theſe foure, mouthed like a *Lion*, footed like a *Beare*, ſpotted as the *Leopard*, and horned for number and power with the *Monſter*, retaining their *Tyranny* in raiſing *Perſecutions* in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and clouding with *Idolatry*

The *Britaines* gather a great power.

Galgacus their Generall.

His Oration to the *Britaiors*. *Tacitus vita Agric.*

The cauſe of a flouriſhing eſtate.

The neceſſity of reſolution.

A diſhonour for the chiefe of a Nation to be Daſtards.

Former battels not unfortunate.

Subjection will not availe.

The *Romans* government and peace.

The laſt to be conquered ought moſt to reſiſt.

Manhood and fierceſſe of place moſt ſuſpected of a jealous Soveraigne

* *Grampius*.

a *Hollanders*, ſeige in the Low Countries.

b *Tungrians*.

* *Richborow*.

Hillar. magn Br. lib. 2. ca. 17.

Britanny wholly diſcovered by *Agricola*.

An. Dom. 86. *Dio lib. 55.*

Agricola wiſheth to *Domitian*.

Agricola receiveth Triumphall ornaments.

a *Articus* perchance.

The *Britaines* that dyed.

Sueton. in vita Domitiani. Domitian his vices.

* *Angoſe* in *Scotland*. *Agricola* ſendeth to diſcover the North coaſts.

He baniſhed Saint *Iohn*. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib 3. cap. 17. Apoc. 1. 9. Dan. 10.*

Apoc. 13. 2.

a Theſſ. 2. 8.

the brightneſſe of his *Word*: which beaſt ſhall be caſt into the Lake of fire and brimſtone, when *Chriſt* ſhall binde up *Satan*, and by his appearance aboliſh the *Man of Sinne*.

Saluſtius Lucullus put to death. *Sue. in vita Tranſt. fol.* 10. His offence.

(18) Among many others ſlaine by *Domitian*, *Saluſtius Lucullus* whom he had made *Lieutenant Generall* of *Britaine* was one, and the onely cauſe is reported to bee, that hee had deviſed and made certaine Speares or Launces for ſervice, which hee cauſed to be called *Lucullians* after his owne name; which was a matter held very ſuſpitious by *Domitian*, who thought every memorable act done by another, did plucke a feather from his owne plume. And in theſe courſes continued ſo long that laſtly he grew odious to all even to his neareſt friends and followers which himſelfe had raiſed, who together with his *Wife*, conſpired his death.

(19) The chiefeſt in the Action was *Stephen*, a Procurator and Steward to *Domicilla* his *Empreſſe*, who fayning himſelfe lame of the left arme, in delivering him a ſcroll containing the names of the conſpirators, ſtrooke him in the *belly* with his ſword, and the reſt comming in, with ſeven wounds made an end of his life; whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the *Senate*, that they diſgracefully abuſed his carcaſe, caſt downe his ſcutcheons and Images, and forbad all maner remembrance of him; albeit ſome of the Soldiers as much ſtormed, ſeeking to revenge his death, and canonized him for a God.

The actors of his death, and their treachery.

The Senate glad.

The Souldiers enraged.

(20) Of ſtature he was tall, his complexion faire, his countenance modeſt, his head very bald, his eyes reſt, full, great and dimme; of a comely forme, onely his belly bearing out, his legges ſmall, and his foote ſomewhat ſhort. He dyed the eighteenth day of *September*, aged forty five, when he had raigned fifteene yeeres, the yeare of our Lords incarnation ninety eight, with whom both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* end their Hiſtory.

His perſonage.

His death, age and raigne. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. l.* 3. *cap.* 18.





The Reſiſters of the *Romans* proceedings in this our *Iland* of *Britaine*, in the dayes of this Emperour *Domitian*, for theſe *Southerne* parts, was *Arviragus*, as from *Iuvenall* wee have ſaid; and in the *Northerne Caledonia*, was *Galgacus* their Captaine; whoſe coynes as Remaines and Monuments of their never-dying fame, we have here againe inſerted.





NERVA.

Chapter XV.

Nerva Emp.



An. Dom. 98.

HItherto have wee purſued the ſucceſſion in the Britiſh monarchy, together with the Invaſions, attempts, and ſucceſſe of affaires for the *Conqueſt* of this *Iland*, under the firſt twelve *Emperours* of *Rome*: and that from ſuch writers, who though they were moſt favourable *Regiſters* of things done by the *Romans*, yet had they beſt meanes to know, and publiſh their *Hiſtories* with warrantize of truth. But after the death of *Domitian*, dyed many Records, and the *Provinces* proceedings (eſpecially thoſe that moſt concerne *Britaine*) left uncertaine; and therefore are neither with the like largeneſſe proſcuted, nor with the like authority avouched. And were it not that theſe *Roman Emperours* ſucceeding, did onely continue the ſucceſſion of our *Britiſh Monarches*, many of them might be quite omitted; as neither themſelves, nor deputies, allies, or enemies once ſpoken of concerning our affaires; and the *Government* of this *Province*, during thoſe times, ſo maimed and defective (in reſpect of any warrantable relations) that hardly a method can be obſerved to the fitting of a continuall *Hiſtory*. Yet as we finde it, let us have liberty to deliver it, and rather to expoſe *Truth* in the meane attire that time hath left her, then by diſguiſing her in richer roabes to abuſe the World, and make her ſeeme nought elſe but a counterfeit, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles* hath complained.

Domitian being dead, ſoone after many Records were loſt.

Hiſt. magn. Brit. lib. 3. *cap.* 2.

Plutarch in the life of *Pericles*.

Cocceius Nerva raiſed and prudent.

(2) *Domitian* therefore thus made away, *Cocceius Nerva*, a prudent, honourable, and aged perſon, was elected *Emperour* by the *Senate*, aſſiſted by *Petronius Secundus*, Captaine of the *Pretorian Army*, and *Partheneius* chiefe *Chamberlaine*, and one of the Murtherers of *Domitian*. His birth was noble, and of *Italy* in the City *Narnia*, and of the *Province Vmbria*: ruling ſo well as he may be eſteemed too good a Prince long to continue in ſo bad an age.

Gualſ. Monmouthenſis.

(3) What *Lieutenants* under him were in *Britaine*, or under his Succeſſor *Trajan*, I find not in Record: but our *Engliſh Writers* from the *Arch-Deacon* of *Monmouth*, bring a ſucceſſion of *Britiſh Kings*, and amongſt them *Marius*, who conquered *Rodoricke*, King of the *Picts* accompanied with the *Scots*, whoſe *Trophie* erected neere unto *Carleill*, remained a long time after, bearing the inſcription of his victory: and after him his ſonne *Coilus* brought up in *Rome* all the time of his youth, retained their favours, and payde them tribute without conſtraint. Albeit by *Iuvenal*, it ſeemeth that *Arviragus* the father of *Marius*, a great reſiſter of the *Romans*, lived in the raigne of *Domitian*, as hath beene touched, unleſſe you will ſay, that *Mauriqus* and *Arviragus* was the ſame *Marius*, as a worthy *Antiquary* affirmeth. But through theſe uncertaineties and diſagreements occaſioned by the ſilence of better Authors, our *Hiſtories* reſt doubtfull, and ſo muſt we leave them, returning to finiſh up briefely the Raigne and Life of this good *Emperour Nerva*.

Flores Hiſtoriar. Mail. of Malden. aſcribeth this memoriall to bee erected for *Marcus a Conſull of Rome. Polydor. lib.* 4. *cap.* 12.

Arviragus the father of *Marius. Chap.* 6. *fect.* 12.

(4) Who having reformed many enormities, and remitted many grievous Tributes and exactions, as that of Carriages mentioned on the reverſe of the prefixed Coyne, minted by authority of the Senate in eternall memory of his goodneſſe; recalled from baniſhment the *Chriſtians* ſeverally diſperſed, and ſuffred them to enjoy the freedome of their profeſſion. At which time *John* the Evangeliſt returned from *Pathmos*, (wherein he had beene confined) unto *Epheſus*, a City in *Aſia* the leſſe. And *Nerva* raigning onely one yeare foure moneths and nine dayes, dyed (of a paſſionate anger conceived againſt a *Senator*) in the yeare of Chriſt his incarnation ninety nine; the twenty ſeventh day of *Ianuary*, and ſeventy ſix of his own age.

Humfrey Lhyd. in the *Breviary of Brit.*

Alſo in an old Manuſcript is called *Veſtimer. cap.* 43. *Cocceius Nerva* recalled from baniſhment the Chriſtians. *Dion Caſſ. l.* 68. *John* the Evangeliſt returned from *Pathmos*, *Euſeb. lib.* 2. *cap.* 18. *Eutropius.*

TRAIAN.

Chapter XVI.

Trajan Emp.



An. Dom. 99.

VNTO *Nerva* ſucceeded *Vulpius Trajan* in the *Romane Empire*; borne neere unto *Sivill* in the Territories of *Spaine*: of a noble family, but was much more ennobled in himſelfe for his princely endowments, wch moved *Nerva* in his life time to adopt him into ſo high a calling, and the whole *Senate* after his death joyfully to confirme his *Election*, and ſo often to honour him with the title of the *Moſt Excellent Prince* in publike dedications, as on the Coyne above.

Statua Auriliua.

Trajan raiſed the Romane to the higheſt glory.

Dion caſſ. l. 68.

(2) Hee raiſed the *Roman Empire* unto the very higheſt pitch of glory, and ſpread the power of their Command into the largeſt circuit that ever before or ſince had or hath beene poſſeſſed. For the Kingdome of *Dacia* he ſubdued; *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Meſopotamia* made ſubject; *Aſſyria*, *Perſia*, and *Babylon* conquered; paſſed *Tigris*, and ſtretched the confines of the *Roman Empire*, unto the remoteſt dominions of the *Indies* which never before that time had heard of the *Roman Name*. And indeed, if we looke upon his politicke managing of the government, he may ſeeme (in compariſon of others) a right worthy, memorable and *lovely Prince*, of much *affability*, and *Familiarity* even with his inferiours, and of ſuch carriage towards his *Subjects*, as he himſelf would wiſh his *Prince* (he ſaid) to uſe towards him, if he were a *Subject*. A great obſerver alſo of Iuſtice, inſomuch that when he inveſted any *Pretor*, in giving him the *Sword*, he commanded him to uſe the ſame even againſt his owne perſon, if he violated Law or Equity. But yet againſt the good *Chriſtians* he uſed neither of both: nay hee

Dion Caſſius: The third perſecution of the Chriſtians. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib.* 3. *c.* 30.

Trajan raiſed the Romane to the higheſt glory.

Dion caſſ. l. 68.

Trajans never heard of the Romans till *Trajans* time.

Trajans affability and moderation towards his ſubjects. *Aurelius.*

Trajans made warre againſt the *Getulies*.

Trajan his ſlaughter upon the *Jewes* the greateſt that ever was.

Dion Caſſius. *Polyber. lib.* 4. *cap.* 13.

Trajans pro. traitor.

(6) How silent soever writers have beene for this *Emperours* affaires in this our *Iland*, yet it is to bee thought that unto this, as well as unto other *Provinces* both *Propretors*, *Lieutenants*, *Presidents*, *Prætors*, and *Proconsuls* were sent, and every *City* to have their municipall Magistrates. The *Prætor* that yeerely proclaimed solemne Sessions, wherein himselfe sate aloft upon a high tribunall seate, and guarded with his lictors about him in great estate, did execute his authority throughout his owne jurisdiction, and determined all causes brought before him, where rods and axes were prepared for the common people, that were enforced to receive a new Ruler every yeere. And surely as this yoke of bondage was grievously borne of every *Province*, upon whose necke, it was impoſed and laid: So the *Britaines* underwent the weight of that subjection with such unwillingnesse, that in the time of this *Trajan*, they revolted and rebelled, though presently surprized, as it is evident out of *Spartianus*.

(7) The care that this good *Emperour* had for the weale of his Subjects is projected by his providence in making wayes passageable from place to place, whereof remaine many testimonies by those his *Causeys* drawne with wonderfull diligence, even thorow the whole *Iland*; which now, though dismembred and cut in peeces by the Countrey people, where thorow they passed, yet doe many remnants thereof remaine, especially in pastures, or by-grounds out of the rode way, with bankes so high, that evidently they shew themselves. Of these *Causeys Galen* writeth as followeth: *The Wayes* (saith he) *Trajan repaired by paving with stone, or raising with banks cast up such peeces of them as were moyst and myrie: by flocking up and ridding such as were rough and overgrowne with bushes and bryers: by making bridges over Rivers that could not be waded thorow: where the way seemed longer then needed, by cutting out another shorter: if any where by reason of some steepe hill, the passage were hard and uneasie, by turning it aside thorow easier places: now in case it was haunted with wild beasts, or lay waste and desert, by drawing it thence thorow places inhabited, and withall laying levell all uneven and rugged grounds.*

Along these *Causeys* the *Emperour* caused to bee set little Pillars or Columnes, with numerall Characters cut in them, to signifie how many miles was from place to place. Of these *Sidonius Apollinaris* writeth thus:

Antiqua tibi nec teratur agger;
Cujus per spatium fatis vetustis
Nomen Cæsareum viret columnis.

Breake not the ancient Causeys strong,
Wherein the Columnes stand along,
Nor names of Cæsars doe not wrong.

Galen lib. 9. cap. 8. methu.

Adrians wall. Æli. Lamprid.

Adrians coines.

Licinius Priscus Lieutenant of Britaine. Hist. magn. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Rom. Edm in Prætribunat.

HADRIAN.

Chapter. XVII.



Hadrian Emp.

Cneus Trebellius Lieut.

An. Dom. 119.

AFter the decease of *Trajan*, his Nephew *Ælius Hadrianus*, by the consent of the Army, who swore to him obedience, was proclaimed *Emperor*; the *Senate* likewise confirming their choice as being a man indued with gifts both of Art and Nature; answerable to the fortunes of his *Estate*.

Polyæn. lib. 4. cap. 14.

His birth was of *Spaine*; in the City *Italica*, neere unto *Sivill*, where *Trajan* was borne; his Father noble and his Mother in *Cales* descended of an honourable stocke.

(2) A great *Mathematician* he was, skilfull in *Arithmeticke*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, and *Iudicious Astrology*; learned in the *Greeke*, and *Latine* Tongues; in which languages hee wrote both Poesie and Prose: well seene in *Physicke*, and knew the Vertues of *Hearbes*, *Rootes*, and *Stones*: a singular Musitian both for *Theory* and *Practice*; and could both limme and carve with approbation of the skilfull: but above all, is the admirable report of his Memory, who never forgot any thing that he either read or heard.

Spartianus. Hadrianus of an admirable memory.

(3) His first businesse for the *Empire*, was rather a care to hold securely what was gotten, then by enlarging the bounds to endanger the reſt: and therefore lessening the compasse, and bettering the strength he planted his forces along the River *Euphrates*, and affigned that for the *Eastern* limits, leaving out *India*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Mesopotamia*, as Countries too remote for the *Romans* to hold to their profit. By which his doings other *Provinces* tooke occasion to revolt, thirsting after *Liberty*, and among others the *Britaines* (as ever most impatient of Servitude) attempted alterations, whose *Lieutenant Cneus Trebellius* (Succeſſour to *Iulius Agricola*) could not so governe his *Souldiers* which were growne out of discipline, and by long reſt farre out of Order, but that they fell at variance among themselves, and disquieted the most peaceable of the *Britaines* by their licentious manners.

Britaines attempt alteration. Helinshed. lib. 4. cap. 20. Cneus Trebellius. Lieutenant of the Britaines.

(4) The *Northerne Inhabitans*, that were more at liberty, and imboldned by their Bogs and Rockes unacceſſable, set themselves to withstand their wrõgs, to whom also many others joyned their affections and forces, whereupon some bickering insued with losse and blood; to represſe which *Iulius Severus* was sent by *Hadrian*: but ere hee could settle the Commotion, was againe recalled and imployed in *Syria*, to suppresse the *Iewish* rebellion.

Iulius Severus sent to suppresse the Commotions of the Britaines.

(5) These stirres here still continuing, the *Emperour* tooke it to be of such importance, that he resolved in *Person* to addresse for *Britaine*, which he performed in his third Consulship; the yeare of Christ one

Hadrian withdrawes into Britaine to suppresse rebellion.

One hundred twentie foure, attended on by three *Legions*: of which, his *Army* for this exploit was then composed, as appeareth by his money in the entrance of his life, fixed in memory of this undertaking: With these hee encountred the Northerne Riders, recovered such Holds as they had taken, and forced them into the *Woods* and *Mountaines*, whither the *Romane Horsemen* without danger could not pursue them. But perceiving the Aire too sharpe for the *Romanes* constitution, and the Soile rough and of lesse profit then the reſt, hee made a *Fortification* or strong *Wall* of *Earth*, which (as *Lampridius* saith) did continue on the *West* from *Ituna*, (that is, the River *Eden* in *Cumberland* neere *Carleil*) unto the River *Tina*, or *Tine* at *Newcastle* in *Northumberland*, in the East; and was no lesse then *Eighty miles* in length. This Wall (saith he) was made of stakes driven deepe into the ground, and bound together in the manner of an hedge; and with Turfe and Earth intermured as a *Rampire* or *Bulwarke*, to defend the Incursions of the wilder *Britaines* and ill Neighbours, that daily molested the peace of the *Romanes*. *Hadrian* his worke finished, and the *Province* reduced to the obedience of the fatall Governesse *Rome*, at whose feet hee laid againe the name of *Britaine*, (as appeareth in the first Reverse of his *Coine*, placed in the fronture of this Chapter) triumphantly returned to *Rome*, and for his honourable adventure and Expedition had his name inscribed upon his *Coine* with this addition: THE RESTORER OF BRITANNIE.

(6) Neither after this seemed the *Southerne Britaines* greatly to contend, but patiently bore the yoke of subjection, which *Time* and *Custome* had made lesse painfull, the rather for that they saw themselves to stand in need of the *Romanes* helpe against the inroads of their owne *Countrimen*, whose cruelties was now as much feared, as in former times the Invasion of *Strangers*: whereupon they conformed themselves more willingly to the *Romane* Lawes, both in *Martiall* and *Civill* affaires: which were then principally directed by *Licinius Priscus*, who had beene not long before imployed by *Hadrian* in the service of *Iewry*, and was at this present *Lieutenant* of *Britaine*.

(7) This *Iewish* warre hapned in the eighteenth yeere of the Raigne of *Hadrian*, who suddenly affailed and slew where they came, both *Romanes* and *Christians*: for revenge whereof, besides an infinite number of them slaine and tortured, their Citie *Ierusalem* was also raced even to the ground, and another built, but not altogether in the same place, and the name thereof changed to AELIA: the *Iewes* utterly banished thence, and (as *Aristion Pellæus* writeth) not lawfull for them to looke towards that *Citie* nor *Soile*, no not through the Chink or Crevice of a dore: And upon the Gate that leadeth towards *Beth-lehem*, hee caused a *Swine* to be ingraven; a Beast by their Law accounted most uncleane, and by them abominable.

Dion. ccf. Ierusalem raced to the ground.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. Iewes not permitted to look to Ierusalem.

A Swine set on the Gate of Ierusalem.

Adrian favourable to the Christians.

(8) But as this *Emperour* was exasperated against the *Iewes*, so was he gracious and favourable to the *Christians*, and the rather at the request of *Quadratus*, a Disciple (as is supposed) of the Apostles, who wrote unto him concerning them; and of *Aristides* a learned *Philosopher* of *Athens*, who made an *Apologie* for their defence; so that the *Persecution* then in practice was forbidden by *Hadrian* in a publike *Edict*; who (as *Lampridius* writeth) was minded to have built a *Temple* to the service of *Christ*, had not some diſſwaded him therefrom. In extremity of sickneſſe he designed *Cæsar*, *Lucius Ælius*, whose Coine we have hereunder expressed: A man deare to his *Emperour*, if we consider at how great a rate he bought for him the acceptation of the Commons and Military men: And how short a time the blaze of that Honour continued: for he died so soone, that *Hadrian* himselfe had wont to say,

Lampridius tutes Senpti.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Esse finent. ——

(9) When hee had raigned in great honour and love the space of one and twenty yeers, five moneths, and fifteene daies, he died, the eighth or tenth of *July*, of a *dropsie*: which maladie so tormented him, that willingly he refuſed all sustenance, and languished away through faintneſſe. Hee was of perſonage tall, and very strong, of a good complexion and amiable countenance, wearing the haire of his head and beard long, and died aged sixtie two, the yeere of our Lord God, One hundred thirtie nine.

Spartianus. Dion. Cassius. Polyæn.



Vnder this Emperour M. F. CL. PRISCVS LICINIVS, was the Proprætor of *Britannie*, and imploied in the Iourney of *Iurie* with *Hadrian*; as appeareth by this antique Inscription in a broken Marble, found in the Picts wall.

M. F. CL. PRISCO,
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIÆ
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIÆ.

LEG. IIII. GALLICIÆ. PRAEF. COH. IIII. LINGONVM. VEXILLO. MIL.
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN. EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIVS. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS.

ANTONINVS

ANTONINVS PIVS.

Chapter XVIII.



Antoninus Pius Emp.

Lollius Vrbicus Lieut.

An. Dom. 139.

NExt unto whom succeeded *Antoninus*, (for his many vertues) surnamed the *Pious*: and by the *Senate*, *Father of his Country*. This man did not onely equall his *Adopter* and *Predecessours*, in wisedome and other princely qualities, but was also compared, for his peace and policie, unto *Numa Pompilius* the second *King* of *Rome*, who for his renowned government, is so famously in their Histories recorded. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the son of *Aurelius Fulvius*, and *Nephew* to *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, that had beene *Consul*, and held other Offices of dignitie and *State*. The whole time of whose *Raigne* was so spent in peace, that small remembrances remaine of any martiall affaires: yet such as we finde in *Britannie* we will deliver.

Antoninus raigned in peace.

(2) At his first entrance into the *Empire*, about the yeere of Christ, One hundred thirtie nine (as appeareth by the money minted in memory of the reduction of *Britaine*) the *Northerne Britaines* in that part of this *Ile* began to stirre, and made inroads into the *Province*, notwithstanding the *Rampire* or *Wall* that *Adrian* had made. Against whom *Lollius Vrbicus* *Lieutenant* heere under *Antoninus*, brought his power, and with some skirmishes put them backe: taking from the *Brigantes* part of their Land, as a *Mulct*, for the waste they had done to the *Genouniani*, a Province adjoyning unto the *Brigantes*, whose people had put themselves under the Emperours protection. Which done, he repaired the *Wall* with stronger *Fortifications*; or (which is more probable) raised up another not farre from the same, to double the defence: for (saith *Iulius Capitolinus*) *Lollius the Legate to Antoninus, overcomming the Britaines, built another turfe Wall to divide the Province, and to appeach the incursions of the barbarous.* Notwithstanding the honour of this service (as is testified by the ancient Panegyricke) was (by one *Fronto*) attributed wholly to *Antoninus* the Emperour himselfe: who, *although absent, and in his Palace at* Rome, *yet sitting as it were at the Helme of a Ship, did command and direct the enterprise*, and therefore had right to the glory thereof. This *Wall* also (as *Clarencieux* conjectureth, having scene it so tracted in an ancient Chorographicall Chart) was drawn from the River *Tine* unto *Carleil*: but *Time* and *Warre* have worne it now away.

The Northern *Britaines* rebell in the beginning of *Antonius* raigne.

Adrians Wall fortified.

Iulius Capitolinus.

Mamertinus in a Panegyricke Oration in praise of *Maximian.*

Cambd. Brit.

(3) In the meane while a new insurrection was kindled among the [a] *Brigantes*, that annoyed some of the *Romane* Confederates. But by the discretion of the *Generall*, it was quenched before it came to flame: for upon the first rumour of the Revolt, *Lollius* marched thither with part of his Armie, commanding *Seius Saturninus*, Admirall of the *British Fleet*, to waffe upon the *North* of the *Iland*, both to defend the *Coast* from danger, and also upon occasions to further the Land-service, if need were: by which meanes, the *Brigantes* were easily reduced to obedience, even by the presence onely of the *Lieutenant*, who for his good service done in *Britaine*, during the short time of his imploiment there, obtained the surname *Britannicus*. This may, by the first figure in the face of this Chapter (being in the third Consulship of this *Emperour*) be conjectured to have hapned in the yeere of *Christ* one hundred fortie one; and by inscription of the last *Coine* in that ranke, it is manifest that there was some other expedition against *Britaine* the yeere following.

a *York shire. Ric. of Hex. in Hexham. Northumberland. Hist. Angl. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 11. Seius Saturninus* Admirall of the *Brit. fl.*

Lollius Vrbicus Lieut.

(4) I cannot omit, though not directly pertinent to our purpose, the care that this good *Emperour* generally had for the distressed and persecuted *Christians* (who, no doubt by his bounty, enjoyed much tranquillity heere in *Britaine* also) in whose defence he wrote to his *Deputies* in *Asia*, and published an *Edict* against their Accusers, the effect whereof (from *Eusebius*) is this:

Antoninus Pius a great defender of the *Christians.*

Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 4. cap. 13.

The Edict of *Antoninus* for protection of the *Christians.*

"(5) The Emperour *Cæsar Marcus Aurelius* "*Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus,* "fifteene times *Tribune*, thrice *Consul*, unto the *Com-* "*mons of Asia* sendeth greeting. I doubt not but the "*Gods* themselves have a care that wicked persons "shall be brought to light: for it much more doth "appertaine unto them, then it doth unto you, to "punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship. But "this course which you take, doth confirme them "whom you persecute, in this their opinion of you, "that you are impious men, and meere *Atheists* "whereby it commeth to passe, that they desire in "the quarrell of their *God* rather to die, then to yeeld "to the wils of such as you are, and to embrace your "forme of *Religion*. Let it not seeme unseasonable to "call to your remembrance the *Earth-quakes*, which "lately happened, and which yet are to your great "terrour and griefe; because I understand that in "such like accidents you cast the envy of such com-"mon misfortunes upon their shoulders, whereby "their confidence and trust in their *God* is much the "more increased whereas you being still ignorant of "the true causes of such things, doe both neglect the "worship of the other *Gods*, and also banish and per-"secute the service of the *Immortall God*, whom the "*Christians* doe worship; and you persecute to the "death all the embracers of that *Profession*. In the "behalfe of those men many of the *Provinciall Presi-* "*dents* have written before unto our *Father of famous* "*memory*: to whom he answered, that they should not "be molested, unlesse they were prooved to have "practised *Treason* against the *Emperiall State*: and "touching the same matter some have given notice "unto

"unto me; to whom I have answered with like mo-"deration as my *Father* did before. And by this "our *Edict* doe we ordaine, that if any hereafter bee "found thus busie in molesting these kinde of men "without any their offence, wee command that hee "that is accused upon this point, be absolved, albeit "he be prooved to be such a man as he is charged to "be, that is, a *Christian*: and hee that is his Accuser "shall suffer the same punishment, which hee sought "to procure upon the other.

Iulius Capitoll.

Antoninus person and vertues.

This *Edict* was promulged at *Ephesus* in the *Generall Councell* of all *Asia*: so favourable was this good *Emperour* to the true *Professours*, and (indeed) to all sorts of men, having that *Apothegme* of *Scipio Africanus* rise in his mouth: *That he had rather save one Subjects life, then kill a thousand Enemies.*

(6) He was of Stature tall, of a seemly presence, in countenance Majesticall, in manners milde, of a singular wit, very learned and eloquent, a great lover of *Husbandry*, peaceable, mercifull and bounteous; in the last of which vertues, he so much exceeded, that therby he set going wholly his own private estate and demaines, whereat when his *Empresse* much repined, he told her, that when hee undertooke the Title and State of an *Emperour*, he then did forgoe the interest and proprieties of a private Person: meaning that a Prince is not much to respect his private wealth, so as the publike wealth and welfare of the State may bee advanced. In fine, this large *Eulogie* and praise is fastened on him, that neither in his youth he did any thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently: In which honourable course, having raigned twentie and two yeares, (some say twentie three) seven moneths, and twentie sixe daies, he died of a fever at *Lorium* the seventh of *March*, the yeere of his life seventie five, and of *Christ* one hundred sixtie two.

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

Chapter XIX.



Marcus Aurelius Emp.

Calphurnius Agric. Lieut.

An. Dom. 162.

FRom the vertuous example of the good *Emperour Pius*, proceedeth a *branch* of no lesse towardlinesse and fruitfulnesse, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Antoninus*, *Verus*, *Philosophus*, (for by so many honourable names is he remembred:) and although hee sprung not from *Pius*, as from his native roote, yet was he his *adopted Sonne*, and grafted into his Stocke and alliance by the Marriage of his daughter *Faustina*: Hee was the Sonne of *Elius Verus* who died *Prator*, and whose Pedegree is brought from *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*; and his Mother was *Domitia Camilla*, daughter of *Claudius Tullus*.

Iulius Capitoll. Lucius Verus chosen *Cæsar.*



(2) This man chose to him for his *Associate* in the *Empire*, *Lucius Verus*, the sonne of *Lucius Ceionius Commodus*, whom *Pius* had adopted (but died before him,) and therefore this *Verus* was respectively commended unto *Aurelius*; *betwixt* whose natures and conditions was as much oddes, as betwixt *Day* and *Night*; The one very moderate, loving, and industrious; the other proud, careless and cruell: the fruits whereof, the poore *Christians* felt, whose chiefest pillars, *Polycarpus*, *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, and *Iustinus Martyr*, an excellent *Philosopher*, with infinite more, were put to most cruell deaths; and by him the *fourth persecution* of *Gods Saints* was begun: whose licentious and bloody life, lasting in authority the space of nine yeares, was cut off by an *Apoplexy* in the presence of *Aurelius* being then in expedition towards *Germany*, whose Coyne wee have here expressed as wee find it minted with his face and reverse.



(3) *Aurelius* the *Emperour* following the warres against those, who there revolted, was inclosed about with his enemies, called the *Quadi*, and suffered great mortality both by Pestilence, and much more by want of *Water*, whereby himselfe and Host were almost consumed: At which time many Christian Souldiers being in his *Campe*, and commanded (as *Ionas* was) to call upon their *God*; they fell prostrate on the ground in prayers, and obtained of him so plentcous a shower of raine, as therewith after five dayes extreameth drouth and thirst, the whole *Army* was refreshed, and the *Quadi* contrariwise by *Thunder* and *Lightning* were quite dispersed and overthrowne.

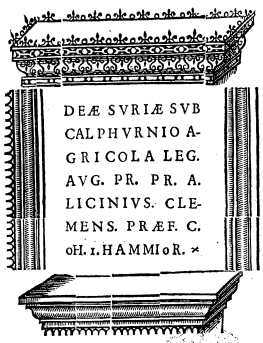
Aurel. us obtaineth raine by the Christians prayer. *Eutropius. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 5.* Acts and Monuments.

(4) This *wonder* (saith *Eusebius*) is reported even by those *Historians*, who favoured not *Christianity*: and the prudent *Epistle* of the *Emperour* himselfe, (which hee wrote to the *Senate* for confirmation of this miracle, yet extant) doth warrant the same: whereupon he both mitigated the rage against *Christs Professours*, and (by testimony of *Apollinaris*) named that *Legion* of the *Christians*, for an everlasting remembrance, *The Lightning Legion.*

Capitolinus. P. Orosius. Tertullian.

(5) In his Raigne *Calphurnius Agricola* was sent *Lieutenant* into *Britaine*, where the inhabitants sought some alterations of the *State*, fore repining at the oppressions of the *Romanes*. But the *surname Agricola* reviving the remembrances of their former overthrowes, so daunted their Courages, that at the presence of the *Generall*, who came amongst them to prevent all occasions, they gave over their intended enterprise: for which, and for many other his policies there

there used, hee worthily deserved great commendations, but (for the most part) the glory of all such services was attributed to the *Emperours* themselves; and the paines in attempting, and perils in obtaining, did commonly breed nothing but disgrace and envy after victory, to those by whom it was atchieved. Yet besides the stories, the memory of his being heere Lieutenant, is delivered to posterity, by this inscription, once erected in the *Picts Wall*, an Altar to the *Goddesse Suria*, and now preserved by Sr. *Robert Cotton* of *Connington*, Knight Barronet, amongst other Monuments of like quality.



So also *Lucius Verus*, (whom this excellent Emperour had in the yeere 162. as appeareth by his Coyne of *Concord*, set in the entrance of his life, erected his *Colledge* in the Empire) who to supply the defect of merit in himselfe, tooke from the Conquest of *Avidius Cassius*, and other his Captaines in *Armenia*, *Parthia* and *Media*, the *Trophies* of their victories, with which he filled up his Title, and adorned his money, expressed in the beginning of this Chapter.

(6) About these times, albeit other things went not so happily with *Britaine*, as might have beene wished, yet one felicity then befell her, which did both countervaile her owne calamities; and overpoize the good fortunes of all other Nations: and that was the blessed rest of the *Gospell* of peace in this warring and unpeaceable Kingdome, a great part thereof being governed at that time by King *Lucius*, surnamed *Lever-Maur*. For that was the policy and ancient custome of the *Romans* (as *Tacitus* saith) to use even Kings themselves for their instruments, to bring the people into bondage. And *Antoninus Pius* among warre, permitted Kingdomes to be governed by their owne Kings, and Provinces by their owne *Comites* (as saith *Capitolinus*.) This King disliking the Paganisme and Idolatry of his people, (though, as wee have shewed, among many of them the truth of *Christs Doctrine* was both taught and embraced, even from the first planting thereof) and being incited both by the exemplary life and piety of the *Christians*, and also by the manifest miracles wrought amongst them, and encouraged moreover by the favourable Edicts of the *Emperours* in their behalfe, and by the good affections and forwardnesse of their Deputies heere, *Trebellius* and *Pertinax*; he gave leave to their Religion by publike warrant, and was the first *Christian King* in the world, and *Britaine* the first province that embraced the *Gospell* by publike authority, as *Sabellicus* saith.

(7) This *Lucius* (as before wee have touched) to be better furnished with Christian Lawes for himself and subjects, *Missa legatione ab Imperatore Romanorum & à Papa Romano Eleutherio*, (as *Nennius* saith) for in this purer age the Church was so humble, to vaile (as farre as might be) her actions to the Imperiall licence, sent two learned *Clerkes*, whose names were *Eluanus* and *Medwinus*, skilfull in the Scriptures, to *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*: whose Reply to his most godly Demand (because the favourers of the *Papall authority* either doe doubt it, or altogether deny it) I have thought good heere *verbatim* to insert, as my selfe have found it, in a most ancient Manuscript, amongst the authenticke *Records* and *Constitutions* of the City of London.

Liber Landavensis Eccles. Florentius Uigorn. Beda lib. 1. cap. 4. Flores historiarum.

This Record is now in the hand of the right worthy Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton Knight.

The originall Epistle of *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome* unto *Lucius* the first Christian King of BRITAINE.



(8) *Scripsit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniæ ad correctionem Regis & Procerum Regni Britannie. Petitiis à nobis, Leges Romanas & Cæsarie vobis transmitti, quibus in Regno Britannie uti voluistis. Leges Romanas, & Cæsaris semper reprobare possumus, Legem Dei nequaquam. Suscepistis enim nuper (miseratione divina) in regno Britannia, Legem & Fidem Christi. Habetis penes vos in Regno utramque Paginam; ex illis (Dei gratia) per Concilium Regni vestri sume Legem, & per illam, * de patientia, vestrum rege Britannia Regnum. Vicarius verò Dei estis in Regno, juxta Prophetam Regem; Domini est terra, & plenitudo ejus; orbis terrarum, & universi qui habitant in eo. Et rursum, juxta Prophetam Regem; Dilexisti justitiam, & o. t. prop. n. te Deus Deus tuus o. l. præ cõ. ce. Et rursum, juxta Prophetam Regem: Deus judicium tuum, &c. Non enim dixit judicium, neque justitiam Cæsaris. Filii enim Regis, gentes Christiana & populi Regni sunt, qui sub vestra protectione & pace in Regno degunt & confitentur, juxta Evangelium: Quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos sub alis. Gentes verò Regni Britannia & populi vestri sunt; quos divisos, debetis in unum, ad concordiam, & pacem, & ad fidem, & legem Christi, ad sanctam Ecclesiam congregare, revocare, fovere, manutenere, protegere, regere, & ab injuriosis & malitiosis, & ab inimicis semper defendere. Væ Regno cujus Rex puer est, & cujus Principes mane comedunt: non voco Regem propter parvam & nimiam etatem, sed propter stultitiam, & iniquitatem, & insanitatem: juxta Prophetam Regem: Viri sanguinum & dolosi non dimidiabunt dies suos, &c. Per comestionem, intelligimus gulam: per gulam, luxurias: per luxuriam, omnia turpia & perversa & mala: juxta Salomonem Regem: In malevolam animam non introibit sapientia, nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis. Rex dicitur à regendo, non à Regno: Rex eris dum bene regis: quod nisi feceris, nomen Regis non in te constabit, & nomen Regis perdes, quod absit. Det vobis omnipotens Deus, Regnum Britannie sic regere, ut positis cum eo regnare in æternum, cujus Vicarius estis in Regno predicto. Cui cum Patre, &c.*

* Lege, Dei patientia.

* Odisti iniquitatem propterea unxit te Deus Deus tuus oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus cæteris.

Parce propter parvam nimiam ætatem.

The same in English.

Pope Eleutherius *thus wrote to* Lucius *King of* Britanny, *for the reformation of the King and the Nobility of the Kingdome of* Britaine: *You desired us to send unto you the* Romane *and Imperiall Lawes: which you would use in your Kingdome of* Britanny. *The* Roman *Lawes and the Emperours we may at all times misslike, but the Law of* God *by no meanes. By the divine Clemency you have of late received in your Kingdome of* Britanny *the law and Faith of* Christ: *you have with you in your Kingdome*

Nennius. Lucius and *Lever-Maur* doe both signifie *Great Brightnesse. Tacit. in vita Agric.*

Capitolinus.

Monument. Heresis Martyrolog. Sanctorum.

Lucius the first Christian King.

Annead. 7 lib. 5.

Nennius.

Kingdome both the Old *and* New Testament: *out of them (in* Gods *name) by the Counsell of your State, take you a Law, and therwith by* Gods *permission governe your kingdome of* Britanny: *For you are* Gods Vicar *in your Kingdome, as the kingly Prophet saith,* The earth is the Lords, and the plentie thereof, the whole world and they that dwell therein. *And againe in the same Prophetical King;* Thou hast loved righteousnesse and hated iniquitie, wherefore, God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse above thy fellowes. *And againe:* Lord give thy judgements unto the king, and thy Justice unto the kings sonne. *He saith not,* The judgement or justice of the Emperor. *And the* Kings sonnes *are the* Christian Nations, *and* People *of the kingdome, such as live & abide together in your* Kingdome, *under your Protection and peace; according to that in the Gospel:* As the Hen gathereth her Chickens under her wings. *The* Nations *of the* Kingdome *of* Britanny *are your* People, *who being now severed, you ought to gather them unto* Vnity, Concord *and Peace, and reclaime them to the* Faith, *and Law of* Christ, *and to the* holy Church, *to foster them, cherish them, protect, and rule them, and alwaies to defend them from all injurious, malicious, and hostile attempts. For,* Woe be to the kingdome whose King is a child, and whose Princes rise early to banquetting: *Neither doe I call a King a child, for the tendernesse of his Age, but for the folly & wickednesse, and madnesse of his disposition: As that royall Prophet saith:* Wicked and bloud-thirstie attaine not to halfe their Age, *And by banqueting I meane gluttony, by gluttony, luxury; by Luxury all filthinesse, perversity, and lewdnesse: according to that of* King Salomon: Wisedome shall not enter into the wicked soule, nor shall it dwell in a Body enthrald to Sinne, *A King hath his name from* Ruling, *and not from his* Kingdome: *and so long shall ye be indeed a King while you rule well, which if you doe not, the name of a King will not continue with you, but you shall lose that royall title; which* God *forbid. Almighty* God *grant you so to rule your* Kingdome *of* Britanny, *that with him, whose* Vicar *you are in your said Kingdome, you may raigne eternally: To whom with the Father, &c.*

Psal. 89 11.

Psal. 45 7.

Psal. 82. 1.

Matth. 23 37.

Psal. 55. 23.

Cambden.

Sabellicus. Jewel. Fox.

Parsons 3. Conversions. Part. 1. cap. 4.

Ibidem.

(9) The date of this *Epistle* (as by some other Copies it appeareth) being the yeere of the *second Consulship of Commodus and Vespronius*, may give great light and satisfaction to such as are curious to know the truth, and to reconcile the differences of our *Historians*, touching the time: That *Consulship* being about the yeare of *Christ* one hundred and eighie: which was at the beginning (if not a little before) of *Commodus* his raigne, and therefore whereas some refer it to the one hundred sixty & nineth yere after *Crists Passion*, it is apparant to be the only error of transcribers, who so writ in stead of one hundred seventie and nine after his birth; which was *anno currente*, the very time of *Commodus* being *Consul* the second time: and on this yeere agree both forrain and domesticke writers of this matter. And albeit the very texture of this *Epistle* carrieth with it the true Character of Antiquitie, yet because our worthy writers, mentioning this *Epistle*, are charged of flat forgery (by such who challenge to be Masters in all ancient knowledge) we will adde somewhat, to wash off those false aspersions, both from the *Record*, and from the *mentioners thereof.*

Their *first exception* is, that *the Latine Copy would doubtlesse have beene produced by them, if it had not been counterfait.* Whereto what need we answer, sith now we have produced it, and can produce as many, as there are Copies of King *William* the Conquerours Lawes, wherein it is expressly repeated. The *next* is, *that the English translatio of it is differ each from others.* A reason more childish then the former, sith every man hath a severall conceit of that hee transllateth, and sometimes the very Originals, (by transcribers ignorance or omission) cause variety of translation, as may appeare in the *varie lectiones* of this Copy prefixed. The *last*, but most saucy and ignorant *exception* is, that *the places of Scriptures* mentioned in the Letter, are so *satisfily* and *senselesly applied*, as is unworthy to be fathered on the learned *Eleutherius*. Let us therefore in a word, bring the divinity of this *Grand-censurer* to the touchstone: For *Eleutherius* proveth, first, that *Kings* are *Gods Vicars* in their kingdome, because the *whole earth* is properly *Gods*, and therefore *Kings* have it not as their owne, but as his Lieutenants: next that as *David typically*, and *Christ implyedly*, was by *God anointed King*, for the execution of *Righteousnesse* and *Justice*, so every *godly King* ought to make that the only end of his *high honour*, that being by God advanced he might likewise advance *Righteousnes, Justice*, & the seruice of *God* whose vassall he is: and that therefore *Gods judgements* and *Lawes* are *to be preferred by them, before all* humane *Lawes: with which they should* rule & *cherish* their *godly subjects as their children*: and protect them, and *gather them under one faith* as *Christ* (their master) doth, who therefore compareth himselfe, to a *Hen gathering her Chickens under her wings.*

Parsons ibid.

The defects of which Princely duties *Eleutherius* most lively expresseth afterward, in so proper applications, as if the learnedst fathers on these places be duely examined, they wil be found no whit to exceed the apprehensions of this *Godly Bishop*. But if *Robert Cowbucke*, would have cast his eye on the moderne Popes, and their Cardinals applications of Scriptures, what would he thē say: *God made a greater light and a lesse*: therefore *the Pope* is as much *greater then the Emperour*, as the *Suane* is *bigger* then the *Moone*. Christ said to *Peter, Kill and eate*: therefore the *Pope* may *excommunicate* and *depose Kings* (yea and *Kill them too for a need.*) *Peter* said, *Behold two swords*; therefore *the Pope* hath both *temporall* and *Spirituall iurisdiction* over the world. So *God* said to *Jeremy*, he should *plant* and *transplant*: therefore the *Pope* may *dispose* and *transpose* all *Kingdomes* at his pleasure. *Christ* to *Peter*, *thou art Cephas*, and *Cephas* is a *head*; therefore the *Pope is head of the Church. Domini sunt Cardines Terræ. The earth is the Lords*: therefore the *Cardinals are the Lords of the Earth.* On such pillers and applications of Scriptures, is the whole Papal greatnesse founded, and yet those *late Scribes* can scoffingly cavill at the godly applications of *ancient Eleutherius*. But to our purpoie.

Cephas is a stone but all serves their turne.

(10) This Epistle with two other Preachers, *Faganus* and *Daminius*, sent unto King *Lucius*, did not a little encourage him in this godly purpose, in so much that receiving *Baptisme*, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins* even thirty one in number, were converted into so many Christian *Bishops Sees*, whereof *London*, *Yorke*, and *Carlein*, now *Saint Davids*, were made the *Metropolitants* of the province.

Capgrave. Bellarmine.

Lucius his reformation of matters upon the Bishops letter. Records of Saint *Alfages* Church. *Chief or* as saith an old Manuscript *Cheap* at S. Peters Church in Cornhill builded by *Lucius*. *Polydor. Virgil. 1616. Harrison of Lamb. Peram.*

(11) A table remaining in the Parish Church of *Saint Peter in Cornhill London*, recordeth that the foundation thereof was by this *King Lucius*, and that Church to have beene the Cathedrall to that *Arch-Bishops See*. There be that ascribe the foundation of *Saint Peters* Church at *Westminster* unto him; unlesse the places are mistaken. Others affirme that this *King Lucius* likewise built a Church within *Dover Castle*, to the fervice of *Christ*, endowing it with the *Toll* or customes of that *Haven*. Differences there are about the time of his *Raigne*, but none at all for his conversion and establishing of the Christian *Faith*. As for those who would have this *Lucius* after his *Baptisme* to faile into *Gallia* and other forren parts, where subduing many Pagans, hee became the Apostle to the *Bavarians*, and that his sister *Emerita* fifteene yeeres after was martyred in the Citie *Augusta*: I find therefore no warrant in any sufficient writer; but in this all others agree, that he raigned twelve yeeres, and lyeth buried in *Glouceiter*.

Fabian.

Emerita a Martyr in the City *Augusta.*

(12) This good Emperour possessed the Seate of *Majestie*, nineteene yeeres and eleven daies; wherein hee alwaies approoved himselfe, in wit excellent, in life vertuous, very learned and eloquent; full of *Clemency*, *Justice* and *temperance*, nothing inferiour to most

Tertull. by Onuphr. Dion. Cassius.

most of the worthiest *Emperours* before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the *Monarchs* that followed him: He died the seventeenth day of *April*, the yeare of our Saviour, one hundred eighty one, and of his owne age fifty nine: leaving to the world a misse for the present, and to posterities a perpetuall memory of his vertues; and happy had he been, saith *Capitolinus*, had he not left behind him a sonne.

Valerianus fil.

LIVIVS AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS.

Chapter XXI.



An. Dom. 181.

THE prudent life, and love conceived of so good a *Father*, gave hopefull signes and joyfull entrance unto the raigne of young *Cõmodus*, his soone degenerating sonne; who had nothing from him but Nature, and that also much suspected: The knowne Adulteries of *Faustina*, his *Mother*, strongly confirming the opinion of *Bastardy*.

Entropius.

Commodus his qualities.

(2) At nineteene yeares of age, he was invested Emperor, his raigne not long, but life as loose and impious as the worst: in sottish pride equalling *Caligula*, for intemperance another *Vitellius*, and in cruelty a second *Domitian*. Three hundred *Concubines* continually he kept, and upon one of them, named *Martia*, so doted, that he wore her painted *Picture* upon the outside of his garment; and instilling his money *Herculi Commodiano*, or *Romano*, which was stamped about the yeare 193. Sometimes (*Hercules-like*) would he shew himselfe roabed in a Lions skinne, bearing a Club in his hand instead of a Scepter: other whiles wantonly clad in the habit of an *Amazon* woman, alwayes costly, but seldome civill.

Cassiodor.

Commodus altered the Months.

(3) The Month *August*, hee named *Commodus*, *September*, *Herculeus*, and *December*, *Amazonius*, according to his own and his Concubines names. Commendable in nothing but for his skill in darting; and for some small breathing of the persecuted *Christians*; which came not of himselfe, but (as *Xiphilinus* writeth) by the Mediation of *Martia* his beloved *Concubine*, who was found very favourable to their doctrine: But the outragious wickednesse of his life made him so hatefull to all, as that his death was often plotted; and once by some of the Nobleſt, with whom *Lucilla* his owne *Sister* conspired; for which fact he put her, with the rest of the conspirators, to death. The Empire and all things else hee weilded at the discretion of others; attending onely his voluptuous pleasures, howsoever the State or Provinces fared under him.

Eutrop. lib. 8. cap. 19. Aelius and Monuments.

(4) In *Britanny* the *Northern* Borderers brake thorow the Wall, and finding the Frontiers but weakly guarded, entred the Province, where suddenly they surprized the *Roman* Generall; & killing many of the Souldiers, ranged the Countrey, wasting (without resistance) all where they went. *Commodus* at *Rome*, hearing these stirres in *Britaine*, rouzed up his spirits, and sent one *Vlpius Marcellus* to stay their fury; who with great difficulty forced them backe beyond the Wall: and seeing the careleſſe service of the Souldiers, revived against the ancient *disciplineof Warre*, that by long ease had beene left off by the *Romans*. The repressing of this incursion (as it seemeth by some revolt of the Province) was about the yere of Christ, one hundred eighty six, as appeareth by the monies of this Emperor set in the entrance of his life, at which time in memory of some worthy expedition and victory against the *Britaines*, he stamped them.

Vlpius Marcellus sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

(5) This Lieutenant *Marcellus*, is reported to be of a marvellous great temperance and strange diet; for all the time of his abode here he would eate no Bread, but such as was baked in *Rome*, neither slept he more then would maintaine Nature, whereby both his private businesse and projects for publike services were commonly dispatched by night. Severe he was in the execution of his place, not led by favour of the person, nor staid from justice by corrupted bribes, esteeming money onely for necessity, and riches no further then made for further good: But those his vertues, though now with us they get him honour, yet then did purchase him envie with the Emperour. *Who lived* (saith *Lampridius*) *for his subjects mischiefe, and his owne shame*: For *Commodus* hearing *Marcellus* daily commended, construed his praise to be his owne reproach; and doubting left he should grow too high, thought good to crop him off betimes, and so sent him letters of discharge.

Dion. Cassius. Vlpius Marcellus a man of great vertues.

Lamprid.

(6) The Army then feeling the raines loose, that ere-whiles had beene borne with a stiffer hand, fell straight to a disordered mutiny, and therein proceeded with such boldnesse as they openly refused any longer to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Soveraigne: At which time *Perennius* was a chiefe Agent and so ruled all in *Rome* for the *Emperor*, as that he entertained a hope to be himselfe (in time) an absolute and sole-ruling Emperor; and having now fit occasion offered to spread his power further, he took upon him to redresse these disorders (whilst *Commodus* wallowed in his lascivious idlenesse) and displacing some worthy *Captaines* at his owne pleasure, sent other persons of meane respect or parts, to command those Legions in *Britaine*, that formerly had beene led by Noble Senators and men of consular dignity; whereby greater mischiefe began to accrew and civill dissensions daily to burst forth; the Army scorning their upstart

Perennius the greatest subiitute under Commodus.

Perennius delivered to the British Souldiers to be put to death. Lamprid. Helvius Pertinax sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

upstart Commanders: and the Captaines insulting over the Souldiers, (of all sides) the *Aides* so disquieted, that had the *Britaines* followed the advantage, the whole Province at that time had beene in hazard to be lost: upon which distractions no lesse then fifteene hundred Souldiers at once went out of the Land to *Rome* to complaine of their wrongs unto *Commodus*: where charging *Perennius* to be the stirrer of these troubles, with an intent thereby to raise himself or his sonne to the Emperiall Majesty (a string that cannot be touched without sound in a Soveraignes eare) they were so farre heard and beleeved that *Perennius* was to them delivered to be put to death, which accordingly they accomplished with all extremitie.

Out of a coyne of this Emperours instiling him Brit in the 8. yeere of his Tribuneship and 4. of his Consulship.

(7) Then was sent for Lieutenant into *Britaine* *Helvius Pertinax*, a man of low birth, but high Fortunes, being risen from the state of a common Souldier, to the dignity of a Consull, and had beene Commander before that time over many Provinces. Him had *Perennius* discharged from *Britaine*, and with disgrace sent and confined into *Liguria* where hee was born, whose credit *Commodus* again with such favours repaired, that he gave him the Sirname *Britannicus*, which glorious title also himselfe had taken about the yeere 184. At his first entrance and arrivage, he assayed by rough hand to suppresse the rebellions of the Army, and adventured his person so farre in some tumults that hee was stricken downe and left for dead, but afterwards proceeding with better advice hee composed those troubles with most severe punishments of the principall offenders: whereby notwithstanding he presently grew odious to all, and thereupon so far feared his own safetie, that he made suit to the *Emperour* to be discharged of his Lieuenantship.

Helvius Pertinax made suite to be discharged of his office. Histor magus. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 7. Clodius Albinus sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

(8) Vnto him succeeded *Clodius Albinus* in the Government of *Britain*, a man of great birth, forward enough, and fortunate: for which the *Emperor Commodus* either upon favour or feare, did honour him with the title of *Cæsar*, though *Albinus* seemed unwilling to accept of the same, and afterwards discovered his disposition more openly in approoving the Ancient and free State of the *Romans*. For upon a false report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an Oration to the *Legions* in *Britany* in favour of the Senate, whose kind of Government he much commended and preferred before the rule of the Emperors: Of which his affection, when *Commodus* understood, he sent *Iulius Severus* in all haste, to take charge of the Army: and *Albinus* retired himselfe from all publike affaires, untill the death of *Commodus*, which not long after followed, and was wrought upon this occasion: He having assigned many to die, and to that end had inrolled their names in a scrol, it chanced *Martia* his Concubine to light on the same, wherein she saw her selfe allotted for one: and revealing this his purpose to others that stood in the same list, and in the like danger; they together thought best to secure their owne lives by his death: and with poyson, stabs, and strangling made him away, when he had lived one and thirtie yeeres, foure moneths, and viciously raigned thirteene yeeres, eight moneths, and fifteene daies, the yeere of Christs nativitie one hundred ninetie and three: the night before the Kalends of *Ianuary*.

Clodius Albinus more affecting Senators then Emperours. Iulius Severus Deputy. Commodus put to death by Conclave. Eutrop. Lamprid. Aurelianus. Commodus his portraiture. Lampridius Auximus.

(9) Of stature he was indifferently tall, of a fine constitution of body, very faire of complexion, with cleere eyes and golden locks, neither in person nor in Princely parts resembling his Father. How joyfull the death of this *Tyrant* was both to *People* and *Senate*, their execrations pronounced against him, and their assemblies in the *Temples* to give thanks for their deliverance, do manifest, as is at large reported by *Lampridius*, who wrote his life, and is styled by all, *Hostis humani Generis*, *The enemy of Mankinde*: The very name of the Divell.

PVBLIVS HELVIVS PERTINAX.

Chapter XXI.



An. Dom. 194.

VPON the person of this *Helvius Pertinax* (of whom we are now to speake) *Fortune* (as it seemeth) meant to make the full experience of her power, and from a very slender foundation to raise the building of her owne *Pride*: His birth was but poore, and parents as meane, whose Father from a servile condition got to be free, and traded in *Mercery* wares for his living: himselfe educated according to his birth, rose by degrees to mount the Chaire of all worldly glory, and to be the *Monarch* of the whole world.

Dion. Cassi. lib 37.

(2) At first a *Schoole-Master*, and taught the *Grammar*; next a *Civill-Lawyer*, and pleaded causes in *Courts*; and lastly, a *Martiall-man*, and served in *Campe*: where *Fortune* attended him with such favourable successe, that within five dayes, out of the ranke of a common Souldier he was preferred to be Captaine of a *Cohort*, in the *Syrian* warres against the *Parthians*; which ended, he was imployed into *Britaine*, *Mœsia*; and *Germany*; and also had charge in chiefe of a Fleet upon the *Flemish Seas*: he served likewise in *Dacia* with such honourable proofe of his valour; as that wise *Emperour Marcus Aurelius* held him in high esteeme, and afterward made him *Senator* of *Rome*. Then was he assigned Governour of all *Syria* and *Asia*, the greatest place of Credit and reputation that might be; and from thence sent againe into *Britaine*, chosen out as the principall man of note for to stay the Commotions there raised against *Commodus*; where in the Field he was left for dead: but thence also returning after hee had governed foure severall *Consular Provinces*, was created *Proconsull* of *Africa*, and immediately after *Præfect* of *Rome*. Neither

ther yet made he his ſtand there, (though the greateſt of any ſubjective degree,) till he had mounted the *Throne of Majeſtie*, and obtained the command over *All*: which fell to his lot by the death of *Commodus*; and by the meanes of *Martia*, *Aelius Latus*, and other conſpirers of his end.

Helvius Pertinax made Emperour.

Helvius Pertinax envied by the Pretorian cohorts.

(3) For the Murther being done in the dead of the night, *Latus* in great haſte repaired to *Pertinax* his lodging; at whoſe ſight the Old man in bed, expected nothing but Death, as ſuppoſing him ſent from *Commodus* to no other end. But *Latus* ſalutes him by the unexpected name of *Emperour*, carrying him with acclamations unto the *Army*, and in the morning to the *Senate*, where, of them all with great joy, he was confirmed *Auguſtus*.

Sabellicus.

(4) His firſt buſineſſe was to bridle the licencious lives of the *Pretorian Cohorts* and injuries done by them unto the *Romane Citizens*, which gained him ſuch hatred, that it was cauſe of his death: For theſe men growne diſordered and lawleſſe in the raigne of *Commodus*, held themſelves wronged, to be now locked under the conſtraint of *Lawes* civill Government: and theſe only envied the peace and proſperitie of *Pertinax*, whereas all the *Provinces* abroad at the very hearing of his Election, and fame of his *Imperiall* vertues, laid aſide their weapons, and deſired to imbrace peace with a *Prince* ſo nobly qualified.

Helvius Pertinax aſſaulted by his Souldiers.

(5) The firſt that conſpired againſt his life, was one *Falco*; whom notwithſtanding he freely forgave, yet puniſhed certaine *Souldiers* thereto acceſſary: whereupon the reſt aſſembling themſelves in tumultuous and furious manner, with their drawn ſwords invaded his *Palace*. Hee ſeeing their purpoſes ſought no eſcapes, but deſcending the *Palace*, met them in the baſe Court: At whoſe preſence and Majeſtie they were much amazed, and a while made a ſtand: unto whom with great gravitie, and without ſhew of any feare, he thus ſpake unto them.

Helvius Pertinax his ſpeech to his Souldiers.

"(6) *Souldiers* and *Companions*, if you come to "kill me, (as I thinke you doe) you ſhall therein per"forme an act neither valorous nor otherwiſe very "commendable for you, no, nor any way grievous "unto my ſelf; for every mans life hath his limit, and "to mine, by *Natures* courſe, the laſt period cannot "be farre: Or thinke you that I feare *death*, who now "am ſo ripened for it, and have already gotten the "very height of all renowne upon my name? Surely "you are deceived: but at this I grieve; that my life "and ſhort time of Government, which I had devo"ted to the good of all; ſhould ſeeme ſo diſguſtfull "unto any, as to deſerve a violent and haſtned death, "eſpecially by you, who are by office, the Guarders "of my Perſon: you (I ſay) whoſe charge and Oath "is, to ſecure your *Soveraigne* from perill, and now "ſeeke to ſheath your Swords in his breaſt, ſhall ei"ther leave a Teſtimony of my bad life deſerving it, "or brand your places with ſuch ſtaines of Treaſon, "as *Time* ſhall never weare away. And what I pray is "mine offence for maintaining your *Lawes*? Why, it "was the charge your ſelves impoſed upon me. Are "*Lawes* too ſtrait? Surely, not to the vertuous, who "are even a *Law* unto themſelves: Are they need"leſſe? why then were they made? and being made, "why ſhould they not be executed? If the death of "*Commodus* grieve you, was I the cauſe? If he were "made away by *Treaſon*, your ſelves are conſcious of "my innocency. And this I aſſure you, in the word "of a *Prince*, that his death ſhall deprive you of no"thing, which you require, if you require nothing "but that which is honeſt and juſt. My life, whilſt I "was a *Subject*, was ſpent with you in *Warre*, now (be"ing your *Soveraigne*) is conſumed with cares for "your Peace: which if you free me of, by taking it a"way, my troubles ſhall thereby end, but your con"ſcience ſhall begin to groane under the guilt of "blood, and perchance be touched with *too late Re"pentance*.

(7) His words were ſpoken with ſuch a mooving gravitie, and unmoved reſolution, that the formoſt in the attempt gave backe, and were aſhamed of their audacious enterpriſe; but the reſt furiouſly driving forward, one *Truſius* with a *Lance* ran him into the *Breaſt*, whereupon *Pertinax* covering his *Head* with his robe, quietly yeelded his body to the traiterous ſtrokes of them all, and ſo died that poore, old, and innocent *Emperour*. The yeeres of his life, ſaith *Iulius Capitolinus*, were ſixty, ſeven moneths, and twenty five daies: But *Dio*, *Spartianus* and *Herodian* accounteth them to extend to ſixtie eight; *Euſebius* to above ſeventie: The like diſagreement there is for the ſhort time of his *Government*: for *Euſebius* ſaith that he raigned not fully fixe *Moneths*: *Eutropius* ſaith but three; *Iulius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor*, eightie five dayes: *Dio*, *Herodian* and *Spartianus*, two Moneths and twentie eight dayes: how long ſoever, thus he lived, and thus he dyed, the fifth *Calends* of *April*.

Pertinax killed by his Souldiers.

Pertinax his raigne.

Euſeb. l. 5. c. 14. Eutrop. l. 8.

(8) He was of an honourable and majeſticall preſence, ſtrong of body, large and full breaſted, long bearded, curle-headed, ſmooth of ſpeech, and indifferently eloquent.

DIDIVS IVLIANVS.

Chapter XXII.



An. Dom. 194.

THE ſtate of man continually attended with uncertain chance, apparantly doth ſhew, the weake condition that nature enjoyeth, and with what unſureneſſe the feare of majeſty is poſſeſt, as is ſeene by the precedent *Emperour*, who ſitting at peace in his *Palace* at *Rome*, renowned, beloved, and guarded with the ſtrengths of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Aegypt*, and *Greece*, was notwithſtanding ſurprized and ſlaine at noone day, by a *Band of Souldiers*, not much exceeding the number of three hundred, and all eſcaping unpuniſhed; the deed was ſo ſudden, and mens minds ſo diſtracted, that it could not be fully beleeved, though witneſſed by ſight.

(2) The *Senators* miſtruſting each others, abandoned the *Citie*, and the *Citizens* in ſecret ſecured themſelves, all in an uproare: but none for revenge of the treaſon: The *murtherers*, in as great feare as any, fortified their *Campe*, and with weapons in hand ſtood upon their guard: But ſeeing all in a maze, and nothing againſt them attempted, a further boldneſſe (the like before never heard of) enſued: for by a *Common Crier* they made *Proclamation* for the ſale of the *Empire*, to any man that would give them moſt: which offer was readily accepted by *Didius Iulianus* (a man of much more wealth then honeſty of life, and a Lawyer: ſaith *Euſebius*) who with larger promiſes then ever were performed, obtained the Imperiall Diadem.

Aelius Spartianus Proclamation for the ſale of the Empire. *Didius Iulianus* buyeth the Empire of the Romane ſouldiers.

(3) His birth was in *Millan*, the ſonne of *Petronius Didius Severus*, his mother *Clara Emilia*, and himſelfe brought up in ſervice under *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, by whoſe favours, he was firſt made *Queſtor*, next *Edile*, and then *Pretor* in *Rome*. In *Germany* as a Captaine he ſerved under *Aurelius*, then was he appointed Governour of *Dalmatia*, *Bithynia*, and of the *Lower Germany*, and was *Conſul* with *Pertinax*, and afterwards *Proconſul* in *Africa*. Theſe were his riſings and meanes to that *Majeſty*, which not long he kept: for hated in *Rome*, and not approoved abroad, *Syria* choſe for Emperour their owne *Generall*, *Peſcennius Niger*; *Germany*, *Septimius Severus*: By whoſe conſent *Cladius Albinus* Leader of the *Britaine* Army was firſt elected *Ceſar*, and then his fellow in the Empire; whereby the *Eagle* the faireſt of Birds became monſtrous, and in one *Body* bore three *Heads*.

Didius Iulianus his imployments in State before he was Emperour.

Syria cluſeth their Generall. *Germany* chuſeth theirs.

(4) For *Albinus* at that time having gotten againe the government of *Britaine*, where erecting his owne *Statues*, and ſtamping his picture in his *Coines*, as thou ſeeſt heereunder inſerted, gave great ſuſpition that he intended to be a Competitor, and with his Army a foot meant to have gained the Emperiall ſeat it ſelfe, by advantage of *Septimius* forces abſent in ſuppreſſing of *Peſcennius*; which to divert, inforced *Severus* untill better opportunitie to declare *Albinus* his Companion, for he much more feared him then either of the former: becauſe *Didius*, in *Rome*, and *Peſcennius* in *Antioch* conſumed their times in banquetting, and unmartiall diſports, whiles *Albinus* managed his office moſt ſouldierlike, and was highly eſteemed and honoured of them.

Albinus Governour of *Britaine*, a Competitor for the Empire.

(5) *Severus* haſting toward *Rome*, was met in *Italy* by Ambaſſadours from *Didius* with faire offers of peace, and poſſeſſion of halfe the *Empire*: but refuſing compoſition, and making ſtill forward, the *Senate* that ſo lately declared him a traytor, now proclaimed him an Emperour: And the *Souldiers* unſatisfied of the covenanted promiſes, and in hope to purchaſe favour with *Severus*, ſlew their Chapman *Didius* in his Palace, the Calends of *Iuly*, being but five dayes after he had done himſelfe as much for *Pertinax*, when he had raigned, as *Eutropius* ſaith, ſeven months: *Spartianus* ſaith by two, and *Dio* ſixty ſixe dayes: the yeere of his age fiftie ſeven, and of our *Saviours* appearing in our fleſh, one hundred ninety and foure.

Severus wageth warre for the Empire. Refuſeth compoſition. Is proclaimed Emperour.

Iulianus ſlaine. His raignes continuance. *Eutropius. Spartianus. Dio.*

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS.

Chapter XXIII.



Sept. Severus.

An. Dom. 194.

SEVERVS having by this blouddy accident of the giddy multitude, gained with more facilitie then he expected, the fatall ſeat of government, it was his next care to ſuppreſſe *Peſcennius* by force, and *Albinus* by falſehood: whoſe actions and lives ſince they hapned with this Emperour, and ended with his ſword, I will record together, beginning with *Caius Peſcennius* firſt, ſince firſt he fell under the fortune of this man.

This old man in the yeere of *Chriſt* 194, was elected Emperor by Acclamation of the *Syrian* Army, of which (though begun but by a handfull in reſpect of all the other imperiall forces) he had good hope, ſince to the honour of that *Goddeſſe* he dedicated the firſt marke of his Soveraignitie; the minting of his money, as in the entrance of this Chapter is ſeene.

A perſon he was of ſeemely ſtature, lovely feature and faire skinne, except his necke, which differing ſo far from the reſt gave him the ſirname of *Niger*: his complexion was ruddy, his Body fat, his voyce ſo piercing, that it would be heard a mile off: and his haire for more orhament long hee wore in reflected curles upon his ſhoulders. A commendable ſouldier and well bearing himſelfe in the military offices hee underwent. In his *Lieutenancy* abroad he was ſevere, and at home hee ſo well acted his part when heewas Conſul, as in his Clemency and Juſtice hee ſeemed emulous of *Pertinax*. Thus all his life he enjoyed the goodneſſe of his merit and fortune, and had not his ambition begun, where his yeeres were ending, had ſo parted: For no ſooner had hee put on the Robe Emperiall, but *Severus* defeated *Peſcennius* his Army at *Cizicum*, purſued him to *Antioch*, and tooke him at

Euphrates

Euphrates, sending to *Byzantium* his head a Trophy of the Conquest; and to his wife, children, and followers (unto whom at first this *Victor* granted banishment) in the end denyed life.

(1) Now as soone as *Severus* made his approach neere *Rome*, he gave command that the *Pretorian Cohorts* should attend him disarmed; which done, hee vehemently checkt them for their proditorious trechery against *Pertinax*, and pronouncing sentence, deprived them both of name, honour, and armes of *Souldiers*, and banished them from *Rome*, and the circuit thereof for one hundred miles distance: which act of his wonne him such reputation, that in *Rome* the whole Story of *Pertinax* his ruine, and *Severus* his aspiring to his Throne, was at large portraited in an excellent peece of worke, of solide molten brasse, as *Herodian* relateth, though he ascribeth the occasion of it, to a dreame of *Severus*.

(2) Those two objects *Didius* and *Niger*, who gave some hinderance to *Severus* his beginning, being thus defeated of their high hopes; the third, which was *Albinus*, seemed now a more dangerous cloud, which would altogether over-cast his brightnesse and glory, if it were not dispersed or blown back in time: and therefore to make faire weather with him, hee created him *Cæsar* and his *Successor* in the *Empire*, but afterwards his good fortunes thus swelling in the *East*, and himselfe still courted by *Ambassadours* from all parts, with their tender of subjection, hee began to grow proud, and to disdaine any Copartner in *State*: and thereupon first secretly fought the destruction of his *Cæsar*; which failing, hee then proclaimed him Traitor and *Enemy* to *Rome*.

Albinus made Successor in the Empire.

His death practised.

Proclaimed Traitor. He wageth war against *Severus*.

(3) *Clodius Albinus* brought into these unexspected dangers, prepared his strengths, and with the choice of all *Britaine* entred *France*, and neere unto *Lions* tooke the field against the Emperour; but with no better successe, then *Pescennius* had done in *Asia* the yeere in the same place (as *Herodian*, *Eutropius*, and *Spartianus* affirme) where *Darius* was first overthrowne by *Alexander*. The *Armies* ioyning, a bloody *Battell* was fought, which through the great prowesse of the *Britains* went at first so fore against *Severus*, that being beaten off his Horse, despairing of *Victory*, and almost of *Life*, cast off his Imperiall *Robe*, and flying, ignobly hid himselfe. *Latus* one of *Severus* his Captaines, kept aloofe all this while, of purpose as was thought, to bring the Emperour to ruine; and now upon report that *hee* was slaine, came on most furiously with his forces, in hope of winning both the day, and the Empire to himselfe: whereupon the *Emperour* drawne again into the field, the day was his by the meanes, but not the meaning, of *Latus*: whom on attainder of his Treason he afterward put to the sword. That day a great part of the flower of *Britaine* was slaine, together with their valiant Leader *Albinus*, a Captaine of exemplary Severitie and Martiall discipline, a great admirer of *Hannibal* and *Marius*; for the *Scipio's* he thought them rather fortunate then valiant: and in the time of his service in this *Iland*, there was no toile which he commanded his souldiers, but himselfe would beare therein a part, even in carrying of burdens on his Backe: and yet so farre from vaunting of his valour, as that when an Historian would have recorded his noble Acts, hee willed him to write of theirs who were already dead, whom he need not to flatter; holding it a foppery to write of those, of whose favour or wrath the Inditers stood in hope or feare. Being such a one, no marvaile if *Severus* so feared him, as he did, which he shewed even after he was slaine, by putting incredible numbers of great Personages both in the Citie and Provinces to death, with this one Pretence, for all, *that they wished well to Albinus*.

Albinus vanquished by *Severus*.

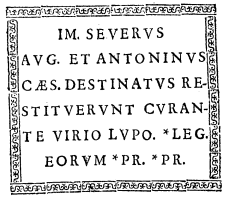
After this overthrow *Severus* forthwith sent *Heraclianus* hither, to keepe the rest of the *Britaines* in quiet, and to be *Lieutenant* in *Albinus* his roome, as *Spartianus* writeth: Of whose affaires therein little remembrance is left, onely it seemeth by a Coine of *Severus* minted in his second Consulship, which fell in the yeere of our Saviour one hundred ninety eight, and about the period of this his last Competitor, that the *Britaines* gave not at first their service and servitude to this man, untill he had made the purchase of it by his sword; the brand of which he hath left to posteritie in figuring the goddesse Victory seated upon spoiles, and writing in a shield, *Victoria Britan.*

Spartianus.

Vnto this Lieutenant, *Virius Lupus* succeeded President of *Britaine*, as *Vlpian* the Lawyer termes him, and was about the yeere of Christ one hundred ninetie seven, as appeareth by this Inscription erected at *Olinacæ* amongst the *Brigantes*, in memory of the re-edifying of that place by this Emperour and his eldest Sonne, then first defigned *Cæsar*, by which the time is discovered, and in this stone inserted.

Virius Lupus made President of *Britaine*.

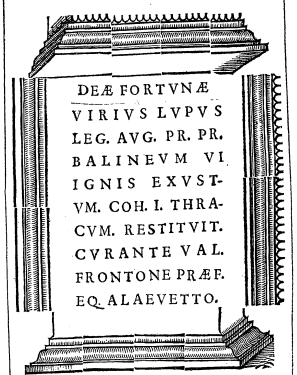
Holely in *Yorkeshire*.



*Legatus.

*Pro Prætore.

(4) This man strengthned the Province especially in the North, with many strong Castles, repairing many places ruined either by fire or fury of the bordering swords: Of which * *Lavat Re*, where the first Cohort of the *Thracians* lay, was one, as appeareth by the altar there erected to the goddesse *Fortune*, and since removed to *Conington* the house of Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet in *Huntingdonshire*.



* Bowes under Stanmore in *Richmondshire*.

He warred against the *Meate* and North *Britaines* with such bad successe, that he was forced to redeeme his peace with money, and was so much weakened by losse of his men, that he sent to *Rome* for present supply, with relation of his great danger, and the Enemies strength: which newes touched *Severus* to the quicke; and notwithstanding his yeeres (sixtie at the least) and gout wherewith hee was continually grieved, yet would he undergoe that journey in person himselfe, as well to satisfie his owne vaine-glorious humours, as to traine his sonne *Bassianus* from his licentious life, wherein he wallowed idly in *Rome*; who together with his brother *Geta*, accompanied their Father into *Britaine*.

Bassianus why brought into *Britaine*.

Æmilius Papinianus a famous Lawyer.

Fifty thousand of *Severus* Army dead through tedious labor and sickneſſe.

Sabellicus.

Herodian.

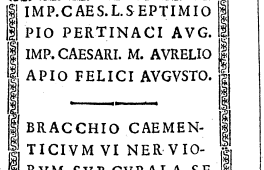
Caledonians desire peace.

(5) The *Britaines* then hearing of the Emperours approach, sent him their Embassage for intreaty of peace, whereby the *Iland* might have been setled and secured without blood; but the old man (saith *Sabellicus*) had so unsatiable a desire to beare the glorious Sirname of *Britannicus*, that he preferred Warre, and accepted not their proffered subjection.

(6) *Severus* thus entred *Britain*, *Geta* was appointed to remaine in the South of that Province, and to governe those parts that stood in quiet, assisted by *Æmilius Papinianus* the famous Lawyer, whose tribunall seat was held in *Yorke*; himselfe and *Bassianus* marching further into the North against the *Meate* and *Caledonians* their neighbours, both which bare themselves boldly upon the advantage of their Countries, their waters brackish, and unwholsome drinke for their Enemies, the aire sharpe and contagious to their constitutions, and the soile it selfe so pestred with Loughs, Bogs, Meares, and Mountaines, that the *Romans* were forced to make way by continuall labour, in cutting downe Woods, in building of Bridges, and in draywing of Meares, so that by distemperature of diet, continuall labour, contagiousnesse of Aire, and afflictions by sicknesse, fifty thousand of them perished, and that without Battaile, saith *Dio*: Many souldiers also, whose spirits were spent, and through feeblenesse could not keepe ranke in their March, were for meere pitty slaine by their fellowes, lest they should fall into the hands of their Enemies.

(7) These miseries notwithstanding, old *Severus* indured and fought many battailes, but (as *Sabellicus* confesseth) *ever with more difficulties to the Romans then to the Britains*, and yet in some small skirmishes hee went away *Victor*, and continued his courses with such resolution, that lastly the *Caledonians* thought good to intreat their peace; which upon these conditions was granted: first, that they should forthwith lay aside all hostile Armes, without any further resistance: next, that they should deliver into the *Romans* possession, those Countries that were next abutting on their Province: and lastly, that thence-forth they should live in quiet, attempting nothing against the *publike peace*.

(8) The State thus setled, *Severus* bethought himselfe of some further meanes to secure the Province, by building many In-land strengths anew, and repairing those with stone and Cement which formerly were but of Turfe and Earth, as appeareth by this Inscription found in the Ruines of one of his workes neere unto the River Vre, in the County of *Richmond* erected.



And neglecting the uttermost and vast Northerne parts of this *Iland*, drew a *Wall* or *Fortification*, which might serve as a *Rampire* and division betwixt the savage and more civill people, stretching it selfe thorow the whole *Iland*, even from Sea to Sea; that is, from the *Bay of Itun* (otherwise *Solwayfrith*) in *Scotland*, to the doore of *Tine* or *Tinmouth*, containing in length *One hundred thirty and two miles*, as *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and others account them, and by * some more. This *Wall* he built of *Turfes* and *Timber*, strongly feneed with *Bulwarks* and *Turrets*, neere unto (if not upon) the foundation of *Adrians Wall*, the track whereof thorow the Countries of *Westmorland* and *Northumberland*, is more pleasing to be seene, then easie in word to be expressed. For which his Acts thus heere atchieved about the yeare of grace two hundred and eleven, he assumed to himselfe his much desired Sirname *Britannicus Maximus*, causing in his owne and his sonnes *Coines* that inscription to bee stamped.

Herodian. *Polydor Virgil. de rebus Angl. libro. 1. Beder. & Boetius.*

Sirname assumed *Britannicus Maximus.*

(9) And recording to posterity the glory of his first atchievement here, upon the reverse of those his moneys, whereon he sometimes formed a *Trophy* erected upon spoiles, with two captives, underseting the word Vict. Brit. sometimes a winged victory: graving a *Shield*, hung on that tree which is the meed of Conquerors; Victoriae Britannicae: and sometimes in such a forme and phrase as is expressed in the entrance of this his life. And now retyred to *Yorke*, he left his eldest sonne to finish this worke of warre by him begun, as being rather allaied then altogether ended.

Bassianus dissloyalty.

(10) *Bassianus* thus set in the one part of the *Iland* as *Geta* was in the other, fought rather to gaine the affections of his *Army*, by a loose liberty to doe what they list, then to manage the trust reposed on him, by the restraint of *Martiall Discipline*, and action of *Military duties*: hoping by such his plausibility and indulgences to purchase to himselfe their best concurrence for the obtaining of the *Empire*; which he so thirsted after, as that hee often tampered with them to raise him, by the fall of his father.

Caledonians rebell.

(11) The *Caledonians* understanding the dissolutenesse of his *Campe*, and the want of a better *Captaine*, suddenly assailed the *Romans*, putting many to the sword, and taking great booties, (which they dispersed among their neighbours) without any regard of the obligation of their former *Covenants*: whereat the testy old man was so much disquieted, and so farre enraged to revenge, that he gave an expresse charge to make a generall *Massacre*, without exception of any; using in his speech to his *Souldiers*, these verses borrowed out of *Homer*:

A generall Massacre of them by Severus.

Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cademq; cruentam:
Non fatus, gravidâ Mater quem gestat in alvo,
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

Let none escape your bloudy rage; with terrour lee all die:
Spare not the mother, nor the child that in her womb doth ly.

(12) This (which seemeth to have beene the worke of *Severus* second yeere in *Britaine*, *Anno* two hundred and twelve (for so it is expressed upon the monies of himselfe and sonnes) may (and with a fit and easie inference from the same authority) seeme to have beene heere the fortune and effect of two encounters and *Conquests* that same yeere: for whether we observe the two severall coines of victory then minted, on one of which is the Statue of that armed and winged *Goddesse*, at whose feet are two Captains prostrate bound; or the other bearing on it a double figure of that Lady, graving the sculpture of the former, Vict. Brit. upon a *Shield*, it can conclude no lesse in probability.

The seed plots of our Cities.

(13) *Severus* remaining in *Yorke*, where the *Sixth Legion* called *Victrix* kept, (which place afterwards grew to be one of the chiefest for account among the *Brigants*, as commonly the *Stations* of the *Romans Colonies* were the seed-plots of all our *Cities*, and principall *Townes*) grew feeble and sicke, being weakened with age, and wearied with travell, his malady more increa-

Fi will from Sea to Sea.

Bassianus disloyall.

Severus his speech to his Councell and Captaines.

increasing by the disturbances of the *Enemie*, and the daily disloyaltie of *Bassianus* his sonne, insomuch that despairing of life, he called his *Councell* and *Captaines* before him, and underlaid with pillowes, he thus addressed his speech.

" (14) Eighteene yeeres almost have I weilded " the affaires of the *Empire*, and borne on my shoul- " ders the burden of her encombred estate, both at " at home and abroad; at my first entrance, troubled " every where, now at length quiet, even here in *Bri-* " *taine*, the most unquiet and molestious Province of " all: The profit of which travels I must now leave " for others to enjoy, and with ease in peace to keepe " that which I with care and warre have gotten. If " therefore amitie and mutuall concord bee imbraced " (the onely sinewes of a *Common-wealth*) the glory of " the Empire shall yet shine more bright, sith by con- " cord wee see that small things grow to greatnesse; " whereas contrariwise, discord is the ruine of all. I " die & must leave the succesſe of all to my Succes- " sors and Sonnes by *Nature*, though the *Elder unna-* " *turall*: I meane *Bassianus* new made *Antoninus* and " your *Emperour*, who often ere this hath sought to " gaine that title by his sword and my death; but " knoweth not the dangers that attend a *Diadem*, nei- " ther remembreth that high places are continually " guarded with Envy and Feares. But so blind is Am- " bition, as it seeth not that a Soveraignes greatnesse " is such unto others, but least in himselfe, and that " the things possessed are not the very things they " seemed: It is not these *Titles* therefore can make " man happy, the line of his life being drawne forth " with so many uncertainties, and the height of his " power laid upon so weake foundations. My selfe " at this instant may serve for example, of whom this " may be said, *I was all things, yet nothing*, seeing " I must pay my debt to *Nature*, and leave my ex- " ploits in *East* and *West* to be registred either (at " your disposall) for matters of moment, and good " of the *Empire*, or blotted to the reproch of my " government, with the shadowing pencile of Ob- " livion. That therefore my care for the welfare of " this State may survive my selfe, and bring forth " the happy fruits thereof when I am withered, this " shall be my last and onely request, that you will e- " ver assist my sonnes, both with your counsell and " aide, whereby they may rule according to *Law*, " and you obey according to *Right*, that so in you " both, the good of the *Empire* be above all things re- " spected. With which words hee ended both his " speech and his life.

Spectators.

(15) This *Emperor* by Historians is ranked with the best, both for his warres, wherein hee was very fortunate, and for his wisedome in governing the *Empire*: and yet he is taxed very sharpely both by *Sabellicus* for sundry vices, and by *Eusebius* for stirring up the fift *Persecution* of the *Christians* in the tenth yeere of his Raigne. In which *Irenæus* the learned writer, among many others, suffered Martyrdome: howbeit, towards his end, he became more milde to them, as saith Saint *Ierome*; as also that hee was a diligent reader of the excellent workes of *Tertullian*, whom usually he termed his Master.

Bridg.

(16) This *Emperour* was by birth an *African*, to which Country his affection and graces were so much, that the illustrious City of those parts, recorded upon their coyne his many favours by this Inscription, INDVLGENTIA AVG. IN CARTH. and inshrined him amongst the Gods of that Nation. Hee was the sonne of *Geta*, his mother *Pia Fulvia*: himselfe rough, cruell, covetous, and ambitious, and his nature relishing too much of the Punick craft and simulation: otherwise a most expert Souldier, and a worthy Prince, more battels he fought, and more victories obtained, then any other that ever had ruled before him the *Roman Empire*. In a word, his vertues and vices so equally composed, that lastly this grew into a customed speech: *It had beene good that this* Emperour *had never beene borne, or being* Emperour, *that he had never died.*

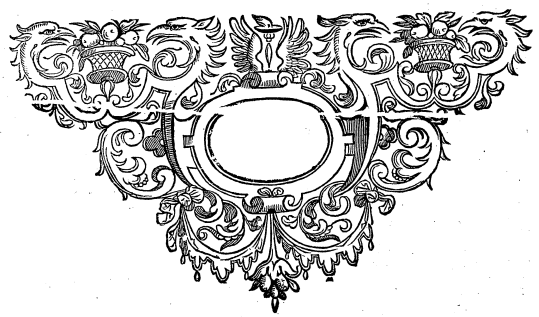
Severus his description.

(17) Of stature hee was tall, and of a comely personage, his countenance severe and representing Majestie, his beard white and long, and the haire of his head he wore usually curled. He was very learned in the *Mathematicks*, a good Philosopher, an eloquene Orator, and of a deepe sounding voice. Hee raigned eighteene yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) by *Dion Cassius*, *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, seventeen yeeres, eight months, and odde daies. He died in *Yorke*, the fourth day of *April*, in the yeere of Christ two hundred and twelve, not so much of sickneſse, as of discontent and griefe, or (if our *British* writers may be credited) of a deadly wound given by *Fulgence*, Captaine of the *Picts*, who, as the *Monke* of *Chester* saith, was brother to *Martia*, the first wife of *Severus* and mother of *Bassianus*. His second wife was *Iulia Domna* the mother of *Geta*, (though some thinke that shee was mother to both) a woman of a surpassing beauty, and an earnest instigator of the two Brethrens reconciliation, had she not bin blemished with other vices, as afterward we shall heare.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. c. 7.

Severus dieth at Yorke. The first Ides of Ianuary, saith Savile Table.

Polychr. Lan. lib. 9.



MARCVS



M. AVRE. BAS. CARA. ANTON. BRIT. } Brethren.
P. SEPT. ANTONI. GETA BRIT. }

CHAPTER XXIV.



Bassianus Caracalla.

Septimius Geta.

An. Dom. 212.

BAssianus Caracalla, and his brother *Septimius Geta*, together were declared *Emperours* by old *Severus* in his life time, and both of them by their father surnamed *Antoninus*, a name very gracious in the esteeme of the *Romans*; the elder so stiled about the yeare of Salvation two hundred and five, and the younger foure yeares after, (as it appeareth by the mintage of their monies;) were approved and applauded by people and *Senate*, and of all men saluted and acknowledged for *Emperours*. *Bassianus* the Elder, stiling himselfe *Britannicus Maximus*, as it should seeme, was admitted his Fathers fellow *Emperour* at *Yorke*, at his refiding there, to quiet Northern *Britaines*, wherein also he gave him the name *Antoninus*, for so implieth that famous Law, bearing joyntly the names of *Severus* and *Antoninus*, enacted by them at *Yorke*, touching the interest and right that masters have to the goods and possessions of their servants. His mother the first wife of *Severus*, was *Martia* a *British* Lady (say our *British* Historians, though *Sabellicus* doth judge her to be an *African*) and himselfe better beloved of the *Britaines* for her sake, then for his owne.

Cod. l. 3. Tit. de rei vindicatione lege 1.

Geff. Monmouth. Sabellicus.

Geta was the sonne of the Empresse *Iulia*, a second wife, a woman of passing beautie, and surpassing lust, who being perswaded (by some Oracle or Dreame) that her husbands succeſſour should be an *Antoninus* left her sonne should lose his hope of the Empire, she importuned *Severus* to bestow the name of *Antoninus* also on *Geta*, who with it gave him likewise the title of *Cæsar*, about the yeare two hundred and two. And to unite the affections of his two sons, as well as to eternize their memories, he minted their features upon one Medall inscribing the one side ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII. the other, P. SEPT. GETA, CAES. PONT. having the yeare before matched them together upon the reverse of his owne money, and incircling their heads with this word, AETERNITAS IMPER.; as if the separation of their affections were the dissolution of his and the worlds *Empire*.

Some say it was Severus his dreame. Sabellicus.

Heroidian. Sabellicus.

(2) Vpon *Severus* his death, *Antoninus Caracalla*, hastning for *Rome*, proffred good conditions of peace to the *Britaines*, who long tired with warres, accepted thereof, and hostages were given for conserving the same. Whereupon the Empresse *Iulia* accompanied with both the *Cæsars*, departed hence, carying with them the funerall ashes of the deceased *Emperour* in a golden *Vrna* to *Rome*, where they solemnely consecrated him a *God*: the ceremony whereof (because it concerneth so great an *Emperour* and *Monarch* of this kingdome) is not unworthy the inserting.

In the Porch of his *Palace* was a Bedsted all of *Ivory*, dressed with richest bedding and furniture of gold, wherein was laid his image portraited to the life, but yet in manner of a sicke man. On the left side sate all the Senatours and Princes in black mourning weeds; on the right, all the great Ladies, cladde in white (which then was the mourning colour of that Sexe.) The Physicians diligently comming to visit him, and feeling his pulse, as if he were alive, doe signifie that his disease did still increase upon him. This they all did seven dayes together: at last, as if then he were dead, all the prime of the Nobility carry him in his *Ivorie* Bed to the * *Forum*, where all the *Patrician youth*, and noble *Virgins*, incompassed him with most

Forum was the chiefe place of publike meetings and pleadings.

dolefull Hymnes and ruefull ditties. Thence againe he was removed to *Mars his field*, where was erected a foure-square frame of Timber, of a huge height and compasse, the stories still mounting to the top with sundry ascents, richly beautified with strange varieties of golde and purple ornaments, and images of great Art and price: On the second of which ascents, was placed the *Emperours* said Bed and Statue, with infinite store of sweetest odours, brought thither from all parts of the Citie: which done, the yong Nobles bravely mounted on Horseback, rid round about in a kind of dance or measure, and another sort likewise (who represented great Princes) in their Coaches, whereupon his successor in the Empire, first set fire to the frame, then forthwith al the people did the like on all sides: and when the whole began to be on flame, an *Eagle* secretly enclosed within, was let flie out of the toppe; which soaring a great height, and out of sight, the people followed it with shouts and prayers, supposing that therewith the *Emperours* soule was carried up to heaven. And thus *Severus* which before was a man of Gods making, was now become a god of mans making: and the more to preserve the memory of his fathers glory, *Caracalla* erected a magnificent Edifice, which he intitled *Severus his Porch*, wherein with most exquisite Art, and admired workmanship, were portraied all his Fathers warres and triumphes, atchieved here in *Britaine* or elsewhere.

Sabellicus.

(3) But presently after, these two ungodly sonnes of this new supposed *god*, so much emulated each others glory, that the deadly sparkes of envie, blowne a long time with the bellowes of their ambitious desires, brake out into the flames of murther and blood, being brethren by one Father, but not by the same mother (as it is said,) and in this onely like, that they were both starke naught, though both in contrary kindes of *Vices*. And albeit the Empresse *Iulia* had fought by all meanes to make peace betwixt them, both formerly, here in *Britaine*, and now after their returne to *Rome*: yet the desire of a sole *Soveraignty*, had beene a long time so rooted in *Bassianus* his heart (for which he had twice attempted his Fathers life and so much hasted his death, that he slew his *Physicians*, because they had dispatched him no sooner) could not indure an equall (much lesse a confronter) in authority, and therfore in the Court & in the armes of the *Empresse*, he slew her sonne *Geta*, in a time least suspected, when he had fate with him in state and disdaine, the terme of one yeare and twenty two dayes.

Geta slaine in his mothers armes.

Herodian.

(4) And to cloak his fatricide with shew of constraint, first to the *Souldiers*, and then in the *Senate*, hee accuseth his brother to have sought his death, and that in defence of himselfe he was forced to slay the other, and thereupon fled to *Pretorian* Cohorts for safety of his life, as though further conspiracies had been intended against him in the Citie; where at his returne he commanded *Papinianus* the famous *Civilian*, to excuse the murther in his *Pleas* at the Barre: which, when he refused, he caused him to be slaine, as also all those that had been acquainted with *Geta*; whereby so many of the Nobility perished, that hee was thereby counted another *Nero* in *Rome*: and by his favourites, the name of *Geta* was raced out of all Monumentes and Imperiall inscriptions, as we have seene some of them defaced upon some Altar stones found here in *Britaine*.

Dio Spartianus.

Papinianus slaine for refusing to defend a murther.

(5) Of nature he was subtile, and could well dissemble with them whom he feared, and make shew of love where he deadly hated; alwayes fitting himselfe to the humours of flatteries: Among the *Germans*, he would counterfeit their gate and garments; In *Greece*, be like *Alexander*, bearing his necke somewhat awry; In *Troy*, would resemble *Achilles*, alwaies so *Camelion-like*, as the *Romans* (his followers) were therewith ashamed. In a word, *Caracalla* (saith *Dio*) *never thought of doing good, because* (*as himselfe confessed*) *he never knew any goodnesse.*

Dio.

(6) And to fill up the measure of all iniquitie, as one regardlesse of humanity or shame, he maried *Iulia* his mother in law, late wife to his owne Father (a sinne (saith S. *Paul*) not to be named among the *Gentiles*) and by *Sext. Aur. Eutrop*, and *Spar.* reported upon this occasion. It fortuned that *Iulia* in presence of *Caracalla*, either by chance, or of purpose rather, let fall the vaile which she wore, discovering thereby her naked breasts and beauty, which was great; whereat the *Emperor* casting his lacivious eye and bewraying his affection, presently said, *Were it not unlawfull, I should not be unwilling*: to whom she replied (without respect of modesty) *that all things were lawfull to him that made lawes for others, but was subject himselfe to none*: forgetting at once both the murther committed upon *Geta* her sonne, and the scandals that accompanied so foule a sinne, the pleasure whereof they did not long enjoy, both their deaths (by Gods vengeance) soone after ensuing.

1 Cor. 5. 1.

Sextus Aurelius Eutropius. Spartianus. Sabellicus.

Iulia her wicked speech

(7) For *Caracalla* remaining in *Mesopotamia*, and carrying (as it seemeth) a guilty conscience, and suspition of his life, sent to *Maternus*, whom he had left Governor of *Rome*, to assemble all the *Astrologers* and *Mathematicians* (unto which learned impostors he alwayes gave especiall credit) and of them to enquire how long he should live, & by what death he should die. *Maternus* having so done, wrot for answer, that *Macrinus* his *Prefect* of the *Pretorium* (then with him in his expeditions) went about to murther him. Which is thought rather in envie of *Macrinus* to have been fained, then by any *Astrologicall* directions so given forth. This letter and others comming to *Caracalla* his hand, at such time as he was busie about his disport, he delivered them to *Macrinus* to reade, and give him the report at his returne. In perusall wherof finding him self to beaccused of Treason, and fearing lest by the sequell he might be brought into greater danger, he incensed one *Martial* a Centurion (whose brother the *Emperour* had lately slaine) to murther him; which was soone performed, and occasion in the fields offered: for *Caracalla* stepping aside from his traine to ease nature, *Martial*, as though he had bin called, ran hastily in without hinderance or suspect, and with his dagger stabbed him to death; but being too late perceived, was yet so hastily pursued, that hee was hewed to pieces before his tongue could revеale the principall Traitour. *Iulia* his incestuous wife hearing of his death, with poison slew her selfe at *Antioch*, leaving her shame to her life.

Antonius Caracalla kild.

Antonius Caracalla his raigne. *Euseb. Eccle. Hist. lib. 6. c. 24.*

(8) *Antoninus Caracalla*, saith *Eusebius*, raigned *Emperor* seven yeares and five monethes, but *Herodian*, *Spartianus* and *Dio* allot him five yeares and two moneths: he died the eight of April, and yeare of Christ two hundred eighteene. The testimonies of these many Writers notwithstanding, together with the place and circumstances of his death, and the person by whom it was committed, the *British* Historians do contradict, reporting him to be slaine in *Britaine*, in Battaile against the *Picts*, by one *Caracucus* a man of a lowe and obscure birth. But by this it may seeme, some wounds received by him in those British warres, gave occasion to that errour. He left a sonne not by his incestuous mother, nor by *Glanilla* his wife, whom he exiled into *Sicilia*; but by a Mistris, whose name was *Iulia Simiamira* his cozen German, and indeed no better then a common strumpet: which corrupt roots brought forth as bitter fruits, even *Heliogabalus*, of whom hereafter wee shall have occasion to write.

Old manuscript cap. 236.

Eusebius calls her *Semiam, alii Soæmy*, and her monnes *Julia Soæmias* that she was his whore, not his wife. *Sabellicus.*

OPILIVS MACRINVS.

CHAPTER. XXV.



Opilius Macrinus.

Diadumenus.

An. Dom. 218.

IN prosecuting our intended course, for setting downe the *Acts* and *Lives* of sundry Emperours, hereafter succeeding, I know I shall hardly satisfie my Readers, being no way able to give content to my selfe, in that, on the one side, finding very few remembrances concerning the state of this our *Iland*, till the raigne of *Diocletian*, the History of that *Interim* may seeme impertinent to our purpose; and yet on the other side, considering how unfit it is, that the Succession of all our *British Monarkes* should be interrupted (that Royall Title being somewhat annexed to those other *Emperours*) I suppose it will be expected, that somewhat also be said of them, though managing their affairs in places farre remote. It seemeth that the continuall striving for the *Imperiall Diademe*, and their nearer hazards at home, made them contented to give *Britaine* some peaceable breathing, and so deprive us of the *Roman Records* of those times: wch want if I should supply out of our homebred *British Writers*, I might be thought, not so much to repaire the ruines of our *Monuments*, as to heape more rubbish upon them. And therefore (necessity so enforcing) I must crave patience, if I proceed to the rest of our Countries *Monarches*, though I cannot to the resdue of our Countries *Exploits* and *Affaires* in those dayes.

An. Dom. 218.

(2) *Opilius Macrinus* from obscure and base Parentage, by favour of the *Emperour*, without any notable desert in himselfe, first aspired to the *Office* of a *Prefect*, and at last by the election of the *Souldiers*, to the *Dignitie Imperiall*. So farre from suspicion of *Caracallaes* death, by the outward appearance of a seeming sorrow, that he was held of all most free from the Treason, and the second person worthy of their voyce. For first, the Title was conferred upon aged *Audentius*, a man of good sort, much experience, and an excellent *Captaine*; whose wisedome could not be drawne to adventure his life under the weight of so uneasie and dangerous a Crowne, but excusing himselfe by the priviledge of his age, as far unfit to weild the troubles (much lesse to increase the glory) of the *Empire*, refused their offers, but with returne of as many thanks as they had given him hands or voyces. Whereupon they againe consulted and determined for *Macrinus*, whic as willingly received, as *Audentius* refused: unto whom they swore fealtie, but not long after failed in performance.

Audentius refuseth the Empire.

(3) He made for his *Cæsar*, *Diadumenus* his sonne, changing his name (a usuall custome at their election) into *Antoninus*, because that name was gracious among the *Romans*. The *Senate* at home confirmed all that the *Armie* had done abroad; unto whom it seemed their right, as it were by prescription, to have the election of the *Emperours*.

Diadumenus appointed for *Cæsar*. Called *Antoninus*.

(4) His first expedition was against *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, that hasted against the *Romans*, for wrongs received by *Caracalla* deceased: but after three great and dangerous *Battles*, came to an attonement, and a peace betwixt them concluded. After this, as free from other troubles, he returned to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and there spent his time in *Banquets*, and other sensuall pleasures, being drenched so farre therein, that the *Armie* began to dislike his *Government*, and to favour young *Bassianus* the sonne of *Caracalla*, then presen at *Emesa* a Citie in *Phœnicia*, with *Mœsa* his Grandmother by his Mothers side, who there had built a Temple consecrated to the *Sunne*, and therein ordained him a *Priest*; for which cause he was called *Heliogabalus*, that is to say in the *Phœnician Language*, *The Priest of the Sunne*.

Antoninus son of *Caracalla*.

Antoninus called *Heliogabalus*, that is, *A Priest of the Sunne*.

(5) To this *Temple* in their vaine devotions resorted many of the *Romane Souldiers*; and seeing the beautie of the youth, allured *Mœsa* to bring him to their *Campe*: where knowne to be the sonne of *Caracalla*, the *Souldiers* proclaimed him *Emperour*, and maintained his right against *Macrinus*; who after this revolt, met young *Heliogabalus* in the Confines between *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, where he fought a bloudie *Battle*, and *Macrinus* forsaken of all, was driven to flie; who with his sonne hasting thorow *Asia* and *Bithynia*, came lastly to *Chalcedon*, where he fell sicke, and was there, together with *Diadumenus*, put to death the seventh day of *June*, the yeere of *Christs Incarnation* two hundred and nineteene, when hee had raigned one yeere, one moneth, and twenty eighth dayes.

Herodian.

Julius Capitol.

Macrinus and *Diadumenus* put to death. *Eutropius. Antoninus* raign.

ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS.

CHAPTER XXVI.



Antoninus Heliogabalus Emp.

An. Dom. 219.

VOung *Bassianus*, surnamed *Heliogabalus*, the sonne of *Caracalla* before mentioned, thus elected, and prospering at his entrance, gave hopes to his raisers, of many Princely parts, and signes of those things that in sequele, by better proofe appeared to be onely signes indeed: for nature had plentifully adorned him with the complements of her gifts, had his minde been answerably furnished with vertue. But as the one was over prodigall and lavish in his outward forme, so was the other as sparing and defective in bestowing of her inward gifts: in so much that both in mind and garment, he seemed to be that which in truth he was not. This Emperour, as appeareth by the reverse of his money, tooke it no meane addition of honour to his *Imperiall Dignitie*, to be stiled, *The Priest of the Sunne*; which in the *Assyrian tongue* is called *El*, from whom he tooke the surname *Elagabal*.

(2) Assoone as he had setled the *Empire* firme upon himselfe, by the death of *Maximus*, he began to discover his owne dispositions, and in wantonnesse, apparell, lightnesse and diet, to exceed any that had gone before him in *Rome*; and so farre differed from the manners of men, that modesty will not suffer us to record his greatest vices.

Heliogabalus exceedeth in wickednesse all others before him.

(3) His apparell was rich, and most extreame costly, and yet would he never weare one garment twice: his *Shooes* embellished with *Pearles* and *Diamonds*; his *Seats* strewed with *Muske* and *Amber*; his *Bed* covered with *Gold* and *Purple*, and beset with most costly *Jewels*; his *Way* strewed with the *Powder* of *Gold* and *Silver*; his *Vessels* (even of basest use) all *Gold*; his *Lamps* burning with no other *Oile* then the *Balmes* of *India* and *Arabia*; his *Fish-Ponds* filled with no other water then of *distilled Roses*; his *Ships* (in his *Naumachies* or *ship-fights*) sloted in a *River* of *Wine*; his *Bathes* most stately built, and againe after they were once used, presently pluckt downe; his *Plate* of finest *Gold*, but never served twice to his *Table*; his *Concubines* many and chargeable, but not one laine with twice; his *Diet* so profuse, that at every supper in his *Court*, was usually spent a *Thousand pound Sterling*: inviting the chiefe Citizens to a *Feast*, he strewed all the *Roomes* with *Saffron*, as it were with *Rushes*, saying, *That such Cattle were worthy such costly Litter*. Neere the *Sea*, with him no *Fish* was eaten: in the *Land*, no *Flesh*: whole *Meales* made of the *Tongues* of singing *Birds* and *Peacocks*, or of the *Braines* of most costly creatures, alwayes saying, *That meat was not savory whose sauce was not costly*. And indeed so costly it was, that the revenewes of *Germany*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Sicilia*, *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Aegypt*, *Arabia*, and all the *Ilands*, were not sufficient to defray the charges.

(4) In his *Progresse*, six hundred *Chariots* followed him, laden with *Strumpets*, *Boyes*, and *Bawdes*, for whom he built a *Stewes* in his *Court*, wherein himselfe in the attire of an *Harlot*, made to them solemne and set *Orations*, terming them therein his *Fellow-Souldiers* and *Companions* in *Armes*, with *Instructions* for them how to practise with most variety their filthy *Luxuries*. In regard of which kind of actions, one doth make this doubt, whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigality*, his stupendious *Lechery*, or his foppish *Foolery*: the last of which his *Imperiall vertues*, he gave proofe of, when he gathered in the *Citie ten thousand waight of Spiders*, professing that thereby hee understood *how great a City Rome was*: at another time, *ten thousand Mice*, and a *thousand Weesels*, which hee brought forth in a publike shew to the people, for some wise *State-purpose*, like the former.

Aelius Lamprid. Herodian.

(5) In *Rome* he built a *Temple* consecrated to the *Sunne*, (like to that in *Phoenicia*, whereof himselfe was *Priest*) commanding the *Christians* therein to worship: as also a *Charterhouse* for women to meet and determine of their *Attires*; and brought into the *Senate-house*, his mother *Semiamira*, allowing her a *Voice* among the *Senators*. In modestie I forbeare to write the particulars of his *un-manly* libidinous filthinesse, adding onely that which a judicious *Author* speaks of him: *Kings* (saith he) *as they have greater power to sin then other men, so have they lesser safety in sinning then any man*; for being set above others in the eye of the *World*, they are as *Markes* that are aimed at, and lie open to the shot of *Revenge*. And so was the state of this *Superlative Monster*, whose owne *Conscience* still stung him, even in the midst of his sweetest sinnes, and therefore ever expecting some violent end, hee prepared *silken haltars*, richly wrought, to hang himselfe, if need were; and *Golden Knives* to stab himselfe, or cut his throat; and built a goodly *Tower* of exceeding height, adorned with *Gemmes* and *Gold* of invaluable cost, that thence he might cast himselfe headlong, having these words oft in his mouth, *That however he died, his death should be precious in the eyes of all men*. But he failed of his hope, though not of his desert; for against him the *Pretorian Souldiers* suddenly arose, no wrong offered them, more then unto others, but out of a *Justice in God*, who repayeth sinne with sinne, and suffereth not such outragious wicked ones to escape unrevenged.

A Privy. *Sabellicus.*

(6) These breaking into his *Palace*, found him not in estate answerable to his calling, but hidde (for feare) in a homely place suitable with his dirty conditions: from whence with *acclamations* thorow the streets of *Rome*, more like a *Dogge* then a *Man*, they dragged him with his mother, saying, *The Bitch and her Whelps must go together*: and after their fury spent, threw their bodies into the *common sinke* of the Citie, and thence into *Tyber*, sinking them downe with great

great stones, lest the carkasses cast up with the waves, should either find buriall, or infect the aire. The *Senate* approving all that was done, decreed that his name should be obliterated out of all monuments in *Rome*, and never any *Antoninus* (a name before very gracious) should rule againe their *Empire*: so odious was the remembrance of this *Image of ignominy*.

(7) He was aged but foureteene yeares when hee became *Emperour*; by *Herodians* computation, he raigned six yeares, and died at twenty: By *Aurelius Victor*, he died at seventeen, and raigned not fully three yeares: *Eusebius* saith, that he raigned fully foure: *Onuphrius* would have him to live eighteen yeres, & to dy the 8 day of *March*, *An.* two hundred twenty three.

Euseb. Pamphil. hist. l. 6. c. 20.

ALEXANDER SEVERVS.

CHAPTER XXVII.



Alexander Severus, Emp.

An. Dom. 223.

BEfore the death of *Heliogabalus*, his cosin German *Alexianus*, by the working of his mother *Mommea*, was made his *Caesar*; whose vertues daily increasing with his age, gave hopes to the better sort of some happier times by his meanes: but so farre incensed *Heliogabalus* (who hated nothing more then vertue,) and so dimmed his fame, that he often assaied to take away his life by treachery: But surviving him whom no man wished to live, he was with publicke blessings, and unspeakeable joy elected *Emperour*; * his name they changed from *Alexianus* to *Alexander*, and his surname given of old *Severus*.

Lampridius saith, he was borne on the day that *Alexander* the great dyed, and had therefore his name. *Sabellicus. Lampridius.*

(2) He was the sonne of one *Varius*, a *Syrian* borne and of *Mammea*, sister to *Semiamira*, though there are who say, that both the sisters, attending on their Aunt *Iulia* the *Empresse*, were gotten with childe by young *Caracalla*, and so he father of *Alexianus*: howsoever he was brought up in learning from his childhood, having a naturall propension to all humane vertues, and divine pieties: Hee was very skilfull in the *Mathematicks*, *Geometry*, *Musicke*, *Carving*, and *Painting*, and composed some *Bookes* also of *Poetry*: so great a lover of the liberall Arts, that he allowed the professors thereof annuall stipends for their further encouragement: and that which most is, hee much favoured the Christians, from whom he took to himselfe examples of life, and urged their precepts unto others, and this one especially, * NOT TO DOE TO OTHERS WHAT WE WOULD NOT HAVE DONE TO US. Their Christ hee honoured (though as a *Heathen* man) and would have had him consecrated among the *Roman Gods*: Vnto whom he also was minded to have built a Temple, had not his Idol-Priests hindred the same; but a place of their holy Assemblies he allowed them by his *Imperiall warrant*: for when certaine *Vintners* or *Victuallers* laid claime to the place whereunto the Christians resorted to pray, he thus decided it, *That it was much fitter that God therin should be worshipped, then bellygods should be pampered to surfet there*. (A good document of a Heathen for some Christians, who turne places consecrate to Gods divine service, into Sheep-

Herodian.

Sabellicus.

* *Lampridius* the truest relator of this Emperours acts: (for Herodian speakes on spleene) saith, he easied this Christian position to be written all about his Palace, and sometimes commanded by voyce of a publike Cryer. *Lampridius. Sabellicus.*

Alexander Severus inclined to Christianity by his mother *Mammea*. *Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 6. cap. 20. Hieron.*

Sabellicus.

Cotes, or to the like prophane uses.) This good inclination of *Alexander* the sonne, was undoubtedly stirred up by the instigations of *Mammea* his mother, who, as *Eusebius* witnesseth, had sent for *Origen* (the Christian Doctor) from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*: by whom she was so well instructed, that *Jerome* gives her the honourable Title of a most *holy woman*.

(3) Himselfe, though young, ruled the *Empire* with great *Wisedome* and *Justice*: admitting onely such for his Counsellors, as were men uncorrupt, sage and learned, skilfull in the Civill Law, and experienced in Antiquities of elder times, and preferring none to any office or charge by suite, but onely by the commendation of each mans worth and fitnesse for the place: In regard whereof, he caused *Turinus* (one of his Courtiers, who tooke money of divers, with promise to procure the *Emperours* favour in their suites) to be put to death by smoake, the Crier proclaiming, *That hee had sold smoake, and therefore with smoake he should die*. And likewise to cut off in Lawyers their continuall selling of *Justice* (the bane of all Common-wealthes) for a fee, he granted a publike and fer reward to such as should plead *gratis*. By which courses, his civill affaires were nobly managed and his warres likewise proved as prosperous: for he triumphed with great glory over the *Parthians*: The *Germans* also, who in furious manner had passed the Rivers *Danuby* and the *Rhine*, in many skirmishes he put backe, and forced them to their former obedience.

Sabellicus and others.

Bountifull and liberall he was both to the people and souldiers, as by the reverse of his coine above prefixed is feene, wherein is expressed the fourth *Donativum* and *congiarium*, bestowed by the bounty of this *Emperor*, upon the souldiers and common people, of which *Lampridius* maketh mention in his life.

(4) But as *Envy* ever attends persons of Estate, and a desire of change breeds a dislike of the present, so the *Roman Legions* growne farre out of order by the prodigious Government of the last *Emperour*, proved now unnaturall to their dread Soveraigne: whose warres drawing him into *Germany*, and thence hither into *Britaine*, he found some of his Souldiers here so tumultuous, that he thought fit to use exemplary severity towards them, whereupon they, being secretly

secretly backt, (as is supposed) by *Maximinus* (a potent man in the army, raised onely by the *Emperours* favour) they traiterously assailed him, and together with his mother *Mammea*, murthered him in a village then called *Scilla*, though others say he was slain in *Germany*, in the City *Mogunce*, and some in *France*, no other cause moving them, but onely his vertue; the eighth day of *March*, when he had raigned (by *Lampridius*) thirteene yeares and nine dayes, aged (by *Herodian*, and *Iulius Capitolinus*) twenty nine yeares, three monethes and seven dayes, the yeare of our Saviour, two hundred thirty six.

Severus and his mother murthered.

Severus the time of his raigne.

CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. EMP.

CHAPTER XXVIII.



CAIVS. IVLIVS. MAXI. CÆS.

Maximinus Emp.

Maximus Cæsar.



An. Dom. 236.

Maximinus, a man barbarous by birth and disposition, (himselfe a *Thracian*, his father named *Nicea*, borne in *Gotland*, very obscure, his mother *Ababa* of little better rancke) spent his youth in keeping of Cattell, the poverty of his parents admitting no better maintenance: Yet afterwards his fortunes brought him unto great advancement, and that by working upon the outward object of his person, being for shape and strength (if the reporter deserve credit) rather to be thought a vast *Giant*, then described for a goodly man: For *Iulius Capitolinus* affirmes his height to be eight foot and an halfe: by Geometricall measure, and his body answerable in every proportion, insomuch, as he did weare as a Ring on his thumb, the * bracelet which his wife used to wear on her arme, a stature thought uncredible; and yet *Iosephus*, an Author of great credit, doth confidently record, that one *Eleazar* a *Iew*, accompanied *Darius* the Kings son of *Persia* unto *Rome*, (sent by *Vitellius* to *Tiberius* for an hostage) whose height, as he saith, was fully seven cubits, a measure surmounting this.

Maximinus of a naughty disposition.

Iosephus Eccl. hist. lib. 6. cap. 27. Maximinus persecuteth the Christians.

Iul. Capitol. Maximinus of a huge stature.

Capitolinus calls it *Dextrocherium* being a broad plate of gold set with rich Iewels, an ornament in use amongst the *Romane* Ladies.

Ioseph Antiq. Lib. 20.

(2) This *Maximinus* increasing strength with growth, left his trade of Cattle-keeping, and resorted to the *Roman* Campe then in *Syria*, where for his admirall height, he was admitted by *Septimius Severus*, into the ranke of a common Souldier, and shortly after, preferred to be one of his Guard. *Bassianus* made him a *Coronell*, and *Heliogabalus* gave him the leading of certaine foot: but the last Emperour *Alexander*, advanced him to be a *Captaine* of the fourth Legion, whose death notwithstanding hee disloyally practised, (of such force is the desire of Soveraignty which makes men forget all bonds of gratitude and loyall truth) and was thereupon by the Souldiers elected *Emperour*, with fealty sworne unto him.

Maximinus his means of rising to preferment.

(3) The ignoble *Upstart* thus borne, from the dunghill, upon the wings of *Fortune*, unto the seate of Majestie, thought the increase of his pride was an increase of State; and knowing he had nothing for which he might deserve to be loved, he studied in the whole managing of his estate, how by all meanes hee might be feared. Hee therefore displaced *Senators*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and whom not? with murders, banishments, and confiscations of their goods: all such especially he did cut off, whom he supposed to have knowledge of his base beginnings. The *Christians* likewise under him were martyred, (whereof *Origen* wrote a booke, not now extant) and he is by *Writers* accounted the sixth Persecutor of Gods *Saints*: so that, whereas his flatterers at first called him *Milo*, *Antæus*, and *Hercules*, for his strength; now they all tearmed him, *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*, for his Savage cruelty.

Eusseb Eccl. hist. lib. 6. cap. 27. Maximinus persecuteth the Christians.

(4) But his life being odious to *God* and *Man* was often attempted to be taken away; first, by *Maximus*, a man of a Consular dignity; then by *Quarcinus* (whom *Capitolinus* calleth *Ticus*) set on by the old Souldiers of *Septimius Severus*, that had been disgraced by *Maximinus*; and lastly by the Army in *Africa*, who elected *Gordianus* (their *Proconsul*, a very worthy and learned man, of fourescore yeeres old) *Emperour*, and his sonne (of the same name and Princely qualities) his *Cæsar*: the *Senate* likewise confirming all that they had done. He tooke to himselfe the surname *Africanus*, either in respect of his Pro-Consulship which he exercised, in that Province, or else as descended from *Scipio* his family who bore that surname: His sonne *Gordianus* likewise was stiled *Augustus*, as appeareth by his Coines, whereon hee writeth himselfe AVG. and upon the Reverse, PIETAS AVGI.

His death attempted. *Herodian.*

Maximinus then in *Hungary*, and hearing thereof, rather like a mad man raged at his misfortunes, then either by courage or wise forecast endevoured to redeeme them.

(5) In



An. Dom. 238.

(5) In the meane while, aged *Gordianus* with the Ensignes and glory of an Emperor, entred *Carthage*; with blessings and acclamations of joy: whereat his old enemy *Capelianus*, Governour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* (Provinces in *Africke*) much envied; and gathering forces in *Maximinus* his name, made head against him, and shortly gave him Battle, wherein *Gordianus* the younger was slaine before the walles of the City. The father seeing his *Cæsars* disastre, himselfe an Emperour onely nominall, his new risen Sunne to have passed the circle of his height, and now to approach to the setting and fall, wished againe his private estate; and in despaire, griefe, and disdaine of his enemies successe, with the *Girdle* which he wore, strangled himselfe to death, when hee had beene stiled Emperor only twenty six dayes: whereat *Maximinus* was not a little joyfull, and the *Senate* no lesse perplexed, seeing themselves deprived of their hopes, and now laid open to the *Tyrants* will, who like a Lion came raging on; threatning revenge in all their blouds.

Gordianus the yonger slaine.

Gordianus the father strangled.

Maximinus and his sonne slaine.

(6) The State thus standing, all the Peeres and Princes thereof assembled themselves together at *Rome*: and in the *Temple* of *Iupiter*, after long debating of their present dangers, concluded, that *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* together should be Emperours; men of great account and favour with the people: These taking Oath and Imperiall Robes, levied forces to maintaine their cause: and *Balbinus* taking charge of the City, *Pupienus* marched to meet *Maximinus*, who in great pride had passed the *Alpes*, entred *Italy*, and now laid siege against *Aquileia*; in which this was very memorable, that *The Citizens wives cut off the haire of their heads, to make bow strings for resistance of so hatefull a Tyrant*: where after long assault prevailing little, his discontented Souldiers fell to mutiny: and entring his Paulion, at noone day without resistance, slew both him and his sonne, bearing the same name, whom hee had created his *Cæsar*, and whose monies, as he minted them, we have inserted at the entrance of his Empire. Their heads for a *Trophy* they sent before them to *Rome*, where with such acceptations they were received, as that the *Senate* acknowledged themselves to be ridof a Monster.

Maximinus his intemperance in diet. *Iul. Capitol. Eusseb. Eccles. hist. lib. 6. cap. 27.*

(7) Hee was, as is said, exceedingly tall, his body great, and joints proportionable, faire of face, full eies, and of such strength as is uncredible: and according to his limmes, so was his diet; for hee daily devoured forty pound waight of flesh, and thereto drank six Gallons of wine. He died aged sixty yeeres and odde, when he had raigned three yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirty and eight.

{PVPIENVS MAXIMVS / CLODIVS BALBINVS} Emperours.

CHAPTER. XXIX.





Pupienus Maximus Emp.

Cladius Balbinus Emp.

Pupienus Maximus and *Clodius Balbinus* thus elected together for *Emperors*, the one in action, and the other resident, a great sedition chanced betwixt the *Senate* and *Souldiers*, which grew to a bloudy issue among the *Citizens*, and *Rome* it selfe was set on fire in sundry places; the *Emperors* presence and authority little prevailing: which strucke such feare into their hearts, that they accounted these times most unfortunate, and themselves and present estate to be most desperate. But the death of *Maximinus* (and his head happily brought them at the instant) gave present life to their dying hearts. And *Pupienus* coming to *Aquileia*, as much quieted the *Army*; sent backe the *Lieutenants* to their places of charge, and with great pompe and praise returned to his Fellow-Emperour.

(2) The parentage of *Balbinus* is reported to bee both

both noble and ancient, made Citizens of *Rome* by great *Pompey*, and himselfe borne at *Cales* in *Spaine*. *Pupienus* Ancestors were much latter, yet had hee borne many Offices of Magistracy, and ever discharged them with wisedome and valour: both of them highly accounted of in *Rome*.

Jul. Capitol.

(3) Peace thus established beyond all expectation, with shouts and applauses the *Emperours* enter the *Senate-house*, where (according to the custome and their deserts) they were stiled, *The Fathers of the Senate*, with thankes as to the onely preservers of their lives and estates: and some extolling the *Senate* highly for their provident foresight, in electing such sapient and worthy *Emperors*, contrary to the rash and undiscreet practise of such as chose their governours to fit their owne fancies, rather then the charge to which they advance them; and whose bad lives brought commonly their untimely, but deserved deaths. The Pretorian Souldiers tooke themselves to be taxed with those aspersions, and the rather because the *German strangers* were brought in to be of the *Guard*, as if themselves were not to bee trusted: so turning their spleene against the present *Emperours*, sought to set up a new, which shortly after they found opportunity to effect.

The Emperours envie one another.

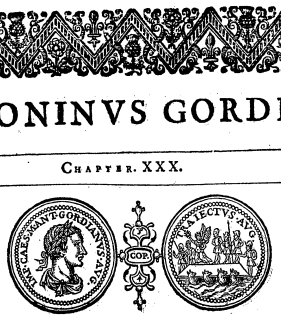
(4) For these *Emperours*, though aged and wise, were not so linked together in affection, as they were neere joyned in authority: and therefore the winde of emulation had the easier passage betwixt the chinkes of their owne conceits; the one prizing his wisedome and government to be more judicious; the other, his birth and Nobility to be more honourable, and each of them having his own Guard, stood upon his owne Guard, though one Palace contained them both: and both their endevours ever well consorting for the businesse of the Empire.

(5) At this time the Provinces of *Parthia* and *Germany* grew unquiet, and, by civill discords, endangered their subjections: to represse which, the *Emperors* agreed to goe in person, the one into the *East*, the other into *Germany*. Now whilest these great preparations were in making, the *Capitoline-Games* were celebrated in *Rome*, whereunto all (almost) resorted, but especially the new-come *Guards* of the *Emperors*. The *Pretorians* finding the advantagious time, which they had long waited for, suddenly in armour assailed the *Court*; which *Pupienus* perceiving, sent in all haste for *Balbinus*, and both their Guards for defence. But his Fellow-Emperour, upon a vaine suspicion detracted time himselfe, and hindered the forwardnesse of the Guards, so that these Traitours had easie accesse into both the Emperours Chambers, where in their rage they dispoyled them of their *Imperiall Robes*, and haled these poore aged and innocent Emperours, like two theeves thorow the middest of the Citie: Lastly, they slew them, and left their bodies to despightfull ignominy.

(6) These Emperours raigned together one yeare, and somewhat more, and dyed the yeare of Christ two hundred thirty nine: in which yeare happened so great an Eccliпse of the Sun, that the nooneday thereby became as darke as the mid-night.

M. ANTONINVS GORDIANVS.

Chapter. XXX.



M. Antoninus Gordianus. Emp.

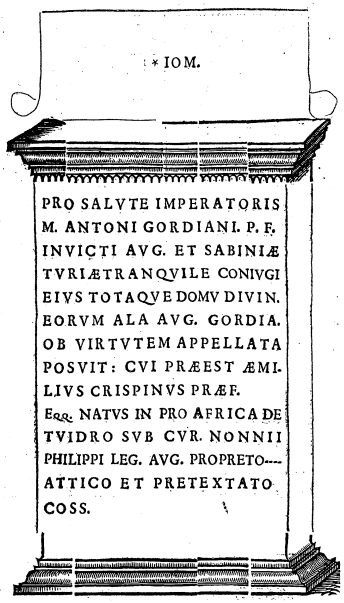
An. Dom. 239.

GOrdianus (for *Antoninus* he might not be called, a Law formerly acted inhibiting the same) was the sonne of a daughter to old *Gordianus* (that had made away himselfe in *Carthage*, as is declared) at the age of eleuen yeares was created *Cæsar* by the Senate, with *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*; and at their deaths by the *Pretorian Souldiers*, elected *Emperour*, not yet fully fourteene yeares of age. Greatly was hee strengthened by the Alliance and Counsell of one *Misitheus*, his Prefect and Instructer, whom for his great learning, he so honoured and loved, that he tooke his daughter for his wife; and by whose onely direction, he prosperously administred his State affaires.

(2) Touching the affaires of our Provinces proceedings, or what *Lieutenants* were imployed in *Britaine* since *Virius Lupus* there placed by *Severus* (since whose death our *Story* hath spent twenty seven yeares) we finde not recorded. Yet now in the raigne of young *Gordianus* some glimmering light for her Government appeareth by an *Altar stone* found in *Cumberland* at a place then called * *Castra Exploratorum*, with an inscription for the happy health of the Emperour *Gordian* the third; his wife *Furia Sabina Tranquilla*, and their whole Family: which votive *Altar* was erected by the Troupe of Horsemen furnamed *Augusta Gordiana*; when *Æmilius Crispinus*, a native of *Africa*, governed the same under *Nonnius Philippus* Lieutenant Generall of *Britaine*, in the yeare of *Christ*, two hundred fourty three, as appeareth by the *Consuls* therein specified: whose forme and inscription we have followed by the *Stone* it selfe, now remaining at *Connington* among many others, in the custody of Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet.

* Old *Carlile.*

* IOM.



In his fist yeere, the *Parthians* under the Leading of *Sapor* their King had passed into the confines of the *Roman* Provinces, as farre as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which City they had taken, with spoile of the Countries adjoyning: against whom, the yong *Emperour* in warlike manner addressed himselfe, and in person prepared to undergoe the warres.

Lieutenion. Gordianus openeth the Temple of *Ianus.*

(3) In *Rome* the Temple of *Ianus* that long had stood shut, he caused to be opened, a sure token that warres were in hand: and departing the *City*, passed the *Straits* of *Hellespont*, and tooke his way thorow *Mysia*, to stay the *Gothes* that were come downe to inhabit *Thracia*. Thence marching to *Antioch*, recovered the *City*, forcing *Sapor* to forsake the *Province*, and to content himselfe with his owne demaines.

Homer Iliade. A. Misitheus poysoned by Philip.

(4) But long this *Sunne* went not without a *Cloud*, nor his favourable fortunes without a checke; for *Misitheus*, his *Nestor*, paying *Natures* debt before it was due (being poysoned by *Philip*, as *Eutropius* affirmeth) was wanting in counsell, and missed for trust: to supply which, *Philip* (an *Arabian* and of ignoble parentage) was made his Prefect; wife (I must needs say) had hee beene moderate; and valiant in Armes, had he beene true. But the glory of a Diadem beheld with the false light of ambition, so dimmed the eye of his dutifull affection, and blinded the senses of his aspiring mind, that hee, who from nothing was risen to bee something, thought that also nothing worth, whilst it was shadowed with the name of a subject. First therefore hee sought to winne credit with the Souldiers, to whom hee was facile; to regard the poore, to whom he was liberall; and in all things to outstrip his Soveraigne, to whom he was treacherous. Yong *Gordianus* unable to endure his Prefectors designes, or his owne disgraces, and perceiving the marke whereat hee aymed, complained his wrongs in open assemblies, and to the Souldiers after this tenor.

Philip his treachery.

Gordianus his speech to the Souldiers.

" (5) I got not this state from my Parents by
" birth, nor yet by any deserts (I must confesse) in
" my selfe, being the least of many that did deserve
" it better: but it was you, my fellow Souldiers (up-
" on what fate I know not) that have made me what
" I am. If then I have defrauded your hopes, by
" carrying my selfe under your expectations, I wish
" to bee set in the place where I first was; or rather
" (if I so deserve) my life, and state, may at one in-
" stant be ended by your unerring hands: For Noble
" minds cannot brooke to bee curbed with the bit of
" base indignities, nor suffer their vassals to bee Cor-
" rivals of their Majesty. It is a jealous object (I
" must needes confesse) and many times casts great
" suspition when is small occasion: but I, for my
" part, have alwayes thought of that humour, that
" men causelessely jealous, doe most justly deserve
" what they unjustly feare; and both your selves
" will bee my witnesses, how farre I am from the
" touch of that staine, and also the daily occurrents
" of my *Cæsar*, (if so low I may terme him) doth
" make more then manifest. I am but yong, yet elder
" by sixe yeares then I was; my body tender, yet ex-
" posed to the chance of warre; my counsell raw,
" yet bettered by your wisdomes; and my conquests
" in my selfe nothing, but yet in your valours both
" glorious and famous. What then are mine errours,
" that I may amend them? or your discontents, that
" I may redresse them? for by the powers of heaven
" I protest, it is your loves which I most esteeme, and
" the good of the Empire, for which I onely wish to
" live; the first is in your powers to bestow at your
" pleasure, but the other in me (if it be possible) shall
" live even after death.

(6) These complaints notwithstanding, *Philip* so politickly, nay, rather traiterously, brought his owne projects to passe, as that the yong innocent *Emperour* was displeased, and abandoned of all: in which distresse he first sued to be made his *Cæsar*, and that denyed, to be his *Pretorian Prefect*: but neither would be had, yet at length the charge of an ordinary *Captaine*, was with some difficulty granted him. But *Philip* bethinking himselfe of the greatnesse of *Gordianus* his bloud, his love and esteeme both in *Rome* and the *Provinces*, and his owne vertues equalling any, hee commanded him to be slaine in the twenty two yeere of his age, and the sixt of his raigne. The Senate hearing thereof, elected *M. Marcius*, and after him againe, *L. Aurel. Severus*, *Ostulianus*. But *Philip* through the giddy multitude, prevailed against both. This *Emperour* though yong, so well demeaned himselfe, that the Senate by authority added to his titles TVTOR REIPVBLICÆ, and PARENS PRINCIPVM POPVLI ROMANI; and after his death even by his owne murtherers, his Monument of faire Stone was raised in the confines of *Persia*, and upon his Sepulcher this inscription set:

Gordiana slaine.

DIVO GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM VICTORI GOTTHORVM VICTORI SARMATARVM DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM VICTORI GERMANORVM SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.

To the Sacred Gordianus vanquisher of the Persians, Gothes, and Sarmates, extinguisher of the Roman Civill discords, and subduer of the Germans, but not of the Philippians.

Pompon. Lætus.

(7) Hee was of condition most noble and lovely, of behaviour gentle, very studious and given much to learning; having in his *Librarie* no lesse then threescore and two thousand Bookes, as is reported. The truth is, that wicked people were not worthy long to enjoy so vertuous, so clement, so peerelesse an *Emperour*. Hee dyed in the moneth of March, in the yeere of our Redeemer two hundred forty five.

Gordianus his vertues.

Eutrop. Aurel. Victor. Euseb. Orosius.

M. IVLIVS PHILIPPVS EMP.

CHAPTER. XXXI.



Iulius Philippus. Emp.

M. IVLIVS PHILLPPVS CÆS.



Iulius Philippus, Cæs.

An. Dom. 245.

WHat man is there, who considering those forepassed murthers, of so many, and so mighty Monarches, would not, by the spectacle of others calamities, bee induced to preferre the security of a moderate estate, before the desire of *Soveraigntie*; whose glorious content is only in appearance, but the cares and hazards are both reall and perpetuall? But of so attractive vertue is the *Load-stone* of *Majesty*, through the imagined felicity thereof, that most mens desires are drawne to that one point of the compasse; and if a little faire winde of fortune shall blow on them, they will lanch forth with their full sailes into the *Mare incognitum*, a *Sea of unknowne calamities*. And amongst others, such were the blind desires, and such the unhappy event of this *Iulius Philippus* the *Arabicke Barbarian*. Of parentage obscure and ignoble, as *Victor* and others affirme, who pluckt off the imperial robes of his *Liege-Lord*, to invest himselfe.

(2) Being now accepted as *Emperour* by the Souldiers in *Parthia*, he wrote to the Senate of the death of *Gordianus*, as though it naturally had happened, and with faire pretensions of his good purposes, but more through the feare of his *Parthian* souldiers, obtained their consents; whereupon shuffling up a most dishonourable peace in those parts, and declaring his sonne *Philip* for his *Cæsar*, (whose Coynes with his, we have set in the beginning of this Chapter) hee made all speed towards *Rome*: where, the yeere insuing, his shewes and games were exceedingly magnificent, for the celebration of the Birth-day (as we may terme it) of *Rome*, that being the thousand yeere from her foundation.

An. Dom. 245. Victor. Eutropius.

Aurelius Victor.

(3) It pleased God at length to touch this *Emperours* heart, both with such a sense of his owne forepast sinnes, and also with the light of heavenly truth, that hee hath the honour of being the first *Emperour* baptized into the faith of Christ, together with his sonne *Philip*, and his wife *Severa*: though the publike

Sabellicus. Orosius. Eusebius.

like *authorizing* of the same *Profession* was reserved for the blessed times of our *British Constantine*. The meanes of his conversion from *Idolatry*, were *Fabianus*, and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him thereunto: and for the same *Profession*, were both himselfe and sonne murdered by *Decius* his Captaine, though others report, that *Decius* did rather hate *Christianity* for their sakes, than them for their *Professions* sake. And howsoever *Pomponius Lætus* accuseth him to bee a *dissembling Prince*, yet *Eusebius* declareth the effects of his *Profession* farre otherwise; for *Philip* (saith he) *seeking to communicate with the Saints, could not bee admitted, till such time as he had made open confession of his Faith; at which time he joyned himselfe with those, who for their sinnes were brought to examination, and was placed in the roome of the Penitents, because that in many things he had beene faulty: which willingly he obeyed, and declared by his workes, his sincere and religious mind towards God.* Which may the rather appeare by *Sabellicus* and *Bergamensis*, who shew, that the hatred of *Decius* against *Philip* and his sonne was conceived, for that they had committed the custody of their *Treasures* unto *Fabianus* the *Christian Bishop* of *Rome*, who baptized them, as some write; though others say, *Pontius* the *Martyr* did it.

Sabell. Ennead. 7. lib. 7.

Trebellius. lib. 4. cap. 22.

(4) The *Gothes* againe descending from *Scythia*, infested *Missia* and *Thracia* with a mighty *Army*, seeking their habitations in those Countries as formerly they had done: against whose irruptions, the Emperour sent one *Marinus* a most valiant *Captaine*, who no sooner came into those parts, but drew the *Souldiers* into a *Rebellion* and proclaimed himselfe *Emperour*, taking (as he said) his example from *Philip*, that had in like sort raised his title by his *Soveraignes* fall: But the *Souldiers* that had newly erected him, as suddenly againe threw him downe, and in their mutable affections slew him.

Goths infest Missia and Thracia.

Marinus slaine.

(5) Into whose *Charge* was sent *Decius*, a man of great experience, who also no sooner was in the Army, but they forced the *Imperiall Ensignes* upon him, and (as some report) against his will: hee therefore sent secretly to *Philip*, declaring this attempt of the *Souldiers*, and how hee meant to make escape from them with persisting in his dutifull allegeance. But the *Emperour* fearing this to be but policy in *Decius*, left by delay he might give him more strength, omitted no time to uphold his owne, and with a mighty *Army* undertooke these affaires himselfe, not trusting any more to the dispose of his *Captaines*. And immediately departing *Rome*, with a sterne resolution, and over-hard hand, held the reine of that begun *Expedition*, whereby he presently lost the love of the *Army*, and *Decius* was accounted the more worthy of rule, whom in *Verona* they forthwith proclaimed *Emperour*, and cut off *Philips* head thorow the teeth, before they had departed *Italy*. At newes whereof, the *Pretorians* slew *Philip* his *Cæsar* and sonne, a man of so observable composednesse, as that he had beene never seene to laugh in all his life. And thus the two *Philips* ended their raignes.

Decius enforced to be Emperour.

Philippus and his Cæsar slaine. Eutrop. Aurel. Victor. Euseb. Hieron. Chron. Euseb. hist. lib. 6. cap. 38.

(6) *Iulius Philippus* (saith *Eusebius*) raigned seven yeeres: but *Eutropius* and *Victor* give him onely five; whose death happened in the yeere of *Christ Iesus*, two hundred and fifty.

GN. MESSIVS, QVINCTVS, TRAIAN, DECIVS.

CHAPTER. XXXII.



Trajan Decius Emp.

Decius & Cæs. Hostil. Cæs.

An. Dom. 250.

Ecius elected *Emperour* by the *Persian Legions*, proclaimed in *Verona* by the *Romane Souldiers*, and in *Rome* confirmed by the *Voyce* of the *Senate*, was of them all with wonted flatteries stiled *Augustus*.

Decius his parentage.

(2) His *Birth* was noble, of the City *Cabali* in the *Lower Pannonia*, now known by the name of *Hungary*: himselfe well experienced, wise, and valiant, and weilded the *Empire* as a worthy *Prince*, had hee not blemished his raigne with a staine of Tyranny, and persecuted *Gods Saints* with such a Heathenish rage, that hee is rightly noted by learned *Writers*, to bee the seventh Horne of the *Persecuting-Imperiall-Beast*, whose savage cruelties towards the innocent Christians, is most lamentable to bee heard, but more to their smart that suffered and felt it.

Decius a great scourge of the Christians.

Apoc. 13. Paul. Orosius.

Euseb. lib. 2. de Vit. Const.

Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 6. cap. 41. Oros. lib. 7. cap. 27.

Vinc. lib. 11. ca. 13. Sabellicus. Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 6. cap. 38.

Psalme 2.9.

(3) The *Grid-iron* he made the *Altar*, whereupon *blessed Laurence* offered his body in sacrifice; the *Stewes*, the *Temple*, wherein *Theodora* the unspotted *Virgin* worshipped her *Christ*; the comfortlesse *Desarts*, the refuge of aged *Cheremon*, Bishop of *Nilus*; and the *Cave*, the *Sanctuary* of the *seven Souldiers*, fabuled by *Nicephorus* for *seven Sleepers*: and so barbarous was he that way, that he put to *Martyrdome* many children, as *Vincentius*, citing *Hugo*, affirmeth. *Fabianus* and *Cornelius*, both reverend *Bishops* of *Rome*, hee slew; *Alexander*, *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, imprisoned to death: and *Great Origen*, after he had scourged him at an *Iron-stake*, his feet hee lockt in the *Stockes* foure paces asunder, where he so continued certaine dayes; inventing such tortures and strange temptations against the guiltlesse *Christians*, as are most admirable to heare. But long hee raged not, ere God in his justice tooke revenge, and *brake him to peeces as a Potters Vessell*.

(4) For the *Gothes* that had invaded *Mysia* and *Thracia*, continuing their *Irruptions* into the bordering *Provinces*, drew him into an *Expedition* for those parts, where being betrayed by *Trebonianus Gallus* his owne *Captaine*, he saw his two sonnes, *Decius* and *Hostilianus*, (whom he had admitted in fellowship of Empire with him, and whose monies wee have with his expressed) slaine before his face; and himselfe to intombe his body, as a last refuge, in a deepe whirlepoole; wherein it was so swallowed up, as it could never be after seene; having no other honour of *Burial*, nor place of remembrance where his bones should rest. And according to his *Death*, so was his *Descent*: for neither hath he *Father*, *Mother*, nor *Wife* mentioned (for ought I know) by any *Writer*, (for of *Salustia Barbia Orbiana*, it is doubtfull whether to him or his sonne *Hostilian* she were wedded;) nor his Acts so exactly registred, as were those of the preceding *Emperours*, his sinnes so deserving it, and God in his revenge so punishing it.

Pomponius Letus Iornandes.

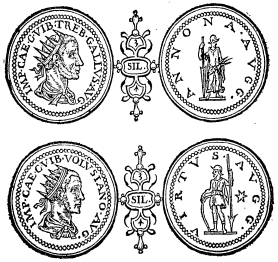
Decius and his Cesar their deaths. Cassiodor.

Decius his raigne. Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 7. cap. 1.

(5) *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* say, that hee raigned two yeeres and odde moneths: but *Eusebius* affirmeth his raigne, not fully two yeeres: most hold him to have dyed at the age of fifty, and in the yeere of Christ, two hundred fifty two.

C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS, CAIVS VIBIVS VOLVSIANVS, Emperours.

Chapter XXXIII.



Trebonianus Gallus. Emp.

Vibius Volusianus. Emp.

An. Dom. 252.

THis overthrow of the *Romans*, and death of *Decius*, in outward semblance was so grievously taken by *Trebonianus Gallus*, that no man was so forward for revenge as hee, and therefore the last in suspition of *Treason*. The *Army* hee strengthned, and daily encouraged, pretending great service against those barbarous *Scythians*, but all to gaine credit and liking of the *Souldiers*, whereby he soone atchieved his desire, and with their applauses was proclaimed *Emperour*.

Pompon. Laetus. Blondus. Sabellicus.

Gallus declared Emperour. His parentage.

(2) *By Birth*, he was descended of an honourable Family in *Rome*: but true honour cannot harbour where dwelleth treachery and falsehood, as it was with him, when appointed by *Decius* to bee *Governour* of *Mysia*, and to keepe the passages from the invading *Gothes*, the desire of *Rule* so corrupted his minde, that he plotted with them against the *Army*, and betrayed the trust and life of his *Soveraigne*.

(3) Neither is hee stayned with the blot of *Treasons* onely, but also with a careless and cruell government; for with the *Gothes* he made a dishonourable peace, whereby the *Romans* (who were *Lords* of the *World*) became *Tributary* by a yeerely pay to those uncivill *Scythians*; who nevertheless in short time brake their *Truce* with him, sacking and spoiling the *Provinces* of *Thrasia*, *Mysia*, *Thessalia*, and *Macedonia*: the *Persians* then also by their example entring *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, made spoile even thorow *Armenia*.

Pompon. Laetus. Blondus. Sabellicus.

(4) *Gallus* little regarding these troubles abroad, consumed his time idly in *Rome*, rather as a *Bondman* to his owne voluptuous desires, then a *Conquering Monarch*; taking for his companion and *Fellow-Emperour*, his sonne *Volusianus*, as appeareth by inscription

Gallus persecuteth the Christians. Euseb. Eccle. hist. lib. 7. cap. 1. Universall pestilence thorow all the world. Paul. Orosius.

tion of Coine placed before, a very childe, whose yeeres did quit him of Capitall Crime. But himselfe not perceiving the unfortunate successe of *Decius* for persecuting the innocent *Christians*, stumbled (as *Eusebius* saith) at the same stone, and banished them whose *Prayers* preserved his prosperous estate: at which time followed so universall a *Pestilence*, that no *Province* in the world was free from the same; and his wicked Life and most unfortunate Raigne hastned now unto their period.

Æmilianus Maurus his victory.

(5) For the *Gothes* continuing their furies begun, his Generall *Aemilian Maurus* overthrew them with a wonderfull slaughter; whereby hee grew so famous, and *Gallus* so contemptible, that the *Souldiers* (ever affecting change) proclaimed him *Emperour*; the newes whereof soone roused *Gallus* from the Bed of his lascivious pleasures, and with his sonne entred the quarrell against *Aemilianus*, whose fortune was to slay them both in fight, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, two hundred fifty three, after hee had raigned not fully two yeeres, and lived (as *Victor* testifieth) fortie and seven: whereupon the *Armies* joyning their forces together, conferred the *Imperiall Title* and *Ensignes* upon the *Conquerour*.

C. Gallus and his sonne slaine. Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 7. cap. 2.

C. IVLIVS AEMILIANVS.

Chapter XXXIV.



Maurus. Emp. *Aemilianus.*

An. Dom. 253.

Aemilianus Maurus his descent.

AEmilianus succeeding *Gallus* by the only election of the *Mysian Army*, was by birth an *African* in the Province *Mauritania*, of Parentage base and obscure; who being risen by the Warres from meane places of service, and no better then a Common souldier aspired to the charge and credit of a Captaine Generall.

(2) His *Election* at first was contradicted by the *Italian Bands*, in favour of *Valerianus* their owne *Leader*, whom they sought to raise *Emperour*, the Senate also inclining thereto, the fame of the man among them was so renowned. The most voices therefore were heard on his side. Some have rather accounted *Aemilianus* an Usurper, then rancked him in the Catalogue of lawfull *Emperours*.

Eutropius.

(3) But seeing *Eutropius* doth allow him the place, we are not to dispute his title or claim; only his short time of government admitteth no matters of large discourse, being cut off in the bud, before the graft had time to spring. For his *Army* disliking what themselves had done, and hearing of the worths and election of *Valerianus*, laid downe their weapons borne in his defence, and tumultuously murdered him in the heat of their bloods, after hee had raigned in name, without action, the space almost of foure moneths.

Æmilianus Maurus his end, and discontinuance of his raigne.

(4) So unconstant is the state of *worldly felicity*, and may be compared to a masterlesse *Ship*, which without *Tackle* is left to the mercy of the raging *Seas*, that is one while carried with the faire winds of hope towards the *haven* of wished desires, but straightwayes overwhelmed with the waves of despaire: and most especially him that is borne upon the opinions of the giddy multitude, now carried aloft upon the flouds of their fawning favours, and anone left in the sands of their retiring ebbes, with a sudden shipwrack of all their fore-gone fortunes. And these adventures too soone *Aemilianus* felt, who the same yeere that he thus put forth to Sea, lost all his adventure, and therewith also his life, *Anno* 253.

P. LICI-

P. LICINIVS VALERIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXV.



An. Dom. 254.

IF ever the saying of the wise *Athenian Solon* (spoken to *Crœsus* the rich King of *Lydia*) was true, *That no man can be happy before the day of his death*: then most truely may it bee verified of this *Valerianus* the next succeeding *Emperour*: whose yeeres were multiplyed with increase of honour, untill they came to seventy and seven, but then were clouded with such ignominious miseries, as the like had never hapned to any Romane Emperour before him, and (I may well say) to no other Monarch in the world before living: such is the Ordinance of *our great God*, sometimes from the *Dunghill* to raise men of low degree, and to place them with *Princes* in the *Chaire* of *Majesty*; then againe to bring downe the *Mighty* from their *Seate* of *glory*, and to leave them chained with the poorest *captives*, and basest Vassals. For such was the *State* of that *Great* and *Proud King of Babel*, who from the height of *Majesty* fell into the conditions of an unreasonable Beast; and so was it with *Valerianus*, though not utterly abandoned from the *Society of men*, as *Babels King* was: yet was hee carried *Captive* unto a nation whose *Society* was scarce humane, and where his usage was more then barbarous.

Herodot. in Clio.

Dan. 4. 27.

(2) This man was both nobly descended, and of so great esteeme among the *Romans*, that being but a private man, and then also absent, they chose him for their *Censor*, an Office of high dignity, conferred ever upon the Best, as *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the *History* of his life, hath declared. *Eusebius* reporteth his beginning to have beene gracious and milde towards the *Christians*, above any of his ancestors whatsoever: yea even those who were themselves openly accounted Christians; insomuch, that his *Clemency* was their *Protection*, and his court the *Sanctuary* of their safeties. But *Satan* (whose hatred sleepeth not) stirred up an *Egyptian* Sorcerer against them, who so inchanted the *Emperours* heart, that with great cruelty he began the *Eighth persecution*, and so raged that some have appropriated the sayings of the Apocalyps in the thirteenth chapter unto him, as to whom *power was given for two and forty moneths over the Saints of God, and a mouth to utter great blasphemies*: Of which opinion is the ancient *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Many indeed were the *Martyrs* that he caused with horrible tortures to dye, and more had done, if the just revenging hand of God had not cut him off.

Valerianus a professor of the Christians.

Trebel. Pollio.

Paul. Orosius a Necromancer seduceth Valerian.

Apoc. c. 13.

Dionysius in Epi. ad Hermammonem apud Eusebium Sabellicus, Volaterranus.

(3) For *Sapor* the savage *King* of *Persia*, making great spoile in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, drew *Valerian* from *Rome* into *Mesopotamia*, to withstand his rage; where striking Battell with him, was left (either by *Treason* or *Chance*) without sufficient Guard to secure his Person, and was there taken prisoner by the *Persians*; having then raigned seven yeeres (whereof two were spent in spilling of the bloud of Saints) and thence forward, the rest of his life was enthralled to a most miserable and mercilesse servitude: For the *Tyrannizing Persian* puft up with this fortunate gale, to an excessive swelling pride; whensoever hee was disposed to take *Horse*, made *Valerianus* his *Foot-stoole*, causing this *Greatest Monarch* of the *World* to whom all *Nations* did homage, to bow downe his necke and backe for himselfe thereon to tread, and mount unto his *Saddle*: In which unsufferable slavery, his old body indured without releafe, to the end of his most wretched life, which by some Authors account was full *seven yeeres* more; the very time of the *Babylonian Kings* abasement.

Valerianus taken prisoner by Sapor.

Pagan. Latin.

Aurelius Victor.

(4) But herein the misery of *Valerianus* is much greater then *Nebuchadnezzars* was, in that *God* both restored him to his former glory, and indued him with heavenly grace to confesse his sinnes: whereas *Valerianus* perished in the desperate calamity whereinto he was falne; as *Eusebius* shewes in these words: *And thou Valerian, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering the subjects of God, therefore hast prooved unto us the righteous Iudgement of God, in that thy selfe wast bound in chaines, and carried away for a Captive slave with thy glorious Purple and thy Imperiall Attire, and at length also commanded by Sapor King of the Persians, to be slaine, and powdred with salt, hast set up unto all men a perpetuall Monument of thine owne wretchednesse.*

Eusebius in Ser. ad conventum Sanctorum.

(5) How unspeakeable the cruelties were which this wretched *Emperor* endured by that Tyrant, may hence appeare, in that not onely those which were Allies to the *Roman Empire*, but also the *Barbarous Kings*, and friends of *Sapores* were moved with commiseration, and distaste, as *Trebell. Pollio* proveth by the copy of one he produceth from *King Belsolus*, as followeth.

"*Belsolus King* of *Kings* to *King Sapor* greeting. If "I were assured that the brightnesse of the *Romans* "might be dimmed, or their Imperial greatnesse were "at the ebbe of their fall, I would with thee rejoyce "for thy present fortunes, which in thy owne conceit "are glorious to thee, and beneficiall to us all thy "fellow *Princes*: but take heed thy pride deceive thee "nor, that thou be not a hurt to thy *successors*, and unto "us all; for one *Ship* drowned by tempest doth not "minister destruction to the whole Fleete, nor one "overthrowne assure a full conquest. But rather con- "sider how many Nations of enemies, the *Romans* "have made vassals to their *Empire*. The *Gaules* wee "know have sacked *Italy* it selfe, and have set the "City of *Rome* on fire, but now we see them a servile "nation, and themselves made subject to the *Romans*. "The *Africans* likewise ere this have given them ma- "ny overthrowes, yet at this day the dice is cast, and "the *Africans* chance is, to serve the *Romans*. To let "passe more ancient and remote examples, *Mithri-* "*dates King of Pontus*, and lord of al *Asia*, far mightier "then thou, was by the *Romans* overthrowne, and *Asia* "made a province unto their subjection. They have "lost, thou wilt say; but what a weak old mã though "an *Emperour*: their strengths little lessened, having "choise sufficient both of election and revenge. Thou "hast won, but how? by valour? Nothing lesse; "but by treachery, and that also by thine enemies as- "sistance: yet herein assure thy selfe, that their fide- "litie to thee-ward is of no firmer assurance. Follow "then my counsell; make benefit of the occasion, "deliver the *Romanes* their *Emperour*, whereby thou "mayest obtaine with them a perfect peace for thy "selfe and us; and so I conclude that thy fortunes "are great, and whereof I am glad, if thou thy selfe "know how to use them.

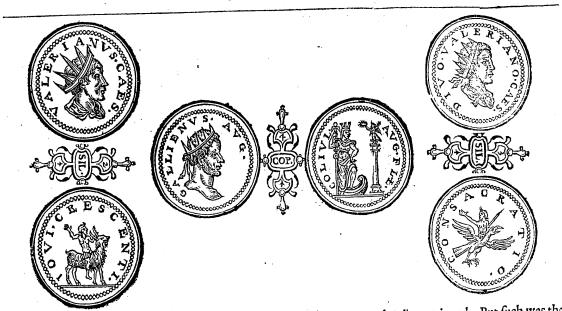
Other *Princes* also of the *East*, as of the *Bactrians*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, and *Scythians*, inhabiting *Mount Taurus*, had such sense of these ignominious usages, that they disdained to receive the Letters from *Sapor* of his *Victorious* successe, and sent their *Ambassadors* to *Rome*, proffering their assistance for the redemption of their *Emperour*; yet all availed not, and *Sapor* held still his *Prisoner*, abating nothing either of his owne pride, or his *Captives* misery, but in the end (so hellish a fiend is revenge) commanded his *Eyes* to bee pulled our, and so for *age* and *griefe* hee died, as *Eusebius* saith: but *Agathias* (a writer of credit) reporteth, that hee was flaied alive by direction of this unhumane King. Thus did *God* punish one *Tyrant* by another, and thus himselfe felt those torments unpitried, which hee had without pitie inflicted on others. The race of whose *Raigne* is accounted to be *seven yeeres* before his *Captivitie*, wherein he lived almost so long as *Galienus* his sonne sate *Emperour*, and died in the yeere two hundred sixtie one.

Valerianus had his Eyes pulld out.

Flaied alive.

P. LICINIVS GALIENVS.

CHAPTER XXXV.



An. Dom. 261.

VALERIAN now Captive in *Persia* (while *Odenatus* grasping the advantage, tooke upon him the *Empire* of the *East*, and the now guideless *Army* of *Rome*, occupied onely in spoile and mutiny, their Leaders in faction, and the whole State astonished in affrighted terrour and amazement) *Balista* (a gallant *Romane* gentleman) mooved with the instant misery of the *Commonwealth*, resolved by electing anew an *Emperour*, to prevent the apparant ruine of his owne Countrey: yet never in this his worthy resolution, once dreamed of *Gallienus*, (though before chosen *Augustus* in the full fortune of his father) but the affection of the *Army* forcibly setled the *Garland* upon *Marcian* and his two sonnes, as the most worthy; who with his eldest not long after was subdued by *Aurelius* usurping *Illyrica* (against *Gallienus* then received *Soveraigne* by the *Romane Senate*) and his youngest betraied to murder by plot of *Odenatus*, left the distracted *Empire* to those there; of which the last disdayning much the indignitie offred to the *State* of *Rome* by that base captivitie of *Valerian*, whose calamity nothing touched the sense of his unnaturall sonne, entred a warre against the *Persians*, and tooke from them their Cities *Nisabis* and *Carras*. But such was the moderation of this man, that although he had power of an independant Soveraigntie, yet he held still a good correspondency and intelligence in all his actions of Government, with *Galienus*, to whom he sent (as monument of *Victory* and *Revenge*) such of the *Persian Nobility* as became his *Prisoners*: and thus *Odenatus* did conquer, and *Galienus* triumph. But such was the baseneese of *Galienus*, that when he could not by any Princely vertue in himselfe, ecclipse the true merit of *Odenatus*, he endevored to deface by treachery what he could not suppresse by valour. But in this failing, he made him then (through feare) copartner of his *Empire*, stiling him *Augustus*, and stamping his face and the *Persian Triumph* upon the publike *Coine* of the *State*, by approbation of the *Senate*; leaving him alone to defend those *Frontiers* of the *Empire*, whileft himselfe, neither regarding his old fathers miseries, (most miserable that he had so unnaturall a sonne) the dishonour of the *Romane State*, nor the revolts of the *Provinces*, whereof newes was daily brought him, spent his unprincely thoughts upon fruitlesse devices, as in reserving sundry *Fruits* and *Flowers*, that they might grow greene and flourish all seasons of the yeere; and (which was worse) upon women and wanton dalliances. Yet had he a Lady of excellent beautie and allurements, *Cornelia Salonina Pipara*, to his wife, the daughter of the King of the *Marcomani*; whose feature wee finde often minted upon her Monies. His sonne by her *Saloninus* he adopted *Cæsar*, whose of whom there is no more remembred in *Story*, then that he was borne noble, trained up princely, and perished through the errours of his father, and not his owne. And to his brother *Licinius Valerianus* (to whom the father had given the title of *Cæsar*) he added the honour of *Augustus*. And therefore we have not held it improper, to adjoyne to his their monies in the front of his life.

Rome in disturbance for election of an Emperour.

Marcian with his sonnes elected, subdued and slaine.

1. Aurelius in Illyria.
2. Gallienus in Rome.

3. Odenatus in the East. Odenatus overcommeth the Persians.

Gallienus seeketh Odenatus his death.

(2) The *calamities* of this *Emperours* time were so many, as almost exceed credit: and *Signes* shewed both

Apoc. 4.3. *Trebell. Pollio.* Strange sights in the heavens.

Great and migh y Earthquakes.

Gallienus stayed the persecutions of the Christians.

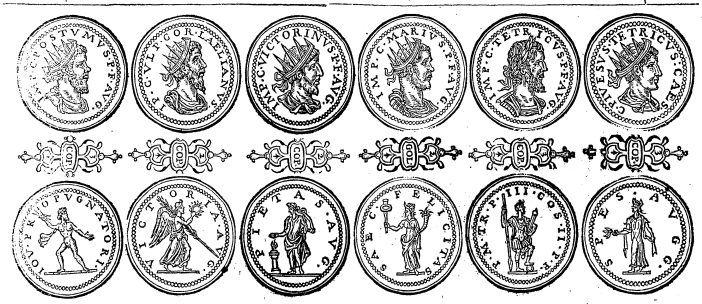
both in the *Heavens* and the *Earth*, manifested his wrath that *sate upon the Throne of Iasper; from whose presence issued Thundrings, Lightnings, and voyces.* For (by Writers of best credit) the *Sunne* was clouded as under sackcloth, and not seene for many dayes together; *Earth-quakes* great, and fearefully resounding, overthrew Cities and other edifices, shaking the ground so terribly, that vast Caves, and hideous gaping bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and whereout (no lesse strangely) flowed great streames of salt waters. The *Earth* roared, and seemed to thunder, when there was no voyce heard in the aire. The *Sea* over-swelled her bankes, and and brake into many *Continents*, drowning *Countries, Cities*, and *People:* and (besides all these) so violent a *Pestilence* raged, that in *Rome* no lesse then five thousand persons died in a day.

(3) These miseries somewhat mooved this *Heathenish Emperour* to remorse: and thinking thereby to pacifie the wrath of the *Divine powers*, he stayed the *Persecutions* of the *Christians*, sending out his *Edicts* in favour of them. For not onely the *Heavens, Earth*, and *Seas* declared the anger of their *God, out of whose mouth went a two edged sword*, but the *Provinces* also seemed to be removed out of their places. The *Souldiers* of all parts electing their owne *Generals*, advanced no lesse then thirty at once; who assumed the title of *Emperours*, but are recorded to *Posterities* by the name of *Vsurping Tyrants*. And as they were all deadly opposite each to other, so were they joyntly almost all bent against *Galienus*; whereby the *Roman Empire* was more oppressed with her owne forces, then ever it had been by forraine *powers*. And since sixe of them assumed the *Purple Robe* in this Westerne Angle of the *Empire*, it will not be impertinent to the course of Story, with a light touch to remember them, and to expresse their *Monies*, as we have done the rest of those that held the reines of government in these parts of the *Romane World*.

Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 7. cap 12.

Apoc. 1. 16.

Thirty Emperours at once.



Fla. Claudius Emp.

An. Dom. 269.

M. Cassius Labienus Posthumus after the death of *Saloninus* (who was committed to his education by *Gallienus*) assumed the Empire, by ayde and encouragement of those of *Gallia*, over whom he had borne the office of Lieutenancy by favour of *Valerian* the Emperour. And these againe, as all Populars greedy of Innovation, from him and *Iunius Cassius Posthumus* his sonne, tooke both honour and life, after tenne yeares government. This opportunity either made by *L. Aelianus*, or fitly taken, mounted him up with ease into that Emperiall throne, in which he sate not with like fortune of continuance, though of confusion. To this man succeeded together, *M. Aurelius Victorinus* and *Lucius* his son; both in a tumult neere *Coleyn* by their souldiers murthered. And had not the inordinate lust of the elder, blemished his other vertues, he had to all the most excellent Emperours beene nothing inferiour, in the best of their other vertues.

(4) The restlesse humor now of the giddy Commons, next setteth it selfe upon *Aurelius Marius*, a Soveraigne sutable in his meane condition, to their base affections (for hee was no better then a Blacke-smith) yet to him a man of their owne meanes and making, they were no lesse unconstant and cruell, then to the rest; after three dayes, setting an end of his government, with a sword of his owne forging. And therefore *Piveisius Tetricus*, the father and son, though ascending the throne of Majesty, with the greatest applause of that people, and filling it up with much merit and happy successe of their owne; when they considered the insufferable insolencies and desperate practises of that prophane ranke, chose rather to adorne *Aurelians* Triumph, in a voluntary captivity, then to live and rule at the devotion of a lawlesse multitude. And these times seemed no lesse fatally bent to bloud, disorder and tyranny in other parts as well as these: For the *Pannonians* raised *Ingennus*: The *Mysians, A. Regillianus*: The *Aegyptians, Aemilianus*: In *Africa, Celsus* was proclaimed: In *Illyricum, Aureolus*: and in the *East, Odenatus*, (a man the more famous for *Zenobia*, his glorious and magnanimous wife; Whose valour was so feared of *Gallienus*, that to make him his, hee admitted him his *Fellow Emperour*, with the *Stile* of *Augustus*, as wee have remembred before). The[a] *Germans* invade *Italy*: The[b] *Gothes* waste *Greece, Pontus* and *Asia*; The *Samaritans* seize[c] *Austriche* and *Hungary*: The *Persians* robbe *Syria*: The *Saxons* breake into *Gallia*: The *Frankes* into *Spaine*: In a word, all are in uproares, *the second seale opened, and the Red-horse prepared for Battaile*, whose *Rider* received a great and sharpe *Sword*, with Commission given him to take *Peace from the Earth*: and these times of troubles are so famous in Story, and the revolutions of acts so agreeable to the words of the *Prophecy*, that they may seeme justly a most exact accomplishment of that sacred *vision*.

(5) Finally, when *Gallienus* had raigned from his first Associating with his *Father* the terme of fifteene yeeres, *Martian, Heraclianus*, and *Ceronius*, three of his principall *Captaines*, (compounding together that one of them should be *Emperour*) plotted his death, whiles hee besieged the City *Millan*, where they traiterously murthered him, the yeere of our Lord two hundred sixty nine, after that hee had suffered the *Empire* to be rent in peeces, and usurped by many *Forraine* and barbarous *Nation*.

His discent.

Aurel. Victor.

Flavius Claudius his vertues.

Pomponius Laetus.

[a] *Paulus Oros.*
[b] *Cassiodor.*
[c] *Iornandes. Eusebius.*

Apoc. 6. 4.

Gallienus times prophesied of, by the Evangelist Saint *John*.

Iornandes. Gothes invade the Empire.

Paul Orosius.

Two thousand saile of Gothes.

Claudius Letter to the Senate.

Gallienus his death and continuance of his raigne.

M. AVRELIVS FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.



ROMES glory thus declining, and the *Imperiall Foundations* thus undermined, the aspiring tops of all that *beauteous frame* began to shake, and to foreshew the signes of her approaching fall. And had not the *Fates* even at that instant raised a stay to underprop the *Walls*, those mounted *Towers* which so long had braved the *Skie*, had been laid levell with the *Ground*, and made the ruines of All-consuming Time.

(2) For whereas by the strange confusions under the late Emperour, the *Eagles body* was burdened with the waight of those *thirty heads* at once: of which number though many of them by their owne mutuall tavening were consumed before the death of *Galienus*, yet the mighriest, as *Aurelius* Governour of *Dalmatia*; *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, who held *Britaine* and *Gallia*; and *Zenobia* (the *Heroicke Queene* and *Wife* of *Odenatus*) all the East; to omit the *Murderers* of *Galienus*, that durst not make their claime, (their deed so ill digested) all these were still remaining and strong, at such time as *Flavius Claudius* by the *Souldiers* was elected before the *Walls* of *Milan*, and confirmed with much joy by the *Senate* in *Rome*.

(1) This *Flavius* was descended of noble *Parentage*, out of *Dalmatia*, by some; or as others say, of *Dardania*, and sprung from the *Trojan bloud*. But *Aurelius Victor* will have him the sonne of *Gordianus* the Emperour before spoken of. Howsoever, a most worthy man he was, an excellent Capraine, of singular continence, a just Iudge, a lover of strangers, severe to the wicked, but most benigne to the vertuous: so that we may well say, *In Rome was a new world*; or at least, *In the world was a new Rome*.

(4) His first *Expedition* was against *Aurelius*, that held *Milan*, whom he there slew, and joyned his souldiers to his owne strength. But preferring the generall good before his particular quiet, he addressed his warres for the *East*, against the *Gothes*, who (as *Iornandes* their *Story-writer* reporteth (had infested those parts of the Empire (for fifteene yeares continuance) with continuall irruptions, and had now lately entred friendship with many other like barbarous *Nations*, invading *Thracia*, and the Countries before them, even unto *Macedonia*: and thence taking their way thorow *Hungarie*, came downe the River *Dambie*, with *two thousand saile of Ships*, fraught with *Munition* and *Men*. To meet these, *Claudius* prepared: but before his *Encounter*, he wrote thus to the *Senate*:

(5) "*Renowned Fathers*, and *Reverend Lords*, understand ye for certaine, that *three hundred and twenty thousand men of warre* are entred our Confines, "whose weight doth seeme to burden the earth it "selfe, and whose warlike preparations make these "parts of the *Empire* to tremble and quake; with "whom I am now to strike battell: wherein if the "Conquest be mine, the joy will be yours. But if I "fall, yet I pray remember that I fight after *Galienus* "hath raigned, and rent the strength of the *Romans* "in these remote *Provinces*, and after the *Rebellions* of "*Lollianus, Posthumus, Eugenius, Regillianus, Celsus*, "and others, who have so weakened the sinewes of "our *Armes*, and broken the *Swords* and *Launces* of "our defence that I may well say, We want, if not "strength, yet weapons wherewithall to fight. And "to our shame be it spoken, *Zenobia* a *Woman* com-"mands all our *Crosse-bowes*, and bends them against "our unarmed brests. How finall soever therefore "our performance shall bee in this service, repute it "(I pray) for great, and wish our proceedings may "sort to the weale of the Empire.

Iornandes. Gothes vanquished.

(6) Which done, with no daunted spirit he entred *Battaile*, and with more then wounted courage fought so valiantly, that he slew and tooke *Prisoners*, to the number of *three hundred thousand* fighting men, with two *thousand Ships* laden with *Munition*, so that whole houses were filled to their tops with *Targets, Shields, Swords* and *Launces*, and other abiliments for Warre, whereof he wrote againe to *Rome*: and following the Enemie with successe of Victorie, in *Thracia* neere *Bizantium*, in *Macedonia*, neere *Thessalonica*, drove the *Gothes* out of those parts which they had so long infested; and restored the wonted bounds of the Empire. Thence marching into *German*, neere the *Lake* called *Garda*, gave that revolted *Nation* a great overthrow, where (as *Eutropius* and *Victor* doth report) he vanquished two thousand of those strong *Germans* and there established againe their subjection to the *Romans* power. And now minding to goe forward against *Tetricus* and the puissant *Zenobia*, a *Feever* did first cut off his purpose, and shortly after his life: a thing very strange and rare in that age, as by the course of their raignes we have hitherto seene; not that so great a *Monarch* should die; (they being all of the same earthly mould that meanest men are) but that in those dayes a *Roman Emperor* should die in his bed, as other men doe, of a naturall death.

Flavius Claudius died a naturall death.

(7) He was of personage tall, his body well composed and strong, bright and cleere eies, his face great and full; and of life most temperate and chaste. Hee raigned one yeare, ten monethes, and fifteene dayes, and dyed the fourth of *February*, in the yeare of Christ, two hundred seventy one. His *Statue* of *Gold* was set up in the *Capitol*, & his *Target* of the same metall hung up in the *Senate house*; himselfe (in honour of his admired worth) placed among the *Roman Emperours* that were deified for *Gods*: such an estimation and love did his vertuous life procure unto him even after his death.

His personage and qualities.

M. AVREL. QVINTILIVS.

Chapter XXXVIII.



A. Quintilius Emp.

An. Dom. 291.

QVintilius, the Brother of *Claudius*, and *Vice-Roy* in his absence for the Guard of *Italy*, was by the *Armie* whereof hee had command, proclaimed *Emperor* immediately upon the Newes of *Claudius* his death: The *Senate* as joyfully confirming his Election, as they were sorrowfull for their losse of his most worthy Brother. Brethren indeed they were by nature, and in conditions not much unlike; so that what seemed to bee lost in the one, was in the other supplied and still remaining: For this *M. Aurelius Quintilius*, was both wise for *Civil Government*, and experienced for *Warres*, wanting no complements of an absolute Prince.

Eutropius.

Quintilius brother to the last Emperour.

(2) But long his glasse stood not without a turne, nor his Fortunes fawning without a frowne. For the victorious *Souldiers* which in his expeditions had followed *Claudius*, and thought themselves worthy of the first voyce in *Election*, proclaimed *Aurelianus* for Emperour, a most valiant *Captaine*; and of whose prowesse there had beene so sufficient experience, as that *Quintilius* knew he could not stand against him.

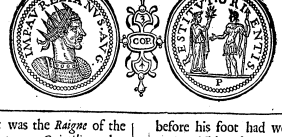
And therefore mistrusting the strength of his *Title*, and affections of his *Souldiers*, repured it ignominious for a noble minde, to die with lesse honour then he attained unto, and enjoyed by his life: and therefore resolving to die an *Emperour*, chose rather by a voluntary cutting of his owne veines, to powre out his life with his bloud, then to hazard the chance of uncertaine warres, or to returne to his private estate.

Quintilius cut his own veins and so bled to death.

And thus no longer raigning then seventeen daies, (which short time could minister little matter of larger discourse) hee died with his brother the same moneth of *February* the twentieth day, and yeare of *Christ* his incarnation, two hundred seventie one.

L. DOMITIVS AVRELIVS VALER. AVRELIANVS.

Chapter XXXIX.



Val. Aurelianus Emp.

An. Dom. 271.

SO short was the *Raigne* of the last *Emperour Quintilius*, that *Aurelianus* who followed him may be said to be the *Successor* of *Claudius*, and not of him: being elected by his *Legions* in the in the *East*, as soone as the other had been in *Italy* (though confirmed before him of the Senate in *Rome*) continued still his rivall for Majestie, and attained the top of that high set Gole, whereof *Quintilius* failed, before his foot had well mounted the first step.

Aurelianus his descent.

(2) This *Valerius Aurelianus* was of parentage neither honourable nor rich, and yet his fortunes carried him to the height of both. Some recount his birth was of *Dacia*; others of *Mysia*; both so doubtfull, that *Flavius Vopiscus*, (the copious *Writer* of his Life) leaves it undecided, and to the censure of his Readers. His risings were by the *Warres*; whereunto from his childhood he had a naturall inclination: and for continuall carrying of his weapons, was commonly called *Aurelianus* the Sword-bearer.

Flo. Vop.

(3) His

(3) His service was sufficiently knowne to the *Generals* of divers *Provinces*, who had forty sundry times imployed him in the charge of a *Lieutenant*, and under *Claudius* in *Persia*, he was the *Corenell* of the *Horse*. In the warres of *Sarmatia*, he is reported to have slaine *Forty Enemies* with his own hands in one day; and in other severall times, to the number of *nine hundred men*, as both *Vopiscus* and *Theoclius* have affirmed. And generally so famous were his deeds, both before he was *Cæsar*, and after, as that he is by some compared with *Iulius* and *Alexander*.

Aurelianus compareable with *Cæsar* and *Alexander*.

(4) Vpon the ratifying of his election by the *Senate* at *Rome*, hee hasted not thither to be saluted and enstalled *Emperour*, but forthwith marched against the *Suevians* and *Sarmates*, who sore infested the Empire with warres: and having soone subdued them, and quieted those parts, in great haste hee came into *Italie* against the *Germans*, who with *Fire* and *Sword* had gone as farre as *Milan*: and them likewise with great valour hee forced thence. Then entring *Rome* with great pompe, caused the *Walles* to be repaired and inlarged, which was not lawfull but onely for *Victorious Emperours*. But long he stayed not, ere he returned into *Syria*, against the stout *Queene Zenobia* whose brave resolutions and warlike power for fight, her letter in answer unto him (when being sorely tired; he proffred her wealth, life, and liberty to yeeld) doth manifestly declare: the tenor thereof being as followeth.

Aurelianus inlarged the Walles of Rome.

Chap. 37. Sabellius saith she both tired him, and put him to flight also.

Zenobia her Letter to *Aurelianus*.

(5) "*Zenobia*, the most mighty *Easterne Queene*, "to *Aurelianus*, *Romes Augustus*, sendeth greeting: "Never *Captaine* to this day, in using *Penne* in stead "of *Speare*, or filed *Words* for *Weapon points*, hath "more sufficiently discharged the parts of Warre, "then thou to me in Writ hast done: wherein I well "perceive thy drift, and blame thee not, that seest me "but a Woman: which Sex you men make Subjects "onely by your smoothing tongues. But know, *Au-*"*gustus*, thou dealest not with a *Roman Dame*, nor "with her who upon base conditions will subscribe "her honour; but with *Zenobia*, the * *Palmyrean* "*Queene*, in whose womanly breast the manly heart "of great *Odenatus*, doth stil live and lie. These cour-"ring termes doe ill beseeme a Campe, and worser "him who would be stiled a *Mars*. But yet thy *Gol-*"*den Showre* hath raigned beside our Lappe; nor we a "*Penus* to meet thee for thy sport, but with our "*Launce* in hand to trie our lawfull right, and with "our *Swords* to answer thy demaunds in bloud. I am "a *Woman*; so was * *Tomyris*; thou knowest the rest: "in *Armes* against *Augustus*; so was *Cleopatra*, who ra-"ther chose to sting her self to death, then live a *sub-*"*ject* (though a Prince) under Great *Octavian*. Art "thou his better? thou art deceived: or I her worser "nothing lesse: who from her person doe derive my "*Pedigree*, and from her courage will maintaine my "cause. I am a *Queene*, and raigne beloved; was *Romes* "*Empresse*, obeyed and honoured; and the wife of "*Odenatus*, whom all you *Romans* greatly feared. Are "my powers weake? The *Persians* (whose strength "you well have tried) will supply. Are my *Souldiers* "few? The *Saracens* have more that will assist: and "the *Armenians* are wholly at my command. If "then *Thieves* and *Robbers* in *Syria* were sufficient to "overthrow thine *Armie*, what hope is left thee to "escape our hands, when all these our strengths shall "be thus conjoyned in one? Therefore the same of-"fers that to me thou hast sent, the same of thee I "heere returne, and will performe, if thou in time im-"brace this truce.

Zenobia vanquished.

Zenobia her beautie.

Flav. Vopisc.

(6) This haughty answere of that undaunted *Queene*, put more fire to the furie of *Aurelianus*, who tooke the Letter in such scorne, that hee threatned death to the *Inditer*, (whom he supposed to be *Longinus* the *Philosopher*, who was alwayes with her, & her Instructer) which afterwards he did accomplish: for destroying her severall *Aids* before they could meete together, and besieging *Palmyra* her strong Citie, hee brought the fame to such distresse, that in the end he tooke her Captive; and glad of such a prey, carried her himselfe to *Rome*, where following his *Chariot* of *Triumph*, attired in Tissues and richest Robes of price, shee was led his *Prisoner* in *Chaines* of *Gold*: upon whose presence the Spectators with admiration so much gazed, that somewhat it dimmed the Majestie of *Aurelianus*: for she is said to be exceedingly faire, though not very white, but somewhat browne: her eyes blacke and bright, her teeth shining like pearles, her bodie tall, and of most stately proportion, her countenance modest, milde, and pleasing; her voyce sweet, her conversation honest, her minde chaste, and body continent; wise, temperate, and learned in the *Greeke*, *Latine*, and *Egyptian* tongues, having reade the Romane History in Greeke, and her selfe abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the Orientall histories. Yea, the atchievement of this Conquest was held so notable that he reputed himselfe the Restorer of the East, as it appeareth by the reverse of his money here prefixed in the entrance of his raigne.

(7) These Acts of *Aurelianus* made him so famous abroad, and feared at home, that *Tetricus* which had held out against *Galienus*, came in under his protection, holding it more safe to be a *Subject* in quiet, then a *Commander* against an Opposite of so invincible a minde: by whom thereupon he was made *Governour* of *Campania*, and of other *Provinces* in *Italie*.

(8) Hitherto this *Emperours* successes were very prosperous (we may well suppose) for his indulgence to the Christians, whose assemblies he permitted, and whose Bishops he so favored, that at their request he banished *Paul Samosatenus* the *Hereticke* out of their *Synods*. But afterward *Satan* minding to sift the *Wheat* that the *Chaffe* might be his, stirred up this *Emperour* to raise the ninth *Persecution*, and to send foorth his *Edicts* for the destruction of *Gods Saints*: wch whilest he was in perusing, and about to set his hand and seale, a *Thunderbolt* from *Heaven* strucke into his presence, and so neere unto his person, that all accounted him to be therewith slaine, God warning him by this his *Messenger* to be wise, lest he perished in his own waies as shortly after he did, being slaine by his *Servants*, through the Treason of *Menestheus* his *Secretarie*, the nine and twentieth day of *Februarie* following, neere unto the *Citie Bizantium*, when he had sate *Emperour* foure yeares, eleven moneths, and seven dayes, the yeare of our happinesse, two hundred seventy six.

Euseb. Eccles. stift lib. 7. cap. 30. Paul. Orosius. *Aurelianus* accused a favourer, now a persecutor of the Christians. *Aurelianus* feard with a Thunderbolt from heaven, Pla. 2. 20. *Aurelianus* slaine.

Eutropius. *Aurelianus.*

(9) He was of stature tall, of body well shaped, a pleasing countenance, and of a seemely presence, a great feeder, and very severe, whereby hee was as much feared as beloved, and therefore reported to be a good *Physitian*, but that he ministred too bitter *Potions*; and was *Canonized* after his death among the *holy Emperours*: in the second yeare of whose raigne, the *Great Constantine* of *Helena* in *Britaine* was borne.

His feature of body and mind.

Bucholzer.

M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS.

Chapter XI.



Claudius Tacitus Emp.

An. Dom. 276.

Aurelianus being dead no man sought to be Emperour.

Senate and Souldiers striue in courtesie who shall choose the Emperour.

Eutrop. Vopiscus. Orosius. Onuphrius.

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperour.

THe former seditions ended by *Aurelianus*, and the state of the Empire remaining now in quiet no man appeared to sue, much lesse tumultuously to strive for that Royall Diademe; but all the great Commanders, (as though they made courtesie in giving way each unto others) stood at the foot of Majestie; no man attempting higher to mount. The *souldiers* sent to the *Senate*, to designe the man whom they best liked; the Senate requested the souldiers to elect him whom they held worthiest, in which respective complements, and most kind correspondencie of all parts, eight months passed with a peaceable *Interregnum*, as Writers report.

(2) It seemeth, the fresh sense and fearefull experiences of the former heady proceedings, made men more wise, then to seeke their owne death, and especially the *Generals* to be better advised, then to runne desperately upon their owne destructions. A change uncredible, that *Thirtie* ere-whiles would needs be stiled Emperours, among the tumultuous *Souldiers* (though they were sure to buy the use of that name with their deareſt bloud) and not one now in peace could be found, either hastly to seeke it, or very willing to accept it.

(3) At last both *Senate* and *Souldiers*, having in their eye *M. Claudius Tacitus*, a man very Noble and of *Consular* degree, of great age, singular learning, and long experience in Magistracy, him by a joint and conspiring suffrage, they all elected to their Empire: but he having before hand some inkling of this their purpose, got him out of the way, living very secretly two moneths at his Rurall Mannor, flying (saith *Vopiscus*) that high dignity which he fore-saw would prove his overthrow. And when they did by Embassages often sollicite him to accept of their Election; sending him the Ensignes and Stile of *Augustus*: he againe returned them, though with harty thanks, yet absolute deniall, alleaging by reason of his age and infirmitie, that hee was every way unable to discharge their so great expectations.

(4) But after much intercourse, and many intreaties passed, at length (the necessitie of the State so requiring) he accepted their offer, though not with much contentment to himself, who knew the weight of so great titles, would prove heavie and alwaies dangerous for him to beare; but with unspeakeable joy, was received by the whole State, which promised all blessed hopes to the Sate under so worthy, so wise, so vertuous, learned, and so just an Emperour.

Claudius Tacitus his vertues.

(5) For as before his advancement, he was of *Exemplary* composednes and vertuous disposition, so in this high *Estate*, his life was temperate, and without all pride; and so desirous to be a Precedent of moderation, and singularity unto others, as that he would not permit his *Empresse* to weare any *Iewels* of high price, nor to use other customable superfluitie, or excesse in his owne house. For learning and learned men, whom he ever embraced in his private *Estate*, he now by all meanes endevored to honour and advance, and publikely professed, that what Imperiall vertues hee had, hee was to ascribe them to his study of good letters. For which cause, hee was wont to call *Cornelius Tacitus* (that worthiest *Historian* of the Romans State) his Father, and commanded his workes to be carefully preserved in every Library throughout the Empire; and tenne times every yeare to be transcribed on publique cost. All which notwithstanding, many of that worthy *Authors* Bookes have since miscaried.

Claudius Tacitus his care to preserve the works of Cornelius Tacitus.

(6) But his vertues were too great for the world long to enjoy: and sith his *Raigne* was but short, it is booteleſse to lengthen it with long discourses: For his *Peace* continued without any memory of *Warres*; and his short time (wherein hee did nothing without consent of the Senate) was spent rather in reforming other mens vices, and abuses of the Lawes and State, then in displaying his owne vertues; which doubtlesse (if their faire streame had not beene untimely stopt) would have proved incomparable to any his *fore-goers*, and unmatchable, by any his followers. What death hee died is left uncertaine; *Eutropius* thinketh him slaine, by his rebellious *souldiers* in *Asia*, upon his voiage against the *Persians*: but *Victor* reporteth that hee died a naturall death, and that of a *burning-fever*, in the citie of *Tharsus*: And *Flavius Vopiscus*, (who wrote his life) saith his death came upon a surcharge of griefe, by reason of factions; whereby (the infirmitie of his age thereto helping) his understanding was crazed, and his heart broken; whereof hee died, when he had raigned six moneths, and twenty dayes, the yeare of Christ Iesus, two hundred seventie six.

Eutrop. l. 9. Aurel. Victor. Vopiscus.

Claudius Tacitus his raigne.

FLORI-

M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS.

Chapter XLI.



M. An. Florianus Emp.

An. Dom. 277.

Florianus made himselfe Emperour.

NO sooner was the death of *Tacitus* divulged, but his brother *Florianus* (much unlike him in that point) tooke upon him the *Name* and *Authoritie Imperiall*, without expecting any election either of *Senate* or *Souldiers*; and therefore not likely long to stand sure. And although in all other princely parts he was not much unlike his brother, yet having so great an Opposite as *Probus* was, on whom the *Easterne Armie* had conferred the same Title, the blossomes of his conceived hope withered even in the budde, and perished before they had any time of growth.

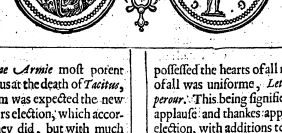
(2) For, no sooner came to his eares the newes of *Probus* his election, but he found that heady and precipitate attempts were pleasing in their *Beginnings*, but full of difficulties in their *Proceedings*, and most disastrous in their *Successe*: and therefore despairing both of *Men* and *Meanes* to raise the *Building*, whose foundation he had so hastily (but too weakly) laid, he caused his owne veines to be cut, as *Quintilius* before him in like case had done, whereby he boldly bled to death, after he had enjoyed a Tituler Soveraigntie onely eighty daies, saith *Eutropius*: but *Vopiscus* saith, not altogether two moneths, and thinkes him killed by the *Souldiers*, in the Citie *Tharsus* likewise, in the yeare of Christ two hundred seventy and seven.

Florianus his decast. Chap. 38.

Eutrop. lib. 9. Vopiscus Florianus his raigne.

M. AVREL. VALER. PROBVS.

Chapter. XLII.



Val. Probus Emp.

An. Dom. 277.

THe *Easterne Armie* most potent and famous at the death of *Tacitus*, from them was expected the new Emperours election, which accordingly they did, but with much more wisedome and deliberate circumspection, then the *Souldiers* of those times were accustomed to doe. For every Captaine of the *Army* singled out of his owne Companies, and in severall *Assemblies* exhorted, that all affections laid aside, they would apply their mindes to thinke of the worthiest man, on whom they might conferre their voyces and favours. At which time, the opinion of *Probus* his worth had so generally possessed the hearts of all men, that the shout and cry of all was uniforme, *Let us have Probus for our Emperour*. This being signified to *Rome*, the *Senate* with applause and thankes approved and confirmed his election, with additions to his Title, *Augustus, The Father of his Country; and the highest Bishop*. For in those times, even amongst *Heathens*, the sacred Title of a *Bishop* was accounted an additament of honour even to an *Emperour*.

Probus called father of his Country, and the highest Bishop.

(2) He was borne in *Hungary* in the City *Sirmia*, of honourable Parentage, especially by his mothers side. His fathers name was *Maximus*, a man famous in *Military Service*, who died *Tribune* at the warre in *Egypt*: and himselfe very young, but very valorous, by

His descent.

Sabellicus.

by the Emperor *Valerianus* (who so loved him for his vertues, that he used to say of him, *that of all men he best deserved the name Probus*, that is, *vertuous*) was made a *Tribune* also. In which *office*, with great praise he served under *Galienus*, *Aurelianus*, and *Claudius* the Emperours: under whom, besides other exploits he fought severall single Combats to the great honour of himselfe and *Country*, and received as markes of victories, many Civicall Crownes, Collars, Bracelets, Launces, Banners, and other Ensignes of Martiall device and Priviledge. Preferred to be *Generall* in *Africa*, he subdued the *Marmarides*: In Egypt the *Palmevines*; under *Aurelianus* the *Sarmater* and *Germans*; under *Claudius* the *Gothes*; and in all places so famous for his Acts, that he was compared with *Hannibal* and *Cæsar*.

Probus comparable with *Hannibal* and *Cæsar*.

Probus slayeth 400000. *Germans*.

Exer. Milit.

(3) His first service after he became Emperour was in *Gallia*, against the *Germans*, that had made themselves *Lords* thereof, where in one *Battell*, continuing two dayes, *he slew foure hundred thousand of them*, and recovered seventy *Cities*, from the *Enemy*, as himselfe signified by his own Letters to the *Senate*. After this warring in *Sclavonia*, he quieted the Province of *Muscovia*, *Russia*, and *Polonia*: And entring *Thracia*, did no lesse in *Greece*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Iudea*; whence passing into *Persia*, hee had honorable compositions of *Narseus* their mighty King. Whereupon ifsued so universall *Peace*, that there were no warres heard of in all the *Provinces* of the *Empire*; insomuch that it was a common *Proverbe*, *The very mice durst not gnaw for feare of Probus*. But long it lasted not, ere hee was disturbed: for the *Egyptians* erected one *Saturninus*, a *Captaine* both wise and valiant, for Emperour, and that so sore against his will, as he was like to be slaine by them for gaine-saying their desires; and by a speech delivered to his erectors, he made known to them his averfnesse from so dangerous an ambition; to this effect.

Saturninus chosen Emperour.

His speech to his Electors.

" (4) *Fellowes* and *Friends*; by my whose ende-
" vours I have alwayes sought to prevent that, which
" now I see I cannot shunne, I meane the *Throne* of
" *Majesty*, which howsoever to others, it may seeme
" full of glory and security, yet to my self, I foresee it
" will prove, both base and dangerous: Base, for that
" I am no more the master of mine owne affections;
" which hitherto in my private estate were bestowed
" freely, and where I thought best; but must hence-
" forth be carried at other mens dispose, and cast upon
" those that deserve them least. That litle time that I
" was wont to take, in retyring my self to my self,
" must now be straitned to serve others; and my
" thoughts wholly spent to prevent those weapons,
" which are borne (in shew) for my defence, but are
" (in truth) the keyes of mine Imprisonment. I cannot
" go without a *Guard*: I cannot sleepe, without a
" watch; I cannot eate without a Taster, these are but
" bondages to a free condition, and never needs in a
" private fortune. That it is *dangerous*, it is no lesse ap-
" parant: for besides the *sharpe-pointed* and *waighty*
" *sword* hanging onely by a *twisted thread* over our
" heads, *Probus* is not a *Gallienus* to compound for the
" *Diadem*, but to touch his *scepter*, is to awake a flee-
" ping Lion: What should move you then, to stir up
" his wrath, to seeke my death, and your owne destru-
" ctions? For assure your selves when I die, I shall not
" die alone: So all our fame purchased in so many
" yeers imploiments, shall be lost by this one dayes
" worke: and my Conquests in *Africa*, of the *Moores*,
" and in *Spaine*, branded lastly with the eternall scarre
" and infamy of Rebellion.

(5) These speeches (as *Flavius Vopiscus* the *Writer* therof received them from the report of his *Grand-father*, who was there present and heard them) could nothing at all divert the resolution of the *Souldiers*, but that they persisted and maintained their election against *Probus*: who upon notice thereof, hasting toward them with a mighty power, offered them pardon, as one unwilling to shed *Civill-bloud*, or to lose so *worthy* a man as *Saturninus* was: but upon refusall of his proffered Clemencie, he gave him a most sharpe battell, wherein most of the Revolters were overthrowne, and *Saturninus* in the assault of a *Castle*, besieged, was slaine, to the great griefe of *Probus*, who sought to have saved his life.

Saturninus his death.

Vopiscus.

Bonosus and *Proculus* rebell against *Probus*.

(6) But with his death ended not all Civill Broiles: for *Bonosus* and *Proculus*, two monsters of that age (though of different kinde of vices) opposing themselves against him, and assuming the Title and Robes Imperiall, usurped the *Provinces* of *Britaine*, *Spaine* and some part of *Gallia*, knowing that in these places *Probus* was not much beloved. *Bonosus* was borne in *Britaine*, but brought up in *Spaine*, without note of action, but onely in his cups, for he was esteemed the greatest drinker of all men living: insomuch as *Aurelianus* said unto him, he was borne *non ut viveret, sed ut biberet, not to draw breath, but to draw in liquour*: and yet (as it seemeth) he was in good account under the said *Aurelianus*, having a charge of *Ships* upon the *German Seas*, which either by *Treacherie* or *negligence* were burned by the *Enemy*, in the mouth of *Rhine*, and (as *Probus* tooke it) not without the privitie of *Bonosus*: who therefore not daring to stand to the triall, made all his powers against the Emperour, but was in battell overcome, and despairing ever againe to make head, put his own into a haltar, whereupon it was said, that a Barrell was hanged, and not a Man.

Sabellicus.

Bonosus death.

Sabellicus.

(7) *Proculus* was a *Lygurian* borne, as unstatiate a vassall to *Venus*, as the other to *Bacchus*; and therewithall so impiously impudent, that as hee had a heart to commit any filthinesse, so a forehead to boast of it openly, as appeareth by his owne Letters, wherein hee vaunteth, how many scores of faire *Virgins* hee deprived of that faire name in one fortnight; but this Grand-Generall of *Venus* Campe was suddenly forsaken by his *Souldiers*, and came to his deserved end.

Sabellicus.

(8) Some stirs there were at that present in *Britany* by the incitements of their *Governor* whose name though Histories doe not specifie, yet he may seeme to be that *Cl. Corn. Lalianus*, whose ancient *Coynes* are found in this *Iland*, and not elsewhere: and his meanes to the place, was *Victorinus* a Moore, in great favour with *Probus*: who taking himselfe not cleare from suspicion, got leave of his *Emperor* to repaire unto *Britaine*, where giving it out that hee was come thither for safety of his life, was courteously received by the Generall. Whom secretly in the night hee murthered, and then speedily returned to *Rome*; having by this *Expedition*, both appeased the tumults in the *Province*, and approved his fidelity to *Probus*. About this time (as is recorded) certaine *Vandals* and *Burgundians* that had invaded *Gallia*, were sent into *Britaine* by the Emperour to inhabite, who though they had troubled the *Romans* peace in *Gallia*, yet did them good service in *Britaine* to stay their subjection; and the *Britaines* themselves for some good services were now suffered by these Emperours, to plant *Vines* and make Wines with other matters as well for pleasure as for profit.

Victorinus a Moore, his Stratagem.

Flavius. Cæsilianus. Vopiscus.

Hist. Mag. Brit. lib. 3 cap. 10. Vandals and *Burgundians* sent to inhabit in *Britaine*.

Victor Eutrop. Orosius.

Vopiscus. Sabellicus.

Wine made in *England*.

(9) At length the *Empire* in these *West* parts standing universally quiet, *Probus* determined a journey into the *East*, to end at once all forraine wars; saying, he would shortly bring it to passe, *that the State should need no more Souldiers*: (which speech they tooke very indignely) and having passed *Illyricum* in *Sclavonia*, was by some of his owne Armie (for curbing, as they conceived, with an over-hard hand their dissolute and idle manners) conspired against, and treacherously murthered, in *November* the second, and yeare of Christ, two hundred eighty two, having raigned five yeares and foure moneths: others say, five yeares: where notwithstanding they erected for him a most honourable Sepulcher, wherein was engraven this Epitaph: *Here lieth the Emperour* Probus, *justly for his goodnesse called* Probus, *of all the Barbarous Nations and Tyrants, a Conqueror.*

Carinus and *Numerianus Cæsars.*

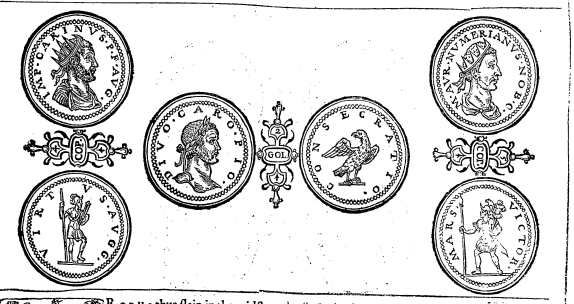
Probus his death.

Vopiscus. Eutropius. Eusebius Eccles. hist. lib. 9. c. 9. p. 9.

M. AVRE-

M. AVREL. CARVS: VVITH CARINVS AND NVMERIANVS HIS SONNES.

CHAPTER. XLIII.



M. Aurel Carus Emp.

Carinus Numerianus Cæsars.

An. Dom. 282.

ROBUS thus slain in the midst of his Army, without any apparant cause ministred, the Souldiers were stricken into a great feare, and mistrusted each other to be guilty of the *Treason*: no man therefore diligent to finde out the beginner, nor hasty to punish the bloudy executors; but holding the right of *Election* to remaine in themselves, they presently chose *Carus* for their Emperour, who had been the *Pretorian Prefect*, valiant, sufficient, of worth and esteem; whereunto the *Senate* likewise consented.

Carinus slaine by a thunderbolt.

(2) From whence or what parents we should derive his birth, is uncertaine, and of divers Writers diversly reported. For *Flavius Cæcilianus*, who wrote the story of his time, as *Vopiscus* doth report, saith, that he was borne in *Slavonia*, or as we call it, *Moscovia*. *Onesimus* an ancient Writer affirmeth his birth was in *Rome*, & that his father was a *Slavonian* indeed, but held for a Citizen, as he citeth by letters from *Vopiscus*: *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutebius*, and *Paulus Orosius* will have him a *French* man, and borne at *Narbonne*: but whence soever his Princely parts deserved these his princely preferments, and no wayes for the short time of his raigne, carried he himselfe under expectation. Two sonnes he had of unequall conditions; *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, these both he made his *Cæsars*, with the name and power of *Augusti*

Flavius. Cæcilianus. Vopiscus.

Victor Eutebius. Orosius.

Carinus and *Numerianus Cæsars.*

(3) His first proceedings was to finde out the murtherers of *Probus*, whom he severely punished, which tooke away all suspition of treason in himself. Then marching against the *Sarmates*, whose fury had pierced so far into *Panonia*, that they threatned *Italy* it self, he overthrew with the slaughter of sixteen thousand, and tooke twenty thousand of them prisoners. And leaving *Carinus* (his elder sonne) to governe *Britaine*, *Gallia*, *Illyricum*, and *Spaine*, himselfe with the yonger, *Numerianus*, prepared for the *East*, against the *Persians*, in which expedition he tooke in his way *Mesopotamia*, *Selencia*, and certaine cities whom the enemy had entred: and being surprized with sickneffe, and not able to travell, pitched his *Pavilion* upon the shore of *Tigris*, where in the midst of his Army, (about the yeare of our salvation 283) garded from all suppofed dangers and assaults of man, felt the unexpected stroke of death even from the hand of God himselfe: for in his bed by a thunderbolt falling from heaven, he was slain, with many others then present with him in his Tent, and the same consumed altogether with lightning fire.

(4) The terrour thereof so daunted the courage of his whole army, that no further they proceeded in their enterprise: and his death was so grievous unto *Numerianus* now elected Emperour, that with continuall weeping (a fault in few sonnes who are raised by their fathers fall) his eies were so weakned, that he could not endure any light. Vpon which accident, *Arrius Aper*, (his wives father) took occasion to conspire his death, hoping thereby to attaine the Empire himselfe. For having at all times free accesse to his presence, at length in his closet hee secretly murthered him; pretending to the army, that his infirmity onely kept him from sight; and so leaving his body to putrifie and corrupt, in short space by the very favour thereof, the treason was descried, and the Traitor slain by the hands of *Diocletian*, who was both his Iudge and executioner.

Eutrop.

(5) His *Empire* thus ended before it was well begunne, the army proclaimed *Diocletian*, a *Principall* man in the *Campe* for *Emperour*: who to uphold his election, made all his power for *Gallia*, against his Concurrent *Carinus*, a man of profuse sensuality, who there had caused himselfe to be proclaimed, and in his fathers absence had so ruled there and in *Britaine*, that *Porphyrio* living at the same time, gave out this testimony, that *Britaine* was a fertile Province of tyrants. Betwixt these two *Captaines*, many skirmishes were fought with variable successe, till lastly in a set battell *Carinus* was slaine by a *Tribune*, whose *wife* he had defiled; whereby the *Imperiall Title* was joyntly conferred upon *Diocletian*.

Eutrop.

(6) The time that these three, the father and two sonnes raigned, is reported to be two yeres and somewhat more; and this last to die the yeare of Christs Nativity, two hundred eighty foure.

C. AVRE-

C. AVRELIVS VAL. DIOCLESIANVS IOVIVS, AND M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

Chapter XLIV.



Val. Diocle. Emp.

THE Empire thus devolved to *Diocleſian*, with approbation of the Senate, hee every way ſtudied to bee accounted worthy of the ſame, as knowing well his birth was no way anſwerable to his preſent lot: and therefore choſe for his *Ceſar*, *Maximianus*, a man of better deſcent, very honourable, wiſe, and valiant, as was manifeſt in his firſt ſervice againſt the *Gaules*, whom with an infinite number of peſants in that province, troubling the peace of the *Romans*, hee with much ſlaughter overcame. For which exploit ſo fortunately accompliſhed, the Emperour made him his Conſort in the Government.

Pauſan Oroſius. Eutropius.

(2) *Diocleſians* parentage is uncertainely reported by Writers; ſome making him the ſonne of a *Notary*, and others of a meere *Bondman*; but all agreeing that his Country was *Dalmatia*, and his offspring very baſe. This man being but a *Common Souldier*, conſulted with a *Witch* for his future ſucceſſe; who told him (if you pleaſe to beleeve the reporters) that he ſhould become an Emperour after he had killed a Bore: to which he gave credit, and ever was a great enemie to which he gave credit, and ever was a great enemie to that beaſt, and in time grew under *Probus* to ſo great account for dexterity in expediting his affaires, that he was made *Steward* of his houſe, and now laſtly elected to the Empire.

(3) The very firſt thing that he attempted, was the puniſhment of his predeceſſors death: for which *Arius Aper* being convicted before his tribunall ſeat, himſelfe riſing ſuddenly from the throne, ran him thorow with his ſword, in outward ſhew for zeale of juſtice, as not able to endure ſo foule a fact: but in truth to fulfill the *Prediction* of his hoſteſſe, the *Druide*, for that *Aper* ſignified a Bore. After which act, he held his *Empire* fully eſtabliſhed.

Flavius Vopiſcus.

Eutrop. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

(4) To let paſſe many employments and troubles of the *State*, theſe two Emperors choſe to themſelves two *Ceſars*, whereby the *One-bodied Eagle* became againe *two-wee headed*, and each almoſt of an equall authority. *Diocleſian* choſe *Galerius Maximinus*, & *Maximianus*, ſurnamed *Herculius* choſe *Conſtantius Clorus* a *Roman Senator*, enforcing them to put away their former *Wives*, and to take their *daughters* for an aſſurance of love by the bonds of that *Alliance*; of whom the former was imployed for defence of *Illyricum*, and the other afterwards into *Britaine* againſt the *Rebellion* there raiſed by *Carauſius*, whoſe coine is here ſet.



Carauſius a Britaine raiſeth rebellion in An. 287. Bed. hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(5) This *Carauſius*, by birth was a *Menapian*, but of low *Parentage*, as *Beda* and *Eutropius* ſaith; who being appointed *Admirall* by the *Romans* to guard the *Britiſh Seas*, from the *Pyracies* of the *Saxons* and *Lower Germans*, (who with continuall robberies waſted the coaſts) abuſed his authority both in ſuffering thoſe pirates to paſſe under *Compoſitions*, and in taking many Shippes and much ſubſtance from the true Subjects to his owne uſe: whereby in ſhort time he became very rich, and (like Cæſar to keepe mice from the larder) did more miſchiefe then the *Robbers* themſelves. *Sabellicus* reports one very politike cuſtome whereby he inriched himſelfe, and that was, by ſuffering the Pirats to take as much ſpoiles as poſſibly they could before hee would ſurpriſe them; whereby they were his inſtruments to rob others, and nothing to better themſelves.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 6.

(6) *Maximianus* then warring in *Gallia*, and fearing the greatneſſe of his wealth and power, ſent ſecretly to ſlay him by treachery; and in the mean while ſurpriſed many of his principall men at * *Geſſoriacum*.

(7) *Carauſius* now rich and compaſſed with friends, ſeeing his deſtruction thus intended and fought, thought

* Now called Boleis in Picardy.

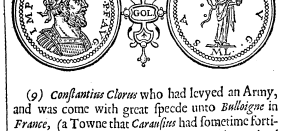
Carauſius deſcendeth his uſurpation ſeven yeeres. Auguſtulus againſt Carauſius.

Nimius.

Val. Maximian, Ceſar and Emp.

A perfidious friend.

Pomp. Lætus. An. Dom. 286. An. Dom. 291.



Allectus ſlaine.

(9) *Conſtantius Clorus* who had levyed an Army, and was come with great ſpeede unto *Bulloigne* in *France*, (a Towne that *Carauſius* had ſometime fortified and kept) hearing now of his death, determined the recovery of *Britaine*; and after great preparations, paſſing the *Seas*, in a darke fogge or miſt, upon the Shore landed his men without impeachment: which done, he fired his owne Ships, thereby to fruſtrate all hopes of eſcape. *Allectus*, who had layne to intercept his comming, forſooke alſo the *Seas*, and meeting at unawares with *Aſclepiodotus*, great *Seneſchall* of the *Prætorium*, as a deſperate man, haſted upon his owne death: for encountring with him, he neither ordered his Battle, nor marſhalled his men, but fought at randome very unfortunately: and having put off his *Purple Garment*, hee was among many other ſlaine, when he had held his eſtate the terme of three yeeres.

The *Frankners* and others of the *Barbarous Souldiers* eſcaping the Battle, ſought to ſacke *London*, and ſo to be gone: but as good hap was, the *Souldiers* of *Conſtantius*, which by reaſon of a miſty and foggy ayre were ſevered from the reſt, at unawares came to *London*, where they reſcued their *Allies*, and making great ſlaughter of the *Enemy*, ſlew *Gallus* their *Leader*, caſting his body into a *Brooke* that then ran thorow the City, which thence after was called by the *Britaines Nant-gall*, and by the *Engliſh*, *Gallus his Brooke*,

thought that death was but death as well to *Prince* as to *Peaſant*: and therefore with a bold reſolution, and ayde of the *Picts* or *Northerne Britaines*, (who had beene alwayes enemies to the *Romans Subjection*) put on the *Purple Robe*, and uſurped the Authority and Title of *Emperour*, which hee moſt valiantly maintained in ſandry Battles, and ſo kept it for the terme of ſeven yeeres.

(8) Againſt him *Maximianus* ſet forward with a puiſſant Army, and marched to the *Britiſh Ocean*: but there underſtanding the power of his *Enemy*, and finding himſelfe in want of men for Sea-ſervice, hee pitched downe his Tents: and knowing *Carauſius* a man meete to command the *Ilanders*, and able to defend them againſt the other *Warlike Nations*, ſent him offers of peace: the making of which is remembred unto us by the *Coyne* of *Carauſius* before expreſſed, whereon are ſtamped the *Portraitures of two Emperors* joyning hands. So himſelfe returning againſt the *Batavians*, left *Carauſius* for *Britaine*, who governed the *Province* with an upright and unſtained reputation, and with exceeding peaceableneſſe, notwithſtanding the incurſions of the *Barbarous*. He reedified the wall (as *Nimius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus* writeth) betweene the mouthes of *Clauda* and *Carunus*, fortifying the ſame with ſeven *Caſtles*, and built a round houſe of poliſhed ſtone upon the banke of the River *Carun*, which (ſome thinke) tooke name of him, erecting therewith a *Triumphall Arch* in remembrance of *Victory*. Howbeit, *Buchanan* thinkes the ſame to bee the *Temple of Terminus*, and not the foundation of *Carauſius*.

But the date of his noble Government was brought now to a period, by the *Treaſon* of *Allectus* his *familiar friend*, one whom he had imployed in managing of the *State*, who thirſting after the *Supreme Authority*, betrayed his truſt, and treacherouſly murdered him by a wile, putting on himſelfe the *Purple-Robe*, ſtamping this his Image upon the publike *Coyne* as an abſolute *Soveraigne*, and aſſuming the *Title Imperiall*, about the yeere of Chriſt 294.

(10) The deaths of theſe two *Vſurpers*, with the recovery of the *Britaines* unto their wonted obedience, was accounted ſo great a benefit to the *Romans*, that it is moſt gloriouſly commended, and Rhetorically ſet downe in a *Panegyricke Oration* aſcribed to *Mamertinus*, in the praiſe of *Diocleſian*, *Maximianus*, and *Conſtantius*: where (after hee had extolled the fertility of the *Britiſh Soile*, and the *Riches* that the *Empire* reaped thence) he fet forth the ſtrength of the *Enemy*, growne to ſo dangerous a head: and concluded with this *Acclamation*; *O what a manifold Victory was this, worthy undoubtedly of immemerable Triumphs, by which Victory Britaine is reſtored to the Empire, their Confederates brought to obedience, and the Seas ſecured to a perpetuall quietneſſe! Glory you therefore (invincible Emperour) for that you have as it were gotten another World, and in reſtoring to the Romans puiſſance the glory of the Conqueſt by Sea, have added to the Roman Empire an Element greater then all the compaſſe of the Earth, that is, the mighty maine Ocean it ſelfe: and afterwards now by your Victories (Invincible Conſtantius Cæſar) whatſoever did lye vacant about* Amiens, Beavois, Trois, *and* Langres, *beginneth to flouriſh with Inhabitants of ſundry Nations. Yea and moreover, that your moſt obedient City* Autum, *for whoſe ſake I have a peculiar cauſe to rejoyce, by meanes of this* Triumphant Victory *in* Britaine, *hath received many and ſundry ſorts of Artizans, of whom thoſe Provinces were full. And now by their workemanſhip the ſame City riſeth up, by repairing of* Ancient Houſes, *and reſtoring of* Publike Buildings *and* Temples: *ſo that now it accounteth, that the old name of brotherly Incorporation to Rome is againe reſtored, when ſhee hath you eſt-ſoones for her Founder.*

(11) But leaving *Conſtantius* to bee further ſpoken of in his due place, let us purſue the *Raignes* of theſe two *Tyrants*, who new began the *Perſecutions* of *Gods Saints* in all the parts of the *Empire*, wherein the rage of *Satan* ſo prevailed, that *ſeventeene thouſand* men and women were crowned with martyrdome, within the ſpace of one month, beſides infinite numbers of ſuch as were otherwiſe puniſhed.

As in other Countries, ſo heere in *Britaine* the Chriſtians Churches were demoliſhed, their Bibles and other godly writings burned, and themſelves tormented with a more cruell and longer continuance then formerly had beene uſed: for this endured the terme of ten whole yeeres together, leaving no time of intermiſſion, nor place free from the ſtaine of *Martyrs Bloud*.

And amongſt others, it made *Britaine* to be honoured with the glory of many holy *Martyrs*, which conſtantly ſtood and dyed in the Confeſſion of the Faith; whereof the firſt is reported to bee *Albane* of the City *Verolamium*, who was beheaded at *Holmehurſt* (ſince called *Derſwold*) where now the Towne of S. *Albans* (bearing his name) is builc, and in whoſe honor, *Offa* the great King of *Mercia* founded a moſt magnificent *Monaſtery*. Of this *Alban* the ancient *Fortunatus Priſcus* in his booke of the *Praiſe of Virginity*, maketh mention thus:

Albanum egregium fœcunda Britannia profert.
Britaine *fertill of all good,*
Waſht with glorious Albans *blood.*

(12) His inſtructer *Amphibolus* afterwards apprehended, was brought to the ſame place, and whipped about a ſtake, whereat his intrailes were tyed: ſo winding his bowels out of his body, was laſtly ſtoned to death. Sundry others alſo in other places layed downe their lives for their *Profeſſion* ſake, as *Iulius* and *Aaron* at *Leiceſter*, ſaith *Beda*, or rather at *Caer-leon* in *Monmouthſhire*, as our *Grand-Antiquary* judgeth: and in *Lichfield* ſo many, that the place became another *Golgotha*, *A Field of dead Corps*. For which cauſe the City doth beare an *Eſcocheon* or *Field* charged with many *Martyrs* for their *Seale* of *Armes* even unto this day.

(13) This *laſt rage* is by *Oroſius* and *Beda* accounted the *Tenth Perſecution* from *Nero*, and by others,

O the

Gildas Sapientiæ. Sabellicus.

Euſebius. Beda. Ruffinde Dicete.

The Chriſtians torments for ten yeeres together.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 7.

S. Albans put to death as S. Albanus.

Joh. Capgrave.

Amphibolus a Britaine put to death.

Iulius and Aaron at Leiceſter.

At Lichfield great multitudes in Cam. deſcr. Iulius 19. 17. Joh. Rouſe stirs. regum Ang. Bal. hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Tertullian in Apologet. Lact. Firmi. Inſtit.

Mamertinus Panegyr. Orat.

The Emperors excelled for recovering Britaine.

Mamertinus Panegyr. Orat.

Many Artificers in Britaine.

Apoc. 13. Dan. 7.

the *Tenth Horne* of the *Imperiall* Beaſt, who had receiued his *Power* from the Dragon (the diuell) and *ſorme* from thoſe foure *Beaſts* deciphered by the Prophet *Daniel*, whoſe mouth was as the Lyons mouth of *Aſſur*, his feete like the Beares feete of *Perſia*, his ſpots as the Leopards of *Greece*; and theſe ten hornes taken from the Monſter of the *Grecians* parted kingdome, the *Selencies* and the *Ptolemies*, called in *Ezekiel*, *Gog* and *Magog*, and here alluded vnto by Saint *Iohn*, that thus made battell againſt the Saints. But as thoſe foure Beaſts periſhed and were cruſhed by the fall of *The ſtone cut without hands*, *Emmanuel* borne in our fleſh: ſo this laſt *Beaſt* compounded of them *Foure*, fell in the deſtructions of theſe moſt wicked *Emperours*, whereof all almoſt dyed ſo untimely and vnuſuall deaths, as the like is not read of elſewhere.

Exod. 39. Numb. 17. Ieſſ. 3.4. Iob 29.9.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 1. 2. 3.

The violent deaths of many Emperours.

(14) For ſome *ſlew themſelves*, as did *Nero* and *Otho*; ſome were *ſmothered* to death, as was *Tiberius*; ſome *poyſoned* by their *Wiues*, as *Claudius* and *Commodus*; ſome tugged and *torne* in pieces by their owne *Subiects* and *Souldiers*, as *Vitellius*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus*; ſome *ſtabbed* by them whom they moſt *truſted*, as *Caligula*, *Domitian*, *Didius*, *Gallienus*, and many others; ſome *tumultuouſly murthered*, as *Pertinax Seuerus*, *Maximius*, *Æmilius*, and *Probus*; ſome ſlaine in *Battell* and defence of their *Titles*, as *Macrinus* and *Gallus*; ſome *hanged themſelues*, as *Gordianus* and *Maximianus* did; ſome *drowned* and *ſwallowed* vp, as *Decius* and *Maxentius* were; ſome ſlaine by a *thunderbolt* from *heauen*, as *Carus* was; ſome dyed in moſt miſerable *captiuity*, as *Valerianus* did, whoſe skinne was fleaed off, hee yet aliue; ſome cutt their owne *veines* and bled to death, as *Quintilius* and *Florianus* did; ſome dying mad, as did this our *Diocleſian*; ſome few, and them ſomewhat fauouring Chriſtians, dyed in their beds, a thing moſt ſtrange to ſee in theſe times wherein the *Wrath* of *God* thus fought againſt them in his *Iuſtice*, and the power of his *Goſpell* preached by his *Apoſtles* and *Diſciples*, as a *Conqueror crowned*, riding vpon a *White-horſe*, bare a *Bow*, and ſhot the ſharpe *Arrowes* of death into the *hearts of thoſe the Kings enemies*, as in the opening of the *Firſt Seale* is ſeene; and in the *Second* is deſcribed and made manifeſt by a *Red Horſe* prepared for *Battell*, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Bright ſword*, and had commiſſion *To take peace from the earth*; which moſt effectually we have ſeene performed in moſt of theſe preceding *Emperours*. And as *Famine* in great *Warres* is not greatly ſtrange; ſo *Scarſity* exceeding *Plenty*, was ſeene vnder the opening of the *Third Seale*; whence a *Blacke-horſe* ſent from *God*, paſſed through the earth, whoſe *Rider* bare a *Ballance* to weigh *Corne*, as it were *Spice* for dearth: and in the raigne of this laſt Tyrant *Diocleſian*, they that had *Eagles* eyes might ſee threefold iudgements of *God* in the opening of the *Fourth Seale*, when *Sword*, *Famine*, and *Death* went all together as a *Pale-horſe*, ſent from the preſence of the *Lambe*, whoſe rider was *Death* and *Hell*, following as his *Page*. Theſe were the times of calamities, when as the *Soules* of the righteous in the opening of the *Fift Seale*, cryed for vengeance *for the bloud of the Martyrs*, whom theſe tenne hornes had gored to death: and vnder the *Sixth Seale*, both then, and for ever the wicked are ſaid to call for the *Mountaines to fall vpon them*, and for *the rockes to hide them* from the preſence of *Him* that ſate vpon the *Throne*, and from the wrath of the *Lambe*, before whom none could ſtand.

Reuel. 13.8.

The firſt Seale. Reuel. 6. The ſecond Seale.

The third Seale

The fourth Seale.

The fift Seale.

The ſixt Seale.

But why doe I (weake man) thus open the *Curtaines* of *Gods* moſt ſacred *Tabernacle*, to behold the *Mercy-ſeat* of his diuine *Myſteries* in the accompliſhments of theſe holy *Oracles*, when as they who have worne the *Ephod*, and in whoſe hand *Aarons Rod* hath *Budded*, with a religious reuerence haue feared to looke into the ſame? Therefore with the charge of *Ioſhua* I will not approach neere the *Arke*, and with *Iobs hearers* will *Lay my hand on my mouth*, and returne to the proſecution of my purpoſe.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 1. 2. 3.

(15) It was the nineteenth yeere of his raigne, in the month of March, when this Tyrant ſet forth his wicked Edicts through all his Empire; that all Churches ſhould be vtterly ouerthrowne; that the Scriptures ſhould be burnt; that all Chriſtians for honour ſhould be held infamous, and all Chriſtian ſeruants ſhould bee held vncapable of freedome, that all Paſtors ſhould be inforced to offer to Idols, &c.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 1.

(16) The fountaine and chiefe cauſe of theſe miſeries lighting on the Church of Chriſt, did ariſe from the Chriſtians themſelues, as *Euſebius* in theſe words declareth: *After that our converſation through too much liberty and licentiouſneſſe was degenerated, and holy diſcipline corrupted, whiles every one of vs did enuy, bite, and backbite each other, waging inteſtine warre within our ſelues, and piercing one anothers hearts, with the ſharpe ſpeares of opprobrious words; ſo that Biſhops againſt Biſhops, and people againſt people were at bitter contention: Laſtly, whiles nothing but hypocriſie was in the face, deceit in the heart, and guile in the tongue, whereby miſchiefe was euen full at the brim, then began the heauy hand of God to viſit vs, &c.* Where he proceedeth and ſheweth that the grieuous ſinnes of the Chriſtians, were the cauſe of drawing downe theſe iudgements on their heads.

Amos 1.3.

(17) And ſo this wicked Tyrant accordingly was but as Gods Inſtrument and *Iron-threſhing ſlaile*, to bruiſe the precious wheat and ſeed of the *Goſpell*, and to cruſh that outward glory of the *Chriſtian profeſſion*, which then was floriſhing in moſt parts of the world.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 2. 1.

(18) But long the *Lord* deferred not their releaſe, nor that *Tyrants* end. For after the *Firſt yeere* of their perſecutions, and twentieth of his *Raigne*, the thirteenth day of Aprill, in the yeere of Chriſts Nativity three hundred and three, hee with his *Fellow Emperor* (both of them by the reuenging hand of God, ſtricken with a mad humour, ſaith *Euſebius*) renounced the Empire, and deſcending from the Tribunall put off their *Purple* and *Imperiall* robes, whereby they againe became *Priuate* men.

Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 14.

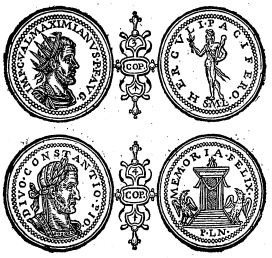
Fox Act. pag. 129. & 132. Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 19.

(19) *Diocleſian* retired into *Dalmatia*, where in the *City Salonia*, he poyſoned himſelfe, as *Aurelius Victor* affirmeth: and *Euſebius* ſaith, that no ſmall diſeaſe ouertooke him, for that hee dyed mad. His conſort *Maximinianus* eſcaped not vnpuniſhed, but dyed for attempting the *Murther* of *Conſtantius*, and as *Euſebius* auoucheth, he hanged himſelfe in the City *Marſilia*: ſuch ignominious deaths followed theſe two perſecuting *Tyrants*, whereof *Diocleſian* had formerly made himſelfe a *God*, and by an *Edict* commanded his *Foot* to bee kiſſed: a practiſe pretily ſince imitated by his *Succeſſors*, who haue reuiued the wounded *Head* of the *Beaſt*, and haue trod his ſteppes in wounding and perſecuting the true members of Chriſt.

Diocleſians practiſe. The Pope an imitator of him, and not of Chriſt.

FLAV. VALER. CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS,
C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLV.



Conſtantius Chlorus, Emp.

Gal. Val. Maximianus, Emp.

Dioceſians and Maximinians reſigned up the Empire the 2. Cal. of May, in the yeere of Chriſt 304.

Galerius and Conſtantius Emperours. The Chriſtians enjoy peace.

Diocleſian and *Maximianus* reſigning up their *Sourvaignties* (as is ſaid) at the *City Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, committed the charge thereof, and the defence of the *Common-weale* vnto *Galerius* and *Conſtantius*, who had beene their *Cæſars*: vpon which occaſion, great peace followed in the *Church* of *Chriſt*, and moſt eſpecially vnto theſe *Weſterne Prouinces*. For thoſe *Emperours* confirmed by the *Senate*, preſently diuided the *Empire* betwixt them, as two *Seuerall Eſtates*, and not ſubiect to one *Gouernment*, as formerly had beene exerciſed; which (as *Euſebius* hath noted) was the fatall end of the Imperiall Glory.

(2) Vnto *Galerius* fell the gouernment of *Sclauonia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Egypt*, and the Prouinces in *Aſia*, who tooke for eaſe of that burden theſe two; whoſe Coynes we haue here expreſſed:



Maximianus and Seuerus made *Cæſars*.

C. Galerius, *Valer. Maximianus*, and *Aurel. Valer. Seuerus* his ſiſters ſonnes, whom in the yeere of Chriſt three hundred and ſixe, hee elected *Cæſars*, and after *Auguſti*; which honours the laſt enjoyed not long, for he was ſlaine at *Rome* by the treachery of *Maxentius*, after one yeare. And the other, when hee had foure yeeres governed as *Cæſar*, and three as *Auguſtus* in the Eaſt, dyed at *Tharſus* in *Cilicia*.

Conſtantine the Great elected *Cæſar*.

(3) And to the lot of *Conſtantius*, who much at one time with his Copartner, elected his ſonne *Conſtantine* (ſo famous in Chriſtian hiſtory) *Cæſar*, fell *Italy*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and moſt of the Provinces in *Africke*: which ſeeming to him (who rather choſe to governe well then much) too ſpatious, gaue vp to *Galerius* all that in *Africke*, as too remote from the Seat of his reſidence, and eye of his direction.

Euſeb. Eccleſiaſt. lib. 8. cap. 16.

(4) This good Emperour was for his *Paleneſſe* ſurnamed *Chlorus*, by birth a *Roman*, his father named *Eutropius*, his mother *Claudia*, Neece to the *Emperor Claudius*. Himſelfe had attained the dignity of a *Senator*, and was both *Wiſe*, *Valiant*, *Noble*, and *Vertuous*, whoſe parts *Euſebius* doth thus commend.

Pompeu. Lætus.

Conſtantius was a man of ſingular clemency towards men, and piety towards God. He did not partake with him in cruelty, whoſe partaker he was in Soueraignty: neither ſtaining his Raigne with the bloud of the Saints, nor deſtroying our Churches and places of Prayer, as Maximianus furiouſly did; but rather hee reuerenced and highly honoured thoſe who truely honoured God. For which God ſo bleſſed him, that this godly Father left a more godly Sonne Conſtantine, the Heire of his well-gotten Empire.

(5) To which his vertues, other Authors adde, that hee was of great affability, loving, and gentle, little regarding his *Priuate Profit*, but altogether raigning to inrich his *Subiects*, and to that end would often ſay; *That it was more behoouefull for the Weale publike, that the wealth of the Land ſhould be diſperſed into the comment hands, then to lye locked vp in Princes coffers.* In which kind, ſo averſe he was from all ſuperfluities, that he may be adiudged faulty the other way: for vpon *Feſtiuall dayes*, and in his entertainements of *Strangers*, he was faine to borrow *Plate* of his friends (for ſuch many times are richer then their Soueraignes) to furniſh his *Table* and *Cupbords*.

(6) But aboue all other vertues, was his loving

countenance and protection to the late persecuted *Christians*, making his *Court* their *Sanctuary*, and his *Chapell* their *Oratory*. And to winnow the *Chaffe* from the *Wheat*, hee used the like policy as *Iehu* King of *Israel* sometime had done against the *Priests* of *Baal*. For he commanded all his *Officers* to offer sacrifice to the *Idoll-Gods*, pretending to dis-court all such as refused: but contrariwise those that obeyed hee put from him, with this reproofe, that *hee who is disloyall to his God, will never be true nor trustie to his Prince.*

2 King. 10. 20.

Constantius politic to try who were true Christians.

(7) When he was first made *Cæsar*, he was forced to forsake his first wife *Helena*, by whom hee had his vertuous son *Constantine*, and to take *Theodora* daughter in law to *Maximianus*, for a further confirmation of friendthip.

Constantius his wives.



Eutropius.

(8) *Helena* by birth was a *Britaine*, the daughter of *Cœlius* a *British Prince*, as saith *Eutropius*, though *Nicephorus* make her of *Bithynia*, and *Beda* termes her his *Concubie*, some an *Inne-holder*, and others for her person and parentage stand very doubtfull: to meet with whom, let us heare the censure of *Times Chiefe Secretary*, the learned *Cambden* in his *Britannia: Constantius* (saith he) *what time he served in* Britaine *under* Aurelian, *tooke to wife* Helena *daughter of* Cœlius *or* Coelius *a Britisih Prince, on whom he begat that noble* Constantine *the* Great *in* Britaine; *for so (together with that great* Historiographer Baronius) *the common opinion of all other Writers with one consent beare witnesse, unlesse it be one or two petty Greeke Authors of late time, and those dissenting one from the other; and a very learned man, grounding upon a corrupt place of* Iul. Firmicus. *Howbeit, compelled he was by* Maximianus *to put her away, for to marry* Theodora *his daughter. This is that* Helena *which in Antique Inscription; is called* VENERABILIS *and* PIISSIMA AVGVSTA, *and for Christian piety, for cleansing* Ierusalem *of Idols, for building a goodly Church in the place where our Lord suffered, and for finding the saving Crosse, is so highly commended of Ecclesiasticall Writers.*

Nicephor. lib. 7. cap. 18. Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 8. Hollinshed. Britain. lib. cap. 10. Cambd. Brit. pa. 74.

Zosimus in Annotatio. upon Anastasius Dexip. lib. 5. cap. 35 Baronius.

A Church builded by *Helena*, in the place where our Saviour suffered.

And yet both *Iewes* and *Gentiles* termed her by way of ignominy and reproach, *Stabularia*, because she (a most godly Princesse) sought out the *Cribbe* or *Manger* where Christ was borne: and in that place where stood that *Hostelry*, founded a Church; for which cause she was by the Enemies of *Christian Religion* called an *Hostesse*, and (because such are commonly kind to their Guests) a *Concubine* also. For whose defence, let the *Funerall Oration* of *Ambrose*, made upon the death of *Theodosius*, answer, wherein hee doth rather commend her humility, then affirme any such base Offices in contempt of her person.

Helena buildeth another Church where the Inne stood in which our Saviour was laid in a Cratch.

They say, that this Lady was at first an Inne-holder or Hostesse, &c. Well (saith he) *this good Hostesse* Helena *hasted to* Ierusalem, *and sought out the place of our Lords Passion, and made diligent search for the Lords Cribbe. This good Hostesse was not ignorant of that Guest which cured the way-faring mans hurts that was wounded by Theeves. This good Hostesse chose to be reputed a Stable-sweeper, that she might thereby gaine Christ.*

Ambrose Oration upon *Theodosius.*

And verily she was the moover and onely worker of her husbands conversion, who casting off all superstitious worships, willingly acknowledged the onely all-ruling God, suffering the Christians that had beene hid in Caves and Dens, now to exercise their Devotions publikely, and both to reedifie the old ruinate Churches, and to erect new.

(9) Of the like Piety we reade in a Queene of the like name, *Helena*, Queene of *Adiabena* (commended by *Iosephus*) that was a Convert to the *Iewish Religion*, who comming to *Ierusalem* to visit the Temple in time of a grievous Famine, which happened in the dayes of *Claudius*, sent to *Alexandria* for great quantity of *Corne*, and for dryed *Figs* from *Cyprus*, which she very charitably bestowed upon the poore. And about three stades or furlongs off from *Ierusalem*, built a *Sepulcher* with three *Pyramides*, wherein her selfe and her two sonnes (both Kings) were afterwards interred. But to proceed.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 20. cap. 2. Helena Queen of *Adiabena* a vertuous woman also.

(10) *Constantius* being heere in *Britaine*, and lately returned from his *Expedition* made against the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, fell sicke in the City of *Yorke*, where the *Imperiall Throne* of his residence was set. At which very time, *Constantine* his sonne escaping the hands of *Gallerius*, (with whom hee had beene left hostage) hasted from *Rome*, having belaid all the way with Posthorses for the purpose, and left them houghed for feare of pursuit, came with all speed to *Yorke*, and to his fathers presence; who so much joyed at his sight, that he sate himselfe upright upon his Bed, and in the presence of his Counsellors spake as followeth:

Eutrop. Eccl. hist. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Socrat. Eccl. l. 1. cap. 12.

Constantine escapeth *Gallerius.*

His preventing pursuit.

He commeth safe to *Yorke* to his father.

"(11) It now sufficeth, and death is not fearefull, "seeing I shall leave my unaccomplished actions to "be performed in thee my *Sonne*, in whose person I "doubt not but that my *Memoriall* shall be retained, "as in a *Monument* of succeeding fame. What I had "intended, but by this my fatall period left undone, "see thou performe: let those fruits bee ripened in "thee the *Branch*, that I thy *Stocke* from a vertuous "intent have had ingraffed always in mee: that is, "governe thy *Empire* with an upright *Justice*; protect "the *Innocent* from the *Tyranny* of *Oppressours*; and "wipe away all teares from the eyes of the *Christians*, "for therein, above all other things, I have accoun-"ted my selfe the most happy. To thee therefore I "leave my *Diademe*, and their *Defence*, taking my "*Faults* with me to my *Grave*, there to beburied in "everlasting oblivion: but leaving my *Vertues* (if e-"ver I had any) to revive and live in thee. With con-clusion of which vertuous counsell, he tooke his last farewell of his sonne, his friends, and his life, after he had sate *Cæsar* sixteene yeares, and *Emperour* two, as *Eusebius* accounteth, and dyed the five and twentieth day of *July*, the yeare of our *Saviour* three hundred and sixe, and of his owne age fifiy sixe.

Constantius his speech to his sonne.

Panegyricke Oration unto *Constantine* the Great. *Constantines* descent.

Eusseb. in vit. Constantini.

Constantius his reigne and death. *Pomp. Letus. Socrates Eccl. hist. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

FLAV.

FLA. VALERIVS CONSTANTIVS MAXIMVS.

CA. VALERIVS LICINIVS LICINIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Val. Constant. Emp.





Licin. Licinianus.

An. Dom. 306.

THis Father thus departing both gloriously and peaceably, in the presence of his Sonne and sage Counsellors; the griefe in the losse of the Sire was no greater then was the joy conceived that they had gained the sonne for his Successour: all men rejoycing at the good fortune of that journey, wherein hee came to close the eyes of his dying father, and to comfort the sorrow of his mournefull Country-men. For forthwith here in *Britaine* by acclamation of the people, assistance of the Souldiers, and advice of *Erocus* King of the *Alemains* (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from *Rome*) they proclaimed him at all hands Emperour, and Successour to that part of the world which his father held. This election was joyfully ratified by the *Senate*; and of all other Provinces so gladly accepted, that they accounted this Iland most happy of all other, whose chance was first to see him their *Cæsar*, as in these words of the *Panegyrist* is seene: *O fortunate Britaine, and more happy then all other Lands, that hast the first sight of Constantine Cæsar.*

Eutrop. Eccl. hist. lib. 8. cap. 14.

Socrat. Eccl. l. 1. cap. 12.

Sabellicus.

(2) His birth (as is said) was in *Britaine*, and honourably descended; his father a *Roman Senator*, *Cæsar* and *Emperour*; his mother a *Britaine*, (daughter to *Cœlus*) a *Princesse* vertuous, wise, chaste, and religious: himselfe in true *Piety* degenerating from neither. At his first entrance hee pursued the reliques of the *warre* which his father had begun against the *Caledonians*, and other *Picts*, subduing the *Britaines* that were more remote, and *Inhabitants* of those *Ilands* that are witnesses (faith one) of the Sunnes set or going downe.





(3) *Maxentius* the sonne of *Maximianus Herculeus*, who at the death of *Constantius* was proclaimed *Augustus* by the tumultuous *Pretorian Souldiers* at *Rome*, and *Romulus* his sonne (whose face wee have heere with his fathers from both their moneyes expressed) was created his *Cæsar* (the way to that Seat of Majesty whereunto hee had too hastily and most unduly climed:) for now this *Vsurper* by his *Necromancies*, *Adulteries*, *Persecutions* and *murders*, was growne so untolerable and odious, that the *Senate* sent to *Constantine*, craving his ayde and redresse; who sore lamenting the sores of the *Empire*, and the case of the *Christians*, first wrote: but that taking no effect, prepared his forces against *Maxentius*.

Maximianus the father, either in true zeale or fained pretences (which by the sequell is more probable) tooke great offence at his sonne *Maxentius* unsufferable outragiousnesse; and under colour of dislikes and redresse, repaired to his sonne in law *Constantine* that had married his daughter *Fausta*, and notwithstanding his faire pretences before the face of *Constantine*, yet secretly he tampered with *Fausta* to make away her husband. But the good Lady well knowing that the bond of a child is great, but greater the love of a wife, revealed his treachery to *Constantine*, who caused him thereupon to be put to death, a fit end for so bloody a *Tyrant*. And ripe was the like destiny for his no way-degenerating sonne, against whom hee prepared his forces: and drawing *Licinius* Governour of *Sclavonia*, who was made *Cæsar*, to his side, by giving him his sister *Constantia* to wife, (a man but of an ordinary descent, though *Galienus Maximinus* had made him in *Illyria* his Copartner in the East) hasted towards *Rome* with an hoast of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; levyed out of *Britaine*, *France* and *Germany*.

Maximianus put to death by *Constantine.*

Niceph. l. 7. c. 29 Eutropius lib. 11 Zozimus l. 2. c. 1. Socrat l. 1. c. 2. Vrsperg. ens. Chron Paul. Diac. li. 12

(4) But knowing well that succesSe in warre dependeth more on divine assistance then humane strength, and doubtfull what *God* he should in this blessed enterprise invocate for ayde, (for as yet he was not fully setled in the Christian Faith, though the *Gods* of the *Gentiles* he observed altogether deceitfull) cast up in this his holy meditation his eyes *Eastward* to heaven, and had by divine ordinance presented to him in object the signe of a Crosse, wherein were Starres (as letters) so placed, that visibly might bee read this sentence in Greeke, IN HOC VINCE, as divers Authors report.

Eusebius.

Yet are there some from the Testimony of *Eusebius* himselfe, unto whom this blessed man did declare his *vision*, that affirme this forme being the first *Greeke Character* of the name of *Christ* (to which the reverse of *Decentius* hereafter expressed, as of many others may adde much probability) rather then either of these, although *Tertullian* and *St. Ierome* affirme that the latter was the very figure of the Crosse whereon our Saviour dyed: but this as a question beyond my judgement or intention, I leave to those learned Divines and others, who have laboured in that subject with curious search.

The forme of the Crosse.

Tertul. against Marcion. l. 3. Hier. in Epitaph. cap. 9 Reynolds conference with Hart. cap. Martial of the Cross. Harpsfield. Dialogist. 2. Lipsius de Cruce.

(5) This

Euseb. Eccle. hist. lib. 9. cap. 9. Nicephorus.

(5) This miraculous signe promising *Victory* and that (saith *Eusebius*) not in an *Inscription* onely, but by voyce of *Angels*, was so comfortable to *Constantine*, that with great courage he went forward, bearing before him and his victorious Army, in place of the Imperiall Standard, the forme of this vision imbroidered with gold and stones of greatest price. And as one armed from heaven, proceeded against his hellish

Constantines repute.

Pompon. Lætus Maxentius trusteth to Sorcerers. Sabellicus.

Maxentius as much depending upon his Sorcerers, was no lesse assured of the victory. In furtherance whereof, as a strategeme of warre, he framed a deceitfull *Bridge* over the river *Tyber* neere to *Pons Miluius* to intrap *Constantine*: but joyning battell, and overlaid with strokes, retired and fled, and (whether for haste, or through forgetfulnesse) tooke over the same *Bridge*, which suddenly failing under him, hee was with many more drowned, and *Constantine* remained *victor*. In memory whereof, he caused a triumphall Arch to be erected in the midst of *Rome*, wherein his *Statue* was imbossed, holding in his *Right hand* a *Crosse*, according to the fashion of that which hee had seene in the heavens: and upon ancient inscription in memory of this *victory*, this we find engraven: INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO, TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FACTIONE, VNO TEMPORE IVSTISREMP. VLTVS EST ARMIS. Thus: *By instinct of the divine power, with great magnanimity and helpe of his army in a lawfull warre, he revenged the cause of the common wealth, as well on the Tyrant himselfe as on his whole faction all at once.* With the like successe had he warred against the *Frankners* in *Batavia*, whose *victory* was likewise stamped in gold, where is a *Woman* sitting under a *Trophey*, and leaning her head upon a *Crosse-bow*, with this inscription, FRANCIA.

An inscription made in memory of *Maxentius* overthrown.

The memoriall of this victory over the Frankners. Camb. Brit.

(6) But as his fame increased in the minds of most, so was it as much maligned by *Licinius* his fellow Emperour and Brother in Law; who in his heart never favoured the *Christians*, howsoever for a time outwardly he suffered their *Religion*: but at last, seeking occasions against *Constantine*, he raised a cruell *Persecution* in the East, where he reigned with *Martinianus*, whom at *Byzantium*, and *Iulius Licinius Licinianus* at *Arlas*, he had before made *Cæsars*: permitting the to stampe these monies, as marks of Soveraignty.



(7) By this affliction of Gods Church, he inforced this champion of God for their defence to prepare his forces, with which he met *Licinius* in *Hungary*, where he gave him a great overthrow. But hee escaping to *Byzantium*, in *Asia* the lesse, joyned againe battell, and was there taken *Prisoner*: yet by the mediation of his wife *Constantia*, had his life spared; and was confined within the city *Nicomedia*; where for his treasons afterwards, hee and his sonne *Licinianus* that somewhat survived him, were put to death. And now the peace of *Gods Saints* manifestly appeared, and the progresse of the Gospell passed untroubled.

Eicinius put to death at Nicomedia, and his sonne after. Anno 326.

(8) *For now* (saith our *Gildas*) *no sooner was the blasting tempest and storme of Persecution blowne over, but the faithfull Christians, who in time of trouble and danger, had hidden themselves in woods and desarts, and in secret caves, being come abroad to open sight, reedified the Churches ruinated to the very ground. The temples of holy Martyrs they founded, and erected (as it were) the Banners of victory in every place, celebrating festivall holy dayes, and with pure hearts and mouthes performing the sacred ceremonies*: for the which blessednesse, he ever after had the Attributes ascribed unto him of *most blessed Emperour, most pious, happy Redeemer of Romes City, Founder of Peace, Restorer of Rome, and of the whole World, most great, invincible Augustus, Sacred, Divine, and of sacred memory, &c.* Howbeit, for admitting these praises, as it should seeme, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Victor* of pride; as also cruelty, for putting to death *Crispus* his sonne (by *Minervina* his concubine; whom he had made *Cæsar*, and permitted to stampe these monies here under inserted) as likewise his wife *Fausta* sister to *Maxentius*: but others affirme that the causes of their deaths were just, though (as *Paulus Orosius* saith) the reason thereof was kept secret, and *Zosimus* doth therein excuse him, as *Cassiodore* relateth, and so doth *Rufinus* and *Eusebius*.

Eutropius.

In hist. tripart.



(9) Touching *Constantines* affaires in this *Iland*, it appeareth by the last Author, that after his *Fathers* death, and his owne departure out of this Country, some aspiring mind taking advantage of his absence, in other warres, perswaded the people here to withdraw their obedience. Whereupon once againe he addressed himselfe with his *Army* to the reestablishing of the *Ilands* subjection: and passing (saith *Eusebius*) over into *Britaine*, inclosed on every side within the banks of the *Ocean*, he conquered the same. The joyfull memory of this expedition is registred to posterity upon his Coyne set in the entrance of this Chapter, inscribed *Adventus Augusti*, and by these Letters, *P. L. N.* the place of the Mint to be at *London*.

Eusebius.

(10) *After this* (saith the same Author) *he began to compasse in his mind other parts of the World, to the end he might come in time to succour those that wanted helpe: and when he had furnished his Army with milde and modest instructions of piety, hee invaded* Britaine, *that hee might likewise instruct those that dwell invironed round about with the waves of the Ocean: bounding the Sunnes setting as it were with those coasts.* And of the Politicall government therein by him altered, let it not seeme offensive that I, who know and professe mine owne weake sight in most of these matters, doe light my dimme candle, at the *Bright-shining Lampe* of that Illustrious *Antiquary*, who saith:

Hier. in his additions to Eusebius.

Cambden in his Britannia.

(11) *About this time* (saith he) *as evidently appeareth by the Codeof Theodosius, Pacatianus was the Vicegerent of Britaine: for by this time the Province had no more Propretors, nor Lieutenants, but in stead thereof, was a Vicegerent substituted.* And againe, *Seeing that Constantine altered the forme of the Roman Government, it shall not be impertinent to note summarily in what sort Britaine was ruled under him, & in the next succeeding ages.*

He ordained foure Prefects of the Pretorium, to wit, of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaule: two Leaders or Commanders of the forces, the one of footmen, the other of horsemen in the West, whom they termed Præsentales. For civill government there ruled Britaine, the Prefect of the Pretorium or Grand Seneschall in Gaule, and under him the Vicar Generall of Britaine, who was his Vicegerent, and honoured with the title, Spectabilis; *that is, notable or remarkable: him obeyed respectively to the number of the Provinces two Consular deputies, and three Presidents, who had the hearing of civill and criminall causes.*

For military affaires, there ruled the Leader or Commander

mander of the footmen in the West, at whose disposition were the Earles or Lieutenants of Britaine, the Earle, Count, or Lieutenant of the Saxon coast along Britaine, and the Duke of Britaine, stiled every one Spectabilis.

Amianus Marcell.

The Earle Lieutenant of Britaine seemeth to have ruled the Inland parts of the Iland, who had with him seven companies of footmen, & nine coronets or troopes of horse.

The Earle Lieutenant of the Saxon coast, who defended the Maritime parts against the Saxons, and is named by Amianus Lieutenant of the Maritime tract, for defence of the Sea coast, had seven companies of footmen, two Guidons of horsemen, the second legion, and one cohort.

The Duke or Generall of Britaine, who defended the Marches against the Barbarians, had the command of thirtie and eight garrison forts, wherein their Stations kept, consisting of fourteene thousand foot, and nine hundred horse. So that in those daies (by Pancirolus account) Britain maintained nineteene thousand, two hundred footmen, and seventeene hundred horsemen, or there about in ordinary.

Nineteene thousand foote and seventeene hundred horsemen maintained in ordinary in Britaine.

Besides all these, the receiver of the Emperors Finances or publike revenewes: the Provost of the Emperors Treasures in Britaine, and the Procurator of the Draperie in Britaine in the which the clothes of the Prince and Souldiers were woven: and the Count also of private revenewes had his Rationall or Auditory of private State in Britaine: to say nothing of the sword-fence-schoole Procurator in Britaine (whereof an old inscription maketh mention) and of other offices of inferiour degrees.

(12) After the setling of these affaires, to the end that he might with the more facility bridle the untamed *Persians* that feldome were in quier, he removed the Imperiall seat of his Residence into the East; for now *Galerius* and *Licinius* both dead, the rent and divided State of the *Romane* Empire was in him united: and purposing to build there a Citie, as an eternall *Monument* of his name, he chose the plot at *Chalcedon* in *Asia*: but whiles they were measuring out the circuit, an *Eagle* scouping at the line flew with it over the *Sea* towards *Byzantium* in *Thracia*, to which place (the thing seeming ominous) he transferred his new foundation, and there built a most *Magnificent Citie*, naming it *New Rome* (as appeareth by an inscription of his *statue*). In imitation whereof, he circulared *seven hils* with a *Wall* for *Height, Thicknesse*, and *Beauty*, the fairest in the world: and not onely erected *Temples, Towers*, and most stately *Palaces* himselfe, but by his publike *Edicts*, commanded all the *Princes* of the *Empire* to raise therein some Monuments and memorable Edifices, beseeming the *Majesty* of so glorious a foundation.

L. Vives in Annotation upon Augusti Civit. Dei lib 5.2.25. Sabellicus.

A Iewish Doctour thus described this Citie, in an epistle which himselfe delivered to our *English* Ambassadour, remaining in Constantinople in *anno* 1554.

(13) Hither also from *Rome* hee caused to bee brought many renowned Monuments of *Antiquities*, as the famous *Goddesse Pallas* of old *Troy*, the *Image of Apollo* in brasse of an unmeasurable bignesse; the *statues* of *Iuno, Minerva, Venus*, and the like: whereupon *Hieronie* saith; That *Constantine* to inrich this one *Citie*, impoverished all others in the Empire: and other *Writers* which saw it in the perfection of beautie, report it to be rather an habitation for the *Gods* then the dwelling place for *Earthly men*. Herein also was built the Proud *Palace* of that *Publike Library*, wherein were contained one hundred twenty thousand of the chiefest *Written Bookes*, and in the midst thereof were the *Guts* of a *Dragon*, in length one hundred twenty *Foot* on which was admirably written in *Letters of Gold*, the *Iliads of Homer*: The *New Name* of this new Citie lasted not long; for the affection of all men to the Founder, afforded it rather the name of *Constantinople*; as a trophy then of this Emperours renowne, though now a brand of infamy to another of that name, who lost it in the yeere 1452. to *Mahomet* the Turke: and as *New Rome* was reared and ruined in one name, so had *Old Rome* in *Augustus* her pitch of height, and in *Augustulus* her period.

Hier. Marcellinus.

Constantinople built by Constantine.

(14) He drew likewise hither those *Legions* that lay for defence of the *Provinces*, as well in *Germany* and *Gallia*, as in *Britaine*: from whence *he brought* (saith *Malmesbury*) *a great power of British souldiers, through whose industry and forward service having obtained Triumphant Victories to his hearts desire, and attained to the Empire: such of them as were past service, and had performed the painefull parts of Souldiers their full time, he placed in a certain part of Gaule Westward, upon the very shore of the Ocean: where at this day their posterity remaining, are wonderfully growne even to a mightie people; in manners & language somewhat degenerate from our Britains.*

Will. Malmesbury.

In which his doings; hee laid open the *Provinces* to the irruptions of their *Enemies*, and is therefore by *Zosimus* hardly censured, as being the only man that by this meanes first subverted the flourishing estate of the *Empire*. And indeed, by withdrawing his Forces out of *Britaine*; the *Piels* and other their wonted *Enemies* had the bolder and easier entrance into the more civill parts of this *Iland*, whereby ere long, being altogether abandoned of the *Romans*, it became a prey of *Conquest* to the *Saxons*, as shal be shewed in due place.

(15) But howsoever his policy failed, carried (as it seemeth) by a *Divine* inspiration to leave *Rome*; yet is this good *Emperour* much commended by all Writers for his many vertues, especially for that hee so laid the foundation of the *Christians* securitie, that the fame hath stood under the protection of *Princes* ever since, even unto this day. And albeit that many *Cæsars* his successors, have often attempted to shake it by their authorities, and the sharpe instruments of heretikes dangerously have undermined it, yet hath it borne out the *Stormes* of all their boisterous assaies, and stood in the strength that this *Emperour* first laid it.

Zozimus. Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. 1. c. 2. & lib. 2. c. 46. Socrates lib. 1. cap. 16. Hieronymus. Sabellicus. Sozomenus. Orosius. Eutropius. Cassiodorus. Eusebius in Vita Constant. lib. 4. Sabellicus.

(16) And upon this foundation, that a glorious building might be raised, hee congregared *three hundred and eighteene Christian Bishops* in the Citie *Nice* in *Thracia*, where himself was present, and also President of the same Councell (though now his Beadsmen (the Popes) put him and his Successors from that right) and as another *Moses*, he then pacified the contentions of the brethren, and reestablished the authorities of the *Bishops* for the godly government of the *Church* in that *Primitive age*.

(17) But as the cleerest *Sunne* hath his set, and the fairest day his night, so *Constantines glorious life* drew to an end, though his living-glory shall be endlesse: for intending a voyage against the *Persians*, hee fell grievously sick, and counselled by his *Physicians* to be carried unto *Nicomedia*, a *Citie* in *Bythinia*, to the *Hot Bathes* that naturally there sprang (which caused some erroneously to write that he became a *Leaper*) he died on the way neere to the place, and in great devotion commended his departing Soule to his *Crucified Redeemer, May* 22. the yeere of Christ Iesus three hundred thirtie seven, of his happie victorious raigne thirtie one, and of his age fixtie five; whose body was interred at *Constantinople*, in the Church of the Apostles that himselfe had therein founded.

(18) *Eusebius* writing this good *Emperors* life, saith that he deferred his *Baptisme* untill his old age, in desire that he might receive it in *Iordaine*, where our *Saviour* himself was baptized; yet others thinke that he was baptized with his *Son Crispus*, what time he created him his *Cæsar*: for the Celebration whereof, he caused a most sumptuous *Font* to be made in *Rome*; which *Platina* and *Sabellicus* affirme to have continued to their times. And the ingenuity of the same *Sabellicus* is much to be approaved, in that speaking of *Constantines Donation*, which some so much vaut of (though the vanitie of that forgery is now laid open to the view of all by sundry learned men) he acknowledgeth himself (being a Romanist) that he findeth no mention of any such matter, in any of the ancient Records which he followed, and so leaveth it to the Patronage of those Crafts-men, out of whose forges it first was formed. He left to succeed him in the *Empire* as *Augusti* (with distaste of the eldest) his three sons, *Constantine, Constantius*, and *Constance*, whom before he had made *Cæsars*, and designed by Testament *Delmatius*, the son of *Annibalinus*, (his brother) *Cæsar*: and therefore we have inserted his memory in ranke of those that succeeded this great and glorious *Emperor*.

F. I. A.

FLA. VAL. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR,
FLA. VAL. CONSTANS ——— Emp.
FLA. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS, ———
FLA. DELMATIVS ANNIBALLIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.



Constantinus Iunior Emp. Val. Constans Emp.

Iul. Constantius Emp. Delmatius Annibalianus Emp.

An. Dom. 337.

HOr the *Empire* being divided among theſe *Brethren*, *Conſtantius* the eldeſt, whoſe portion was *Britaine*, *France*, *Spaine*, and part of *Germany*, tooke himſelfe wronged in this partition; whereas *Conſtans* his ſecond brother had *Italy*, *Africa*, *Sclavonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Greece*; and *Conſtantius* the youngeſt poſſeſſed *Thracia*, *Syria*, *Meſopotamia* and *Egypt*, Provinces much greater in his ſight, then his owne ſeemed to be; and therefore at laſt ambitiouſly bee attempted to inlarge his upon the Frontiers of his brother *Conſtans*, at that time in *Dacia*, and in warres againſt the *Gothes*, who there alſo invaded his territories, but was met with and ſlaine by a Captaine of his brothers, neere to the Citie *Aquileia* in *Italy*, when he had held his *Seignories* the terme of three yeeres.

Conſtantius his part of the Empire. Conſtantius his part of the Empire.

Conſtans ſlaine.

(2) Hercupon *Conſtans* grew exceedingly proud, and ſeiſing his deceaſed brothers *Provinces*, joyned them unto his owne *Poſſeſſions*, and with his brother *Conſtantius* came into this *Iland*. This Battaile, and their arrivall heere, by the words of *Iulius Firmius*, chanced in the Winter ſeaſon: for (ſaith he, ſpeaking to theſe *Emperors*) *you have ſubdued under your Oares the ſwelling and raging waves of the Britiſh Ocean, even in the deepe of Winter; a thing hitherto never ſeene before.*

Conſtantius ſhune. Socrates lib. 2. cap. 3.

Caſſ. d. Aſtrib. hiſt.

And the *Britaines* were fore afraid to behold the unexpected face of their *Emperour*. This *Conſtans* was he that called a Councell to *Sardica* againſt the *Arrians*, whither were aſſembled *three hundred Biſhops*, and among them, ſome of the *Britiſh*, as formerly we have mentioned. But this Prince being yourhfull, caſt away all care of the *Empire*; and drowned in his owne pleaſures, followed ill counſell, (the uſuall way to Princes ruines.) Thus growne grievous to the *Provinces*, and nothing acceptable to the *Souldiers*, was by *Magnentius* a Captaine of his owne ſlaine, as he was hunting neere the Caſtle of S. *Helens*, ſituate amongſt the *Tapory*, a *Spaneſh* people under the *Pyrene Mountaines*. And as hence this *Murderer* of his *Soveraigne Lord* and *Maſter*, was branded with the name of *Taporus*, ſo in this *Emperour* there murdered, was fulfilled a Prophecie, which ſaid that he ſhould die in his Grandmothers Lap.

A Councell againſt the Arrians called by Conſtans.

Olympias the Widow of this *Conſtans* was given to *Arſaces* King of *Armenia*, by *Conſtantius* his brother to be a bond and purchaſe of his furer friendſhip, of which his need was much, as the times required: for after the death of *Conſtance*, one *Vetranio* was proclaimed *Emperour* by the *Pannonian Army*, though ſhortly diſtrobed, and ſent to end his decrepit age in a private fortune. *Neophanus* the nephow of *Conſtans* by his ſiſter *Eutropia*, at *Rome* by the abject *Rous* was ſaluted *Auguſtus*; which he enjoyed not much above twentie daies, being ſuppreſſed by *Magnentius*, who had now made the truncke of Majeſty, his Soveraignes body, the *Baſſe*, whereby he meant with *Decentius* and *Deſiderius*, his two brethren, to aſcend the Throne.

Olympias the Widow of Conſtans.

Conſtans Daine.

Amianus Marc. lib. 14. cap. 4.

Amianus lib. 20. cap. 11.

(3) *Simon Dunelmenſis* ſaith that *Great Conſtantine* at his departure from *Britaine*, left one *Octavius* to governe the Land, who ſhortly rebelled, and after divers conflicts was ſlaine by *Traherne*, *Commander* of a *Romane Legion*. *Galfridus* makes the ſaid *Octavian* a *Britaine*, and will have him to raigne with great *Victories* over this *Iland* the ſpace of fiftie foure yeeres, which (as *Fabian* hath accounted) doth extend to the time of *Valentinians* Rule in *Rome*: ſo farre doe our *Britiſh Hiſtorians* differ from the *Romanes*. But from them moſt certaine it is, that *Magnentius* before mentioned, a *Britaine* by his father, though borne among the *Letti* in *France*, inveſted himſelfe into the *Imperiall Dignitie*, uſurping *France*, *Spaine*, and *Britaine*, thus ſtamping the face of himſelfe and his brother *Decentius*, by him made *Ceſar* at *Millan*, upon the currant Monies of ſuch revolted *Provinces* as he uſurped.

Fl. pop. Neophanus p. F. Aug.

Simon Dunelm. I. Stow.

Galfridus Monm.

Rob. Fabian.

And



Magnentius murdered himſelfe.

Sozom. lib. 2. cap. 27. Amian. lib. 26. cap. 5.

Gratianus of admirable ſtrength.

Martin Deputie in Britaine.

Amianus Marc. lib. 14. cap. 4.

Proiius a Spaniard his ſubtilitie.

Amianus lib. 15. cap. 2. Paulus called Catena for his cruelties.

Martine kild.

Amianus Marc. lib. 20. cap. 2.

And did for three yeers bandy againſt *Conſtantius*, though with ſome unequall ſucceſſe: but laſtly deſpairing to uphold his own greatneſſe, murdered himſelfe at *Lyons* in *Gallia*, as his brother upon newes thereof, did with a halter in the ſame Countrey. For this event (no other occaſion mooving) *Conſtantius* both ſhut the Temple of *Ianus* in *Rome*, as a token of an *univerſall Peace*; and glorioully triumphed with more then a unſuall aſpect.

(4) At this time the *Generall* of the *Armie* in *Britaine* was one *Gracianus*, the father of *Valentinian* the *Emperour*, by birth an *Hungarian*, and ſo ſtrong of limme, that no five men could pull a rope out of his hand with all their force; whereof he was ſirnamed *Funarius*, the *Roper*. This man giving entertainment to *Magnentius*, was condemned in *confiſcation* of all his goods by *Conſtantius*, that now ruled ſole *Emperour*, unto whom alſo the *Britaines* ſubmitted themſelves, and whoſe *Deputie* after *Gratianus*, was aged *Martin*, a man (no doubt) vertuous and upright, as he witneſſed by his death: for *Conſtantius*, whoſe baſe and diſtruſtfull heart feared the wagging of every leafe, by the ſlaughter of many guiltleſſe, fought to make himſelfe ſecure: and egged on by his *Flatterers*, (to ſerve their purpoſes) ſent one *Paulus* a *Notarie* into *Britaine*, to apprehend them that had aided *Magnentius*.

(5) The ſaid *Notarie* was a *Spaniard*, of a peſtilent wit and ſubtiltie, eſpecially in finding out all quirkes and devices to endanger mens eſtates: whoſe buſineſſe being now to apprehend and bring away ſuch *Martiall men* as had entred action in the foreſaid conſpiracies, he under that pretence drew into danger many that were guiltleſſe, and the Emperours true Subjects: ſome of which he impriſoned, others he tormented, and many with *Manacles* and *Chaines* ſo bruiſed, that therefore he was called *Catena*. Old *Martine* the *Deputie*, much lamenting their miſeries, beſought the *Spaniard* to forceaſe, and not with the *Offenders* thus to puniſh the *Innocent*; whereat the proud *Catch-pole* ſo much diſdained, that hee threatned and ſought to bring *Martin* before the *Councell*, and that in bands in manner of a *Traitor*; which ſo much incenſed the aged man, that with his dagger he aſſailed him; but perceiving the wound he gave was not deadly, he ſtabd the ſame into his owne ſide, and thereof preſently died: unfortunate in this fact, but otherwiſe a moſt righteous man (ſaith *Amianus*) that thus attempted to eaſe the wrongs of theſe oppreſſed *Britaines*.

(6) But beſides theſe their diſtreſſes, the outrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking into the *Marches* of the *Britaines*, ſore moleſted their peace: for redreſſe whereof, *Iulian* the *Ceſar* wintring at *Paris*, and diſtracted into ſundry thoughts, was afraid in perſon to paſſe thoſe Seas himſelfe and to leave *Gaule* without a *Ruler*, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when the *Almans* had ſtirred up a moſt cruell warre: wherefore he ſent *Lupicinus* at that time *Colonell* of the *Infanterie*, and *Maſter* of the *Armorie*, to withſtand their fury; a warlike man certes, and skilfull in feats of Armes, but withall proud of heart and countenance, looking high, and ſpeaking bigge, and in geſture demeaning himſelfe in his charge as an *Actor* upon a *Stage*, and otherwiſe ſo qualified, that men doubted a long time whether he were more *Covetous* or *Cruell*. He from * *Rononia* imbarked all his men, and with a good gale arrived in the Haven * *Rutupi*, marching in all haſte to * *Lundinium*, that from thence, after advice taken, according to the qualitie of the buſineſſe, hee might make more haſt to come into the field, and giue battle But with what ſucceſſe his affaires afterwards proceeded, I finde not recorded: and therefore I returne againe to the *Emperour Conſtantius*.

Lupicinus ſent Deputie into Britaine.

* *Boulleu.*

* *Richborrow or Ripchester.*
* *London.*



Gallus choſen Ceſar.

(7) *Flavius Claudius Conſtantius Gallus* his coſen-german he elected *Ceſar*, permitted him to ſtampe this money, and linke him in mariage with his ſiſter *Conſtantia*. But he, deſigned to governe the Eaſt, and make good thoſe Frontiers againſt the *Perſians*, forgot the duty of his charge, and gaue himſelfe up at *Antioch* to all licentious luſts and cruelties: of which when *Conſtantius* (infected afore with ſome jealouſie of his *ambition*) was informed, he ſo plotted, that this loſt man, drowned in his owne vicious fecuritie, was ſurpriſed, and with his hands bound backward (like a *Felon*) given up to the common Headſman for execution. His brother *Iulianus* was then made *Ceſar*, and this Emperours other ſiſter *Helena* beſtowed upon him, whoſe *Victories* againſt the *Germans* and *Gaules* gained him ſuch applauſe, that he was againſt his will by the *Souldiers* elected *Auguſtus*, and made Conſort with *Conſtantius* in *Power Imperiall*.

Gallus executed. Iulianus made Ceſar. Iuliani epiſtole.

(8) Whoſe fortunes thus ſticking in a tumultuous State (for, with others, *Nigrinianus* whoſe conſecrated memory is left to poſterite upon this money, attempted the diſquiet of this Emperour, by an ambitious affectation of rule, that was both ſhort and fatall to him) did plainely foreſhew, that neither his Raigne nor life would laſt long.



For beſides the affections of the time that then followed that new riſen Starre *Iulian*, his nightly viſions and imagined apparitions did both terrifie and appall his minde; for as he thought, his fathers *Ghoſt* preſented unto him, a *Babe* of an ingenious countenance, which ſtrooke the Ball (that the *Romans* call *Tuſa*, a *Globe* borne onely by a *Monarch*) out of his right hand betokening nought elſe but a change of State. Which howſoever his Diviners interpreted for pleaſing things, yet himſelfe thought his owne *Genius* did ſtill follow him, in a forlorne, poore, and mournfull habit.

Conſtantius apparition.

(9) For all theſe dumps, *Conſtantius* meant this new

He leadeth an Army against *Julianus*, and dyeth by the way. *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 37. Amianus Marc. lib. 22. cap. 13.*

Election to disavow; and *Julian* for his part resolved in point of honour to maintaine and uphold. Whereupon warres prepared, *Constantius* set forward to encounter him, and comming to *Tharsus*, from *Antioch* in *Syria* fell there sick of a fever, which still increased as he further travelled, and in the borders of *Cilicia*, at the place called *Mopsus Welles*, situated at the foot of *Mount Taurus*, died the third day of November, the yeere of *Christ* by *Ieromes* account, three hundred sixtie foure: by others, three hundred sixtie one, when he had ruled twentie foure yeeres, and lived fortie and a few moneths, as *Amianus Marcellinus*, and *Pomp. Lætus* affirme. But *Socrates* and *Zosimus* say, that he lived forty five yeeres, and raigned thirtie eight, that is, thirteene a *Cæsar*, in the life of his Father, seven a Competitor in the lives of his brethren, and seventeene yeeres *Emperour* alone.

The time of his raigning.

He is neither accounted with the best, nor worst *Emperours*, his *Vertues* seeming to hold scoale with his *Vices*: temperate, courteous, liberall, and affable; not eloquent, yet desirous to speake well; blunt witted, yet a great favourer of learning; a most skilfull Archer, and apt to take paines, but withall very suspitious; led by *Flatterers*, and most cruel to the accused, and in exacting importable Tributes, drew more hatred upon his head then money into his coffers. But especially is he stained with the hereſie of the *Arrians*, for whose sake he banished many of the Christians, and amongst them *Athanasius*, that excellent light of the Catholike Church. In favour of those hereticks, he caused to be summoned 400. western *Bishops* unto the *Councell* of *Ariminum*, whereof three are reported to come out of *Britaine*. And he is by *Amianus* his *Life-writer, condemned for mingling foolish doting superstitions, with the sincere doctrin of the Christian Religion, given rather to a more intricate search therein, then to settle his opinions upon gravities; and stirring up schismes and discords in maintaining of words and contentious disputations*, which as they spread more and more, gat wing even unto this Iland of *Britaine*, as by the words of our lamenting Historian *Gyldas* is seene. *When* (saith he) *the sweete content of Christ the head, and his members the body, had continued untill such time, as that deadly and perfidious Arrianisme, like to a Pestiferous Serpent from the other side of the Sea, casting up her venome upon us, caused brethren dwelling together, to be disseyned piteously one from another. And thus the way as it were being made over the Ocean, all other cruell and fell beasts where soever, shaking out of their horrible mouthes the deadly poison of every hereſie, inflicted the deadly stings and wounds of their teeth upon this our Country, desirous evermore to beare some novelтie.*

Amianus lib. 26. cap 9. Constantius perfections and defects. His wife was *Faustina*. *Constantius* a great exacter of tribute. *Sulpitius Severus.* A Councell in favour of the *Arrians* assembled by *Constantius*.

Hilarie calleth them the Bishops of the Provinces of *Britaine* in an Epistle unto this Bishops.

Gyldas.

(11) For personage, this *Emperor* was indifferently tall, his complexion browne, the cast of his eyes loftie, his sight quicke, his haire soft, his cheekes alwaies shaven; from the grassing of his necke to the groine very long, but from thence somewhat short and bowlegged withall. His body after death was embalmed, and in *Constantinople* enterred neere unto his *Father*, at the commandement of *Julian*, whom by his testament (for all his former displeasure) he declared his *Heire* and *Successour*.

Amianus Marc. lib. 21. cap. 15. Constantius his portraicture.

His temperance.

Marcel lib. 16. In Mopsu. Julian. Imp.

Constantius buried at Constantinople.

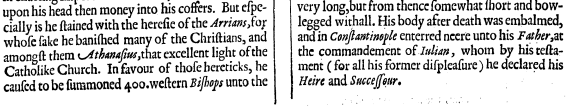
Marcel. lib. 25. & 24.

Marcel lib. 21.

In Mopsu. Julian. Imp.

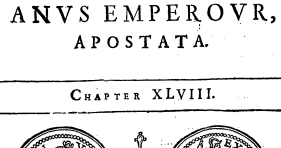
Marcellinus, lib. 22.

Greg. Nazianzen. in lib. contra Iulianum.



FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS IVLI-
ANVS EMPEROVR,
APOSTATA.

CHAPTER XLVIII.



His justice. *Marcellinus, lib. 22.*

Julian his Parentage.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 15. cap. 7.

IVLIAN succeeded, whose birth had as much of Nobilitie as either the greatnesse of place; (for it was *New Rome*); or the high blood of parentage could adde unto him; for his Father *Constantius*, was the brother of great *Constantine*, not much his unlike: and his mother *Basilina* was not lower in her birth, though most unfortunate in bearing him, her owne destruction. An Orphant hee was left together with *Gallus* his brother, long tossed betweene the furges of his owne imperfect constitution, and the bloody jealousie of his ruling-kinsmen (not long before the fatall ruine of his Father) for beeing too neere allyed to their Crownes.

Meane he was of stature, yet carrying from head to foot a just proportion and uniforme knitting of his lineaments, whereby hee had agilitie and strength: big and broad his shoulders, his necke fat, bearing his head forward, lovely and gracefull was the cast of his quicke and cleare eye, straight his nose, and no feature of his face amisse, but the greatnesse of his mouth, and the parting of his nether lip; the soft haire of his head he wore in a decent length, and his rough beard he cut in a pointed fashion.

His proportion and feature. *Amian. Marcell. lib. 25.*

(2) His education was under many masters, of which *Mardonius* a *Scythian* Eunuch was the first. From him he was sent to the publike Schoole at *Constantinople*, where of *Nicocles* the *Lacedemon*, he learned his Grammar, and of *Ecebolius* the Sophister his Rhetorike; and of both of them (as *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicodemia* hath it) the Christian Religion, in which his delight was such, that he betooke him to the function of

His education. *Mopsu. Iul. Imp.*

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 1.

of a Deacon, reading in publike to the people the sacred Bookes; and aimed at no further marke of greatnesse then the reputation of a holy man: led on with the love of knowledge, he went to the Schooles of *Nicomedia*, where, of *Iamblicus*, who succeeded *Porphyry* in the Chaire, hee learned the Philosophy of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. There bewitched at length with the fame of *Libanius* Eloquence, though detesting his religion; from reading in private study his prophane labours, hee grew a publike hearer of his invective Lectures: and imitating at first in exercise of wit onely this Rhetoricians forme of declaiming, hee grew in the end the profanest Railer, and deadliest Enemy of all other himselfe against the Church. And to fill up this vessell of iniquity, *Maximus*, the onely *Impostor* and *Magician* then of the world; (worthily after for his impious doctrine put by *Valentinian* to the sword) must come to *Nicomedia*. From him did *Julian* learne such Astrology as setteth Nativities, and such Magicke as invoketh Spirits. And here was the Schoole of this mans Errour, and Mistris of his impiety. The seeds of whose Nature and Education having thus observed, let us search with an impartiall Eye into his manners and conditions, and see what vertue was in the fruit.

(3) His temperance is commended to us with admiration. He slept little, and could awake at pleasure: his bed was ever with the hardest, and his dyet of the meanest meat, and the moderatest measure, whereby he never but once, and that by accident, disburdened his stomacke by vomit; and would often say, that it was the safety of his life, that he never had any war with his belly. Such was his chastity, that having lost at once in *France Helena* his beloved wife, and her infant, his onely Sonne, he never so much as in suspect, had an incontinent desire. And therefore of all the *Persian* beauties taken in those warres, as the richest spoiles, *Nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre:* Neithered suffer in his Army either Cooks or Barbars, as being *deliciarum atque intemperantiæ ministros.*

Arceo me ipsum à Theatris: I force my selfe (saith he) from the view of Stage-playes, and never but once a yeere permit my Eye that delight in Court; wherein the distaste of my mind is, *tanquam pauper agricola tributum aliquod pendens iniquo Domino.* And when the action was performing; *similior sum detestanti eos ludos quàm spectanti.* Yet doth *Marcellinus* tax him of much verbosity and affectation of vaine glory. And *Gregory Nazianzen* charging him with intemperate passion as unconstability, saith; *That by his ranging and furious aspect, his unsteady and halting pace, his fleering looke*, and immoderate laughter, *Talem ante opera vidi qualem in operibus cognovi.*

(4) The love of Iustice in this Prince is remembred to us in his rules of DIRECTION: for he so amended the Lawes, *Ambagibus circumcisis*, that the Iudges might cleerly see, *Quid liberet fieri, quid vetaret:* and in his EXAMPLE for imitation. For when to an innocent denialI before him, *Delphidius* the Orator inveighed saying; *Nocens esse poterit ut quam si negare sufficerit:* himselfe replyed, *Et quis innocens esse poterit si accusasse sufficit?* and so discharged the party.

As for his clemency and charity, which ought to attend the sword and Scepter of a Soveraigne, since the one is *Magnum timoris remedium*, and the other will be, *post cineres tributum, Nebridiuse* and *Lucillianus* are Registers of the one, whom notwithstanding their conspiracies in favour of *Constantius*, hee not onely pardoned, but defended with perill of his owne person from the furies of his owne followers. And for the other, those his letters to *Arsacius* is a sure record. *Let there bee in the Cities of your charge, many Hospitals erected, that the want of the wayfairing may be relieved by our benignitie; and not of them only of our Religion, but of all the rest: for it suites not well with the goodnesse of our Government, that when the Iewes permit none of theirs to begge and the wicked Galileans releeve not onely theirs, but ours; that ours should be disconsolate of other helpe.*

Mere. Epig.

Ex Iulian Epist. ad Arsa. patri Galatiæ.

(5) Some have blemished his bounty with the brand of vaine glory: thus did the *Antiochians* for depressing so much the reasonable price of Graine in their Markets, by a profuse expence of his owne Treasure, gaining thereby at first onely the applause of the light multitude, after which he haunted, and drawing on in the end a miserable dearth, through the licentious excesse of their improvidence: which often happeneth.

(6) And as the banishment of *Palladius* into *Britaine* upon a weake suspition, *Taurus* to *Vircillum*, in whom the eye of Iustice could find no skarre; and to death *Vrsulus*, with *Pigmeus* (the first his Treasurer, that had spent with him and on him his owne meanes, when being *Cæsar*, he had little of his owne: the other the guide of his youth, and to whom he truly ought the greatest part of his goodnesse) may justly staine him with lawlesse severity, and ungratefull cruelty; so may his malicious spirit against the *Christians*, (howsoever masking in more Art then many that went before him) set him up in the ranke and top of the greatest Persecutors. And although there be some passages in his Government more easie then in some others that may imply a gentle disposition toward them, (sometimes taking the gods to witnesse, that the *Galileans* (for so he named the *Christians*) should not undergoe the least of injuries, neither be led to Pagan sacrifice, or forced to any thing beyond the compasse of their owne contents: and that he not onely revoked the Edict of *Constantine* the *Arrian* Emperour, whereby those holy men stood long exiled: but taking the advantage of an uproare begun by the *Arrians* (their Enemies) at *Edissa*, seized upon their goods, swolne too great in number and fortune by the gracious aspect of his Predecessors, to whom hee dissembled himselfe a Christian): yet did he whiles he had in his owne hands the reine of Government, by all his actions and ends, declare himselfe an heavy opposite unto them. Sometimes by allurements to assay to corrupt them; sometimes by a subtill siding with one faction of the Church, as he did with the Catholikes against the *Arrians*, to counterpoise their power, *ut facilius regnaret*, that by such licence of sedition, *Non timeret unanimantem plebem*; he need not feare the power of their unity, as himselfe professed.

Ex Edict. Iulian. Imp. ad Artabium.

Ex Edict. Iulian. in Edictum. & Edict. Iulian. ad Alexandrinos.

Ex Epist. Iulian. Imp.

Hieron. Rufinus.

(7) From this unfortunate plot of earthly policy (but with worse succesſe) hee incited the *Iewes* to reedifie the Temple at *Ierusalem*, and renew their Sacrifice, remitting to them their debt of tribute, and vowing that at his returne from *Persia* he would visit that holy *Citie*, and (as he saith to them) *ut unà nobiscum in ea Deo optimo gratias agam*; well believing that by raising such an opposite to the *Christians*, he should suppresse their increase, and annihilate their Prophecy of *Ierusalems* desolation. To repaire these cursed wals against the providence of *Divine Iustice*, *Alipius* of *Antioch*, that had beene Governour of *Britaine*, was sent: but his indevour, saith *Amianus*, and the worke of all his Ministers, was interrupted by fearefull flaming bals of fire, which issued from the Earth neere unto those foundations, consuming very many of the *Iewes* and worke-men, by reason whereof, this *Element* still giving fresh assault on them, the place became unaccessible, and the enterprise given over: so vaine it is for *Man* to strive against the decreed purpose of *God*. And it is by others affirmed, that at the same time an *Earthquake* so shooke those *Foundations* of the Temple which were left by *Titus* untouched, that *one stone thereby was not left standing upon another*, but were all laid levell with the ground: by which miraculous sights many *Iewes* were turned to the embracing of the *Christian Faith*, upon whose garments fell formes of *Crosses*, which shined as the beames of the *Sunne*, neither could they by any meanes be washed or wiped away. *Alipius* that had beene chiefe in this businesse, was afterward confined into *Banishment*, with the losse of his goods, by *Valens* upon suspition of *Treason*. And thus farre of *Iulians* veiled hatred: now of his open actions of despight against the *Christians*.

Amianus Marcellinus lib. 23. cap. 1.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 17.

Sab. Rom.

Amianus, lib. 23. cap. 1.

(8) *Constantius* no sooner dead (under whom as before is

is said hee dissembled his Religion) but that he opened the Temples of the *Pagans Gods*, repaired their Altars; declaring to future ages, the memory of this his detestable act, by minting a *Bull* prepared for sacrifice, upon the Currant money of that State, with this inscription; *Securitas reipublicæ*; as if *Romes Empire* should lose her security, and the fatall destiny of Command, when the *Genius* of that City and the Gods of her foundation should bee forsaken. And where there remained any antique Monument of the Infant Christian Church, or any new erected badge of Religious devotion, those he caused to bee defaced. Thus did he in *Cæsarea Philippi*, with that Brasen figure of our *Saviour* arrayed in a short vesture, and the *Woman* cured of her bloudy issue, kneeling and elevating her hands to him; and at whose feet in the said *Pillar* grew a certaine *Herbe*, in height unto the *Hem* of his *Garment*, which cured all kind of maladies; placing his owne figure, to the intent that it should bee worshipped: but suddenly it was with *Lightning* from *Heaven* destroyed, breaking with violent force the *Brest* thereof asunder, and striking the *Head* fast into the earth; whose Reliques, as *Zosimus* saith, remained there to be seene a long time after, a witnesse of mans presumptuous error, and Gods just displeasure. Many lawes he made against them, and many rights of Subjects hee tooke from them. By Edict he forbad the Christians the publike Schooles, and study of the Arts and Tongues; jesting away the reason of this injustice with scoffes, as he did the rest; saying, that *Aristole, Isocrates*, and *Plato*, (who must bee their guides in such liberall learnings) adoring *Mercurie* and the other *gods*, hee held it absurd that they should reade and learne of their *Bookes*, that loath and raile at their *Religion*.

Eusebius, lib 7. cap. 17.

Zosimus Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 10. Iulianus pilfrie destroyed by lightening.

Ex Edictis contra Christianos.

(9) The equity of this extended power may appeare by *Marcellinus censure*, a man of his owne *Religion*, who of it saith, *Inclemens obrutendum perenni silentio*; *Let the Edict bee damn'd to eternall silence.* When hee seized upon the goods of the *Christians*, which was often, and upon weake pretences, he used to invert the Letter of their owne Doctrine, in warrant of his foule act, saying that he did it, *vt facilius in Regnum cælorum veniant.* When hee had disabled the *Christians* of all command, either in the Field or Common-wealth, (as he did *Iovinian, Valentinian* and *Valens*, after Emperours) he would say, he did it because their Gospell taketh from them *Potestatem Gladii*. And wheresoever any poore Christian implored the hand of *Iustice* against wrong and violence, they returned with no better redresse, then that it was the rule of their Religion, *perferre injurias*, it was the duty of their Profession to beare all injuries. And although most *Authors* agree that hee stained not his government with the bloud of any *Catholike*, well knowing that gore of *Persecution* is the seed of the *Gospell*; yet some affirme that when *Apollos Oracle*, neere *Antioch*, had lost his power of answer, by the holy presence of *Babillas* body (there martyred and intombed,) and that the *Christians* in removing it away, sung solemnely the *Psalme, Let all them be confounded which worship graven Images*: this Emperour (although the Act was his direction, though not the order) grew so inraged, that hee put then many *Christians* to the sword.

Ex Epist. Iulian. ad Ecdebium.

Hieron. Cassiodorus. Socrates.

(10) Of the prudence and learning of this man there be many notable monuments remaining: for in all the course of his life he did rather labour to content the parts of his understanding, then of his sensuallity, often being heard to say, *Turpe esset sapienti, cum habeat animum, capture laudes ex corpore*: and therefore writing to *Ecdicius*, *Prefect* of *Ægypt*, to helpe him to the Bookes of *George Bishop of Alexandria*, hee saith, *Where others delighted in Horse and Hawkes, I have beene from my infancy inflamed with the love of Bookes.* Many workes there were of his owne penne, though now raked up in the ruines of the time.

Sabellicus. Sucrates lib 3. cap. 11.

His prudence.

Epist. Iulian. ad Ecdicium præf. Ægipt.

Suidas.

(11) As his oration to *Iamblicus*, and other Volumes of various learning, remembred by *Suidas*: yet is there extant that witty *Satyre* of his, of all the *Cæsars*.

The *Register* of his *Epistles*, full of worthy observations.

Julian. Imp. Cæsar. reg.

His discourse *De Regno*, wherein hee deciphereth much of his *Persian Actions*.

Iul. Imp. Epist. Lib. Iul. de prædicatione. Hymnus Iuliani in Solem.

His *Hymne* to the *Sunne*, a song of a high straine, and of a matchlesse delicacy, if the subject had not beene too prophane.

Misopogon vel Antiochensis.

As for his *Misopogon* (where playing with his owne person and beard, he sharply reprehendeth the *Antiochians* of their intemperance in frequenting *Stage-Playes*; of their impiety, in changing *Iupiter* and *Apollo* (gods of their Forefathers, into the *Christ* of the *Galileans*; and of covetousnesse in their *Magistrates*, in selling *Iustice*) it is one of the wittiest Invectives extant of those middle times.

His Religion.

(12) In the course of his Religion he is by the writers of his own affection and time rather reported superstitious then devout; and his fancies therein rather to them accounted ridiculous then religious. Such was the excesse and wast of Oxen in his sacrifices, that it is beleeved if his returne had been from the *Persicke Expedition*, there would have beene want of them to supply his Rites, and therefore they might happily say as the white Oxen did of the *Emperour Marcus*; *Situ vixeris, nos perimus*. Yet were his rules of order to the *Priests* of his superstitious zeale, such as may well become the most religious Church-men of our age to imitate: for he prohibited those *Priests* from gaze of *Stage-Playes*, frequenting *Tavernes*, or exercising any foule or illiberall profession, perswading them to imitate the *Christians*, whose bounty to strangers in distresse, charity in burying the dead, and whose humble manners and sanctity of life (though but dissembled) had so much increased their Profession.

Marcel. lib. 25.

His fortitude.

(13) His fortitude appeareth in the processe of his *Martiall Actions*: At three and twenty yeeres he was made by *Constantine* his nephew, *Cæsar*, matched to his sister *Helena*, and sent in person to restraine those barbarous Nations that had forced in upon the *Roman Limits*. But whether this imploiment was grounded upon the Emperours owne feare to adventure his person against these *Savages*; a desire to nurture this meere Scholler his brother in law in more princely manners, who then was rude; or to expose him (in respect of some jealousie in State) to an assured perill: it remaineth doubtfull. Onely himselfe saith, that *he that bestowed his Title of Cæsar, libenter dabat; & qui accepit, omnino recusabat*: for in it he gained nothing but *ut occupatior interiret*, taking this his Expedition against those *Inrodes*, as a banishment into the *Hercinium Desert, ut tanquam venator cum feris bellaret*: and beleeving himselfe rather thereby called out to an expected death, then intended honour. But this man then neither of opinion or hope, and who should have seemed to have effected a point of excellent service, if hee had no more but defended the frontiers, and repelled the Enemies, did by his valour performe no lesse then deeds of admiration.

Marcel. lib. 15.

Ex Epist. Iulian. Maximo Philosopho.

Hee recovered the revolted Cities of *Gallia*, overthrowing seven of the mightiest *German Princes* in one set Battle.

Amian. lib. 16.

(14) He sent to *Rome Chonodomarius* and *Badomearius* two of their greatest Kings, as spoiles to adorne the *Trophey*, and attend the triumph of *Constantius*. Hee forced on every side those to feare his power, that had so long beene fearefull to the *Roman Empire*. And had he returned home, borne up onely with the merit of this his service, and opinion of the world, and not beene blowne beyond the bounds of his old moderation by a new desire, hee had escaped the imputation of ambition and treachery, and beene esteemed a just successor, against whom he is deemed now an unjust usurper. But it may be said that it was a divine power that inspired it, and a strong hand that inforced him to it: for from above the Porch of his entrance, into one of the regained Cities, the *Wreath* of *Laurell* (reserved an ornament of that place) fell in wonder upon his head. The *Genius* of *Rome* in many apparitions chiding and reprehending his slow desire to

to affect the Empire, and restore the State. As touching his election, *he calleth the gods to witnesse his unwillingnesse, and the publike protestation he made against it at Paris, when he was there by the tumultuous Army saluted Augustus.* And although by the great provision made by him of Corne from *Britannie*, to hold a foot the *Armie* against the plots of *Constantius* (that grew now envious of his fortune,) he may seeme to have intended the ruine of his Soveraigne; yet doth hee by the gods of his greatest confidence, *Iupiter* and the *Sunne*, protest; *Quod Constantium occidere nunquam optavit, imo me id accideret exoptavit.*

(15) But *Constantius* ending this quarrell and competition by his death, *Iulian*, whom a *Pithonisse* had deluded with the hope of *Persia*, telling him that his fortunes should be as his feature, like *Great Alexander*, bred in him a thirsty desire after the surname *Persicus*: whereupon he prepared an Army for this expedition, and seeking the favor of his *gods* the *Moone, Fortune*, and *Mars*, embrued their Altars with the *Bloud* of an *hundred Buls* at once; though many ominous signes, as they were interpreted by his *Philosophers* and *Southsayers*, forbad the same. Such was the great *Earthquake* happening in *Bithynie*, that swallowed up the Citie of *Nicomedia*. Rivers likewise are said to stand dry, even in the heart of Winter; and *Springs* forgetting their usuall boilings, yeelded not foorth their wonted waters: yea and if we will beleeve the reporters, his successe was foreshewed by the departure of an Angell, and by a *Meteor* gliding in the Aire. All which he sought to prevent, by pacifying his *Heathenish gods* with multitudes of *Sacrifices*: and with an *Army*, extended ten miles in length, entred *Persia*, cutting asunder the Bridges by which he passed over his men; to addeto them more of resolution as their meanes were lesse of returne, refusing all humble submission and composition offred him by their King; and at the place then called *Phrygia*, joyned Battle against *Surena*, a great *Commander* among the *Persians*, and *Merenes*, *Generall* of their *Horse*, accompanied with two of the Kings sonnes, whose powers not able to resist the *Romans*, gave backe and fled.

Sabell. lib. 25. cap. 2.

Ex Iulian. Epist. ad Pon. Galatia.

An Army receiving ten mile.

An Earthquake.

(16) *Iulian* either upon a vaine confidence, or sudden *Alarum*, had forgot to arme himself with the *Corslet* or *Brigandine*; & in following the disarrated flight of the *Persians*, lift up his hands in signe of victory: at which very instant a *Javelin* flucke thorow his left *Arme* into the short *Ribs*, and strucke in the neather lappet of his *Liver*; which whilest he endevoured to plucke out, did cut the sinewes of his fingers: whereat altogether distracted, he fell forwards upon his horses maine, and thence was carried unto his *Pavillion*. From whose hand this *Javelin* came (saith *Amianus*) *God* only knoweth. Some report the Caster to have been a *fugitive Persian*: others say, that from the hand of one of his owne Souldiers it proceeded; and *Calistus* one of his owne Guard, that wrote this *Battle in Heroicall Verse*, affirmeth, that by some wicked *Fiend* or *Divell* this *Javelin* run him thorow. Howsoever, there are that report that in pulling out this *Launce* and casting it into the aire with his bloud, he should utter this blasphemous speech, and say *Thou hast overcome me, O Galilean.* At his setting forth he vowed to his *gods a Sacrifice* of *Christian bloud*, if hee returned *Conquerour*, but he performed it with his owne. His slaine Corps was carried to *Tarsus* a City in *Cilicia*, where, with small pompe of *Funerall Obsequies* it was interred neere to the Cities side, which place himselfe to that purpose had formerly assigned: although *Nazianzen* affirmeth the earth to have opened, and in a flame of *Sulphur* to have sucked up his body into her Wombe.

Iulian struckē into the body with a Dart.

(17) Thus ended this Emperor, the twenty sixth of Iune, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age, and three hundred sixty and three of *Christs Nativity*, when he had raigned *Augustus* neere three, and *Cæsar* full seven yeeres. Whose wit and eloquence needs no further testimony then the Monuments of his owne Pen; nor his religious zeale more then the Functions his youth so worthily performed in the Christian Church. *His Imperiall Vertues* we see match him in story with *Titus*, in moderation with *Aurelius*, and for successe in warre, with *Trajan*; three of the most excellent Princes; and his fortune was to see bounded within his sole greatnesse, what the hand of right and sword of tyranny had so late disperied. But now one *Errour*, his *Apostacie*, disroabing him of all his *Morall vertues*, leaves him an object naked to the vulgar eye; but a Monster of men, and marke of infamy. I hold it therefore fitting no lesse the use, then the justice of a Story, to doe him (as I have done) all his right: since in him we learne that all those admirable endowments of *Nature*, embellished with all the morall and internall graces that *Art* could adde, are not the base of prodigalnesse, without divine grace; nor dalliance of *Fortune*, and fulnesse of *Empire* (that made this man wanton and forgetfull) is the center of securitie and happinesse without heavenly protection: since from the sense of *Sacred Diets* hee fell to *Pagan Superstition*: for many are called, but few are chosen, and in the seat of *Presumptuous Majesty* he felt the rod of *Divine revenge*.

Matth. 20. 16.

Discite Iustitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.

Fla. Iovianus, Emp.

FLAVIVS IOVIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIX.



An. Dom. 364.

THE minds of the whole Army being much distracted by the death of *Iulian*; the next day, *Iune* twenty seven, they met, and consulted upon a new *Emperour*: where for a while two factions were maintained, and with equall deserts argued, till lastly in one accord they both agree upon * *Salustius* a man very honourable and wise, but withall aged and weake, and therefore he absolutely refused the election. *Iovianus* by them then was nominated, in regard of his fathers deserts indifferently commended, saith *Amianus*: but *Rufinus, Theodoret*, and *Socrates* attribute great worths unto him, and confidently affirme his unwillingnesse unto him, and confidently affirme his unwillingnesse to accept of that dignitie, for that the whole Army

Amianus lib. 2. cap. 5.

Socrates lib. 3. cap. 18.

Zosimus lib. 6. cap. 2. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 25. Sabellicus.

* *Marcellinus*, saith *Eutrop.*

Rufinus Eccl. Hist. lib. 10.

Army had yeelded to *Iulianus Idolatrous Edicts*, openly professing himselfe to be a *Christian*, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Soveraigne* over an *Ethnicke Empire*, untill by the instance of the *Souldiers* which declared themselves likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

Iouianus his parentage.

(2) His Father was *Varonianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe served *Iulian* the *Apostata* in his Campe; from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict; commanding all Christians out of his pay, among whom * *Iouianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword* and *Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military* Professors) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heavenly Chiefetaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

* Iouianus his piety.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouinianus* (a *Roman Ensigne bearer*, lately at variance with this new Elected *Emperour*, then a private man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an Enemy stepped now above the degree of the common sort, revolted to the *Persians*; and having good accesse, informed *King Sapor* of the death of *Iulian*, (to them till then unknown) and disabling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskilfull* and *Effeminate Captaine*, both incouraged the Enemy, and gave directions how to take the advantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute as joyous to heare, set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Romane Souldiers*. A fore battell was fought, and fountaines of blood drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Iulianus*, *Macrobius*, and *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *victuall* (whose scarsitie then was such, that for one *Pecke* of *Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were given) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeeres, giving them five *Provinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had beene the very sinewes and strength of the *Confines*, ever since the *Warres* of *Mithridates*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both lived in his dayes) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Romane Empire*: howbeit divers others excuse him very justly considering the extreame misery and famine wherein *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be given over for a prey to the Enemy, to the indangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not beene thus prevented: and therefore they highly commend him heerein, as the onely Preserver of the *Romane Army*.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 13. Cassid. Trigar. hist. lib. 7.

Paulus Orosius. Sabellicus.

Socrates Scholast. lib 3. cap. 20.

(4) Howsoever, he is highly commended by *Socrates* (the continuer of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished above *Twelve hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded upon the *Nicen Creed*, and for his *Loving Reverence* to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment those that *Constantius* and *Iulian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and restoring to their *Offices* both in *Court* and *Campe*, those who for their *Conscience* had beene expulsed.

Bishops recalled from banishment.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *City Tarsus*, where he caused the Sepulcher of *Iulian* (though otherwise he had found him averse, both in *Affection*, and *Religion*, yet for that he was his preceding Emperor) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way, for many dayes together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force moving it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the Consistory: and *Blazing-Starres* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Iouianus adorneth Iulians tombe.

A blazing Starre at noone day.

Thence therefore in great haste he marched, and at *Ancyra*, declared his sonne *Varronianus* his *Cæsar*, a very *Infant*, whose *Wrooslings* and unwillingnesse to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after hapned. For hasting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that divideth *Bythynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there dyed suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lunges*; caused by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new seeling, whose vapors having no issue, stifled him to death, the seventeenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, 364. after he had raigned seven moneths, and twentie two dayes, aged thirtie three yeeres.

Sabellicus.

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture grave, his eyes gray, and countenance pleasant: an affectionate lover and professor he was of the Christian religion, of indifferent learning himselfe, but a most honourable imbracer thereof in others, very precise and considerate in chusing of *Iudges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his servitors about him. His *Blemishes* were these, that he was a great feeder, and given to wine, and somewhat to that other *Vice* which usually accompanieth such intemperances.

Iouianus death. His raigne. Amianus Marcellinus lib. 25. cap. 14. Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 3. c. 22.

Iouianus shape and disposition.

{FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS. FLAVIVS VALENS. } Emperours.

CHAPTER. L.

Flavius Valentinianus, Emp.



Flavius Valens, Emp.

An. Dom. 364.

PResently upon the death of *Iovianus*, by a secret whispering and running rumor, *Equitius*, *Tribune* of the *Scutarii*, was nominated Emperour, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore disliked of the better advised, and no further followed. But from him, their voyces turned to *Ianuarius*, a Kinsman to the last deceased *Iovianus*, at that present Governour of *Illyrium*. But he also rejected, *Valentinianus* then absent, was elected at *Nice*, as a fit and meet person for the managing of their Warres, and good of the *Weale publike*.

Amianus Marcellinus lib. 26. cap. 5.

Socrates in eccles. hist. lib. 4. cap. 1.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the City *Cibalæ*, of meane and poore parentage; the sonne of *Gracian* spoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-seller* but of great strength: and therefore by service preferred to places of account, and had beene made Ruler of *Britaine*. His owne life likewise was spent in service of Warre, and was ere-while a *Captaine* over the *Targatiers*: but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leave his place; he chose rather to lay aside his Belt then his *Faith* and *Christianity*, as likewise *Iovianus* had done; and so for neglecting a little honour then, he had now a farre greater bestowed on him by the disposer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Estate* so urging it, he made *Valens* (his Brother) *Partner* in the Empire, the Trumpers every where sounding *Warres* throughout the *Roman* World. For the *Almans* invaded *Gaul* and *Rhætia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made spoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infested the *Britaines*: the *Austorians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Gothes* ransacked *Thracia*, and the *Persians* entred *Armenia*. For which cause, *Valens* remained to defend the *East*, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progresse into the *West*, where, in three *Battles* under the conduct of *Iovianus*, hee discomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewise overcame and beheaded *Procopius*; whose feature we have here expressed, a dangerous *Vsurper* in the *East*.

Chap. 47. Sect. 5.

Valentinianus a Christian.

Theodoret.



(3) But in *Britaine* things prospered not so well: for by the generall bandings of the foresaid *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Province* was sore distressed and brought to extreame misery. For *Nectaridius*, *Admirall* of the *British Fleet* they slew, and *Balchobandes* *Lord Warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of these barbarous people, was forelaid and assailed on every side. The intelligence of which occurences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horrour, the *Emperor* first sent hither *Severus*, *Steward* of his *House*; if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse whatsoever had happened amisse. But he in short time being called away, had not the hap to see the wished successe. Then *Iovianus*, famous for his *Wars* in *Germany*, came into the same parts; and seeing the puissance of the *Enemy*, meant to crave ade of the *Auxiliary Forces*, the urgent necessity requiring so much: at last, in regard of many (and those fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, touching the state of this Iland, hither was deligned *Theodosius*, a man esteemed most happy, and approoved for his *Martiall* prowesse, who with a bold resolution and select power both of *Horse* and *Foote*, set forward for *Britaine*.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 2.

Nectaridius slaine.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were divided into two *Nations*, to wit, * *Deucaledones* and * *Vesturiones*. The *Attacots* likewise a warlike kinde of people, and the *Scots* ranging in divers parts, wasted all where they went.

* Westerne Picts.
* Easterne Picts.

went. As for the Tracts of *Gaule*, the *Frankners* and *Saxons* their nere confined neighbours, wherefoever they could breake forth, and make *Roades* by *Sea* or *Land*, made havocke heere by feizing of *Booties*, firing of *Townes*, in killing of men and women; and leading away *Captives*. To ſtay theſe woefull miſeries, if the *Heavens* had beene ſo benigne, this valiant *Captaine* intended a voyage to this * *our end of the World*: and comming to * *Bononia*, which lyeth divided from the oppoſite tract of *Land* by a narrow Channell ebbing and flowing with terrible *Tides*, where the *Waters* are ſeene ſometimes to match the higheſt *Mountaine*, and againe to ſettle with the levell of the *Plaines*, without any harme of *Sailers* or *Paſſage*: this *Sleeve* with a gentle courſe he ecroſſed, and arrived at * *Rutupy*, a quiet *Roade* and *Harbour* over againſt it: from whence after that the *Batt'avians*, the *Herull*, *Iovii*, and *Victores* (Companies bold and confident in their ſtrengths) were come, he marched towards *Lundinium*, an ancient *City*, which poſterities afterwards named *Auguſta*: and having ſevered his *Troopes* into ſundry parts, he charged upon thoſe companies of roving and robbing enemies, even when they were heavy laden with *Booties* and *ſpoiles*, and were driving away before them both *Men* and *Women* bound for their *Captives*, beſides much *Cattle*, and a great *Prey*. Theſe hee ſoone diſcomfited, and reſtored to the poore diſtreſſed *Tributaries* their *Liberties* and *Loſſes*, beſtowing ſome ſmall parcels thereof among his weary and well deſerving *Souldiers*: and entred the *City* with exceeding great joy, in manner of a *Petty-triumph*, which ere-while was over-whelmed with Calamities, but now on the ſudden refreſhed and ſet in perfect ſafety.

* Bretaine ſo called * Bologne.

* Rhichester.

London called Augusta.

(5) Vpon this proſperous ſucceſſe encouraged to greater attempts, he abode yet doubtfull of the future, caſting with himſelfe many projects, which poyſed *Fortunes Scales* alike: but laſtly by certaine *Captives* and *Fugitives* he learned that thoſe *Companies* of ſundry fierce *Nations*, ſpread ſo farre and diffuſedly upon the face of the *Province*, could not be vanquiſhed, unleſſe it were by ſleights and ſtratagemes. By *Edicts* therefore he firſt proclaimed *impunity* to ſuch as had forſaken their *Colours*, if they would returne; whereby many which had run to the *Enemy*, or at their owne pleaſures had beene diſperſed into divers parts, came in, and by their countenance declared their reſolutions in his behalfe: notwithſtanding, miſtruſting the event, and penſive ſtill with cares, he thought good to call to his aſſiſtance *Civilis*, a man of great underſtanding, quicke ſpirit, and withall an upright *Iuſticer*, who was to rule *Britaine* as *Deputy*, and likewiſe *Dulcitius* a *Captaine*, renowned for his skill and deeds of *Armes*.

Theodosius joyfully received into London.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 28. cap. 7.

(6) After *Conſultation* with them, having gotten courage, and departing from *Auguſta* with a power of Souldiers, which in his politicke induſtry hee had levyed and trained to his hand, he brought exceeding great ſuccour every where unto the troubled and confuſed ſtate of the *Britaines*; gaining before hand ſuch places in each part, as might give advantage to annoy the *barbarous Enemy*; and enjoyned the *Common Souldiers* no ſervice, whereof himſelfe tooke not the *Aſſay* with a cheerefull heart: in this ſort performing as well the *offices* of an *Active* and hardy *Souldier*, as the carefull charge of a right-noble *Generall*, he diſcomfited and put to flight divers *Nations*, whom inſolent *Pride* (fed with ſecurity) had incited and ſet on fire, to invade the *Romans Territories*: and ſo reſtored wholly unto their former ſtate the *Cities* and *Caſtles* which had ſuſtained many loſſes, and eſtabliſhed a ſure peace for a long time following.

(7) Now there happened whiles hee atchieved theſe exploits, a dangerous matter likely to have broken out into great miſchiefe, had it not beene quenched in the beginning of the enterpriſe: for one *Valentinus* of *Valeria Pannonia*, a man of a proud ſpirit firſt deputy Lieutenant and after preſident, for ſome notable offence baniſhed into *Britaine*, as *Frontinus* immediately before had beene, as one impatient of reſt, like ſome noyſome wilde Beaſt, upon a certaine ſwelling pride, roſe up in commotion againſt *Theodoſius*, whom he perceived to be the onely man able to withſtand his wicked deſignes: Howbeit, caſting about many wayes, both cloſely and apparently, as the gale of his unmeaſurable deſire roſe higher, he ſolicited as well the baniſhed perſons as Souldiers, promiſing (as thetime would affoord) rewards to allure and draw them on to ſome actuall attempt. Yet when the day came wherein it ſhould have beene effected, *Theodoſius* having intelligence thereof, ſurprized *Valentinus* with ſome few of his inward complices, and delivered them unto *Dulcitius*, to be put to death accordingly. But in his military skill and policie, (wherein hee was reputed to have exceeded all men living in thoſe dayes) gheſſing at future dangers, hee inhibited all *Inquiſitions* to be made touching the reſt of the *Conſpirators*, leſt ſo generall a feare ſurprizing at once, and ſpread abroad among many, thoſe tempeſtuous troubles of the *Province*, which were now well allayed, ſhould revive againe.

Valentinus a Rebell put to death.

Theodosius an expert Warriour.

(8) Therefore turning himſelfe from this buſineſſe to the reforming of ſuch enormities as were of moſt conſequence, now that all dangers were quite over-blowne, he reedified the *Cities*, repaired the *Garriſon Caſtles*, and fortified the *Frontiers* with ſtanding *Watches*, and ſtrong *Fore-fences*. And thus having recovered the *Province* againe which had yeelded ſubjection to the *Enemies*, he reduced it unto the priſtine *Eſtate*, ſo as by his meanes and motion it had againe a lawfull *Governour* appointed, and alſo named it VALENTIA, in honour of *Valentinianus* the Emperor.

Gulfes of the Sea laid bare, and many Cities drowned.

Britaine called Valentia.

(9) The *Arcani*, a kind of men (as witneſſeth *Amianus*) inſtituted by thoſe of ancient times for politicke imployments, who by little and little were fallen into diſorders and vices, he removed from their *Stations*, as being manifeſtly convicted, for that (induced with the greatneſſe of rewards received or promiſed) they had divers times diſcovered unto the *Barbarous* whatſoever was done or debated betwixt the *Preſident* and his *Councell*: for indeed their charge was to runne to and fro by long journies, to intimate and make knowne unto the *Romans Captaines* upon the *Marches*: what doings and ſtirres were among the *Neighbour-Nations*; whereby they had great opportunities both to know and reveale the ſecrets of the *State*.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 28. cap. 7.

Arcani removed from their Stations.

(10) And thus *Theodoſius* having managed moſt excellently theſe affaires, was ſent for to the *Emperours Court*; who leaving the *Province* over-joyed for their *Peace*, was no leſſe famous for his many important *Victories*, then was either *Furius Camillus*, or *Papinius Curſor*. And being honourably accompanied and attended unto the *Narrow-Seas*, with the hearty love and favour of all men, departed, and with a gentle gale of winde paſſed over, and came to the *Princes Campe*, where (being received with joy and praiſe) hee ſucceeded in the roome of *Valens Iovinus*, who had the conduct of the *Horſemen*. For theſe his Martiall deeds ſo happily atchieved, in honour of him there was a *Statue* erected, reſembling a *Man of armes* on *Horſeback*, as by *Symmachus* may be underſtood, thus ſpeaking to his ſonne *Theodoſius*: *The Author of your kindred and ſtocke, Captaine Generall both in Africke and Britaine, was (among other ancient Titles) conſecrated by the moſt honourable Order with ſtatues of Knighthood.* And in his commendations, *Claudius* with full note thus poetically ſang:

Theodosius comparable to Camillus.

Symmachus.

Claudius in praiſe of Theodoſius.

Ille Caledoniis poſuit qui Caſtra pruinis,
Qui medios Libyæ ſub Caſtide pertulit æſtus.
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris, ac pariter Boreæ vaſtator & Auſtri.
Quid rigor æternus; Cæli quid ſydera proſunt;
Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Hiberne.

In Caledonian froſts his Tents he pight,
And Libyans ſcorching heat endur'd in Field.

The

The Cole-blacke Moores, and Britaines faire, in fight
He queld, and fore'd both South and North to yeeld.
What then availd cold Clime, ſtrange Seas, or Starres,
When Orkny Iles he drenche with Saxons gore;
When Thule *did reake with Picts blood ſpilt in warres,*
And Ireland did huge heapes of Scots deplore?

Dreadfull ſights and fearefull Earthquakes. Amian. Marcell. lib. 26. cap. 14.

(11) Strange and dreadfull were the ſignes that in the third yeere of this *Emperour* chanced; as *Earthquakes*, *Inundations*, and the like; whereof *Marcellinus* thus reporteth: *A little after the Sumne-riſing* (ſaith he) *the weighty and ſteddy maſſe of the whole Earthly Globe ſhooke, flaſhes of lightning very thicke and fierce going before: the Sea alſo driven aſide, and the waves and billowes ſo prepoſterouſly tumbling and retiring back, that the deepe Gulfes being diſcovered and laid empty, a man might have ſeene ſundry ſorts of ſwimming creatures ſticking in the mudde: Alſo the vaſt Vallies and Rocks, which Nature had ſet farre away under the huge Waters, did now behold the Beames of the Sunne; inſomuch that many Ships were bedded faſt in the dry ground, and flocks of people ſtragled at their pleaſure in the ſmall remaines of water, to take up Fiſhes as the Sea-ſpoile, when on the ſudden the waves diſdaining to be thus diſpoſſeſſed, returned with ſuch violent beating upon the Ilands and Promontories, which lay farre into the Sea, as that they over-flowed, and laid levell an infinite number of buildings and Cities. And therefore in this furious diſcord of the Elements, the ſurface of the world being covered, repreſented ſtrange and wonderfull ſights.* Among which S. *Ierome* reporteth, that there *rained Woull from Heaven ſo perfect and good, that no better grew upon the Sheepe, the naturall Producer.* But to returne.

(12) *Fraomarius*, whom *Valentinianus* had ordained to be *King* of the *Bucinobants* in *Germany*, was made *Tribune* and *Colonell* over a *Regiment* of *Almains* in *Britaine*, which for number and valour in thoſe daies were renowned; where (no doubt) matter enough was miniſtred for him to worke upon. But the death of the *Emperour* preſently following, admits no mention of further diſcourſe which happened in this manner: The *Quadi* after many moleſtations done to the *Roman Legions* and their *Confederates*, ſent their *Ambaſſadours* unto him, deſiring pardon for their former faults committed, and an abolishment of all remembrances thereof: with whom being in earneſt conference, ſuddenly the blood guſhed out of his mouth; and being laid upon his bed, ſhortly after dyed of an *Apoplexie*, or rather of the *Plague*, as the *blew Markes* appearing upon his dead body gave conjecture: *November* the ſeventh; of his age fiftie five yeeres, having raigned eleven yeeres, eight moneths, and two daies, in the yeere of our Chriſt three hundred ſeventie five.

Socrat. Eccl. hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 26. Valentinian ſo death.

Valentinianus his perſonage and vertues.

(13) For preſence, he was Majeſticall, of body fat, his complexion faire, his eyes gray, and having therewith ſomewhat a ſcue caſt, his haire ſhining bright, his joynts ſtrong and well knit: he was a *Prince* mercifull and loving, and mitigated many Tributes formerly impoſed on the *Provinces*: a wiſe Warrier, ſterne in countenance, haſtie of ſpeech, and chaſte of body, a good Iuſticer, and impatient of all delaies. But theſe his *Vertues* with ſome *Vices* were accompanied: for he is taxed with envy and partialitie, in puniſhing ſeverely the poore *Souldier* for ſmall offences, but remiſſive to the faults of their *Captaines* and *Leaders*, and that was the cauſe (by *Amianus* his report) of the troubles in *Britaine*, the loſſes in *Africke*, and the waſts in *Illyricum*.

Valens Emperor in the East.

(14) His *Arian* brother *Valens* ſurviving him, raigned *Emperour* in the *Eaſt*; by whoſe ſufferance the *Barbarous Gothes* entred *Thracia*, which preſently proved to be the bane of the *Romane World*, for that theſe *Gothes* (a ſtrange and unknowne People till then) being forced out of a ſecret Nooke in *Scythia*, by the *Hog-Backt Hunnes*, ruſhing as an unreſiſtable *Whirlewinde* from thoſe *High Mountaines*, infeſted the *Coaſts* about *Danubius*, and obtained licence from *Valens* to paſſe the *River Donaw* into *Thracia*, where long in quiet they ſtayed not, but like a violent *Flood* running with a full current, they over-whelmed all before them, overcomming the *Romans* in many *Battles*, and in one ſlew the *Emperour Valens*, with moſt of his approoved *Captaines*, and twenty five *Tribunes* that had charge of *Regiments*, the third part of his Armie hardly eſcaping unſlaine. Some report that *Valens* flying the *Field*, tooke into a houſe neere *Adrianople*, whither being purſued by the *Enemy*, and his *Hold* fired upon his head, was therein burned to aſhes, after he had fate Emperour fourteene yeeres.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 31. cap. 14.

Gothes overcome the Romanes. Pollen. Stilico.

FLAVIVS GRACIANVS——} Emp.
FLA. VALENTINIANVS IVNIOR,}

Chapter LI.



Gracianus and *Valentinianus* Emp.

An. Dom. 376.

Ammian. Marc. lib.27.cap.5. Gracian & Valentinian Emp.

GRACIANVS, the *Eldeſt Sonne* of *Valentinianus*, by his *Empreſſe Severa*, was made his fathers *Collegue* in the *Empire* in the fourth yeere of his *Raigne*: notwithſtanding ſixe daies after his death, his ſecond Sonne *Valentinian*, a *Child* of *Foure yeeres* old, by the advice of the *Councell* and generall conſent of the *Camp*, was alſo ſtiled and proclaimed *Emperor*. Theſe *Brethren* lived in much love, and ruled in the *Weſt*, as the uncle *Valens* did in the *Eaſt*, of whom we laſt ſpake. And albeit *Gracian* had cauſe of diſpleaſure, that this his *younger Brother* was thus advanced without his allowance; yet he as a *Prince* kind and naturall, regarded his *Brother* exceedingly, and brought him up in all tender affection, forgetting the wrong offered unto himſelfe and his owne *Mother* for *Valentinianus* mothers ſake.

Lib.30.cap.12.

Gracian loving to Valentinian.

(2) The *Mother* of this *Valentinian* was *Iuſtina*, a damſell of an admirable feature and exceeding beautie, ſurpaſſing all other women ſo farre, that the *Empreſſe* her ſelfe fell in love with her, and uſually converſed with her familiarly as her equall, imparting her moſt private ſecrets unto her as her truſty Counſeller, and often bathing together in the ſame Bath. Neither was her ardent affection contained within the meaſure of *Womaniſh modeſty*, but that ſhe refrained not in the hearing of the *Emperour* (her *Husband*) to extoll her incomparable beautie, preferring her farre above any creature in the *World*. Whereupon *Valentinian* ſo farre affected this Lady, as that he took her to his *Wife*; by whom he had this young *Valentinian*, and alſo three *Daughters*, notwithſtanding *Severa* was yet living.

Iuſtina mother of young Valentinian.

Socrates eccleſ. hiſt.lib.4.ca.25.

Valentinianus marrieth Iuſtina, by whom he had young Valentinian.

(3) The ſtormes of the *Gothes* as a violent tempeſt beating ſtill againſt the Shores of the *Romane Provinces*, cauſed *Gracian* to beare *Sayle* toward the ſafeſt *Harbour*, and to commit the guidance of his Ship to the moſt aſſured Pilot: their forces being ſo great, and their outrages ſo terrible, that he thought it beſt not to adventure his owne perſon, but to imploy ſome other approoved *Captaine*. For which exploit, none was held more ſufficient then *Theodoſius*, the *Sonne* of that *Theodoſius* who was ſo famous for his *Britiſh Warres*, and whoſe life was taken away by *Valens* the *Eaſterne Emperour*. Him he made firſt *Captaine Generall* of the *Romane Empire*, and immediatly upon his firſt ſervice againſt the *Gothes*, his *Fellow Emperour* and *Auguſtus*, allotting him thoſe parts in the *Eaſt*, that his uncle *Valens* lately had enjoyed.

Theodoſius Captaine generall of the Romane Empire, and fellow Emperour.

(4) In many *Battles*, fought to the laſt drop of blood, this worthy *Generall* overcame the *Gothes*, ſo that their King *Athanarius* was laſtly inforced to ſue for his *Peace*, which upon honourable compoſitions was granted, and himſelfe in moſt princely manner entertained by *Theodoſius* in the *Imperiall Citie Conſtantinople*; where falling ſicke after three moneths, he died, and was both much lamented, and ſumptuouſly buried by the *Emperour*. Theſe reports cauſed *Sapor*, the moſt puiſſant *King* of *Perſia*, to ſubmit himſelfe unto *Theodoſius*, and by his *Ambaſſadours*, attending his *Court*, obtained his Amitie. Thus gloriouſly raigning and perfect peace eſtabliſhed, he ordained his young ſonne *Arcadius* his *Fellow Emperour* in the *Eaſt*.

Theodoſius overcommeth the Gothes.

Aurel. Victor. Paulus Oroſius.

Sapor King of Perſia.

(5) But the affaires in the *Weſterne Empire* proceeded nothing ſo fortunately: for *Gracian* a meeke and ſoft ſpirited man, ballanced with *Theodoſius*, was held without regard; and *Valentinian* by his *Prefect Probus*, held both *Rome* and *Italy* at his devotion; onely *Gallia* obeyed *Gracian*. For *Clemens Maximus* borne in *Spaine*, but deſcended lincally from *Conſtantine the Great*, by his affability and liberall carriage, had won the affections of the *Britaines* to ſide with him; a man no doubt, both Valiant and Wiſe, had he held his allegiance to his *Soveraigne Lord*. But the time fitting his purpoſes, when the *Scots* and *Picts* with their wonted inroades ſore indamaged the *Province*, he ſet himſelfe for their deliverance, and therein ſped ſo well, that the *Souldiers* by cõſtraint (as *Oroſius* ſaith) forced him to aſſume the *Imperiall Stile* and *Purple Robe*. And of

Clemens Maximus aſſumeth the Imperiall Stile.

An. Dom. 381.

Zoſimus. Paulus Oroſius.

ſo haſting into *Gallia*, with all the flower and ſtrength well neere of the *Britaines* forces, arrived in the mouth of *Rhene*, unto whom alſo the *Germans* Army joyned, and now accounting himſelfe an abſolute Monarch, admitted *Victor* his ſonne, then *Ceſar*, to be partner of his Empire, whoſe Stamp therefore with his fathers we have annexed.



(6) Thus *Maximus* eſtabliſhing his throne at *Triers*, *Spread his wings* (ſaith *Gyldas*) *the one into Spaine, the other into Italy, and with the terror of his Name, levied Tributes and Penſions for Souldiers pay, of the moſt fell and ſavage Germans.*

Againſt him *Gracianus* made his power, but after five daies skirmiſhings was forſaken of his own *Souldiers*, and ſo put to flight. And now dejected and deſtitute of meanes to maintaine his quarrell, hee ſent *Ambroſe* (a great Doctor of the Church) his *Ambaſſador* unto *Maximus*, to intreat for *Peace*, which in outward ſhew was granted, but was far otherwiſe intended, as the ſequell prooved. For ſeeking his death, he did ſhortly after effect it in this wiſe: He cauſed Letters, and reports to bee given unto *Gracian*, that his *Empreſſe* was in journey to viſit him, and withall ſent forth a *Carroche* ſtuffed with *Souldiers*, and with them a deſperate *Captaine* named *Andragathius*. *Gracian* greatly rejoycing for his *Wives* approch, prepared himſelfe to meet *Her* accordingly, and opening the *Litter*, thinking to embrace his *Empreſſe*, was by theſe Ruffians treacherouſly murthered neere unto *Lyons*, when he had raigned fifteene yeeres, and lived twentie nine. *Valentinian* with his *Mother Iuſtina*, fearing the like conſpiracies, became ſupplicants unto *Theodoſius* in the *Eaſt* againſt *Maximus*.

Clemens Maximus, his ſtratagem againſt Gracianus.

Andragathius a murtherer.

Gracian, his death and raigne.

(7) He therefore preparing his forces, marched as farre as *Aquileia* in *Lombardy*, where *Maximus* remained both confident and ſecure. For having fortified the ſtraits of the *Mountaines* with ſufficient *Garriſons*, and dammed the *Havens* with ſtrength of *Ships*, himſelfe and aſſiſters with great boldneſſe proceeded againſt *Theodoſius*, and gave him a battle before the Citie *Syſcia* in *Pannonia*, and againe moſt valiantly received him in another, under the leading of his brother *Marcellus*; but in both of them was overcome. From this laſt, he ſecretly retired unto *Aquileia*, where of his own *Souldiers* he was betraied, and delivered to *Theodoſius* his purſuer; and by him to the *Executioner* to be beheaded: of which his unfortunate, but deſerved end, the famous Biſhop *Martinus Turonenſis* being in *Britaine*, did foretell him long before. *Andragathius* alſo, the Murtherer of *Gracian*, whoſe ſtate was now deſperate, caſt himſelfe headlong into the Sea, and made an end of his wicked life. *Victor* the ſonne of *Maximus*, made his *Ceſar* in *France*, as we have ſaid, was defeated, taken Priſoner and ſhine. This *Victory* was held ſo worthy and memorable, that the *Romanes* from thence forward ſolemnized that day every yeere as feſtivall, ſaith *Procopius*.

Sabellicus Enn. 7. lib. 9.

Andragathius drowned himſelfe.

(8) But theſe *Britaines* that had aſſiſted *Maximus*, as by Writers is recorded, did forcibly invade *Armorica*, and there planted themſelves: *From whence* (ſaith *Beda*, *the Britaines firſt arrived into this Iland*. But ſurely himſelfe as either greatly miſtaken, or elſe we miſtake him altogether, and that rather, for that by *Ceſar* thoſe Coaſts that lie upon the Sea ſhoares, are called *Armorica*, and there the *Celtes* ſeated, being the Originall of our Inhabitants, as is holden; and ſo from thence they might ſpread themſelves further into theſe *Britiſh Ilands*, long before it received the name of *Little Britaine*. The like troubles fell to other *Provinces* at the ſame time, by the inteſtine *Warres* of the *Empire*: for the *Gaules* were moleſted by the *Franks*; *Spaine* by the *Suevians*; and *Africke* by the *Vandals*: the *Eaſt* parts by the *Heruli*, *Oſtroges*, and *Hunnes*; *Italy* by the *Lombards*, and ſhortly after by the *Gothes*.

Bede Hiſt. Angliæ lib. 1. cap. 1.

(9) Theſe troubles in the *Provinces*, cauſed the *Emperours* to call home their Armies with Aides of their Allies, and all too little to ſupport their owne declining *Eſtates*, which now began to end of it ſelfe, and theſe *Emperours* raignes to be cut off by their untimely deaths.

But to returne into the path of our Hiſtory, from whence (by the intangled occaſions of theſe foure Emperours raigning together) we have wandred; let us remember what occurrents happened upon the death of *Maximus* the Tyrant, and haſten to end the greatneſſe of the Empire, which in moſt Provinces began to end of it ſelfe. For *Valentinian* being rid of his feares, unto which he had beene ſubject; and *Theodoſius* of his *Collegue*, unto whom he was enforced; great hope was conceived of a flouriſhing *Eſtate*, but it brought forth onely the remaines of their downefall: for the one returning to *Conſtantinople* in great *Triumph*, lived not long after; and the other left peaceably in the *Weſterne World*, was (as you ſhall heare) ſoone made away by *Conſpiracie*.

(10) *Valentinian* remaining at *Vienna* in *France*, free from *Hoſtile Enemies*, retained in his Court thoſe that ſought his life, whereof *Arbogaſtes*, a *Captaine* of a haughtie ſtomacke, politicke, adventurous, and of great power, but withall of a baſe parentage, a ſtranger and an Infidell, was one; *Eugenius* a *Grammarian*, but now bearing *Armes*, and of great account, was another. Theſe corrupting his *Chamberlaines*, compounded for his death, which they as wickedly performed, by ſtrangling him in his bed, giving it forth that the *Emperour* had hanged himſelfe; which was ſo confidently avouched, that *Proſperus* in his Addition to *Euſebius* writing his death, ſaith, that *it was acted by himſelfe*, after hee had lived twentie fixe, and raigned fixteene yeeres, being ſtrangled in the yeere of Grace three hundred ninetie foure.

Arbogaſtes a conſpirator.

Eugenius a Grammarian, another.

Valentinian ſtrangled.

Proſperus.

Valentinian his raigne.

FLAVIVS THEODOSIVS.

Chapter LII.



Flav. Theodosius. Emp

WE have declared in the life of the last preceding *Emperour*, the *Birth* and *Fortunes*, *Warres* and *Victories* of this most worthy *Theodosius*, untill the death of *Maximus* the *Britaine*, (for so most Writers terme him:) and now onely remaine his latter Acts in *Warre* and *Peace* to be further related.

An. Dom. 379.

(2) This *Emperour* returning from *Aquileia* in *Lombardy* unto *Constantinople* in the *East*, long time there staied not, but was drawne againe into the *West*, both to revenge the death of *Valentinian* his *Fellow-Emperour* so treacherously strangled, and also to oppose the proceedings of *Eugenius*, whose Coine we have heere expressed, being one of the Murderers then usurping that portion of the Empire, and sided by *Arbogastes* the other,

Theodosius goeth against *Arbogastes* and *Eugenius*.



Eugenius usurper.

(3) *Theodosius* marching with his forces towards the *Confines* of *Italy*, found the passages stopped at the foot of the *Alps*, and his *Enemies* powers farre surmounting his: Therefore a while to deliberate on these businesses, he pitched his *Tents*, and their staied. In the meane time *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes* his opposites had forelaid the countrey, and hemmed him about in such a strait, that no victuals could be brought unto his Campe.

Theodosius praieth to God for victory.

(4) No meanes being now left, but either to cleere the passages, or be overthrowne, he first became supplicant with *Fastings* and *Teares* unto his *God*, whom hee knew to bee the *God* of *Hosts*, and whom ever he had served, and whose aide had hitherto never failed him: whereupon boldly incouraging his men, hee accepted of the *Field*. But the Battle furiously begun, fell so fore against him, that ten thousand of his *Souldiers* were presently slaine; and the rest despairing, ready to flie, himselfe at that instant had beene surprized, had not *God* turned the heart of *Arbitio*, a *Captaine* of his *Enemies*, suddenly to come to his side, and to rescue him. *Theodosius* much daunted by these *unfortunate beginnings*, yet conceived better hopes of the following successe, trusting to the uprightnesse of his *Cause*, and the helpe of his *God*, which still he implored, till the *Heavens* were propitious to his earnest desires.

Sabellic. Ennead. 7. lib. 9.

(5) For suddenly a violent tempest arose, and a raging winde rushed so extreamely on the faces of his Enemies, that they were in no wise able to withstand it, the power thereof beating backe against their darts into their owne sides; whereas the arrowes shot from the Emperors part, where thereby forced with double strength to pierce thorow the *Rebels* Iron plates, whereby a most glorious victory was obtained; and *Eugenius* taken, who lay groveling at the *Emperours* feet, deploring his estate, and craving his pardon; but even as he kneeled with cries and teares, the *Souldiers* standing up strucke off his *Head*. And *Arbogastes* the Author of these evils by flight escaping, two daies after ran himselfe upon his *Sword*, and so revenged on himselfe his owne wicked actions. This victory was atchieved the sixth of September, in the yeere of grace three hundred ninetie sixe, by *Socrates* account: and was so famous, that besides the Records of Christian Historians, *Claudius* a Heathen Poet thus eternizeth the same in his Heroicke Poeme.

Theodosius his victory.

Socrat. Eccl. hist. lib. 5. cap. 14.

Eugenius beheaded.

Arbogastes killeth himselfe.

Gods darling deare, the heavens thy soldiers were in armes,
And winds conspir'd to aide and follow thy allarmes.

(6) *Theodosius* thus delivered, repaired unto *Millan*, where, worne with yeeres and travels, shortly after he sickened unto death. And sending for his Son *Honorius*, made him Emperour of the *West*, and to *Arcadius* gave the *East*, wherein hee had before made him his *Cæsar*. The *Province* of *Africa* he assigned to the government of one *Gyldas* in his Sonnes behalfe, and in the *Non-age* of *Arcadius* appointed *Rufinus* for *Constantinople*, and *Stilicho* Tutor to young *Honorius* in *Italy*, three most worthy men undoubtedly, had the greatnesse of their spirits beene contained within the lists of their trust and places.

Theodosius dyeth.

Honorius and *Arcadius* made Emperours.

Gildas Governor of *Africa*. *Rufinus* Governour of *Constantinople*. *Stilicho* Governour of *Italy*.

(7) This last named *Flavius Stilicho*, famous for a long time, and an inward companion with *Theodosius*, had beene imployed in the *Britains* warres against the inroades of the *Scots*, *Vandales*, and *Picts*, and therein had borne himselfe with fortunate successe, as the Poet *Claudian* implieth, where he bringeth in *Britaine* thus speaking:

Stilicho sometimes imployed in the *British* Warres.

Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem Gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilicho, totam quum Scotus Hibernem
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Thetis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremerem; ne littore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Stilicho commended by *Claudian* for his service in *Britaine*.

And I, saith she, that ready was
by bordering foes to perish,
When Scots did cause the Irish stirres,
then Stilicho did me cherish.

When

When Seas did foame with strokes of Oares,
that beate the billowes backe,
His force effecting with his cares,
prevented still my wracke:
He bade me feare no forraine powers,
that Scots or Picts could make;
Nor of the Saxons that on Seas,
uncertaine courses take.

So that being by him freed from those many dangers, and all her enemies overthrowne, shee singeth her security by the same Poet thus:

------ Domito quid Saxone Thetis
Mitior aut fracto secura Britannia Picto:

My Seas, though rough, are calm'd,
sith Saxons conquer'd are,
And I securely rest,
now Picts are queld in warre.

But this her joy, through the Treasons of these three Governours, was soone turned into laments and teares, and the whole *Empires* glory brought to a fatall period as presently it will appeare.

Theodosius his vertues.

(8) This *Theodosius* for his Princely parts, by all writers is ranked among the very best of all the *Emperours*: And as he is likened to *Trajan* for his feature and personage, so may he be compared in wisedome to *Marcus Aurelius*: In temperance with *Antoninus Pius*: For his Christian profession and devotion, with *Constantine* the Great: and for his meekenesse, equall to any: whereof among many other, we have one example very remarkeable. Vpon an offence committed by the Inhabitants of *Thessalonica*, hee commanded most severe punishment to be inflicted, which was so unadvisedly executed, that as well the innocent, as the offenders were involved therein. He then coming to *Millan*, would have entred the Church to have communicated with other Christians in their sacred devotions; which *Ambrose*, the great Doctor, and Bishop of that *Sea* (though otherwise a man of admirable mildnesse) resisted and forbad, in which estate the *Emperour* stood for eight moneths continuance: and then with great humility and submission, acknowledging his offence, was absolved, and againe received into the congregation. For preventing of the like rash offences by him committed, hee then enacted a Law, that thirty dayes should passe betwixt the sentence of death, and the execution of the *Malefactor*: And to suppresse his hasty choller (whereunto he was much subject) his usuall manner was to recite the *Greeke Alphabet*, before hee uttered any speech favouring of that humour.

Theodosius upon his submission, absolved by the Church.

Theodosius his Art to suppresse anger.

Socrates Eccles. hist. lib. 5. ca. 25.

Theodosius his death and progeny.

(9) He dyed January the seventeenth, the yeere of the worlds happinesse three hundred ninety five: when hee had raigned seventeene yeares, and lived sixty; as *Aurelius Victor* writeth, with whom he ends his History. His first wife was *Flacillia*, a religious Lady, the mother of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; by his second wife he had a daughter named *Placidia Galla*, first married unto *Athaulpus* King of the *Gothes*, and after his death unto *Constantine*, whom *Honorius* her brother made *Augustus* and his fellow *Emperour*.

{ARCADIVS / HONORIVS} Emperours.

Chapter LIII.



Arcadius Emp. East.



Honorius Emp. West.

AN. DOM. 395.

ETATALL was the Act of *Theodosius*, in his Election of the three foresaid Protectors, whose greatnesse carried with a glutted prosperity, grew to a surfeit after his death in their ambitious thoughts, and was the downefall of the now aged and drouping *Empire*: first *Gildus* in *Africa*, not contented with the title of *Comes* or *Earle*, cast off all subjection, and as an absolute Lord, acknowledged neither *Arcadius*, nor *Honorius* for his soveraigne.

Gildus rebelleth.

Paulus Diaconus.

Mascelzerius overcommeth his brother *Gildus*.

(2) Against these proceedings, his owne brother *Mascelzerius* opposed himselfe, and both in words and acts assayed to set him in his wonted place of obedience, which by no other meanes could bee brought to passe, but by assistance sent him from *Honorius*; with which, though much too weake, hee marched against the *Emperours* Enemy, and as *Paulus Orosius* writeth, more by force of prayers to God, then power of men, in his encounter prevailed, and beheaded *Gildus* for his Treason. But himselfe becomming mighty, and forgetting that which in others he remembred, himselfe usurped the command of *Africa* against *Honorius*, casting off all subjective obedience, and as a free Prince ruled the Province: The Souldiers that had lately assisted the *Emperours* cause, now well perceiving his ayme levelled at the Crowne, thought best to cut the string before hee loosed the shaft, and made him shorter by the head.

Paulus Orosius. *Gildus* beheaded.

Mascelzerius beheaded.

(3) *Ruffinus* in *Constantinople* as boldly bare himselfe, thinking *Arcadius* both too weake and yong to sound the depth of his designes, whose thoughts did also worke upon conceited Soveraignety: he therefore secretly solliciteth the *Gothes* to warre upon the *Empire*, that so *Arcadius* might either be slaine or intrapped

Ruffinus ambition.

trapped, or else himselfe in those dangers, set up as the more sufficient. But these things thus dangerously complotted by *Ruffinus*, were as politically prevented by the *Emperour*, although a *Child*: for before the *Seed* of this *Treason* could bring forth either *Bud* or *Blade*, it was discovered, and the *Author* slaine by an *Italian* Band, his head (which as some affirme, first tooke breath in *Britaine*) was advanced over a *Gate* in *Constantinople*.

Ruffinus slaine.

Stilicho set at liberty and the whole Empire.

(4) Thus *Peace* obtained by the deaths of these two *Traitors*, the *Third* stood up with more danger in the *West*: for *Stilicho*, *Tutor* to young *Honorius*, thought it not sufficient honour for him to have his *Daughter* an *Empresse* by the *Marriage* of his *Ward*; but set at hazard (for himselfe and sonne) his owne *Conscience*, both their *Lives*, and the fatall ruine of the *Now-declining Empire*. For first sowing seditions amongst the *Lieutenants* of the *Provinces*, picked also quarrels in the *Emperours* Court, *Cashiering* with disgraces those *Gothes* that had served with good proofe of their fidelity above twenty yeeres; since their entertainement by *Theodosius*. These to revenge their *wrongs*, chose for their *Chiefetaine* a valiant *Gothe* name *Alaricus*, which shortly prooved the *Scourge* of *Rome*: with whom joyned the *Vandals*, *Alanes*, and *Suevians*, who joyntly with great fury began to warre in *Austria*, and *Hungary*, increasing their *Powers* with such multitudes, that as *Paulus Orosius*, an Author of that time saith, The *World* was amazed and stood in feare. For unto these *Colonies* resorted two hundred thousand *Gothes* more, under the leading of *Radagasius* their King, who together with united forces, subdued *Thracia*, *Hungary*, *Austrich*, *Sclavonia*, and *Dalmatia*, and spoiled all in such manner, that it seemed *Divels* and not *Men* had passed that way, as Saint *Jerome* (who lived at that time) expresseth: *Those brute Beasts* (saith hee) *suffered by the wrath of God in this warre, have laid Cities waste, slaine the People, and left the very Fields bare and desolate, whereof the Provinces of Thracia, and Sclavonia, with the Country wherein my selfe was borne, beare too true, but lamentable Records.*

Alaricus the scourge of *Rome*.

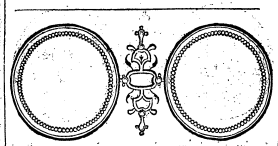
Paulus Orosius.

Radagasius with two hundred thousand *Gothes*.

Jerom. in epist. ad Paul. & Eust.

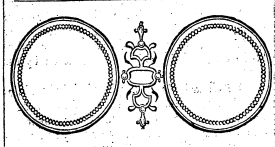
(3) The *Roman Empire* thus daily declining, and these fierce *nations* making havocke where they came, the Armies in *Britaine* were put in great feare, lest the Flames of their *Neighbours fire* might *Flash* out, and take hold of them also. Therefore providently to prevent that danger, they elected one *Marcus* their *Lieutenant* for *Emperor*, yeelding him their obedience some short time, and then finding his defects, immediately murthered him.

Marcus chosen Emperour. *Marcus* murthered. *Sabellicus. Enn. 7. lib 9.*



In whose stead they *Inthroned* one *Gracian* a *Britaine*: whose carriage not answering their expectations, they *Murthered* also, within *foure Moneths* after his Royall solemnity.

Gracian chosen Emperour. *Gracian* murthered.

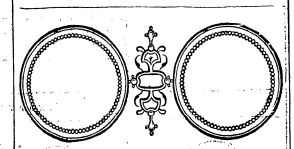


The features and Imperiall Title stamped on the Romish Mony of these two *Vsurpers*, (according to the usuall manner of the like in Estate) wee finde not, neither stands it with credit of our History to faine them at pleasure: therefore till time bring them forth from the Caves of obscurity, we have allowed them place onely by these circles inserted, that others may supply what presently we want, and accomplish by pencil, what we cannot by Presse.



(6) Yet time to *Constantine* hath beene more favorable in preserving his remembrance by his minted Moneys, which here with his Story wee present to sight. At the fall of these former, no better at all then a Common Souldier, but upon confidence onely conceived of his *Name*, was made *Emperour*, who with more respect of honour, and liking of his advancers, bare himselfe better then the others had done. For putting to Sea, and landing at *Bologne*, he easily induced the *Romans* forces as farre as the *Alps*, to side with him: *Valentia* in *France* hee manfully defended: the *Rhine*, which long had been neglected, hee fortified with *Garrisons*: upon the *Alps* as well as upon the *Maritime Coasts*, where passages were frequented, hee built Fortresses: *Spaine* likewise hee held under the hand of *Constans* his *Sonne*, whom of a *Monke* hee had made *Augustus*, and by whose valour he subdued all from the *Pyrenean Mountaines* to the *Ocean*. Whose Moneys wanting to expresse his Image and Stile, we have also supplyed with another Blanke.

Constantine of a common Souldier made Emperour. *An. Dom. 410.*



Britaines write to *Honorius* for succour.

Constans the Son of *Constantine* made *Augustus*. *Sabellicus.*

Pelagius an Heretick corrupteth the *Britaines*. *Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 10. Gennadius.*

(7) *Constantine* prospering as wee have said, sent Letters of excuse unto *Honorius*, affirming constantly that he was compelled by the Souldiers to doe what he did: whereby he so pleased the *Emperor*, that commending his valour, and holding him fit, he sent him of free gift a *Purple Robe*. Whereupon their new-growne blade began to bud faire, and at *Arles* planted his *Imperiall Seate*, commanding the *City* to be called *Constantina* from him, and ordained that the Assemblies of the affaires of *Seven Provinces* should bee therein held. But this his *Sunshine* of prosperity was soone overcast with the *Clouds* of adverse fortunes, and his Crowne and Life laid together in the dust. For in *Spaine* against him was arreared *Maximus* a *Vassall*, whose *Generall Gerontius* intercepting *Constans*, (his *Sonne* and *Cæsar*) at *Vienna* in *France*, slew him: and *Constantine* himselfe within the wals of *Arles*, besieged for *foure Moneths*, after the *Raigne* of *foure Yeares*, laid aside his *Purple Robe*, and entred the *Church* in *Order* of *Priesthood*, and surrendring the City with his Stile Imperiall, was lastly led into *Italy*, and there beheaded.

Honorius alloweth *Constantine* Emperour.

Constans slaine.

Constantine beheaded.

(8) From that time *Britaine* renewed her obedience to *Honorius*, and the *Province* a while was refreshed by the *Wisedome* and *Prowesse* of *Victorinus* her *Lieutenant*, who often represt the incursions of the *Scots*

Victorinus Lieutenant in *Britaine*.

Scots and *Picts*: whereupon in his praise *Rutilius Claudius* thus wrote:

Rutilius Claudius. Paul. Orosius lib. 7. Augustin. de civit. Dei. Hieron. in Epistol. ad Principiam.

Conscius Oceanus virtutum, conscia Thule,
Et quacunque ferox arva Britannus arat:

The Ocean wide and Thule,
his vertues witnesse will;
And all the Champion Fields,
which Britaines fierce doe till.

(9) But *Rome* at this time being sore afflicted, and by *Alaricus* with his *Gothes* and *Vandals* presently sacked, *Honorius* sent for *Victorinus* with his *Army* out of *Britaine*, to the rescue of the City, as *Claudian* signifieth, when he reckoneth up among other *Aydes*, the *British Legion* sent thither: whereof the *Scots* and *Picts* had soone notice, and (according to their wonted manner) with fire and sword molested their neighbours.

Jerusalem taken by *Alaricus*.

Victorinus leaveth *Britaine*. *Zosimus.*

(10) The *Britaines* therefore resolutely engaging themselves into dangers, tooke *Armes*, and freed their *Cities* and *States* from those *Barbarous People*: by whose example, the rest of their Nation in *Armorica*, with the *Provinces* of *Gaulois*, delivered themselves also from their oppressions, and all of them cast out the *Roman Presidents*; settling a forme of Commonwealth to their owne liking. But these our *Britaines* growing too weake to withstand the continuall inroades of their *Northerne Enemies*, humbly besought *Honorius* for succour; whose returne of comforts consisted onely in words, exhorting them by *Letters*, to stand upon their owne *Guard*. But they knowing it was not words, which must helpe them, againe deplored their misories, and so obtained of him the assistance of one *Legion*, which in their ayde drove backe those *Assailants* into their owne *Marches*, and fortified against the *Wall* betwixt the *Frith* of *Edenburgh* unto *Cluid*: so then departing, left the *Britaines* to defend themselves; who now, besides the *Common Enemies* so often mentioned, were much molested, and their *Faith* corrupted by one *Pelagius*, by birth a *Britaine*, by profession a *Monke*, and by leaud doctrine an *Hereticke*, who was brought up in the famous *Monastery* of *Bangor* in *Wales*; who had also travailed *Italy*, *Sicilia*, and *Ægypt* for the study of learning, and grew into great favour with *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and with Saint *Augustine* also, till his *Heresies* of *Assertions*, which had beene by him and his disciple *Celestius* (a *Scot* secretly taught, and by Saint *Jerome* discovered) were afterwards condemned by *Innocentius* the first, Bishop of *Rome*. But the *Arch-heretick* returning into *Britaine*, began againe obstinately

Britaines write to *Honorius* for succour.

Pelagius an Heretick corrupteth the *Britaines*.

Fanstinus condemneth *Pelagius* Heresie.

to maintaine the same, together with *Agricola*, one who spread the venome of that *Heresie* into *Forraine parts*: whose doctrines were. 1. That Man, without the grace of God, was able to fulfill all the Commandements. 2. That man in himselfe had *Freewill*. 3. That the Grace of God was given unto us according to our merits. 4. That the just have no sinne. 5. That children are free from originall sinne. 6. That *Adam* should have dyed, though he had not sinned. And therein also one *Timothy* most impiously disputed against the *Divine* and *Humane Natures* of *Christ*. Notwithstanding at the same time flourished *Fastidius*, a most learned *British Bishop*, and *Chrysanthus* also the *Deputy* or *vicegerent* of *Britaine*, who with great honour governed the affaires of the *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and was afterwards (as elsewhere we have shewed) made *Bishop* at *Constantinople* of the *Novatians* against his will.

Aug. de Heref. Pelagius his opinions.

Timothy his Heresie.

Lib. 6. cap. 7.

(11) Thus were the affaires of this *Land* managed under these *Brethren Emperours*: the elder of which *Arcadius*, dyed in peace at *Constantinople*, leaving his sonne *Theodosius*, a child of eight yeeres, to the succession of the *Empire*, and to the tuition of *Hisdigerdes* King of *Persia*; a matter which seemed at first very dangerous, but prooved at the last very profitable. He raigned thirteene yeeres, and dyed the first of *May*, the one and thirtieth of his age, the yeere of Christs birth foure hundred and ten. At which time one *Iovinus*, of an obscure beginning, had raised some Tumults in *Gallia*, stiled himselfe *Emperour*, usurped the *Purple Robe*, and stamped his *Coynes* with the Title of *victory*, as is seene in one which we heere present.

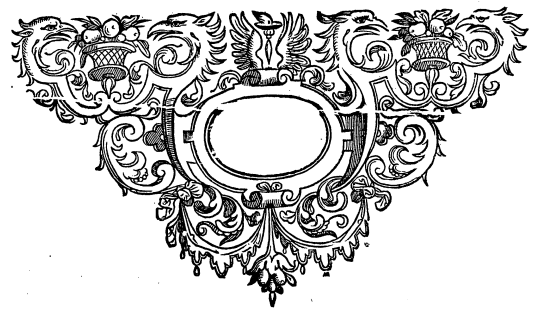
Arcadius his death and raigne.

Theodosius his succession. *Hisdigerdus* his Tutor.



(12) Against him *Honorius* made his power, and with his little losse slew the *upstars* in the field: whereby his fame was more spread in the West, though not so fortunate as his brothers was in the East, after whom hee lived fifteene yeeres, and with whom hee had raigned other thirteene; and he dyed, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, of an infirmity, at *Rome*, in the yeere of grace foure hundred twenty foure, leaving no issue of his body to succeed him in the *Empire*.

Honorius his death and raigne. *Paulus Diacon.*



THEO-

THEODOSIVS. 2. VALENTINIAN. 3.

Chapter LIV.



Theodosius 2. Emp. East.



Valentinian 3. Emp. West.

An. Dom. 408.

GReat have beene the *Warres* and strange the *Alterations*, which both here at home, and thorow the *World* abroad, have chanced unto *States*, since the first attempts of *Iulius Cæsar*; unto these present *Emperours*, *Theodosius* the second; and *Valentinian* the third, his *Associate*; whose *Lives* and *Raignes*, did conclude the *Successions* of the *Romish Monarchie* within this *Iland* of *Great Britaine*, and threw downe their *Triumphall Arches*, in many other *Provinces*, which for long time had beene obsequious to *Romes* soveraigne Command. So uncertaine is the *Glory* of this *World*, and her *Seeming Strength* so lyable to *Mutability*, that the *Powers* and *Periods* thereof, held in *His* hand that holdeth the *Vniversall Ball*, are suddenly turned from their high-mounted site and beauty of the *Sunne*, unto their high-mounted site and darke fide of the *Globe*; and either the *Downe-fall* and darke fide of the *Globe*; and either fall againe into the small *Circuit* of their first compasse, after they have expired their *Number*, *Waight*, and *Measure*: or else with *Daniels Image* are utterly extinct and blowne away, as the chaffe from the Summer flower.

Theodosius and *Valentinian* the last *Roman* Monarkes in Britaine.

(2) The continuance of whose *Estates*; seeme they never so *Great* and *Durable* in *Power*, *Circuit*, *Defence*, and *Multitude*, hath seldome extended much the limit of *Five hundred yeeres*, but that their high and mounted *Flames*, fall in the ashes of their owne consuming decayes, or else hath received some other alteration of Empires encrease, as many learned Writers have observed in most *Common-wealths*. So was it in the *State* established by *God* himselfe among his *Peculiar People*. As from the *Promise* to *Abraham*, made of *Christ* the *Blessed Seed* and *Life* of *Man* (where ceased the *words formerly used computation* from the *Ages* of *Men*) unto the *Law* delivered upon *Mount Sinai*, declaring condemnation and death, were foure hundred and thirty yeeres: from *Israels* departure out of *Ægypt*, when their Common-wealth began to bee ruled by *Iudges*, and *Gods* service celebrated in the *Tabernacle* under *Curtaines*, unto the *Building* of their *Glorious Temple* erected by King *Salomon*, were yeeres foure hundred and eighty. From the *Annointing* of *David*, the first King, set upon *Iudahs Throne*, unto the death of *Zedekiah* the last King thereof, slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that *Holy Temple* consumed by fire, were yeeres foure hundred and seventy. And other *Politike Estates* have stood much upon the like *Space* of time. For the *Kingdome* of *Athens* set up by *Cecrops* the first *King* thereof, unto *Codrus* the last, when they changed their *Monarchy* to a *Democracy*, is said to have continued foure hundred and ninety yeeres. The *Lacedemonians State* from *Lycurgus* their *Law-giver*, unto *Alexander* the Great, that overthrew it, flourished the space of foure hundred ninety one yeeres. From the expulsion of *Romes Kings* under *Tarquinius* unto the affected Empire in *Iulius Cæsar*, were foure hundred ninety and nine yeeres. And omitting many others, to come to our selves; from *Cæsars* first *Invasion* of *Britaine*, unto the dayes of this *Valentinian* the third, wherein the *Romans* did quite abandon it, were five hundred yeeres. From the *Saxons* intrusions and division of this *Realme*, into an *Heptarchy* under their *Government*; untill the united *Monarchy* made by King *Egbert*, in the yeere eight hundred and nineteene, were yeeres foure hundred fixty nine. But from thence, untill their issue failed in King *Edward Confessor*, were yeeres onely two hundred forty seven. And from the *Normans Conquest*, unto the death of that *most sacred Soveraigne of eternall memory*, Queene *Elizabeth*, when began againe the name of GREAT BRITAINE; and the *union* of the whole *Iland* to be brought into one entire *Monarchy* by the rightfull *Succession* and *thrice-happy entrance* of our most gracious King IAMES, are yeeres five hundred thirty fixe. But of these three last, wee are to speake hereafter, and now returne to finish up the *falling Estate* of the *Romans Greatnesse*.

Iacobus, the time between the Promise made to him, and the giving of the Law. Galath. 3. 17.

1 Kings 6. 1. *Israel*, the time between their departing out of *Egypt*, and the building of the Temple of *Salomon*. *Daniel* the time between his annointing and the death of *Zedekiah*.

The time between *Cecrops* his setting up, and *Codrus* the last.

(3) *Theodosius* the sonne of *Arcadius* began his Empire in the yeere of the worlds salvation foure hundred and eight, and was Governed with a speciall protection by the *Persian* King during his *Minority*, under the charge of *Antigonus* an excellent man. But now growne to yeeres, and some variance happening betwixt him and his *Tutor*, he was left to the disposse of himselfe: and his Vncle *Honorius* leaving at his death great troubles unquenched in the West, the mightiest *Potentates* assayed to make themselves *Emperours* over severall *Dominions*, and from the *richnesse* of the *Imperiall Diademe*, each one sought to plucke a *Iewell* to beautifie his owne *Crowne*. So the *Barbarous Nations* out of this one *Monarchy* began the *foundations* of many succeeding *Kingdomes*. For in *Spaine* the *Vandalis*, *Suevians*, and *Alanes*, not contented with their portion there assigned, betooke themselves to *Armes*. The *Frankes* and *Burgundians*, which had been driven out of *France*, resolved again to returne. The *Gothes*, that were *Lords* of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, and *Tolosa*, did as the rest. The *Hunnes* entred *Hungary*. *Iohn* the *Tyrant* held *Rome*: and in *Africa*, *Boniface* became a *Nester*: These stirres mooved *Theodosius* to nominate

Lycurgus, the time betweene him and *Alexander* the Great.

Tarquinius, the time betweene him and *Iulius Cæsar*.

Cæsar, the time betweene his invasion of *Britaine*, and *Valentinian* the third.

Saxons, the time betweene their intrusions and King *Egbert*.

Egbert, the time betweene him and *Edward Confessor*.

Normans, the time betweene their Conquest and the entrance of our gracious Soveraigne King *Iames*.

Theodosius 2. under the *Persian* King.

Antigonus his Tutor.

The dissipation of the *Romes* Empire.

nominate *Valentinian* his kinsman *Emperour* in the *West*; whose raigne and affaires (so farre as they touch *Britaine*) we will follow, being the last of the *Roman Emperours* that held out the succession of our *British Monarchs*.

(5) This *Valentinian* was the sonne of *Constantine*, made *Augustus*, as is said, and of *Placidia Galla* daughter to the first *Theodosius Emperour*: which Lady in the sacking of *Rome* by *Alaricus* the *Gothe*, was taken prisoner, and by him given in marriage to his neere kinsman *Athaulphus*, who afterwards was king of that Nation; and by her sweete demeanour, and prudent meanes, a *Peace* was concluded betwixt her husband and her Brother, but with such dislikes to the *Gothes*. that they presently killed him, and raised one *Wallia* for their King; who likewise comming to composition with *Honorius*, delivered *Placidia* according to Covenants, whom the *Emperour* her brother bestowed in marriage upon *Constantine* his *Generall*, in regard of his good service and Victories by him atchieved.

(5) Shee, with young *Valentinian* new made *Emperour*, being sent into *Italie*, selected the best approved Captaines to secure her sonnes estate; whereof *Aspar* was one, that in *Rome* slew *Iohn* the Vsurper, who had there made himselfe *Emperour*, stamping this his face and stile upon the currant Money of the *State*, and by his *Tyrannies* held his fortunes for five yeares continuance.



Aetius likewise, that had been Governor of *Spaine* was imployed into *Gallia*, where the *Frankes* and *Burgundians* (under the Conduct of *Clodius* their second King) fought to establish (as shortly they did) their Kingdome in that Countrey, giving it the name of *France*, according to their owne, by which name they were never knowne to *Cæsar*, *Strabo*, *Plinie*, *Tacitus*, *Mela*, nor *Ptolemy*; whereby the great blaft of their Antiquitie is shewed to be but a puffe of winde.

(6) At this time the *Britaines* were againe sore oppressed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, who having notice that the *Aides* sent by *Honorius* were returned, passed over the *Water* in their Boats at both the ends of the *Wall*, and invaded the *Province* with such force, that they bare downe all before them. The *Britaines* in this lamentable plight, sent their Ambassadours to *Rome*, with their *Garments* rent, and *dust* upon their *heads*, unto *Valentinian* the Third, bewailing their most miserable *Estates*, and craving his help. The *Emperour* mooved to remorse, sent a *Regiment* of *Souldiers* into *Britaine*, under the Command of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, a most valiant man, who having put backe the *Enemie*, with the assistance of the *Ilanders*, gave some small comforts to the distressed *Britaines*. But the *Burgundians* passing the *Rhene*, and threatning to waste *Italie*, *Aetius* was compelled to recall *Gallio* with his *Legion*, to secure the Countrey about *Paris*, whileft himselfe with his, followed the dangerous *Enemie*.

(7) He now ready to depart for *France*, told the *Britains* that it was not for the *Romans* to take so long and painfull *Iournies*, neither at that time especially when their own *Empire* was in danger to be over-ran. Therefore he willed them thence forth to stand upon their *Guard* and to provide for their owne safeties: and to that end, in regard of their good services done to the *Romans*, he taught them the use of their *Armor* and *Weapons*, as also to strengthen their *Fortification*, and wall of *Turfe*, which now they began to build with firme *Stone*, laid eight foot in thicknesse, and twelve foot in height. This *wall* (saith *Gildas*) *they drew in a straight line (at the publike charges of the State) from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, planting Bulwarkes, and raising Turrets, with convenient spaces distant one from another; which gave a faire and farre prospect into the Sea.* And so the *Romanes* gave a finall *Farewell*, meaning never to returne againe: and burying part of their *Treasures* heere in the *Earth*, whereof much hath beene found, and more is still fought; left *Britaine* about the yeare of *Christ* five hundred, after the first invasion thereof made under the conduct of *Iulius Cæsar*.

Bed. hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 12. Gildas.

The time of the *Romans* finall forsaking of their temporall Iurisdiction in *Britaine*.

Nicephorus.

Prosperus Aquitanus. Romane untill, to defend their owne Countrey. *Gildas*.

Tacit. hist. l. 1. & 2.

(8) This unfortunate *Emperour Valentinian* lost not only *Britaine*, but suffered also *Africa*, *France*, and *Spaine* to be plucked from his *Empire*: and the weaknesse of the *Romans* power (whose strength consisted most in *Forraine Aides*, (as *Tacitus* saith) was left unable to defend it selfe when they had bereft this *Province* of all the *Flower* and *Choice* of *Men*, as *Gildas* in that age complained, saying; *Britaine is disfeited of all her armed men, with her militarie forces: her Rulers (cruell though they were) are wasted, her Garrisons withdrawn, and defences laid open, and an exceeding great number of her stout courageous Souldiers taken from her, to serve the Romans in their Warre.* With which his sayings the *Roman Writers* themselves agree, and record the *Musters* and great multitude of *Britaines* that have beene transported by them out of this *Iland*: as well *Trebellius Maximus* with his *British forces* made strong the *Faction* against *Otho* in *Germanie*: and then also *Honorius Flaccus* brought thence eight thousand chosen Souldiers to uphold *Vitellius* in his cause.

Clodius Albinus banding against *Severus* the *Emperour*, took out of *Britain* the flower of their *chivalry* under whose banner most of them *perished*, when in the fields of *France*, and neere unto *Lyons*, they spent their bloud in his cause; whereby the sinewes of their owne Countries defence was fore weakened, and laid open to *Forraine Invaders*. *Constantine the Great* also (as *Malmesbury* noteth) carried hence a great power of *British Souldiers* with him in his warres, by whose puissance (as he saith) he obtained *Triumphant Victories*, and the *Empire* of the whole *World*: and after affigned them that part of *Gallia* to inhabit, which was called *Armorica*, lying *Westward* upon the *Sea Coasts*, where they seating themselves, their posteritie was increased, and continueth a *Mighty People* even unto this day.

Constantine transported a great power of *Britaines*.

Armorica is part of Gallia given to the *British* Soveraines.

Armorica conquered.

(9) This Countrey afterwards (being conquered by *Maximus*, and his reconciled Enemie *Conan Meriadoc*, Lord of *Denbigh-land*, by the prowesse of those *British Souldiers* whom hence he carried in his quarrell against *Valentinian* the Emperour) was received in free gift of *Conan*, after the slaughter of *Iubates* the King, and the name thereof changed to *Little Britaine*, as being a *Colonie* or *Daughter* of this our *Iland*. The *Province* is large, pleasant, and fruitfull, and containeth in her *Circuit* nine *Bishops Seas*, whereof three are called *Cornovaille* unto this day, which are *Leonenses*, S. *Paul*, and *Tregniers*: the other fix are *Dole*, *Rhenes*, S. *Malo*, *Nanetenfis*, *Vannes*, and *Brien*, whose language differeth from their neighbours the *French*, and retaineth as yet the *British Dialect*. I omit to speak of those other *Numbers* of men sent for out of this *Kingdome* by the said *Conan*, whereof our *British Historians* make mention; besides the sending of *Vrsula* with eleven thousand *Virgins* to be matched in marriage with these their Countrey-men, all of them perishing by *Sea* or by *Sword*, but none of them returning hither againe; whereby the bane of the *land* presently followed, her hopes being cut off, and deprived of wonted Posterities.

Armorica: changed to the name of *Little Britaine*.

It containeth nine Bishops Seas.

Keepeth as yet the *British* Dialect.

Great numbers of *Britaines* sent to *Conan*.

A great multitude of Virgins sent to *Britaine* to *Armorica*.

(10) This Conquest and plantation in *Armorica*, *Matthew* of *Westminster* accounteth to have happened in the yeare of *Christ* three hundred ninety two And these souldiers thus withdrawn, are so recorded by *Henry* of *Huntington* his ancient; and *Ninus* also long before both, reporteth that *Maximus* gave ma-

Matthew West. Henry Hunt. Ninius.

Maximus gave many Countries to the *Britaines* his souldiers.

nie *Countries* to these his *Britaines*, even from the *Poole* which is on the top of *Iupiters Hill*, to a *Citie* called *Cantguic*, and unto the Westerne Mountaines. These (saith hee) are the *Britaines* in *Armorica*, who never returned to this day, in regard whereof *Britaine* was Conquered by *Strange Nations*. With whom agreeth *Gervasius* a Monke of *Canterbury*, *Iohn Anglicus*, *Ranulphus* of *Chester*, and others. Thither also in the downfall and desperate *Estate* of the *Britains*, many of them fled from the rage of their Enemies, as hee that was borne in *Armorica*, and lived neerest to that age, even the Writer of the *Life* of S. *Winguloef* the *Confessor*, doth sufficiently prove. *An of-spring* (saith he) *of the Britaines embarked in Flotes, arrived in this Land, on this side the British Sea: what time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons fierce in Armes, and uncivill in manners, possessed their Native and Mother soile, &c.*

Gervasius. Iohn Anglicus.

Britaines fled into Armorica in the time of the Saxons.

(11) And lastly, in the cause of that other *Constantine*, who was elected only for his *Name*, most of the *Flower* and *Strength* of the *Britaines* were transported into *Gallia* and *Spaine*, where in his variable fortunes many of them perished. And *Malmesbury* writing of these times, saith, that the *Romanes* had emptied *Britaine* of all her *Flower* and *Chivalry* of *Warre*, leaving none in her countries but *Halfe-barbarous*-men, and in her *Cities* only *Epicures*, unfit for service. In confirmation whereof, the most learned *Cambden* out of *Antike Inscriptions*, and the *Booke* named *Notitia Provinciarum*, hath observed, that these *Companies* under written served the *Romans* in their *Warres*, and were dispersed here and there in their *Provinces*, which also were from time to time evermore supplied out of *Britaine*.

Constantine who was elected for his name, transported great multitudes of Britaines.

Cambden.

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
Ala III. *Britonum in Aegypto.*
Cohors prima Aelia Britonum.
Cohors II. *Britonum.*
Cohors VII. *Britonum.*
Cohors XXVII. *Britonum in Armenia.*
Britannicianci sub Magistro Peditum.
Invicti Iuniores Britannicianci } *inter Auxilia*
Exculcatores Inn. Britan. } *Palatina.*
Britones cum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.
Invicti Iuniores Britones inter Hispanias.
Britones Seniores in Illyrico.

(12) No mervaile is it then if *Britaine* lay weake; being thus continually exhausted of her strengths, which these approved *Records* make so apparant, as we needeno t alleage the doubtfull story of *Ipus* of *Norwey*, for the depopulation of the *Iland*, who is said by subtilty under pretence of *Kindred*, and *Honour* to be atchieved, to have gotten an infinite number of *Britaines* to follow him in his interprise, which never returned againe, or the booke *Triades* mentioned by the Author of the *Reformed History of Great Britaine*, that bringeth an Army hence, consisting in number of one and twenty thousand men, into *Aquitaine* and *Gaule*: which, as he saith, was the aide mentioned by *Cæsar*, that out of *Britaine* assisted the *Gauls* against him. Which may partly seeme to be gathered from *Cæsar* himselfe, as hath been said: where he affirmeth, that the *Britaines* and *Gaules* were governed under the same King: and is further confirmed by the fashion and Inscriptions of *Antique Coynes*, which we have seene stamped in *Gold*, the *Forme* round, and *Shield-like*: *Imbossed* outward in the *Face*, and *Hollow* in the *Reverse*; a *Forme* unfallible to be of the *Britains Coynes*, and the word *Comes* inscribed upon the *Imbossed* side, we imagine to be the same *Governour* of *Artoys* in *Gallia*, whom *Cæsar* mentioneth.

S. Iohn Prior pass of Mona, transformeth incredible number of Brit.

Brit. sister-ons and extermi- thousand men ported into A quit-taine against Cæsar.

(13) Thus then was *Britaine* first made weake by the *Romanes* exhaustings, and then quite abandoned of their helpe, and left as a tree in the Wilderneste, to lose her faire leaves by the continuall blasts of these sharp *Northern winds*, whose beautie before had been as the *Cedars of Lebanon*, or like unto those in the *Garden of God*. And whose riches had drawne the *Worlds then Monarchs* to such liking and love, that no meanes was omitted to attaine the same, nor care neglected to keepe it in their Subjection: which, while it stood a *Province* in their obedience, was held and accounted to be the fairest flower in their *Triumphant Garlands*, and of some of their *Emperours* thought worthy the Residency of their *Imperiall Throne*.

Aurelius Gallia and Britaine

THE ORIGINALL INVASIONS, AND HEPTARCHIE OF THE SAXONS; VVITH A SVCCESSION OF THEIR MONARCHS IN THIS ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, THEIR RAIGNS, MARRIAGES, ACTS, AND ISSVES, VNTILL THEIR LAST SVBVERSION by the DANES and ROMANS.

But first of the Downe-fall of BRITAINE.

BOOKE VII. CHAPTER. I.

Britaine abandoned of the Romans Garrisons.

THE *Britaines* thus abandoned of all the *Roman Garrisons*, and emptied of *Strengths* that should have supported her now *downe-falling-estate*, lay prostrate to confusion and miserable calamities; no lesse burdened with the tumultuous uproares of her owne great men, who strove for the *supreme government*, than of the *Barbarous Nations*, which with continuall incursions made spoile where they came. *These times* (saith *Ninius*) *were full of feares, and were prolonged with forty yeares afflictions*: wherein *Vortigern* then king was troubled with the violence of the *Romans*, the dreads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the oppositions of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who surviving his slaine Parents, that had worne the *Imperiall purple Robe*, fought their revenge upon their wicked Murderer: besides the Intrusions of the *Germane Saxons*, called in for *Friends*, but proved indeed the greatest *Enemies*. During the conflict of these tempestuous stormes, some small comforts were ministred unto the *Britaines* by *Bishop German* his presence, who from *France* assisted them against the *Pelagian Heresies*, and the perilous assaults of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who in divers skirmishes overcame them.

Ninius.

Great troubles in the raigne of Vortigern.

Bishop Germanus assisteth against the Pelagians.

(2) These dolorous times of *Britaines* destruction, *Gildas* the *mournefull Historian*, who lived not long after, doth declare. *As soone as the Romans* (saith hee) *had left Britaine, and were returning unto their home, forthwith hideous multitudes of Scots and Picts came swarming out of their Carroghes, (wherein they passed the * Scitick Vale) like whole Armies of duskish Vermine, which at high noone, when the Sunne is in his greatest heat, beganne to crawle foorth of their narrow holes an infinite number of hideous Scots and Picts; which two kinds of people, though in conditions somewhat different, yet they conforted too well in greedy desire of bloud-shed: and having intelligence, the associates of Britain were now returned with utter disclaime of further assistance; with more confident boldnesse then ever before, they seize all the* Northerne *and uttermost part of the* Iland, *as if it had been their owne inheritance, even as farre as to the Wall. Against these attempts there were ranged in the high Forts along the Wall, Garrisons of Souldiers, but such as were both slothfull, and also unserviceable for Martiall Affaires: which white-livered Lozels with quaking hearts fate still waiting day and night, till their joynts were as benummed and stupid as the stones whereon they sate: insomuch as the naked Enemies did with long hooked Engines plucke from off the Wall those miserable Warders, dashing their bodies against the ground. This good yet they got by their untimely deaths, that being thus suddenly dispatched out of the world, they escaped the eminent lamentable calamities that their brethren and children shortly felt. To be short, having abandoned their Cities and this high defensive Wall, once more they tooke themselves to flight, and were dispersed in a more desperate manner then ever before. For the enemie was more hot in pursuit, and more cruell in the slaughter, the wofull Inhabitants being by their enemies massacred, and rent in peices like Lambes by their enemies massacred, and rent in peices like Lambes in the hands of bloudy Butchers, or in the jawes of cruell and savage Beasts. In these most miserable times, (necessitie so compelling) the poore distressed people forbare not to rob each other of that sustenance, which could helpe them but for a very small season: and so their hostile oppressions were increased by their domesticke vexations, for that the whole Country by these continuall direptions, was utterly deprived of the staffe of food, having nothing left to prolong their life, but that onely what they got in hunting.*

*The Irish Sea.

Gildas.

Scots and Picts (the Romans departed) seize all the Northerne parts.

Scots and Picts catch the Britaines with long hookes.

Whereupon about the thirty nine yeare of *Theodosius* and of Christ foure hundred forty six, the distressed Remaines of the down-cast *Britaines*, addressed their missive Letters to *Aetius*, whom *Gildas* calleth *Agitius*, *President of Gallia*, in most lamentable manner, and thus inscribed:

Britaines send for help to Aetius President of Gallia.

Beda lib. Anglor. Hist. cap. 13.

TO ÆTIUS Thrice Consul, the groanes of the BRITAINES.

"*The Barbarians drive us backe to the Sea; the Sea againe putteth us backe upon the Barbarians: thus betweene two kinds of deaths, we are either slaughtered or drowned.*" And the more to intimate their miseries, and to move his affistance, thus they further urge: "*We* (say they) *are the Remnant that survive of the Britaines, and are your Subjects, who besides the Enemie, are*

afflicted by famine and mortalitie, which at this present extreamely rageth in our Land. And putting him in mind that it much importeth the Majesty of the *Roman Empire* to protect and succour their *Province*, seeing it had now stood upon the point of five hundred yeers under their obedience, whose strength of *Souldiers* taken from thence to serve their *Emperors* in their Wars else-where, was now decayed, and their wealths wasted by maintaining their many Legions in their own Land and abroad: All this notwithstanding the *Romans* either would not, or could not relieve, having enough to doe to uphold their owne; but returned them againe with heavy hearts into the hands of their most cruell *Enemies*, who now knowing themselves free from the *Romans* interceptions, as a violent floud brake thorow the Province, and bare downe all before them; the *Inhabitants* flying like chased Deere, some taking over Seas into *Britaine* in *France*, some to *South-wales*, *North-wales*, *Cornwall*, and parts of *Devonshire*, leaving the best of the *Land* to the will of their Persecutors, and much of their Treasures hid in the ground, which never after they enjoyed.

Britaines flie into *France*, *South-wales*, *North-wales*, *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*.

(4) But the greevous Famine still increasing, though it had this woful issue with some, that it made them yeeld themselves into the Enemies bloudy hands (onely in hope to gaine a little sustenance of food for the present,) and for many yeeres after left lamentable tokens (saith *Beda*) of great desolations wrought by that dearth: yet with those other which were of more noble and resolute spirits it produced a better effect; insomuch as from out of the Mountaines, Caves, and thicke woodes, they assailed their enemies, reposing their truft not in *Man*, but in *God*, whose help is then most at hand, when mans help faileth. These in many skirmishes gave them the overthrow with much slaughter, and that for many yeeres together, when they made their incursions for booties and spoile, which caused these *Ravening Irish* to returne home; and the *Picts* awhile rested from further molestation. Notwithstanding the *Britaines* returned not from their owne wickednesse, growing strong not in dayly repressing the Enemie, but stronger in their owne sinnes and civill dissentions. By meanes whereof, though a surcease of Hostile Warres was imbraced, and the skarres of famine cleerly skinned up, yet another sore as dangerous as either, secretly bred, and shortly brake forth. For the Land being free from the Enemies wastes, yeelded such plenty and abundance of all things, as the like before no age had seene; and therewithall such riot and excesse, that the peoples sins grew to a plentifull harvest, as by the words of *Gyldas* is apparant.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Britaines trusting in God, overcome their enemies.

(5) *Certainely it is heard* (saith he) *that there is such fornication, as the like is not among the Gentiles. Truth with the maintainers thereof is hated: Lies with the Forgers thereof highly esteemed. Evill is entertained for good, leudnesse respected more then uprightnesse, darknesse desired before the bright Sunne, and Satan accepted for an Angel of light: Kings then were anointed, not according to Gods liking, but such as excelled others in cruelty; and as cruelly againe by their anointers were they murdered, not for any demerit, but that they might advance others more savage then the former. If he were milde, or inclining to truth, the darts of hatred were on every side levelled against him, as the onely subverter of the* Britains estate. *What was pleasing or displeasing to God, was all one with them, saving that the better things commonly wrought most discontent: so that rightly the saying of the Prophet, which was denounced unto the people in old time, might be applyed to our Countrey: Tee lawlesse and corrupt children have forsaken the Lord, and provoked unto Wrath the holy One of Israel. Why should ye be smitten any more, still multiplying iniquity? Every head is sicke, and every heart is heavie: from the sole of the foot unto the crowne of the head, there is nothing found therein. Thus did they all things that were contrary to their safety, as if that medicine which was bestowed by that truest Physitian of all, was needlesse for the world. And not onely the prophaner sort did this, but also the selected flocke of the Lord, and the Shepheards thereof, who ought to have given example to the whole people. To speake of drunkennesse, numbers of them lay senseleese and weltring in Wine, swelling with pride, contention and griping envie, putting no difference of judgement betweene good and evill: insomuch that it seemeth the sword was powred forth both upon Prince and people: and all of them seduced by vanities, wandred in errors and by-paths, not led in the right way. When God therefore was minded to purge his family, and to recure them thus infected with the corruptions of sinnes, by heare-say onely of tribulation, the winged flight of an often-tried rumour pierced the attentive eares of all men, giving notice of their ancient Enemies, ready to arrive, and fully minded to destroy them utterly, and to inhabit (as earst they did) the whole Countrey from one end to another. Yet all this could not reclaime them, but like unto mad horses, which taking the bit fast between their teeth, run away with their Riders, so these leaving the way that leadeth (narrow though it be) unto salvation, ran at randome in the wide way of all wickednesse, which leadeth directly to death. Whiles therefore (as Solomon saith) the stubborne servant will not be amended with words, he is scourged for a foole, and feeleth not the whip: for loe, a pestilent contagion fell heavily upon this foolish people, which (though the enemies sword was gone) in short space destroyed such multitudes of them, that the living were not able to bury the dead. Neither yet also were they thereby bettered, that the saying of the Prophet Esay in them might be fulfilled: God called them to mourning, to baldnesse, and sacke-cloth: but behold, they fell to killing of Calves, and to slaying of Rammes 3 loe, they went to eating and drinking, and said withall; Let us eat and drinke, for to morrow we shall die. And indeed the time now drew neere, wherein their iniquities (like as those in times past of the Amorites) should come to the fulnesse. And even at that instant the like measure began to be heaped upon the Britaines.*

Pfal. 106. 40.

Britaines heare of an invasion, yet not reclaimed.

Prov. 29. 19.

Esay. 22. 13.

(6) For the common enemie now invading the Southerne parts, was entred as farre as *Stamford* upon the River *Welland*; whom to resist, the *Britaines* assembled together, and having experience what civill jarres had formerly done, they jointly unite their meanes and powers, and with one consent elect a King to manage these affaires, which was *Vortigerne*, by birth extracted from the *British Line*, nobly descended, had not his many vices blemished the same. The *British Historie* saith, that hee was *Earle of Cornwall*, and of great command in the dayes of *Constantine* their King, whose simplicitie hee much abused, and whom lastly he caused to be murdered by the *Guard* of his Person, the *Scots* and *Picts* by him so placed, and to that end instigated: whom nevertheless with death hee severely punished, to avoid further suspition. In whose revenge, these fierce *Nations* so assaulted his Dominions with rape and spoile, that hee was forced for further assistance to send for these *Saxons* to his aid. Whether thus, or otherwise, most true it is, the *Saxons* were sent for, and of hoped *Friends*, became the tried *Enemies* to the *Britaines* and their *Estates*, as out of *Gildas* their *Historian* wee shall anon declare.

Saxons great Warriours and fortunate.

* *britaines.* The *Britaines* Ambassage and speech to the *Saxons.*

The Saxons answere to the Petition of the Britaines.

Saxons good service at their first comming.

Britaines iniquities.

Gildas.

The Enemie invadeth the Southerne parts.

Britaines unite their powers.

Vortigern of the British line.

Earle of Cornwall.

The Scots and Picts set to murther Constantine.

Nenius.

Saxon prophecy to possesse Britaine for 300 yeares.

Witikindus. The Saxons sent for.

The Saxons first arrivall on the East part of this Iland.

(7) The occasion and manner of this their inviting and comming, is set down by a Country man of their owne *Witikindus*, a Writer of good antiquity, who thus relateth the circumstance thereof. *Britaine* (saith he) *by Vespasian the Emperour, long since being reduced among the Roman Provinces, and held in their subjection, stood them in no small stead: but their Legions abandoned, and destitute* (as it seemeth) *determining the downefall, became soone assaulted by their neighbour Nations the Northerne Borderers. For the people of Rome after that the Emperor * Martiall was slaine by his Souldiers, being tired out with forraine wars, were not able to assist their friends with supply of accustomed aides. And yet had they built a mighty peece of worke for the defence of the Country, reaching betweene the confines from Sea to Sea, where it was thought that the Enemies would assaile the Inhabitants left in the Land. But no difficulty it was for them so fiercely bent, and ever ready to make war (especially where they dealt with a Nation feebled and left unable to make resistance) to destroy the said worke. Therefore hearing of the worthy and fortunate exploits atchieved by the Saxons, they sent an humble Embassage to require their aid, and these having audience, spake as followeth.*

Martian his meaneth.

The Romans worke for the Britaines defence raced by the Northerne Borders.

"Most noble *Saxons*, the poore and distressed "* *Brets*, outworn & tired by the many incursions of "their enemies, hearing the fame of those victories "which you have most valiantly obtaind, have sent "us Suppliants unto you, craving that you would "not deny them your helpe and succour. A large "and spacious Land they have, plentifull and abun- "dant in all things, which we yeeld wholly to be at "your devotion and command. Hitherto wee have "lived freely under the patronage and protection of "the *Romans*, next unto whom wee know not any "more powerfull then your selves, and therefore we "seeke for refuge under the wings of your valour. So "that we may by your puissance be superiour of our "enemies, whatsoever service you shal impose upon "us, that will we willingly abide.

To this petition the Peeres and Nobles of the Saxons briefely made answer in this wise.

"Know yee that the *Saxons* will be fast friends "unto the *Brets*, and ready at all times both to "assist them in their necessity, and also to procure "their wealth: with joy therefore returne yee Am- "bassadors, and with this wished for tidings make "your Country-men glad, *Hereupon (according to promise) an army was sent into Britain, and joyfully received, which in short time freed the Land from the spoiling enemies, and recovered the country unto the behoofe of the Inhabitants.*

(8) But how true this last clause is, may appeare out of the ancient *Gildas*, who thus recordeth it: *To represse* (saith hee) *many invasions of those their ancient enemies, which with cruell slaughters and booties continually afflicted them, the Britaines fell to consule upon some convenient course therein to be taken. Lastly, all the Counsellors, together with the proud Tyrant, being blinded in judgement, devised such a protection, as in the end proved their Countries destruction; namely, that these fierce Saxons, a people savage and of hatefull name, odious both to God & man, should be let into this Iland, as it were wolves into sheepe-folds, so repulse (forsooth) the Northerne Nations: then which project doubtlesse nothing was ever more pernicious and unhappy unto this Land. O senses senseleese and plunged into deepest mists of errour! desperate dulnesse, and blind blockishnesse of minde! Those who in absence were feared more then death, now of their owne accord are invited by these Princes of Egypt (if I may so say, thus sottishly counselling their Pharaoh) to come and rest with them under one roofe. Presently out of the Denne of that barbarous Lioness, rushed forth a kennell of her whelpes, in three long vessels, called in their language * Cyule, carried under full saile, and with ominous presages fore-prophecying that for 300 yeares they should possesse that Land unto which they then directed their course, and for halfe of thus space, (viz. one hundred and fifty yeares) they should waste and depopulate the same. These being put on shore first in the East part of the Iland, and that by Commandement of this unfortunate Tyrant, shere set fast their terrible pawes, pretending to the Islanders, defence of their Country, but more truely intending the destruction of them. The foresaid Lioness finding that her first troupe of whelpes sped so well, sends againe a greater Rabble of the same Litter, which here arrived in Flotes, bringing with them some other Associates of bastardy and unnoble brood. And these beginnings, the slips of iniquity, and the roots of bitternesse, (an accursed plantation well besitting our demerits) have sprung up, and put forth in our soile their haughty boughs and spreading branches. This barbarous Nation thus admitted, professing themselves our Souldiers and such as would endure all hazards (so they fained) in defence for their good Hosts, first they craved supply of victuals only, which being given them, for some time stopped (as we may say) the Dogs mouth: howbeit, afterward they complaine that their wages was not bountifully enough paid, devising of purpose colourable occasions of quarrell, and threatning that unlesse they might have more munificent entertainment, they would with the breach of covenant spoile and waste the whole Iland. And without further delay, they second these threats with deeds (for our sinnes, the cause of deserved revenge, were still nourished) and the fire kindled Eastward, was set a flaming by these sacrilegious men from Sea to Sea, ceasing not to consume all the Cities and Countries bordering thereabout, untill such time as burning weinere all the Inland Soile of the Iland, it licked (as it were) with the red tongue of the flame the very Westerne Ocean it selfe. In this violent invasion, comparable to that of the Assyrians against the Land of Israel in old times, is historically fulfilled also in us, that which the Prophet by way of sorrowfull lamentation uttereth: They have set fire upon thy holy places, and have burned the dwelling place of thy Name, even unto the ground. And again: O God the Heathen are come into thine heritage, thy holy Temple have they defiled: For all the Fortifications demolished with their Engines, and the Inhabitants together with the Bishops of the Church, and also the Priests and people with glittering swords and crackling flames, were all at once laid along upon the ground, yea, and (which was a most lamentable spectable) the stately Turrets, high mounted Walls, and the sacred Altars, lay all tumbling together (all purpled with the broken and bloudy Quarters and goared Carcases) mixed as in a horrible Wine-presse. Neither were there any other Sepulchers abroad, save the ruines of buildings, and the bowels of wilde beasts and birds.*

Esay. 22.

Saxons invent occasions of quarrell.

Saxons spoiles comparable to the Assyrians upon the Israelites. Pfal. 74. 8.

Pfal. 79. 1.

(9) During this most wofull, desperate, and tempestuous season (saith the mournfull *Historian*) *some poore remaines of Britaines being found in the mountains, were slaine by whole heapes: others pined by famine, came and yeelded themselves unto their enemies, upon composition to serve them as Bond-slaves for ever, so they might not be slaughtered out of hand: which granted, was reputed a most high and especiall grace. Others went over seas into strange lands, singing under their spread Sailes with a lamentable and mourniug note, that of the Psalmist: Thou hast given us, O Lord, as sheepe to be devoured, and hast scattered us among the Heathen. Yet others remained still in their own Country (albeit in fearefull estate, and continually suspecting hazard) committing their lives and safety to the high steepe Hills, to craggy Mountaines naturally intrenched, to thicke gromne Woods and Forrests, yea and to the Rocks of the Sea.*

Britaines slaine in the Mountaines. Pfal. 44. 22.

(10) Thus was *Britaine* brought to the period of her glory; and the people miserably subjected to a forraine Nation, about the yeare from Christs Nativity 473. and after the *Romans* last farewell, 28. In which time you see they were most cruelly pursued with all calamities of warre, and lastly betrayed by them in whom so much truft was repofed, as mournfull *Gildas* hath ruefully declared.

Britaines put-faced with all calamities of warre.

Britaines did all things contrary to their safetie.

Esay. 1.

Great sinnes among the Britains.

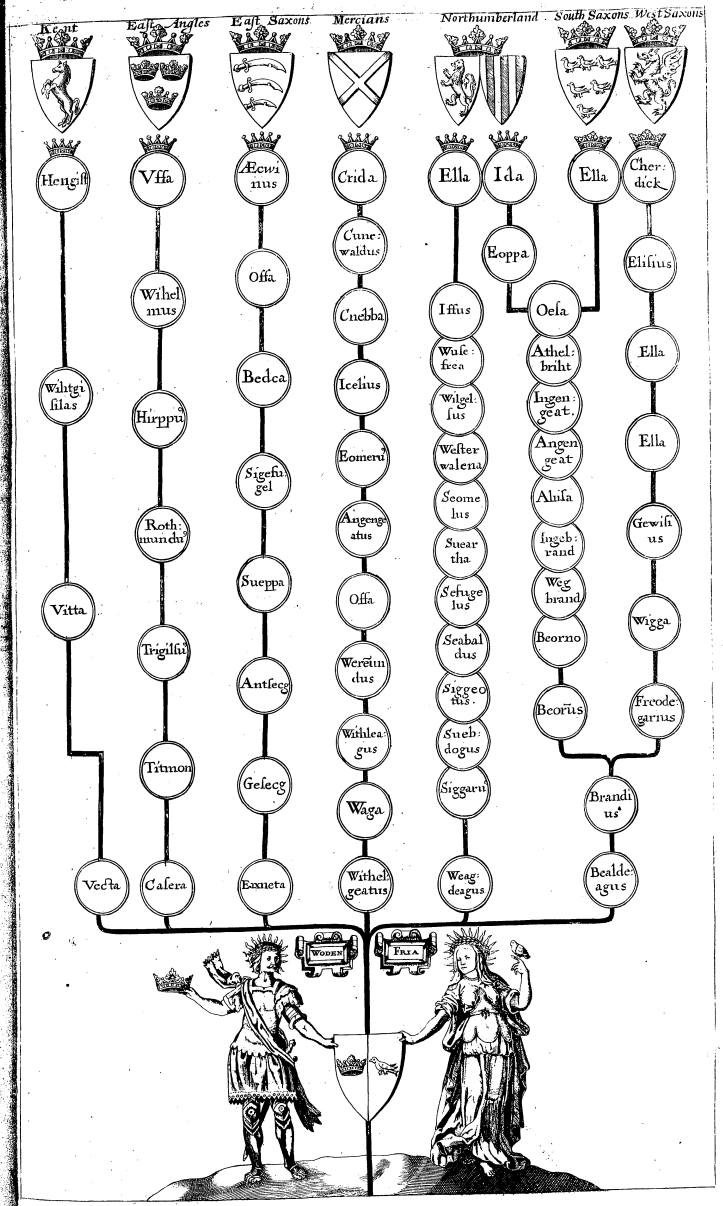
Gildas.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 14.

THE

THE ROYALL STEMME OF THE SAXONS, FROM PRINCE VVODEN AND HIS WIFE FRIA; BRANCHED VNTO THEM THAT FIRST LAID THE HEPTARCHIE OF GREAT BRITAINE.

BEfore we enter into the diſcourſe of thoſe SAXONS, that by ſubtilty firſt fought, and by ſtrength at laſt obtained the faire inheritance of great *Britains* Crowne, let us firſt ſhew from what ancient Stem theſe ſeven faire branches tooke ſappe of growth or beginning: that ſo the eye may be led, and the minde delight, to view, and to reade the manners of them, that ſince *Noah*, *Gomer*, and *Iavan*; are of fureſt record, to be our knowne parents. And from this tree-like body behold the boughes that grew & aſpired to the hight of their owne wiſhed glory: laying the foundation of their ſeven kingdoms in *Great Britains Iland*; which no ſooner was enjoyed, but each of them ſought by his owne, to over-ſhaddow the next, untill Fortune & warre brought all into one. And by the ſucceſſors of that one, the Crowne is ſtill worne, for fame and continuance far fairer then any. Theſe *Saxons* thus branched, by *Florentius* monke of *Worceſter*, is brought from Prince *Woden* their deified *Mars*, and from *Fria* his princeſſe, by them adored for the goddes *Venus*: and that with no litle imaginations of both their great powers. I need not to commend the credire of this monke, ſeeing *Bale* in his Centuries, 66. hath done it before me; and *time the touch-ſtone of truth* hath ſet him ſo necre unto their times, that his life might well touch the lives of ſome of theſe *Saxons*: for he wrote in the dayes of king *Henry* the firſt, and died in the yere of grace a thouſand one hundred and nintteene; being the firſt recorder of our *Normane* Stories, and the director of all after-followers. See therefore from him (if you pleaſe) theſe SAXONS deſcents: and from him, and others their originalls; manners, religions, lawes, and names: reſerving the credit thereof unto them; but the errours and paynes to our ſelfe.



THE SAXONS ORIGINALL.

CHAPTER II.

AS Times decayed Ruines have ſtopped the paſſage of thoſe ſmall Springs, iſſued from the firſt fountaine of Nations beginnings, and have diverted their ſtreames farre from any ſure Courſe or certain known Heads; ſo the originall parent place, and name of our *Engliſh Saxons*, have been written with a penne of ſlight touch upon the leaves of oblivion, or elſe recorded in thoſe obſcure Roules, that as yet ly bound up in the Office of times forget-fulneſſe: whereby it reſts doubtful from what root theſe branches firſt ſprang; ſome bringing them from *Aſia*, ſome from *Africa*, ſome from *Macedon*, ſome from *Denmarke*, and ſome without all likelihood from *Britaine* it ſelfe.

Occa Scarlenſis a Friſlander borne, affirmeth theſe *Saxons* to come of *Saxo* a Prince of *India*, who with his two brethren, were baniſhed by lot to ſeeke their deſtinies abroad, their owne Countries being peſtered with over-many people at home. Theſe (ſaith he) following *Alexander the Great* into *Greece*, became Progenitors to their countries, that from them received their of-ſpring and names: as that from *Friſo* the eldeſt, his *Friſlanders* deſcended; from *Saxo* the ſecond the *Saxons* upon the River *Albis*, and from *Bruno* the youngeſt, the inhabitants of the Dukedome of *Brunſwic*. And of this opinion alſo *Sufridus Petri* ſeemeth to be. *Crantzius* doth derive them from the *Catti* in *Germany* and the *Phrygians* a Region in *Aſia*; to omit others who would bring them from *Saxo* the brother of *Vandale*.

(2) *F. Alianus* a learned Author, doth thinke the *Saxons* to be deſcended from *Sace*, a people in *Aſia*, and that afterward in proceſſe of time they came to be called *Saxons*; as if it were written *Sax-ſons*, as much to ſay as *The ſons of the Sace*. To this opinion Maſter *Henry Ferrers*, a Gentleman of ancient deſcent, great reading, and a judicious Antiquary agreeth; whoſe judgement for my particular, I have alwayes honoured, and from the *Progeny of his Engliſh Monarchs* have taken my principall proceeding in theſe *Saxons* Succeſſors.

(3) As touching the ancient place of their aboad, *Ptolomy* the *Alexandrian* placeth the people *Saſones* in the Inner *Scythia*, betwixt the Mountains *Alani* and *Tapuri*; and *Amianus Marcellinus* ſiteth the *Sacæ* (no doubt the very ſame) *a fierce and ſavage Nation, to inhabit overgrowne places, commodious onely for Cattell, at the foot of the mountaines Aſcamnia and Comedus, neere unto which the City Alexandria, Tribatra and Dreſpa were adjoyning, and are ſo ſet by Ptolemie.* Neither is it leſſe proioyning, *and are ſo ſet by Ptolemie.* Neither is it leſſe proiobable that our *Saxons* deſcended from theſe *Sacæ* in Scythia, then the *Germans* from thoſe *Germans* in *Perſia*, *Aſia*, then the *Germans* from thoſe *Germans* in *Perſia*, of whom *Herodotus* writeth. And *Joſeph Scaliger*, a renowned Authour, ſheweth, that theſe words *ſader mo-der, brader, tutcher, band*, and ſuch like: are at this day found in the *Perſian* tongue in the ſame ſenſe, as we uſe Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter and bound, &c. a great inducement (as ſome thinke) for the *Saxons* originall from thoſe parts; though in my opinion the Latine, *Pater, Mater, Frater*, have no leſſe affinitie of ſound, and in all likelihood were the Primitives to theſe of ours. Of theſe *Sacæ*, *Strabo* writeth that they made invaſions into countries lying farre off, as namely *Armenia*, where they left the memory of their ſucceſſe in a part of that Countrey, by calling it *Sacaena*, after their owne name.

Saxons coming into Europe.

(4) From theſe parts or *Aſia*, as *Scithia* and the reſt one Band of them, conſiſting chiefly of their Youth, proceeded by degrees into *Europe*, and poſſeſſed the *Neſſe*, or *Forland*, which the *Romans* called *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, being at this day the continent part of the kingdome of *Denmarke*. In which place they were firſt knowne by the name of the *Saxons*. And here alſo they among themſelves began firſt to be diſtinguiſhed into other Tribes, as *Holt-Saxons* (for ſo *Verſtegan*, out of their old *Chronicle*, ſaith they were called) for their keeping in the Woods: but more properly (we may ſay) into *Saxons Angles*, and *Iutes*. From hence afterwards they departed, and paſſing over the River *Elbe*, divided it themſelves into two Companies; whereof the one taking into the upper parts of *Germany*, by little and little intruded themſelves into the ancient Seat of the *Suevians*, which now of them is called *Weſtphalia* and *Saxony*: and the other incroached upon *Friſland* and *Holland* (then called *Batavia*) with the reſt of thoſe Countries that lie along the *German* Seas.

Verſtegan cap. 1. Holt-Saxons. Saxons Angles and *Saxons Iutes.*

Sebaſtian Munſter. lib. 3.

(5) The time wherein theſe *Saxons* ſhould thus infeſt *Germany*, by *Occa Scarlenſis* verdict is as ancient as great *Alexander*: others account it long after, in the raigne of *Tiberius*. But before *Ptolemy* we finde them not mentioned by any Author, who flouriſhed in the dayes of *Antoninus Pius*, about the yeare from *Chriſts* Nativity 140. And moſt certain it is by *Eutropius* and *Beda*, that before the yeare three hundred when *Dioclesian* ſwayed the *Roman* Scepter, the *Saxons* out of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* fore offended the coaſts of *Britaine* and *France*, with their many piracies, and were fearfull even to the *Romans* themſelves. Theſe multiplying in number and ſtrength, ſeated in the *Maritime* tract of *Iuteland*, *Sleſwick*, *Holſatia*, *Ditmarſe*, *Breme*, *Oldenburgh*, all *Friſland* and *Holland*: and indeed, according to the Teſtimony of *Fabius Queſtor*, *Wholly all the Sea coaſts from the river Rhene unto the Citie Donia, which now is commonly called the Denmerc; and with him Henry of Erford affirmeth Saxon-land to ſtretch from the River Albis unto the Rhene; the bounds of no one people of all the Germans extending any way ſo farre* ſaith he.

The time of the Saxons entrance into Germanie.

Eutropius. Beda. Saxons ſcatter to the *Romans* themſelves.

(6) But theſe ſpreading boughes, are brought by others from a neere *Root*, planted not in *Aſia*, or *Scythia*, but rather in *Europe* and in *Germany* it ſelfe; grounding their opinion from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who maketh them to be bred in the ſame Country, though diſtinguiſhed by Name from the reſt, as others more beſide them were. Which *Saxons* (ſay they) though they were not mentioned by *Tacitus* in his *Deſcription of Germany*, yet in *Ptolomy*, that wrote not much above fortie yeares after him, they are named, as alſo the *Gute* and the *Angli*, Copartners of there Conqueſt. *Tacitus* placeth among theſe *Germanes* that worſhiped *Herthum* the *Mother-earth* for their Anwordſe Goddeſſe; at firſt but one people, but afterwards divided into three ſeverall *Tribes*; that is, the *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*, who left the remembrance of their Names ſtamped (as it were) in the ſoile from whence

The names of theſe Saxons Tribes.

Tacit. Deſcri. Ger. cap. 1.

Tacit. Deſcri. Germ. cap. 6.

Saxons. Angles. Iutes.

whence they departed, and alſo coyned new unto others, whereof they became poſſeſſors.

Ptolm. Geogr. in deſcr. Ger. The place of the *Holt-Saxons* inhabiting. *Bed. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 1. c. 15.*

(7) *Potolemy*, among the *Suevians* in *Germany* placeth the *Saxons*, neere to the mouth of the *River Albis*, in the continent of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. And in this *Iland* of *Britaine*, *Beda* telles us that the *Kingdomes of the Eaſt and Weſt Saxons were of them peopled*: Whoſe originall *Name*, beſides the *Indian Saxo*, or the *Scythian Sace*, ſome will have Etymologed from *Saxum* a *Stone*, becauſe forſooth theſe people were hard or *Stony-hearted* and ſome againe from the *Axones* in *Gallia*, of whom *Lucan* maketh mention in this his verſe:

Longiſq; leves Axones in armis.
And nimble Axons in their Armour light.

Juſtus Lipſius and *Engelhuſius* affirmeth of the Name *Saxon.*

(8) *Juſtus Lipſius* conjectureth, and *Engelhuſius* affirmeth (as *Verſtegan* ſaith) that the name *Saxon*, tooke the appellation from the *Faſhion* of the *Weapon* that uſually they wore; which was a *Crooked Bowing Sword*, ſomewhat like unto a *Sithe*, with the edge on the contrary ſide, called by the *Netherlandes*, a *Saiſen*, and by themſelves *Seaxen*; and the ſhorter of like faſhion for hand-weapons, *Seaxes*; ſuch as were thoſe that were hid under their garments in the *Maſſacre* of the *Britiſh Nobility* upon *Salisbury Plaine*, when *Henziſt* gave the watch-word, *Mem eour Seaxes*, that is, *Take your Swords*: three of which knives *Argent*, in a Field *Gules*, were born by *Erkenwyne* king of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, upon his ſhield of Armes, as ſome of our *Heralds* have imblazed. And that their names was ſo given them from their *weapons*, ſome alleage their accuſtomed maner in wearing thereof, which uſually was to truſſe the ſame overthwart their backs when they went forth to battle; whereby notice was taken, and the name attributed unto them, as the like hath beene upon like occaſion unto others: for ſo in *Aſia* the *Scythians* were named for their skill in ſhooting; in *France* the *Picards* for their long *Pikes* uſed in fight; and in *Ireland* the *Gallogleſſes*, which bare the *Pollax* as their principall weapon: and of latter times, upon leſſe occaſions have *Surnames* growne both to particular men, as alſo to whole Societies; which may appeare in ſuch as having vowed their voyage and ſervice for *Ieruſalem*, were continually upon their backs a red Croſſe, whereby the name *Croſſe-back*, or in old Engliſh, *Crauch backe*, was to them attributed: in wch ranke, *Edmund Earle of Lancaſter* (ſecond ſonne to King *Henry* the third) was a principall, and thereby got that name, which he could not claw off from his backe ever ſince. So likewiſe theſe men which entred that Religion of Monaſticall life, wore uſually upon the outſide of their Garments the ſigne of a *Croſſe*, whereby that order was diſtinguiſhed and noted from others by the name of *Crouched* or *Croſſed Friers*. But whence or howſoever the name aroſe, among all the *Germans* there were none in reputation for Military deeds comparable unto theſe *Saxons*: neither had any adventured by ſea and land, ſo farre to purchaſe renowne and praiſe, or perhaps (and that more likely) to ſupply their owne wants, ranging often from place to place, as men alwayes ready to enter any action: and in *Germany* to this day a great *Dukedome* retaineth from them the name of *Saxony*.

Saxons weapons called *Saſſes, Seaxes*, and *Sneaes*.

Britiſh Nobility maſſacred.

Scythians ſo named of *Scyſſen* to ſhoote. *Picards* for their long *Pikes*. *Gallogleſſes* for their *Pollaxe*.

Such as had vowed their voyage to Ieruſalem, named *Croſſe-backe*. Crouch-backe.

Ariamus. Zoſimus.

Strabo. in lib. de Sa.

Egin hardus.

(9) The *Gute* (no doubt the *Iuta*) *Ptolomie* likewiſe placeth in the *Iland Scandia*, lying very neere the Coaſts of *Germany*, upon whoſe uttermoſt *Promontorie*, (as ſaith an ancient *Manuſcript*) *the Iutes did for certaine inhabite, which unto this day of the Danes is called Iutland.* Theſe *Iutes, Gutes, Getes*, or *Gothes*, or (as *Beda* calls them) *Vites*, gave names to thoſe parts of *Britain* which they inhabited, as to this day the *Ile of Wight* beareth their impreſſio. This variety of names we wil no further inforce, then that theſe *Gothes* were not the ſame that had paſſed *Iſter* by *Pontus Euxinus*, and over-ran *Europe*, who were alſo called the *Gete* by *Iohn Maior*. Their name, as *Verſtegan* will have it, was taken from their *agilitie*, or *ſwiftneſſe* of foot: and ſome of them (as *Sebaſtian Munſter* declare th) went

The place of the *Iute Saxons* inhabiting.

Iutes called *Gutes, Gothes*, or *Vites.*

Ile of Wight, how ſo named.

Iohn Maior. Verſtegan Reſt. Cap. Sabellius. Munſt. lib. 3.

and inhabited among the Mountaines that divide *Germany* from *Italy*, whereupon their name grew to be called the *Hil-Vites*, wch are now the *Helvetians*.

(10) The *Angles* (by *Fabius Queſtor Ethelwardus* an ancient Writer, and a Noble Perſon of the *Saxons* Royall blood) are brought from *Old Anglia*, a Portion *lying betwixt the countries of the Saxons and the Gi-ots*, as he writeth them; whoſe chiefe Towne was by them called *Sleſwick*, and of the *Danes*, *Haithby*: but (more particularly) it lay betwixt the City *Flemburg* and the River *Sly*, which Country *by Albertus Crantzius* is called *Anglia*. From hence (ſaith *Henricus Rantzovius*) *the Saxons, who were alſo called the Angle-Saxons, went to aide the Britaines*, And at this day there is a little Provincein the Kingdome of *Dania*, named *Angell*, beneath the City *Flemburge*, which *Lindebergius* calleth *Little Anglia*. Their fire notwithſtanding is placed by moſt Authours in *Weſtphalia*, where the Citie *Engern* ſtandeth, and where *Tacitus* and *Potolomy* rangeth them among the *Sueviens*; which in their times might very well be. Others would have them in *Pomerania*, where the Towne *Engloen* doth ſomewhat found their name: ſo doe *Engelheim, Engleburg*, and *Englerute*, places in *Germany*, beare witneſſe, and are prints of their footing among the *Longobards* and *Suevians*. But the moſt glorious remembrance of that their name hath beene for theſe many ages in this Kingdome of *England*: though *Saxo Grammaticus* (as erſt we touched, *Lib. 5. Cap. 2.*) will needs have *Angla* named from *Angul* the Sun of *Humblus*, and Giant-like brother of *Danus* the firſt King of *Denmarke*. But *Albertus Crantzius* being offended at his folly, tels him that *England had the name of Britaine many hundred yeares after that Angul was dead*. Others there are that derive the name *England* from the maner of this *Ilands* ſituation, being narrow in the *Weſt* and *North*, for that *Eng* in the ancient *Teutonick Toung*, as well as in the moderne, doth ſignifie *Narrow, Strait*, or a *Nooke*; and to that purpoſe doe produce this verſe of a *Portugals* alluſion.

Anlia terra ferax, & fertilis Angulus Orbis,
Inſula præditos, qua toto vix egot orbe.

A fruitfull Angle, England thou, another world art ſaid:
An Iland rich, and haſt no need of other countrees aid.

The Angli-Saxons place of inhabitang. *Old Anglia.*

Crantzius. Henr. Rantzovius.

Lindebergius.

A Prouince in Denia called little England.

Words of affinity with the name *Angles.*

Saxo Grammaticus.

Albertus Crantzius.

Verſtegan.

Eng. ſignifieth narrow.

(11) *Calepine* without proofe deriveth the name from Queene *Angela*: but on as weake a ground as thoſe who will fetch it from their *Angel-like faces*, alluded unto by Pope *Gregory the Great*. Or that of *Goropius*, from the *Angle* or *Fiſhing-hooke*, becauſe, ſaith he, they hooked all things to themſelves, and might very well therefore be called *Good Anglers*: a very meane conceit inſooth. But however, moſt certaine it is that theſe *Angles* ſtole the name of this bleſſed *Iland* from their elder brethren the *Saxons* (as *Ioab* did the birth-right from *Eſau*) and called it after their owne; as we ſhall further ſhew when our Hiſtory hath gotten to the age of the *Saxons* Monarchy.

Calepine. Beda Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 1.

Goropius Becc. Anglos ſo called of a Fiſhing hooke.

Angles ſtole their name. Gen. 27.

(12) Theſe all claime their deſcents from Prince *Woden*; called by the ancient *Latins Othinus*; and who is deduced by our *Antiquaries*, as hath beene ſaid, from the eldeſt Sonne of the Patriarke *Noah*, and is accounted the moſt noble of all the Progenitors of the *Saxon* Kings, in ſo much as they, and eſpecially the *Angle-Saxons*, our *Anceſtors*, have in their ſuperſtitious conceit of ſuch wooden goods) imagined *Woden* to be their principall god of Battle; whoſe Wife named *Frea*, was by the like fancy held a goddeſſe, of whom more hereafter.

Saxons both *Angles & Iutes* deſcendfrom *Woden.*

Woden often-times five ſons their names and Seigniories.

(13) Theſe had iſſue between them ſundry ſons, and from five of them, all the Monarches of the *Engliſh-men* have claimed to have bin deſcended; *Wechta* the firſt being reported to be the Progenitors to the *Kings* of the *Kentiſhmen*: *Ceſar* the ſecond, to the Kings of the *Eaſt-Angles*: *Wethelgeat* the third, to the kings of the *Mercians*: *Wegdeg* the fourth, to the kings of the *Dierians*: and *Beldeg* the fift, to the Kings of

Saxons, the uncertainty from whence they came.

Occa Scarlenſis. Saxons from *Saxo* a Prince of *India.*

Sufridus Petri. Crantzius. Saxons of the *Catti* in *Germany.*

Saxons from *Sace*, a people in *Aſia.*

F. *Alianus* in Progen. Mr. *Henry Ferrers* in his Progeny of *Engliſh Monarchs.*

Ptolmie Geogra. in deſcription of *Aſia. Amian. Marcel. lib. 23. c. 20.*

Michael Neandr.

Herodotus. * *Joſeph. Scaliger.*

Perſian and *Saxon* tongue agree in many words.

Strabo.

the *South-Saxons*, to the Kings of the *Bernicians*, afterwards Kings of *Northumberland*; and also the King of the *West-Saxons*. This may suffice for the originall of these three people; who, as *Cisner* affirmeth, retained still the same manners after they were seated in *Europe*, as they had formerly done in *Asia*. And what those were, let us heare the reports of *Tacitus*, and other ancient Authors, who, together with the *Germans* (among whom they dwelled) doe thus describe them.

Cisner.

THE MANNERS AND CVSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT SAXONS.

Chapter. III.

Crantzius.

THese *Germans*, and among them the *Catti* and *Suevians*, our Ancestors (according to *Albertus Crantzius*) *were a people* (saith *Tacitus*) *well set, sterne of countenance, tall of stature, gray eied, and of a fierie aspect, and their haire yellow.* Vnto whom, *Witichindus* the Monke addeth and saith, that *They were faire of complexion, cheerefull of countenance, very comely of stature, and their limbes to their bodies well proportioned; bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory: for which parts* (saith hee) *the Franks had them in great admiration, and wondred at their new and strange attire, their armour and their bushie lockes of haire, that from their heads overspred their shoulders; but above all, at their constant resolution and valiant courage. Their heads and beards they suffer* (saith *Tacitus*) *to grow at length, and never put off that vowed ornament and bond of valour, untill they have slaine an enemie: but then upon blood and spoile, they have slaine an enemie: but then upon blood and spoile, they uncover their forehead, and say they have paied backe the price of their birth, and thinke themselves worthy of their Country and parents. Their curled locks* (saith he) *they bind up in knots, and standing on end, tie it in the crowne onely: that is the harmelesse care they have of beautie, to seeme more terrible to the Enemy.* And by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his testimony, they used to shave off the haire of their heads, reserving onely a tuft in the crowne, about which they wore a hoope or plate of copper, which caused the haire to stand upright, as by these his verses appeareth.

Tacit. de script. et Germany.

Sidonius Appol.

Istic Saxona cæruleum videmus
Adsuetum antè Salo, solum timere:
Cujus verticis extimas per oras
Non contenta suos tenere morsus,
Alnat lamina marginem comarum:
Et sic crinibus ad cutem recisis
Decrescit caput, additurq; vultus.

In English thus:

There doe we see the Saxon, clad in blew,
Bold on the Sea, but fearfull now on land:
Their heighted tops upon their crownes that shew,
Are not content to hold their wonted band.
But rais'd in tufts, where all the rest doth stand
Bare necked shau'd, and hath no haire at all,
Which makes full fac'd, but heads seeme passing small.

Agathias.

Isidore.

(2) And that they were indeede bold upon the Seas, *Agathias* witnesseth. *The Saxons* (saith he) *a most valorous kind of men, excell all others in Piracies.* In imitation of whom, *Isidore* affirmeth, that for their valour and nimblenesse in service they had their name. *A people* (saith he) *stout, hardy, and most valiant, and farre out-stripping all others in piracies, seemed more fearfull to love on Land then at Sea.* Whose intrusions and sudden violence both *France* and *Britaine* with great dammages felt: for in *Gallia* they seized into their possession the Country of * *Baiocasses*, as is to be seene in *Gregorius Turonensis*, who thence termeth them *Saxones* * *Baiocassiones*: and in *Britaine* an Office of Charge was instituted to defend the Coasts from their irruptions, the *Captaine* whereof was commonly called the *Count* or *Earle of the Saxons Shoare*: of whose *Piracies* and *savage Cruelties*, let us heare *Sidonius* in his Epistle to *Nummantius* complaine: *So many Rowers as you see* (saith he) *so many Arch-Pirats thinke you beholds, they all of them together so command, obey, steach, and learne, to rob and steale. There is no enemy so cruell as this, that setteth upon others as unawares, and as occasion serves, as warily slips himselfe away. Hee setteth at nought such as encounter him: hee bringeth to nought those that take no heed of him: whom he overseth, he surely overtaketh: when he flieth, he is sure to escape. To this service, shipwracks inure him, they terrifie him not. Be there a tempest up, the same terveth them, and to assaile others. They never weigh Anchor upon the enemies Coasts, but with a resolution again to returne: and their manner is to kill every tenth Captive with a lingring and dolorous torment: for to such Vowes they binde themselves, and with such sacrifices they discharge their Vowes again, being indeed not so much purified by such Sacrifices, as polluted with Sacriledge: and the bloudy and abominable Murderers thinke it a religious thing, rather to torment a Prisoner unto death, then to set him free for a Ransome.*

Saxons excelling all other in Piracies.

Baiocas. Gregorius Turonensis.

S. Isidorus lib. 8.

But when we shall heare these unhumane and barbarous reports either of the old *Britaines*, or these savage *Saxons* our ancient Progenitors, let us neither bee offended at *Gildas*, or at the reports of these other forrain Writers, who spake thus of them as they were then *Heathens*, and knew not God: the time of whose ignorance seeing God regarded not, as the *Apostle* teacheth, let us acknowledge with due thankes the goodnesse of a most gracious God, who hath brought us to a holier converſation, and hath made us judges of those sinnes in them, that wee might flie them in our selves.

Saxons kill every tenth Captaine.

Saxons accept no ransome.

(3) Their *Apparell* was much different from others, and seemed strange to the *Gaules*, as *Witichindus* hath told us: and *Tacitus* declareth the manner thereof, which (saith he) *was a kind of Cassocke, called Sagum, clasped, or for want of a clasp fastned with a thorn, having otherwise no garments at all, but going starke naked. Nevertheless, the richer sort were distinguished from others, by their garments which were neither large nor wide, as the Sarmates and Parthians use to weare them but straite; and shewing the proportion of everie part of their bodie: besides they wore Pelts made of beasts skins.*

Witichindus lib. 2.

Tacit. de script. Germ.

The Saxon vestures.

The Man and Womans attire differd in nothing, saith he saving that the women use linnen Garments trimmed and interlaced with purple, and without sleeves, their armes bare, and bosomes naked and uncovered. Yet *Paulus Diaconus* speaking of the *Longobards*, comparing them to the *Saxons*, saith that their *Cassockes were large and worne loose, most of linnen, trimmed and set out with very broad Gards or welts purfled, and embroidered with sundry colours, and the richer sort with Pearles: their haire, bound upin a copper hoope, flood in tufts upon the crowne, the rest curled and falling downe upon their shoulders: their beards they kept still uncut, till they had killed an enemie; and for another note of ignominie, they wore an Iron Ring, as a signe of bondage, till they had cast it from them by the Conquest of a Man.* Great Knives, or rather broad bending Swords, they trusted upon little Shields thwart their backes, from which (as we shewed) *Engelhusius* avoucheth they had their appellation. *Hee that abandoned or lost this* [shield in battle (saith *Tacitus*) *was debarred from their publike Sacrifices and Assemblies, the greatest disgrace that could be; for very shame and griefe whereof, many, many times hanged themselves.* And upon these Shields their manner was to lift up their new elected *General*, and with acclamations so to carrie him thorow their *Campe*.

Witichindus.

Engelhusius.

Tacit. in descript. Germ.

Tacit. hist. 4. cap. 6.

Tacit. descript. Germ. cap. 5.

(4) For *Warres*, the *Germans* by *Tacitus* are reputed the best, who *for two hundred and ten yeeres held tack with the Romans. Not the Samnites* (saith he) *not the Carthaginians, not the Spaniards, or the Gallois, no not the Parthians have so much troubled us: for what can the East object against us, saving the death of Crassus, when he had defeated Pacorus, before trodden downe by Ventidius? But the Germans having either slaine, or taken Carbo, and Cassius, and Scaurus Aurelius, and Servilius Cepio, and M. Manlius, have defeated also five Consularie Armies, and Varus with three Legions in Cesars time. Neither have C. Marius in Italie, or Iulius in Gallia, Drusus or Nero, and Germanicus molested them at home in their Country, but to their more smart.* And yet these *Saxons* among those valiant *Germans* were accounted the best for courage of minde, ſtrength of body, and enduring of travell, as *Zosimus* saith. Terrible also they were, and full of agilitie, by the reported of *Orosius*: and *for their sudden invasions, most feared of the Romans*, saith *Marcellinus*.

Saxons of all the Germans the valiantest. Zosmus.

Marcel. lib. 26. c. 7.

Tacitus. The Saxons go singing to the warres.

The Saxons used suit to try by single combate.

The custome of admitting their souldiers.

The Saxons wiſedome in warre.

Ioannes Pomarius. The Saxons weapons.

Their ceremonies in Marrying. Tacitus.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 14. & 31.

(5) Their fashion was to goe forth *singing to the Warres, (or rather they especially are said to march to battle, whereas others are said to goe) carrying before them certaine Images taken out of their consecrated Woods.* Their manner was before they joyned Battle, to trie by single Combat (therein arming one of their own against some caprived enemie) what ſucceſſe was to be expected: and this they kept as a Law unviolated, that *none might presume to beare Armes before hee was solemnly admitted, where in a frequent Assemble a Shield was given him by his Parents or Kindred: and this was the pledge (as it were) of his first honour, he being till then reputed but a particular of a Familie; but thence-forward a member of the Common-wealth. They are very sensible, wise, and considerate in their service, in preferring choice Captaines, in following their Leaders, in observing their rankes, in taking the advantage and benefit of the day, and intrenching in the night, holding Fortune ever doubtfull, but valour alwaies certaine.* Their weapons, as reſpecteth *Ioannes Pomarius*, were long *Speares*, broad *Swords*, and the *Crosbow*: these they held in such esteeme, that with a *horse* furnished, *Shield, Sword*, and *Lance*, their *Virgins* were received in mariage, accounting them for the greatest bonds, and the very *Patron-Gods of Matrimony*: which custome might well bee taken from their neighbours the ancient *Saxacens*, whose *Maidens* usually presented to their husbands a *Tent* and a *Speare*, in way of *Dowrie* at the entrance of their *Nuptials*. And among these *Germans* those Martial habiliments were in such use, that they did meet neither at *Feasts* nor in *Counsell*, but in their Armour.

A People (saith *Tacitus*) *whom thou canst not so easily perswade to manure the ground, as to provoke the Enemie, and adventure wounds, holding small esteeme of that which is gotten by the sweat of their browes; when it might have been obtained by the expence of their blood. A strange diversitie* (saith he) *that the same men should so much love sloth, and hate quietnesse.* It is with them a great shame for their *Prince* to be overcome in *Valour*; but for any one to returne alive from that Battell wherein the *Prince* is slaine, is a perpetuall infamie and reproach. And that their resolutions were ever noble, and their courage nor danted in distreſſe or bondage, it well appeared by a whole band of them taken by *Symachus*, and designed for the *Romans* pastime of *Sword-players*, who the same morning that this spectacle was expected, strangled themselves rather then they would incurre such infamine and baseneſſe, as to make others pastime with the ignominious usage of their owne persons.

Saxons their resolute courages.

Tacit. de scr. Germ.

(6) Their Lawes were severe, and vices not laughed at, and *good Customs of greater authority among them, then elsewhere were good Lawes; no temporising for favour, nor usury for gaine; but bounteous in hospitality. and liberall in gifts, accounting both due to be given and received, yea and that without thankes: no Nation freer from adulterie, or punishing that sinne more severely. For the woman offending, having first her haire cut off, was turned starke naked out of her Husbands house, and that in presence of her owne kindred; thence she was scourged with whips thorow the Towne, without regard of birth, beauty, age or wealth, and never after could find another Husband. Those that were unnaturally leand of their bodies, their manner was to drowne them in filthy mud, and to cover them with hurdles.* Yea and greater punishments then these the *Pagan-Saxons* executed upon such offenders, as by the Epistle of *Boniface* an English-man, Arch-bishop of *Mogunce*, which he wrote unto *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in reproouing his adulterous life, is manifeſt. For (saith hee) *in the ancient Country of the Saxons (where there was no knowledge of God) if either a Maid in her fathers house, or one having a husband, became a whore, she should be strangled with her owne hands closed to her mouth, and the Corrupter should bee hanged upon the Pit wherein she was buried. If shee were not so used, then her Garments being cut away downe from the Girdle steed, the chaste Matrons did scourge and whip her, and did pricke her with knives, and so was she sent from Towne to Towne, where other freſh and new scourges did meet and torment her unto death.*

Saxons great punishers of adultery.

Chron. of Hadland.

Rand. Higden. in Polycr. l. 6. c. 23

And their severe Lawes a long time remaining in the daies of Christianitie, declare with what rigour (without regard of person) they both examined and punished this offence: whereof that of *Queene Emma*, the mother of *King Edward* the *Confeſſor*, is a sufficient example, who being accused for incontinencie of body with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*, was enjoined to passe over nine *Plough-share Irons* glowing red hot, she being blind-fold and bare-footed; by which triall shee is said to have acquitted her selfe, insomuch that having passed them all before shee knew it, cried and said; *O good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?* This punishment beginning in these *Pagans*, and continuing unto the yeere 750. *Stephen* the Second, and most pontificall Pope of *Rome*, did utterlie abolish, as *too severe and over-rigorous for Christians to undergoe.*

Queene Emma her punishment.

Stephen 2. Bishop of Rome.

The Virgins of these *Saxons* were never to bee married but once, that they might have no other thoughts, nor further desire but in case of matrimony: neither had the men pluralitie, excepting great Personages, and they sued unto in regard of procreation; for *to be without Children, was to be without reputation.* So that the testimonie of *Salvianus*, which lived among them, fitteth well our purpose, saying; *Though the Saxons are outragious in cruelty, yet for chastity they are to be honoured.*

The Saxons Virgins married but once.

The Saxons did highly esteeme of having children.

Salvianus.

(7) But as in these vertues they out-stripped most *Pagans*; so in the *Zeale* of their heathenish superstitions and Idolatrous service, they equalized any of them: for besides *Herthas*, the *Mother-Earth*, whom the *Angli* our Ancestors accounted for a *Goddesse of Aide*: they worshipped *Mercurie* under the name of *Woden*

Tacit. de scr. Germ. cap. 6.

Afterwards the Saxons fixe upon the Saxnagot for a name.

* An old Manuscript, Wednesday dedicated to King Woden, Thursday dedicated to Queene Frea, she a goddesse of the Saxons.

Easter a Saxon goddesse. Beda de temporibus.

Essay. 40.25.

Cranzius Norwegia lib. 3. cap 3.

Herald King of Norway his wicked sacrifice.

Adam Bremensis.

Beside a Temple of the Saxons all of gold.

The Saxons gods in their Temple Pictures, not their properties.

* Hence Thursday seemeth to be named.

Woden for their principall *God of Battell*: after whose victories they usually sacrificed to him their Prisoners taken in warres, and of him named one of the week dayes *Wodensday*, whereon he was chiefly worshipped: whose wife named *Frea*, was by the like foolery held to be *Venus* a *Goddesse*, unto whom another of their weeke dayes was assigned for name and service; which of us is called *Friday*..

Isis, likewise with them, was a *goddesse* of great account, so was *Easter*, unto whom they sacrificed in the moneth of Aprill; whence it commeth (saith *Beda*) *that they called Aprill Easter-Moneth:* and we still name the Feast of the *Resurrection*, *Easter*. The Images of all these they stil bare before them in battle, reputing no small confidence in their aides: and yet (saith *Tacitus*) *they thought it unbeseeming to paint their gods in the shape of men*; having even by Nature doubtlesse written in their hearts, a regard to that demand of the Lord: *To whom will ye liken me that I should be like him*, sayth the Holy-one IEHOVAH. They gave great heed also to the neighing of their *Horses*, and to the flight and singing of *Birds*, as ominous fore-shewers of future events.

(8) These Superstitions, *Ethelward* even in his dayes complained of: *That they had infected the Danes, Normans and Suevians, with the worship of this god Woden; unto whom those barbarous Nations offered sacrifices, that they might be victorious where they fought.* And as *Crantz.* recordeth, *Herald the first of that name, and Norwayes King, was so farre overgone, that he sacrificed two of his Sonnes unto his idols, that he might obtaine a tempest to disperse, and put backe the Armado, which Herald King of Denmarke had prepared against him.*

This generall defection of Gods true worship, *Adam Bremensis* maketh mention of in this manner: *In a Temple*, saith he, *called in their vulgar and native speech Vbsola, which is made altogether of Gold, the people worship the Statues of three gods, in such manner, as that Thor the mightiest of them hath only a Throne or Bed: on either hand of him Woodan and Frisco hold their places. And thus much they signifie: *Thor say they, beareth rule in the Aire, and governeth the Thunder and Lightning, Windes, Showres, Faire weather, Corne, and Fruits of the Earth. The second, which is Woodan, that is stronger, maketh Warres, and ministreth manly valour against Enemies. The third is Frisco, bestowing largely upon mortall men, peace and pleasure, whose Image they devise and pourtray with a great virile member. Woodan they engrave armed, like as we use to cut and expresse Mars.*

(9) Their controversies and doubtfull matters were decided by drawing of Lots, which they ever made of some fruit-bearing tree, and was performed after this manner: *If there were publike cause, the Priest; if private, the Goodman of the house, or worthiest in the company, tooke those slitted slips, distinguished with certaine markes that had beene scattered at hap hazzard upon a white garment: and after praiers and invocation on their God, with eyes fixed upon heaven, and three times lifting the same lots aloft, gave their interpretations thereof according to the markes therein inscribed; which was received and beleeved for a most sure Oracle:* as the like was observed upon other occasions, both by the inspections of Beasts intrals, and singings of Birds, after the accustomed manner of other *Gentiles*, that doted upon the augurations for things of future successe.

Tacit. in vita Germ.

The government of the *Saxons*.

(10) For the generall government of their Countrie they ordained twelve Noblemen chosen from among others, for their worthines and sufficiency: These in the time of peace rode their several circuits to see justice and good customes observed, and they often of course at appointed times met together, to consult and give order in publike affaires: but ever in time of warre one of these twelve was chosen to be King, and so to remaine so long onely as the warres lasted: and that being ended, his name and dignitie of *King* also ceased, becomming againe as before. And this custome continued among them, untill their wars with the *Emperour Charles the Great*: at which time *Wittekind*, one of the twelve aforesaid, a Nobleman of *Angria* in *Westphalia*, bore over the rest the name and authoritie of *King*; and he being afterward, by means of the said *Emperour*, converted to the faith of Christ, *had by him his mutable Title of King turned into the enduring stile and honour of Duke:* and the eleven others were in like manner by the said Emperour advanced to the honourable Titles of *Earles* and *Lords*, with establishment for the continuall remaining of these Titles and Dignities unto them and their heires. Of whose descents are since issued the greatest Princes at this present in *Germanie*. But though they observed this faild forme of governement elsewhere, yet heere in *Britaine* it was otherwise, as heereafter will appeare.

Joannes Tomaeus.

Chron. Sax.

Verstegan Restitut. cap. 3.

(11) And thus much out of my poore readings, I have observed of the originall beginnings, the names, maners, and customes, of our ancient Progenitors, the worthy *Saxons*, without either amplifying or impayring their glory: who being of all the *Germans* so much devoted to warre, as that their only fame therein was many times sufficient to daunt the Enemy, were thought upon by the downe-cast *Britaines* as the fittest to support their ruined Estate; of whose Entrance, Conquests, and Kingdomes, wee are now next addrested to speake.

THE SAXONS ARRIVALL INTO BRITAINE VNDER THE CONDVCT OF HENGIST AND HORSA.

CHAPTER. IV.

An. Dorn. 450.

VVHen the State of *Britaine* was miserably torne by the calamities of Civill *Dissentions*, *Famine*, *Dearth*, and *Robberies*, the *Romans* returned, their own *Strength decayed*, and their *Afflictions* daily augmented by their wonted enemies, the *Scots* and *Picts*, no hope was left to their despairing hearts, that of themselves they were able to defend themselves: and therefore (as we have shewed) they called to their aid the *Saxons*, a Nation fierce and valarous, who to the number of nine thousand, under the conduct of *Hengist* and *Horsa*, two brethren, entred *Britaine* at *Ebsfleet* in the *Ile of Thanet*, in the raigne of *Theodosius* the second, and of *Valentinian* the third, *Emperors* of the East and West, about the yeare of Grace 450. Received they were with great joy as Angels from Heaven, and saluted with songs after the accustomed manner of the *Britaines*, who appointed them the *Iland Thanet* for their habitation.

The Saxons enter Britaine under Hengist and Horsa. virtl. ad olonesb.

Bede 1.15.

(2) These *Saxons* in short time made proofe of their Manhood. For overcomming the Enemie even in *Scotland* it selfe, seated themselves in some part thereof; so that their Conquest seemed absolute, and the *Britaines* freed from their former assaults. Peace thus setled, and the Inhabitants freed, a friendly *Composition* was made betwixt these Nations, wherein the *Saxons undertooke to maintaine the field, and the Britains to sustaine the Charge*. In which league they abode some certaine time, saith *Witichindus*, *making use in a civill sort of the Brets friendlhip: but so soone as they perceived the Country large, the soile fertile, and the hands of the Inhabitants slow to practise feats of Armes: and further considering with themselves, that themselves and the greatest part of the Saxons had no certaine place of abood, they found faults with their pay and want of victuals, making that their quarrell, as both too meane, and too little for their high deserts; threatning withall, as unkind guests that shortly they would reckon without their Hosts: and thereupon sending over for more of their Nation, entred peace with the Scots and Picts, who altogether rose against the poore Brets.*

Saxons overcome the Enemie, and free the Britaines.

A competition betwixt Saxons and Britaines.

Britaine.

(3) And *Hengist*, that by the gift of *Vortigern* had got the whole possession of *Kent*, sent for more supply of *Saxons* unto his ayde, pretending employments of their service in other parts, but indeed to make strong his owne designes: and these swarming daily over into *Britaine*, got the strength of munition and command of military affaires without impeach: For the King holding himself so now sure from all interceptions, gave his immoderate senses scope to nourish more freely their sensuall pleasures, and committed more audaciously those vices, unto which his owne corrupt nature was naturally addicted: This *Hengist* soone perceived, and to adde more matter fit for flame, fed still the humours of this vicious King, outwardly shewing his care and readinesse for the *Lands defence*, his counsell and love to the *Nobles in estate*, and his courteous carriage to the *Commons* in generall; but to the King an over-seeming diligence, and servile obedience: by all which, ere it was long, he gave fire to their traine, that blew up the foundations of the *British* policie.

Vortigern.

Hengist had the whole possession of Kent.

Fabian.

The King giveth himselfe to security.

(4) For feasting the King in the Castle of *Tonnge*, commanded his daughter, a Lady of passing beautie, to attend the banquet, whose excellent feature and seemely behaviour, blew the sparks of desire to right into *Vortigerns* wanton eye, that they presently kindled a flame in his lascivious heart: for in the midst of his Cups, *Rowena* (so was the Damosell called) with a low reverence and pleasing grace, sauted the King with a Cup of gold full of sweet wine, incharming it with these words in her language, Wæs heal hlaford Cyning, which is in English, *Be of health Lord King*: he demanding the meaning, would be taught to answer to her owne understanding, and said, Dpine heal, that is, *Drink health*; whereof when he had pledged her, (as we speake) this bowle infected his senses with no lesse sottishnesse, then that of *Belus* is said to doe *Dido* when *Cupid* plaid the childe *Ascanius* betwixt *Aeneas* and her; and brought more bale to the Land, then afterwards did that which was prefented to *king John* at *Swinsted Abbey*, by *Simon* the poisoning Monk: for notwithstanding that he had a Queen then living, (himselfe not young, having sonnes at mans estate, in profession a Christian, whose Religion alloweth neither polygamy nor adultery) did importunate *Hengist* that *Rowena* might be his wife: which at first with some shew of excuse and unworthinesse of person, was denied, but lastly consented unto, and the Nuptials performed. And now Fortune casting occasion daily into *Hengists* lap, he gave his aspiring thoughts no rest, till he had got the Crowne from *Vortigerns* head, and feized all under the *Saxons* power.

John Stow. Hengist feasteth the King.

The King in love with Rowena.

In the Fictions of King Arthur, lib. 6. Geoffr. Monm.

Mark 6. Vortigern would needs have Rowe a to wife. Will. Malmes. de Regibus.

(5) *Hengist* and *Horsa* in their Language, as also in the ancient *Teutonic Tongue*, doe both of them signifie a *Horse*, unto which beast the *Saxons* had great regard, and whose neighings (saith *Tacitus*) *were their presages, and being white, were employed in their sacrilegious ceremonies. Virgil* also maketh the *Horse* to bee a lucky *Ose* or foretokened successe in Battle, as in this his verse he doth intimate and write:

Verstegan Restitut. cap. 3.

Tacit. de situ Germaniae.

Bello armantur equi, bella hæc armenta minantur.

And *Crantzius* tels us, that it was a usuall thing, with the *Pagan Germans*, especially of their Noble-men, to take the names of *Beasts*, some from the *Lion*, some from the *Beare*, some from the *Wolfe*, and some from the *Horse*, as heere *Hengist* and *Horsa* are said to signifie.

Crantzius.

Pagan Germans account of ravenous beasts.

(6) Which beast they bare in their shields of *Arms* at their entrance of *Britaine*, and was blazed, saith *Verstigan*, in this manner: *A horse Argent, Rampant, in a Field Gules: which was the ancient Armes*, as he affirmeth, *of the Princes and Dukes of Saxonie*. And albeit those Dukes have of latter yeares changed that Coat, yet doth *Henry Iulius* now *Duke of Brunswicke*, a most ancient *Saxon Prince*, who sometimes bore the *White Horse* in a *Red Field*, beare the *White Horse* for his *Creast*, having for his chiefe *Coate* of *Armes*, the two *Leopards*,

Hengist and Horsa their Armes.

The Duke of Brunswicke his Armes.

Leopards, which by *Richard Cordelion*, king of *England* was given unto his ancestor *Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony*, who had married *Mathilda*, the said Kings sister, and by the *Emperour Frederic Barbarossa* had been bereft of his Armes, and Titles of honour. Moreover *Charles Emmanuel* the now Duke of *Savoy*, who is lineally descended from the ancient Princes of the chiefe house of *Saxony*, by Prince *Berall*, who came out of *Saxony* into *Savoy*, in the yeare of our Lord 998: and was the third sonne of *Hugh Duke of Saxony*, which *Hugh* was brother unto the Emperour *Otho* the third, doth yet beare for one of his Coats, the said *Leaping Horse*.

The Duke of Savoy, his armes.

(7) This *Hengist* was doubtlesse a Prince of the chiefest bloud and Nobility of the *Saxons*, and by birth of *Angria* in *Westphalia*, wherein unto this day a place retaineth the name of *Hengster-holt*. Hee with his brother were the sons of one *Wihtgisl*, whose father was *Witta*, and his father *Wecta* the eldest sonne of *Vodens*, as *Beda* writes him, of whose issue *many Kings of sundry Provinces* (saith he) *had their originall*.

Christ. Sax. Hengist, his Country and paternage.

Florent. Wigor. Beda hist. Ang. l. 1. c. 15.

Hee growne now in high favour with the King, by the marriage of *Rowena*, and feared of the Nobility for his strength and policy, bare himselfe great among all, and his supplies daily arriving, pestred (if not plagued) most parts of this *Iland*. For saith *Ninius* and *Beda*; *The riches of Britaine, and the fertilitie of the soile, were such motives to their covetous and aspiring mindes, that where they got footing, there they kept standing, and picked occasions where they were too strong*. Among them that were sent for, by the advice of *Hengist*, two principall Captaines, *Octa* and *Ebissa*, were chiefest, who being embarked into forty Pinnaces, sailed about the *Picts* Coasts, wasting the *Iles* that were called the *Orcades*, and got many countries from them beyond the *Frith*, whereby a further terrour was stricken into the *Britaines* hearts.

Hengist, his first rising.

Ninius.

Octa and Ebissa a terrour to the Britaines.

(8) The Nobility perceiving what was in working, and the marke wherat *Hengist* set his eye to aime, complained to the King of their dangerous estate, shewed themselves agrieved to bee dispossessed of Offices and charge, (as *Gnorong*, the Earle or Lieutenant of *Kent*, by *Hengist* had been) the Land pestred with strangers, that fought their subversion, reproowing him much for his match with that *Infidel Rowena*, his own careleste government and adulterous life, and in such manner, that *Vodine* Archbishop of *London*, a man of great sanctitie, feared not to tell him that thereby *he had endangered both his soule and Crowne*: which words by *Vortigern* were so digested, that short ly it cost the good Archbishop his life. But he still continuing in his lascivious and careleste idlenesse, was lastly taught by wofull experience, what misery wilfull rashnesse and neglected government doe bring: for the *Britaines* his subjects no longer would be thus abused, to see themselves woven into greater danger by shew of defence, then they formerly had beene by the hostility of the enemy; but forthwith disclaimed their obedience to the King, when he had raigned the space of sixe yeares, and chose for their Governour his sonne, young *Vortimer*.

The Nobilities complaint.

Vortigern reproved by the Bishop of London.

He continueth in his folly.

His subjects disclaime their obedience.

They chuse Vortimer.

(9) His *Sonne* he was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (besides the quarrell of his Queene mother for *Rowenas* sake, rejected) bare an inward love to his native Countrey, and an outward hate to the strangers that daily sought the subversion thereof, and presently encountred with them in a pitched Battell neere unto *Ailsford* in *Kent*, wherein *Catigern* and *Horsa*, brethren to *Vortimer* and *Hengist*, in single fight hand to hand slew each other.

Catigern and and *Horsa* their single fight.

In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected: the stones whereof to this day appeare, and stand upon a great Plaine in the Parish of *Ailsford*, and from *Catigern* as yet is corruptly called *Cits-Cotthouse*. The like Monument the *Saxons* built for *Horsa*, which time hath now defaced, and whereof *Beda* maketh mention, who saith, that *a tombe bearing his name, was in his dayes to be seene in the East part of Kent*. The credit whereof is continued to this day, where the Village *Horsted* is reported to have received that name from him, which standeth in the very same place where that Battle was fought, as the Inhabitants report.

Iohn Stem. cits Cotthouse, *Catigerni* his Monument.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 15.

Horsted the place of Horsa his Monument.

(10) Three other Battles after this with variable successe were fought betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Saxons*, one at *Crayford*, another at *Weppeds-fleet*, and the third upon *Colmore*: in which last the *Britaines* bare themselves so valiantly, that the *Saxons* were driven into the *Ile of Thanet* (if not over the seas) so that small hope rested for them so long as this valiant *Vortimer* lived, who had dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in *Thanet*, as *Fabian* saith. After this Victory long hee lived not, but was made away by poison through the meanes of *Rowena* the mother of all this mischiefe, when he had sate King the space of foure yeares: and the father again e reestablished.

The Battles betweene Britaines and Saxons.

The Saxons driven over Seas.

Vortimer poisoned by Rowena.

(11) *Vortigern* now was no sooner restored, but that *Hengist* had notice therof, who was then in building a Castle at *Leiden* in *Holland*, as their *Annales* witnesse, and *Iohn Dousa* in his verses specifie: where leaving all (as it were) at randome, returned to follow his fortunes further in *Britaine*, and with a mighty Army of his *Saxons* thought to land without impeachment: but the *Britaines* growne bold by their former victories, and their bloud not cooled since it was heat in fight, admonished their reestablished *King* who with them went to withstand his arrivage. When *Hengist* therefore perceived their courage, and knew their hatreds to him and his *Saxons*, hee sought by smooth words to gaine the shoare; and by some stratageme, his wished desire: therefore pretending only to visit his daughter, yea, and to rid the Land of her, if so he might have leave of the King and them; and therefore desired a conference in friendly manner: after which, his *Saxons* should depart the Land, and rest the like friends to the *Britains* as they were when first they came in.

Leiden Castle in Holland begun by Hengist.

Iohn Dousa.

Hengists landing resisted by the Britaines.

(12) This motion seemed reasonable to the Nobility, and the place and time appointed, which was the *first of May*, and upon the *Plaine of Ambri*, now called *Salisbury*: whither upon equall tearmes (as was thought) each party repaired, and a while conferred with friendly semblances; but in the end the *Saxons* urging their wrongs, fell from words unto blowes, the watch-word first given by *Hengist* their leader. The *Britaines* meant simply, and wore no weapons, according to covenants, but the *Saxons* under their long Cassocks had short Skeines hid, with which, no sooner the words, Nemeowr Seaxes, were pronounced, but that each slew him with whom he conferd, by which treason the *Britaines* lost three hundred of their disarmed Nobility; onely *Eldoll* Duke of *Glocester*, as *Randulph Higden* declareth, with a Stake gotten from the hedge, slew seventeene *Saxons*. The king they tooke prisoner; for whose ransome, the Countries of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolk*, were delivered unto these Infidels, who shortly desiled the beauty of Christianity with their Paganisme and Heathenish cruelties. *Then* (saith *Beda*) *the fire of Gods vengeance was kindled by these wicked Conquerors, and raged first upon those Countries next adioyning, and afterwards from the East Sea unto the West, without resistance made to quench the same; publike and private houses were overthrowne and laide levell with the ground, Priests were slaine standing at the Altars, and Bishops with their flocks were murthered; neither was there any to bury the dead*. And these are the times whereof wee spake, and wherein the miserable *Britaines* abandoned the Land, or hid themselves in caves, wherein they either perished for hunger, or redeemed their lives with perpetuall slavery.

Stratagem.

Matth. West.

Hengist useth treachery.

(13) Neither were their calamities greater in outward afflictions then their soules, polluted with the heresie of the *Pelagians*, brought by *Agricola*, the son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian Bishop*, that did foulely corrupt the faith of the *Britaines*: to redresse which, *Germanus Alisiodorensis*; and *Lupus Bishop of Trecassa in France*, were by the Brethren desired, and sent unto their

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 17. Pelagianisme brought into Britaine by Agricola.

The Heretickes confuted.

their thus troubled and declining estate. These pillars of Gods truth, after they had powred forth prairs, and convicted the Heretikes, led an Army of *Britaines* against the *Picts* and *Saxons*, and gained the victory; after which (like unto people that drew on Gods vengeance and their owne destructions) they fell to robberies and rapine, one citie banding against another, and all laid waste by the *Saxons*, and themselves. These miseries doth *Gildas* impute to have hapned to his *Britaines*, because they tooke no care *to preach the Gospell of Christ unto those Infidels the English Saxons, that in their heathenish cruelties sought the Lands destruction*.

The principall cause of the Britaines miseries.

(14) *Vortigern* thus dispossessed, for his further security betooke himselfe into *Wales*, where among those vast Mountaines he built a strong Castle; of whose foundation, *Merlin* the *Welsh Wizard*, with the future successe that should afterward follow the *Britaines*, hath by way of prophecie vainly spoken. This Castle most of our Writers have said to be in *South-Wales*, upon a rockie and solitary mountaine called *Breigh*, or after others *Cloaric*, in the West part of the Province, not farre from *Radnor*, and neere unto the River *Gnava*: but the Inhabitants of *Northwales* report (by the reports of their ancestors) that in old *Bethkelert* was that Castle, which *Vortigern* built, and is yet called *Embris*, from *Merlin Embris*, as they affirme. And surely (besides the craggy and solitarineste of the place, which seemed to me rather an entrance into the shaddow of death, then to be the *palace* or *Court* of a King) the River *Llynterreny* mooveth much; by which *Faustus* his sonne, begotten of his owne daughter *Rowena*, is faid to spend his life in continuall prayers.

Vortigern flyeth into wales.

Merlin the Welsh Wizard. Hee built a Castle there.

The differing opinions where this Castle was built.

(15) But whileſt *Vortigern* was busied in building this Castle; and the *Saxons* making spoiles wheresoever they came, the *Britaines* under the conduct of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, began to receive some breath of hopes, and to shew themselves out of their Caves. This *Ambrosius* (saith *Beda*) *was a gentle natured man, which onely of all the bloud of the Romans remained then alive, his parents being slaine, which had borne the name of the king of the Country*. He with his brother *Vter*, commonly called *Pendragon*, returning out of *Britain Armorica*, where they had remained from the Tyranny of *Vortigerne*, landed at *Totnesse* in the West of this Iland, unto whom resorted great Troopes of *Britaines*.

Vortigern spares his life in continuall prayer.

Aurelius Ambrosius Captaine of the Britaines. Beda hist. Ecel Anglicana. c. 16

Aurelius Ambrosius and Vter Pendragon returne out of Britaine Armorica.

His first expedition was against *Vortigern the scourge of his Country, and murderer of his King*: whose Castle straight-wayes he besieged, and by the just revenging hand of God, wilde fire consumed, wherein those adulterous and incestuous persons were burned to ashes.

At Salisbury Plaine the Britaines and Saxons treat of agreement. vide Malmsb. de Regibus.

(16) Next, following the common Enemie, hee gave battle to the *Saxons* on the North of *Humber* at a place called *Maesbell*, wherin *Hengist* was discomfited, & in flight taken by *Earle Edoll* of *Glocester*, and beheaded at *Conningsborow*, saith he of *Monmouth*. Howbeit *Matthew* of *Westminster* maketh him fight another battle upon the River *Dun*, in Anno 489. wherein, saith he, *Hengist* was taken. And *Polydore* saith, that in the same battle *Hengist at the first onset was slain, with many of his Germans*: the fame of whose victory (saith he) *is had in memory with the Inhabitants of those parts even unto this day*. Yet *Gildas*, *Beda*, and *Ethelward*, Writers of those ancient times, and two of them *Saxons*, mention not the death of *Hengist*, neither this great victory of the *Britaines*. And *Marianus* the *Scottish* Monke seemeth to affirme the contrary, where he saith, that *Hengist raigned thirty foure yeares in great glory, and dyed peaceably, leaving his son Eske to succeed him in the Kingdome of Kent*. With whom also *Florianus* the Monke of *Worcester* agreeth. How soever, sure it is, had not the divine power of God otherwise determined, the waining estate of *Brit.*

Aburrell at Stonehill. Hengist discomfited. Geffry of Arthur Matth. West. Polydore.

Hengists raign.

doubtlesse had recovered her former strength; both by the prayers of *Bishop German*, the prowesse of this last spoken of *Ambrosius*, the valourous attempts of *Vter Pendragon*, and the worthy industries of the Christian King *Arthur*. The famous resistances of this last mentioned *Arthur*, the Monke of *Monmouth* with such fables hath augmented, that his acts and Travels may be compared to those of *Hercules*, or with the Conquests of *Cæsar* himselfe; insomuch that he hath been accounted and ranged in the Catalogue of the worlds nine Worthies. And surely (by the testimony of *Malmsbury*) hee was a Prince of great worth, and did often adventure with his small power to meet the *Saxons* in the face and in the field.

Geffrey of Arthur. Arthurs acts augmented with fables.

But the *Britaines* strength daily increasing, and new supplies of these *Saxons* daily arriving, brought the one in despaire to enjoy their owne right, and the other to triumph in their intrusions of wrongs. For continually incroaching forward, and inlarging their limits where soever they came, drove the inhabitants before them from their wonted possessions, and seated themselves in the Southerne and best part of the Land, laying the stones (as it were) of those foundations, whereupon in short time they raised their most glorious buildings.

The Saxons often at difunion among themselves.

(17) For every severall Captaine or Commander accounting that part his owne, wherein he first entred or made conquest of, with full resolution determined to keepe what he had got, (as an absolute King) commanded his Province, whereby the Land became burdened with seven of them at the first: as *Hengist* of *Kent*; *Ella*, of those parts now called *Sussex* & *Surrey*, *Cherdik* of the *West*; *Erchinwen* of the *East*; *Ida* of the *North*, *Crida* of the *Middle land*, and *Vffa* of the parts now *Middlesex* and *Essex*: which kingdomes thus begun and erected, stood not long unshaken by civill distentions among themselves, each king envying his equals greatnesse, and seeking to enlarge his owne Dominions upon the next. In which cumbustions, few or none of them came to the grave in due time, but were either slaine in warres, or treacherously murdered in peace, or else inforced to sheare himselfe a *Monke*, and resigne his Crowne to another. To speake of all these together, I hold would bring too great a confusion to our History, and needlesse surcharge to the Readers memory: to avoid which, I will briefly set downe the Conquests, Circuits, Acts, and Descents, that in every severall Kingdome happened while they stood in their *Heptarchie*, before they were united to an absolute *Monarchy*, and then (according to my prefixed purpose) continue the succession of GREAT BRITAINS *Monarchs*.

The mightiest of the Saxon Kings alwaies King of the Englishmen.

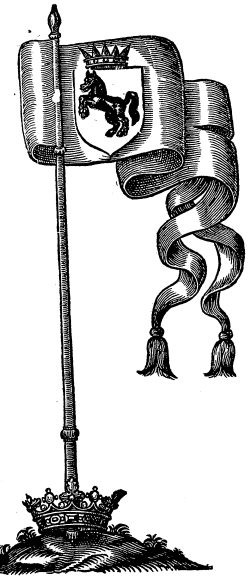
(18) For albeit the land was divided into seven severall Kingdomes, and each of them carrying a soveraigne command within his own limits; yet one of them ever seemed to be supreame of the rest; and that Prince who had the greatest power or succesſe in his warres, was ever accounted and called, *The King of the Englishmen*, as *Venerable Beda* in the fifth Chapter of his second Booke, and History of *England*, ever termeth them.

Onely the East Saxons intituled not soe with their neighbours Dominions.

(19) Such therefore as held the rest under, either by armes or aliance, in amity or subjection, swayed the whole Monarchy, and were acknowledged as *Supremes* in power over the rest; which succeeded not ever in the same family, neither continued in one and the same Kingdome without reversement, but were carried upon the Floods and Ebbes of variable succesſe, or as destiny pleased to alter the chance: whereof each of them (saving the *East-saxons* onely) did attaine to the height of that government, as to the haven of their wished desires. See therefore (if you please) a generall view of the whole, and afterward the severall Histories of every Kingdome a part, before we enter into the Succession of the *English Saxons Monarches*.

Heptarchy.	Kingdomes.	Counties.		Kings Successions.		Kingdomes Continuance.	Kings first Christians.
The Sexons Heptarchy.	The Kingdome of *Kent* contained Counties,	*Kent.*	Kings raigning,	1 *Hengist*, 31 2 *Eske*, 24 3 *Oila*, 20 4 *Twerick*, 29 5 *Ethelbert*, 56 6 *Eabald*, 24 7 *Ercombert*, 24 8 *Egbert*, 9 9 *Lothar*, 11 10 *Edrick*, 6 11 *Withred*, 33 12 *Edbert*, 23 13 *Edelbert*, 11 14 *Abrik*, 34 15 *Ethelbert*, 2 16 *Cuthred*, 8 17 *Baldred*, 28	Began in Anno 455 Continued yeeres 372 Ended in Anno 827	*Ethelbert*
	The Kingdome of *South Saxons* contained Counties,	*Sussex.* *Surrey.*	Kings raigning.	1 *Ella*, 32 2 *Cissa*, 75 3 *Editwach*, alias *Ethelwolf*, 25 4 *Berthum*, 5 *Authum*.	Began in Anno 488 Continued yeeres 113 Ended in Anno 601	*Ethelwolf*
	The Kingdome of *West-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Cornwall.* *Devonshire* *Dorset-sh.* *Somersetsh.* *Wilt-shire.* *Hant-shire.* *Bark-shire.*	Kings raigning.	1 *Cherdik*, 33 2 *Kenrik*, 26 3 *Ceaulin*, 33 4 *Ceatlik*, 5 5 *Cheluald*, 30 6 *Kingils*, 32 7 *Quichelm*, 1 7 *Kenwald*, 23 8 *Eskwin* 2 9 *Kentwin*, 9 10 *Ceadwald*, 7 11 *Ines*, 37 12 *Ethelard*, 14 13 *Cuthred*, 16 14 *Sigebert*, 2 15 *Kenwolf*, 29 16 *Brightrick*, 16 17 *Egbert*, 19	Began in Anno 519 Continued yeares 561 Ended in Anno 1066	*Kingils.*
	The Kingdome of *East-Saxons* contained Counties,	*Essex.* *Middlesex.*	Kings raigning,	1 *Erchinwin*, 34 2 *Sledda*, 10 3 *Sebert*, 31 4 *Sexred*, *Seward*, *Sigebert*, 7 5 *Sigebert*, 23 6 *Sigebert*, 13 7 *Swithelme*, 14 8 *Sigbere*, 9 *Sebba*. 30 10 *Sigbert*, 28 11 *Seofrid*, 4 12 *Offa*, 30 13 *Selred*, 38 14 *Sethred*,	Began in Anno 527 Continued yeares 281 Ended in Anno 827	*Sebert*
	The Kingdome of *Northumberland* contained Counties,	*York-shire* *Durham.* *Lancashire* *Westmorla.* *Cumberl.* *Northumb.*	Kings raignings.	1 *Ella*, 12 *Ida*, 13 2 *Adda*, 7 *Elappea*, 5 3 *Theadwald*, 2 4 *Frethelfe*, 7 5 *Theodrick*, 7 6 *Ethelrik*, 5 7 *Ethelfrid*, 23 8 *Edwine*. 17 10 *Osfry*, 28 11 *Egfrid*, 15 *Alk fryd*, 20 *Ofred*, 11 14 *Kenred*, 2 15 *Ofwike*, 11 16 *Coolmilphe*, 8 17 *Egbert*, 20 18 *Ofwulph*, 1 19 *Edilwald*, 11 20 *Alured*, 21 *Ethelred*, 3 22 *Alfwald*, 11 23 *Ofred*, 1	Began in Anno 547 Continued yeares 379 Ended in Anno 9 6	*Edwin*
	The Kingdome of *Mercia*, contained Counties.	*Hunting.* *Rutland.* *Lincolne.* *Northampt.* *Leicester.* *Derby-sh.* *Notingh.* *Oxford-sh.* *Chest-shire.* *Shrop-shire.* *Glocestersh.* *Worcest-sh.* *Stafford-sh.* *Warwic-sh.* *Bucking-sh.* *Bedford-sh.* *Herif-sh.*	Kings raigning.	1 *Creda*, 6 2 *Wibba*, 3 3 *Cheorl*, 34 4 *Penda*, 30 5 *Peada*, 4 6 *Wolfere*, 17 7 *Ethelred*, 30 8 *Kenred*, 4 9 *Chelred*, 7 10 *Ethelbald*, 42 11 *Offa*, 40 12 *Egfrid* 4 *moneths* 13 *Kenulfe*, 22 14 *Kenelme*, 5 *mon.* 15 *Chelwolfe*, 1 16 *Bernulfe*, 3 17 *Ludecan*, 2 18 *Whitlafe*, 13 19 *Berewolfe*, 13 20 *Burdred*, 22	Began in Anno 582 Continued yeares 202 Ended in Anno 886	*Peada*
	The Kingdome of *East-Angles* contained Counties,	*Suffolke.* *Norfolke.* *Cambrid.sh* *Ely-Iland.*	Kings raigning.	1 *Uffa*, 7 2 *Titullus*, 10 3 *Redwald*, 44 4 *Erpenwald*, 12 5 *Sigebert*, 6 *Egrik*, 13 7 *Anna*, 13 8 *Ethelbert*. 9 *Ethwald*, 9 10 *Aldwolfe*, 19 11 *Alfwald*, 7 12 *Beorn*, 24 13 *Ethelred*, 52 14 *Ethelbert*, 5 15 *Edmund*, 16	Began in Anno 575 Continued yeares 353 Ended in Anno 914	*Redwald*

THE



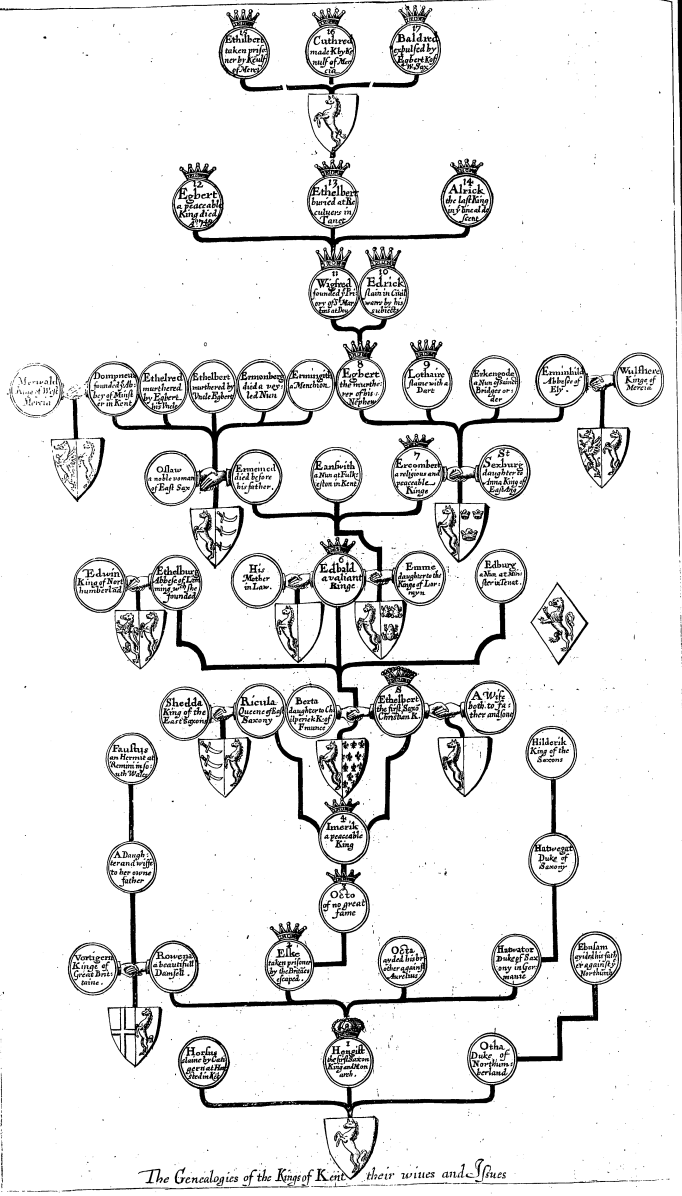
THE GENEALOGIES ROYALL OF THE SAXONS

KINGS OF KENT, FROM HENGIST, THEIR FIRST: WITH THE SUCCESSIONS, RAIGNES, ISSUES, AND ACTS, of all their Kings, unto BALDRED the last: subdued by King EGBERT, the West Saxon MONARCH.

CHAPTER V.

ROm *Hengist* the first Conqueror, and *Ethelbert* the first Christian King, the Kingdome of *Kent* hath preheminence above the rest of that *Heptarchie*. For, *Hengist* for valour, policy, & strength, was the fore-leader of those that laid their Estates here in *Great Britaines* Iland, and with such happy successe, so planted the Tree, as from the same Stem, many faire Sciens daily yet spring. And good *Ethelbert* laid the foundation of Gods Church, so deep in this Realme as the gates of hell shall never prevaile against it, though his owne foundations laid of his first Church, hath felt the waight of a ruinating hand; when with Axes and Hammers (in the days of King *Henry* the eight) both that, and many such Sanctuaries, were broken & beaten down, with a more rash, then Godly zeale; and those Oratories for assemblies, made now the seats of prophane merchandizing; and altars of prayers, the Tables for Mammon and money changers; if not to more vile and base uses. But leaving to mention what may not be remedied; behold in this Tree, the boughes that branched from *Hengist* the Roote, wherein observe, their matches or marriages are made knowne by the sculpture of an hand in hand, and the coat-armes of the parties empaled; though therein we rather follow the allowance of the later, then urge them from antiquity it selfe. But from the best approved Authors we continue such Kings as ruled in *Kent*, in a continued succession; and that broken off, wee there breake the Bough, and thence name them for Kings, but of an uncertain succession, as by the three last in this stem is evidently seene.

T



The Genealogies of the Kings of Kent, their wiues and Issues

THE KINGDOME OF KENT.

Chapter. V.

1. An. Dom. 554. *Kent in the dayes of Julius Cæsar the seate of foure kings.*

Kent, the first Dominion of the *Saxons* Heptarchie, was formerly in the dayes of *Iulius Cæsar*, the seate of foure severall petty Kings; yet never called a Kingdome before that *Hengist* the first *Saxon* Captaine, in favour of his daughter *Rowena*, got it by the gift of King *Vortegern*, about the yeare of Grace 454. and in the seventh yeare after his first arrivage heere, hee first laid the foundation of those fortunes which the *Saxons* his Nation in this land afterwards attained unto: for having possessed the same with Victory and Wealth, the space of thirty one yeares, some adde three more, hee left it in peace to his sonne *Eske*; and the rest of the Iland so weakened by his meanes, that others of his Nation were shortly planted in other parts thereof. It contained the Continent that lyeth betwixt our East-Ocean, and the River *Thames*, being bounded upon the West with *Sussex* and *Surrey*.

Hengist his raigne and death.

Of *Hengist* see more in the succession of the *English* Monarchy, cap. 12.

2. An. Dom. 488. *Vortimers Affinius.* *Vide* the second King of Kent. *Vortimer* taken prisoner in Yorke.

Eske, the second King of *Kent*, is reported to be the second sonne of King *Hengist*, who accompanying his father into this Iland, made proofe of his great valour in all his battels fought against the *Britaines*, and in one of them (as *Ieffery* of *Monmouth* reporteth) being taken prisoner, was for a time retained in *Yorke*, but thence escaping, he aided his father in the battell of *Crekynford*; and after his decease, succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, from whom those inhabitants (saith *Beda*) were called *Eskings*, amongst whom he peaceably raigned about twenty yeares, and dyed in the yeare of our Lord, 512.

His raigne and death. *Beda hist. eccles. Angl. lib. 2. c. 5.*

3. An. Dom. 512. *Octa his raigne*

Octa the sonne of *Eske*, began his raigne over his fathers Dominions, the yeare of Christs Incarnation 512. and raigned twenty two yeares, without mention of any memorable Act.

4. An. Dom. 532. *Hwerwit wrigan Imerik* his children.

Imerik, the sonne of *Eske*, and the fourth King of *Kent*, raigned twenty five yeares, saith *Stowe*; twentie nine, saith *Savil*, in his Table collected from our *English* Writers. He had issue, *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Kent*, and a daughter named *Ethelburg*, married to *Sledda*, the second King of the *East-Saxons*, the mother of *Sebert* and *Segebald*.

5. An. Dom. 561. *Ethelbert* the sonne of Emerik.

Ethelbert, the sonne of *Imerik*, in the yeare of grace 561. succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Kent*, who by reason of his yong yeares, was sore molested by his neighbour Princes, that fought to enlarge their Provinces upon his: for now the *Saxons* having made full Conquest of the *Britaines*, fell at variance among themselves, taking all occasions to supplant each other, as Conquerors commonly can endure no equals, and prosperity ever is looked at with an envious eye, whereupon *Ceulin* king of the *West-Saxons*, proud of his victorious successes over the *Britaines*, began to disdaine all amity with his owne neighbour *Saxons*, invaded the Territories of this young Prince; and in a set battell slew *Osluse* and *Cnebban*, two of his *Dukes*, discomfited the King, and wonne the day. This field was fought at *Wiphandun*, in the yeare of our Redemption, 567. and is noted to be the first battle betwixt the *Saxons* themselves since their first entrance into *Britaine*.

Ceulin invadeth his Territories.

But young *Ethelbert* growne unto yeares, repaired his losses with the inlargement of his Kingdome to the bankes of *Humber*, and was the fift Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as after we shall heare. His first Wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik*, King of *France*, by whom he had *Edbald*, *Ethelburg*, and *Edburg*: a second Wife he had unworthy of name, for her incestuous and abominable act, in matching her selfe in marriage with her *Husbands Sonne*, *A sinne* (saith the Apostle) *not to be named among the Gentiles*. Of this King, as also of all the rest that attained unto the glorie, to be enstiled (*per excellentiam*) the Soveraigne Kings of the *Englishmen*, I purpose to bee sparing in their particular kingdomes, and to reserve the larger relation of their Acts, Matches, Issues, and continuance, to the times of their severall Monarchies, wherby a more historicall course may be carried, through the successions of the *English-Saxons* Monarches, and a needlesse repetition of the same things avoided, which otherwise of necessitie would follow. Hee raigned in great glory fiftie six yeares, and was the *First Saxon King* that received and established the *Gospell*. He died the foure and twentieth day of *Februarie*, the yeare of Christ 616. after he had raigned 56. yeares, and was buried at *Canterbury*, with this inscription upon his Tombe:

Ercombert the 8th *Monarch of the English-men.*

His first wife and children by her.

Saint Ermenburg. His second wife

1 Cor. 5. 1.

Rex Ethelbertus hic claudit ur in Poliandro,
Fana pians Christo mea abstj; Meandro.

Repetition auoided in this History.

Beda hist. eccles. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 5. Ex Hunt. Sigon.

6. An. Dom. 617 *Beda hist. eccl. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

Edbald, the sonne of King *Ethelbert*, in the yeare of Christ 617. assumed the government of *Kent* who no sooner, saith *Beda*, had gotten from under the awe of his father, but hee refused to entertaine the Doctrine of Christ, and so polluted himself with the foule sinne of fornication, as that he married his Mother in Law, the late Wife to his owne Father: which

which two hainous faults gave his subjects both occasion and impunity to returne to to their former idolatry, who under his father, for favour or for feare, had yeelded to the lawes of the Christian faith. But the scourge of God and vengeance from heaven wanted not to the punishment of this unfaithfull King: for he was plagued for a season with often phrensie of minde, and raging fury of an uncleane spirit; but by *Laurence* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was at length converted from his Idolatry and incestuous Matrimony, and being baptized, indevoured to maintaine the state of the Gospel. He married *Emme*, the daughter of *Theobert*, King of *Austrasie*, now *Lorraine*, by whom he had issue a daughter named *Enswith*, who died a Virgin at *Fulkstone*, a Religious house in *Kent*, of her fathers foundation; and two sonnes, whereof *Ermenred* the elder died before his father, and left issue *Domptena*, who was married to a *Mercian Prince*; *Ermenberg* that died a vailed virgin, *Ermengith* a mention; *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, both murthered by their Cosin-german, King *Egbert*. His younger sonne was *Ercombert* that succeeded him in the Kingdome. This *Edbald* built a Chappell within the Monastery of *Saint Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*, in honour of *Mary* the blessed Mother of God, endowing that Church with sufficient maintenance; wherein, after the continuance of twenty foure yeares raigne, hee was buried neere to King *Ethelbert* his Father, Anno 640.

Edbald often plagued.

Reclaimed from Idolatry by the Archbishop.

His wife.

His daughter.

His sonnes and their issue.

Edbald his liberality to the Church. *Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 9.*

His raigne and buriall.

7. An. Dom. 641.

ERcombert, the son of *Edbald* by *Emme* his Wife, succeeded his father in the Kingdome of *Kent*, in the yeare of grace 641. He was a vertuous, religious, and Christian King, for the *Temples* of the *Heathen Idols* he suppressed, and commanded the fast of Lent to bee observed. His Wife was *Sexberg*, the daughter of *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, by whom he had issue *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both Kings of *Kent* after him; *Erminhild*, Wife to *Wolfere* King of *Mercia*, and *Erkengode* a professed Nun in the Monastery of Saint *Brigets* in *France*, where she died, and was interred in the Church of Saint *Stephen*. In his dayes the state of the Church growing to a well setled forme of government, the Province of *Kent* was divided into Parishes by *Honorius* the Archbishop, as testifie the Records of *Christs-Church* in *Canterbury*. This King having raigned twenty foure yeares and odde moneths, died in the yeare of our Lord 664.

His care of Gods worship. *Beda hist. Lib. 3. c. 8*

His wife and issue.

Kent divided into parishes.

His raigne and death.

8. An. Dom. 695.

EGbert, the elder sonne of King *Ercombert*, in the nonage of his yong Nephewes, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, (the sons of his Uncle *Ermenred*) obtained the Rule of *Kent*, and had not their murther much blemished his peaceable Government, hee might well have held place with the worthiest of those Kings: but thirsting after an absolute soveraignty, and fearing left his owne power should diminish by their growths and rightfull successions, he set his minde on that bloudy, traiterous, and unnaturall attempt; and with the assistance of one *Thurne*, found fit place and opportunity to worke that divellish designe, casting their bodies into a River, that so their murthers might not be knowne. But God (saith *Malmesbury*) that searcheth the heart, reveiled the act by casting up their bodies on the shore, to the open view of the next Inhabitants, who with great reverence there buried them, and built a small Chappell over their Monument, whose bones afterwards were removed, and new interred in the Abbey of *Ramsey* in *Hantshire*. The Lady *Domptena* their Sister, and next Heire to the Crowne, that was married to *Merwald*, a Prince of *West-Mercia*, and borne him foure children, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in *Kent*: Wherein, saith *Stowe*, she became the first Abbesse her selfe, and *Mildrith* her daughter succeeded her therein, saith *Capgrave*. This King in great quietnesse raigned nine yeares, and died in the yeare of grace 673. in the moneth of *July*: leaving issue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, both Kings of *Kent*, succeeding after *Lothaire*.

The fact revealed. *W. Malmesbur. de gestis regum Anglorum.*

Their bodies solemnly buried. *Domptena* their sister.

Her religiousnesse.

Egbert his raigne and death. *Beda hist. eccl. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 5.*

LOthaire the brother of *Egbert*, by strong hand obtained the government of *Kent*. For notwithstanding *Egbert* left issue *Edrik* and *Wigtred*, (as is said) yet *Lothaire* taking the advantage of their minorities, and the example of his brothers intrusions, made himselfe King against his, as he had done against the sonnes of *Ermenbert*, but did not enjoy the same with the like peace as he had done. For not onely *Ethelred* the *Mercian* warred strongly against him, but also *Edrik*, by the assistance of the *South-Saxons* continually sought to recover his right, whereby the peace of the *Kentish* was much molested: and lastly, in a bloudy battel was *Lothaire* shot thorow with a dart, whereof he died under his Chirurgians hand, the sixth day of *February*, in the yeare of Christ, 685. after he had raigned eleven yeares and seven moneths. The punishment of the Murther committed by his brother *Egbert*, was on him repaid, saith *Malmsbury*, who derided and made jests at the laments for young *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, that were by the people held and accounted *Martyrs*. His body was buried with his Predecessors, Kings of *Kent*, in the Monastery of Saint *Peter* and *Paul* in *Canterbury*, Anno 685.

9. An. Dom. 673

Lothaire homedeth into the Kingdome.

Mastruining.

Lothaire slaine.

Beda hist. eccl. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 5. & 26.

His raigne. *Lothaire* murdereth his brothers sonnes of *Ermenbert*. His buriall.

EDrik, the sonne of King *Egbert*, having slaine his Uncle *Lothaire* in battell, succeeded him in the kingdome of *Kent*, wherein he sate onely two yeares, and those in continuall warres with his subjects; in which civill broiles lastly hee was slaine, leaving the *Kentish* kingdome so torne with dissentions, that it became a prey to many Usurpers, and gave occasion to *Ceadwalla* the *West-Saxon*, to seeke the annexion thereof to his owne kingdome, who with his brother *Mollo* entred *Kent*, and with fire and sword made waste where they came. To meet these, the *Kentish* assembled, and getting the advantage, burned *Mollo* to death: in whose revenge *Ceadwalla* persisted, and wasted the most part of the Province before hee departed: so that after for six yeares continuance, no King raigned in *Kent*, but the Countrey lay exposed to the tyrannies of oppressors.

10. An. Dom. 686.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 26. Edrik his raigne. His death.

Ceadwalla and *Mollo* invade *Kent*.

Mollo burned to death.

VVIgtred, or *Withred*, seven yeares after the death of his brother, tooke upon him the government of *Kent*, which he purchased with the good opinion that his subjects conceived, and with a great sum of money paid to King *Ina* for his peace. He entred his Kingdome the yeare of mans Redemption 693. the eleventh of *November*, and two hundred and five yeares, after the death of *Hengist* the first *Saxon*. With him raigned one *Swebharde*, as *Beda* declareth: but without mention from whom, or upon what occasion, He founded the Priory of S. *Martin* at *Dover*, and behaved himselfe worthily both in War and Peace: his raigne was thirty yeares; thirty three, saith *Beda*; and death in Anno 725. leaving issue *Edbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alrik*, all three succeeding successively in the kingdome.

11. An. Dom. 693

Withred his meanes of attaining the Kingdome.

His bounty to the Church. *Beda hist. eccl. Angl. lib. 4. cap. & lib. 5. cap. 9.* His raigne and death.

EDbert, the first sonne of *Withred*, succeeded his Father in his kingdome, vertues, and valours, whereby a peaceable government is allotted him by all writers of these affaires, for the continuance of twenty three yeares, without relation of any notable accident peculiar to himselfe and kingdome: besides the appearances of two fearefull Comets, in Anno 729. and fourth of his raigne; the one arising immediately before the Sun in the morning, and the other shewing his fiery beames presently upon the Sunnes set, both of them striking their gleames into the North, and by West, foreshewing (it may be) the scourge and desolation that the *Pagans* intended, who were at that instant entred into *France* and *Spaine*.

12. An. Dom. 726.

Edbert a vertuous prince. His raigne.

Two blazing Starres.

EThelbert, the second sonne of King *Withred*, and brother to the last King *Edbert*, began his Raigne over the kingdome of *Kent*, the yeare of mans salvation 749. and raigned without any memorable act either of his, or of his kingdomes affaires, the space of

13. An. Dom. 749.

Ethelbert his raigne.

of eleven yeares, leaving this life in Anno 759. and was buried, say some, in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul* in *Canterbury*, without issue of his body to succeed him: howbeit the *Annals* of *Canterbury* affirme him to bee buried at *Reculuers* in the Ile of *Tanet*, whose Monument is shewed at the upper end of the South Ile in the Church, and is mounted with two Spires, if there be not a mistaking of him for *Ethelbert* his Successor.

His death.

His buriall.

14. *Alrik* the last of lineall succession.

ALrik, the third sonne of King *Withred*, by the death of his brother *Ethelbert*, obtained the kingdome of *Kent*, the yeare of Christs incarnation 760. no other glory attending his affaires (saith *Malmesbury*) besides his unfortunate fight at *Otteford* against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, wherein it seemed some honour (though with his overthrow) to withstand so puissant and impugnable an enemie. He is the last king of *Kent*, that held the Scepter in a lineall succession: the rest that followed, both got and enjoyed it by tyranny and Usurpation. This King is said to raigne thirty foure yeares, and to die in the yeare of grace, seven hundred ninety three.

All the Kings of Kent after Alrik Usurpers.

15. An. Dom. 794.

EThelbert, surnamed *Pren*, usurped the Title and Authority over the *Kentish Dominions*, when that *Province* was sore oppressed with the invasion of the *Mercian Kenulfe*, whose warres against *Kent*, by succession from *Offa*, were continued with such rigour and valour, that the Countrey lay desolate where hee had been, and the people distressed whither he came. This *Pren*, *Kenulfe* tooke prisoner, and led away with him into *Mercia*: but at the dedication of a Church that he had then founded at *Winchcomb*, in presence of ten *Dukes* and thirteen *Bishops*, he released him at the *High Altar*, without either intreatie or ransome of redemption. The King returning againe into *Kent*, could not there be received; his place either being supplied by another, or himselfe so disliked, as not worthy any longer to raigne: and having had experience of the worlds mutabilities, is left againe to his private fortunes, from whence he had stepped, having held his estate but for three yeares continuance.

His imprisonment.

His releasement

CVthred, saith *Malmesbury*, was made King of Kent by *Kenulfe* King of *Mercia*, when hee had overcome and captivated *Ethelbert*: notwithstanding hee is accounted for an *Usurper*, and bare the Title of King, the tearme of eight yeares, without any other act worthy of remembrance, inheriting his predecessors evill hap and calamity, through factions and civill discords.

An. Dom. 797.

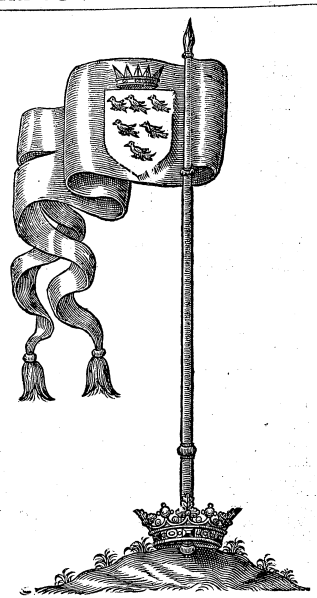
BAldred, after the death of this *Cuthred*, tooke upon him the Princely dignity of Kent, about the yeare of Christs Nativity 805. But now the heavenly providence determining to bring againe together that which the *Saxons* had divided, raised from exile little *Egbert*, to make him the great *Monarch* of the *English-men*. His first wars were against *Bernulfe* King of *Mercia*, and his second against this *Baldred*, King of Kent, whom in battell he vanquished, and forced him out of his kingdome, after he had fate on that Princely Throne, the space of eighteene yeares. This *Baldred* is said to have fled over *Thames*, and to leave Kent to the will of his Conquerour, whither againe he never returned, neither yet was heard of after his overthrow. This Kingdome then that was erected by *Hengist*, the yeare of mans happinesse 455. continued her government 372. and ended her glory in the yeare 827. being made a *Province* unto the *West-Saxons*.

An. Dom. 805.

Baldred succeeded upon him the Kingdome of *Kent*. *Egbert*, Monarch of the *Eng. Saxons*.

This Kingdomes beginning, continuance, and end.

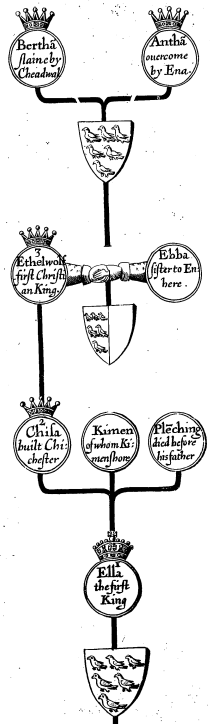
SOVTH-



SOVTH-SAXONS KINGDOME,
THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, THEIR KINGS, SVCCESSIONS, ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

Chapter VI.

THis Kingdome of the *South Saxons*, though it began with the first, in the second yeere after the entrance of *Hengist*: and that *Ella* their first King, was the second *Monarch* that swayed the Scepter of the *Saxons Monarchy* in Great *Britaine*: yet after *Ella* his death, it was the most obscure of all the rest, had the fewest Kings, and the shortest time of their kingdomes continuance: Insomuch as *William* Monke of *Malmsbury*, hath not ranked their kings among the other *Saxons*, nor any other writer recorded above three kings, without further succession or other collaterals: and the two last that governed, are rather called Captaines then kings. As therefore wee find them recorded by *Florentius* Monke of *Worcester*, we have inserted their successions here as thou seest, & will relate their Acts from others in this following Discourse.



The Genealogies and Issues of the South-Saxons.

The limits of this Kingdome.

An. Dom. 488.

THe Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, containing the countries of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, had on the East side *Kent*, on the South, the Sea and *Ile of wight*; upon the West *Hant-shiere*, and the North side inverged with the river *Thames*: This Kingdome was erected by *Ella* a Saxon Captaine, that in the second yeere of *Hengists* entrance, as some say, brought a supply of his *Saxons* into *Britaine*, with whom came his three sonnes, *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Cissa*: these landing at a place (which from *Kymen* was afterwards) called *Kymenshore*, discomfited the Inhabitants, that made resistance, and *Ella* himselfe King of those Southerne parts. But doubtlesse there are many opinions of this mans first entrance and new erected estate: for some (as Sir *Henry Savile* in his Table) set it in the second yeare of *Hengists* first arrivall, Anñ 452. Others in the second of *Aurelius*, and no lesse then thirty yeare after that, Anno 482. *Harrison* will have it forty three yeares after the *Saxons* first entrance, and fourth yeare after King *Hengist* his death, Anno 492. And M. *Ferrers* in his *Succession* of the *English Monarchs*, placeth it in the three and twentieth yeare of King *Hengists* Kingdome, and in the fifth after his owne arrivall, the yeare of our Redemption 488. Of such uncertainty is the beginning of this *South-Saxons*, Kingdome whose *continuance* and *Successions* are nothing clearer; insomuch that *Malmesbury* making severall chapters upon the other six, omitteth onely this of the *South-Saxons*: and therefore as we finde them, let us have leave to relate them, and for the present to leave *Ella* as he was King, till wee come to a fit place where more shall be spoken of him as he was Monarch; whose raigne is set by *Stow* to be 36 yeares; by Sir *Henry Savile*, 24. and by M. *Henry Ferrers*, 32. and to have died in the yeare 514.

Malmesbury omits in this Kingdome.

Ella his raigne and death.

The Inhabitants chased into a wood.

The divers opinions of Ellas first entrance.

2. Anno. Do. 514. *Cissa* succeeded.

Cissa the third and youngest sonne of King *Ella*, then onely living at his fathers death, succeeded him in the kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, (leaving the Monarchy to *Cherdicke* king of the *West-Saxons*, who had planted his kingdome between him and the *Britaines*, having taken the charge of warre against them; for maintainance whereof, *Cissa* yeelded him a yeerely contribution) and living himself in long rest and peace, founded *Chichester* and *Chisbury*, the one a City

Citie for resort of his people, the other a place of repose for himselfe; which last he fortified about with a strong Trench, for a further defence against all dangers. Of any other his actions, little is recorded by Writers: onely in this they concurre, that he was a man of great age and small acts; some affirming that he raigned the space of seventy six yeares.

Sigor. Ciffa's Reigne. 3 Anno Dom. 5. 5.

EDilwach (by some called *Ethelwof* and *Athelwold*) succeeded King *Ciffa* in the kingdome of the *South Saxons*, & was the first Christian of that Nation converted by Bishop *Wilfride*, as some conceive out of *Beda*: yet *Beda* saith expreslly, that the king was baptized before *Wilfrids* comming. And the History of S. *Swithune* saith, *it was done by S. Berinus, Bishop of Dorchester, who usually preaching the Gospel in the Kingdome of the Mercians, in the Citie of Oxenford, and presence of Wulpherus King of Mercia, it hapened that King Athelwold, then a Pagan, was present, who by the endeavour of Wulpherus, and instruction of Berinus, received the laver of baptisme: whom also Wulpherus received at the Font for his God-son, and in a signe of that adoption gave unto him two Provinces to be annexed to his former kingdome, that is to say, the Ile of Wight, and the Province of Manures in the West of England: at which time also Berinus by King Athelwolds permission, baptized the chiefe Dukes, and Nobles of that province.* His Queene *Ebba* was baptized in her own Ile, the Province of the *Vicians*, being the daughter of *Eanfride*, who was brother to *Eanheres*, and both of them Christians. But it is generally held, that King *Edelwach* gave unto *Wilfride* the *Peninsula* (as the Latines speake) of *Seolesse*, now *Selsee* in the West, with the demaines of eighty seven Tenements, wherein he built the Monasterie, that bare the same name, and was his owne *Episcopall* Sea. Against this *Edelwach*, *Ceadwald* a valiant young Prince, of the blood royall of the *West-Saxons*, being banished his Countrey, making head with the assistance of friends and followers, entred his Territories with an impetuous incursion, and slew the King as he made resistance, when he had raigned twenty five yeares: in whose raigne and country raged such an extreame famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies cast themselves from the Rockes into the Sea.

Liber Historiarum S. Swithuni. Wilton.

Beda lib. 4. c. 13.

Wolfere Edilbachus Godfather.

Ebba the wife of Wolfere.

Bed. loco citato. Sels in Sussex.

Cap. 15.

His raigne & death.

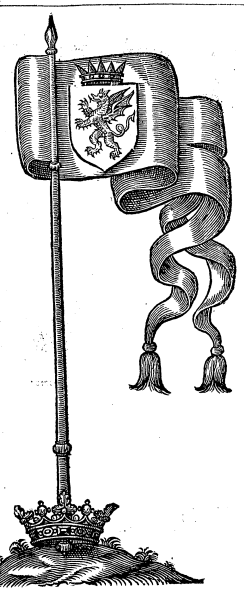
Beda lib. 4. c. 13.

(4) *Berthun* and *Authun*, two Dukes of the *South-Saxons*, maintained the Warres and defence of their Countrey against *Ceadwald*, & by manly vallour forced him to retire. These Captains betwixt them held the dominion of that Province, untill such time as *Ceadwald* had gotten the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; who bearing in minde the remembrance of his former proceedings, and thinking to inlarge his owne kingdome with the subjection of the *South-Saxons*, entred against the Province, and in battell slew Duke *Berthun*, harrying the Countrey miserably before him, Which State, unable to withstand the *West-Saxons* puissance, was by *Ine*, the next king succeeding made a subject Province, their governement thence forward resting under his successors, after it had stood one hundred and thirteen yeares: and ended in the yeare of Christ 601. by ordinary computation. But whosoever shall compare the names of the foresaid Kings, *Wulpherus* and *Athelwold* together, will easily finde, that it is not easie to finde the certain concurrence of times, in affairs so clouded in obscurity, and so farre remote from our present times.

Ceadwald driven backe.

Beda lib. 5. cap. 23. Ang. Sibax. 25

The continuance and end of this kingdome.

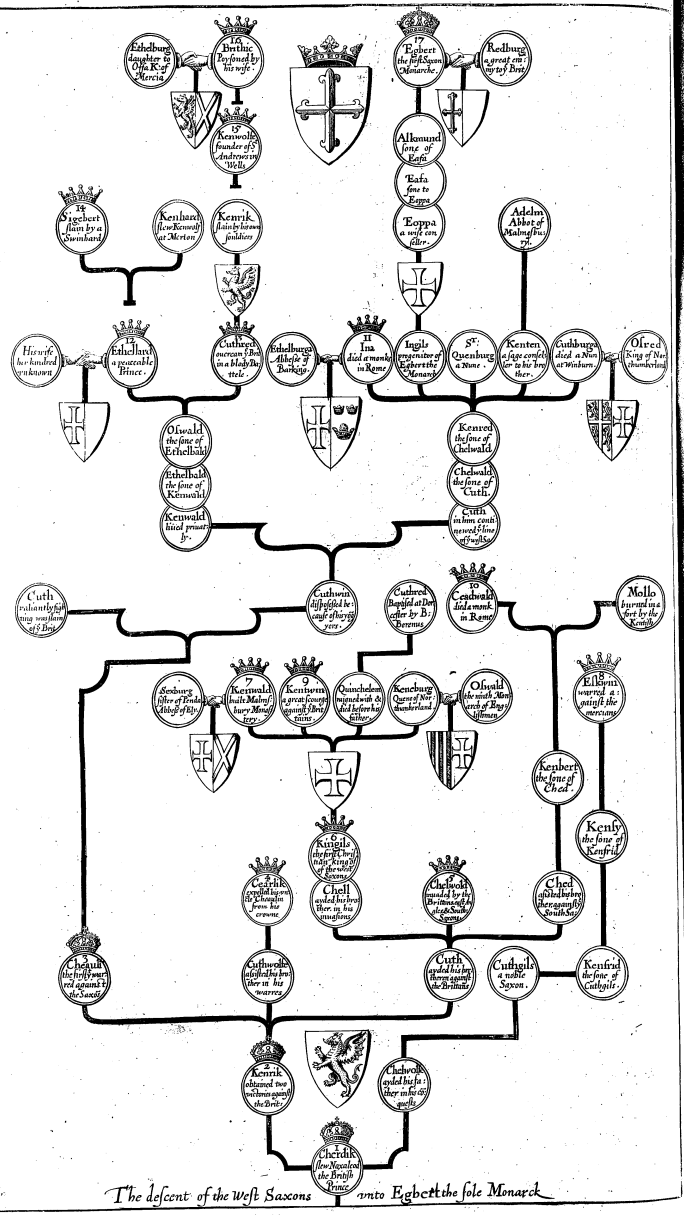


THE KINGDOME OF THE WEST-SAXONS, THE CIRCVIT THEREOF, AND SVCCESSION OF THEIR KINGS VNTO *EGBERT*, WITH THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.

Chapter. VII.

THe West-*Saxons* kingdome, containing the West of the Iland, unto the Lizards point, and lands end in *Cornwall*, was first erected by *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine, that led his *Saxons* in the conquest of that Province: and ever bare as hard a hand over the over-borne *Britaines*, as did any of those intruders, that had seated themselves in other mens rights. Three of whose Kings so carryed themselves among the other *Saxons*, as they by amitie, or awe, love, or constraint, won, and wore the Emperiall Crowne of the whole; till by the death of the one brother, and youth of the other, *Kent* againe got it, and others from them, till *Egbert* the seventeenth King of this kingdome joyned all into one. The stem of the whole, from *Cherdik* to *Egbert*, is here branched, whose sap of growth from them in many of our *English* honorable families, hath fairely budded even unto this day: and I pray may so bud for ever; that the land may be *blessed in our Kings the sonnes of these Nobles, and happy in our Princes, that eate for strength and not for appetite, Eccles.* 10. 17. Many of these West-*Saxons* first converts, may be living examples to their following posterities, in shewing their faiths by their works, and in building of Oratories for Gods divine service, as King *Ine* did *Glastenbury*, King *Kenwulfe* Saint *Andrewes* in *Welles*, and King *Eadwallo* in an holy zeale laid by his robes, and tooke the habit of a Monke in *Rome*. The Queenes likewise of this kingdome, in the like devoted zeale sought to forward the state of Christianitie: for to that end did Queene *Seburg* build the Nunry of *Sheppey*, and vailed herselfe a Nun therein; Queene *Etheldurg* laid by her royall robes, and tooke the vaile and charge of Abbesse of *Barking*. And Queene *Cuthburg* too zealous that way, forsooke the bed of her King and husband, to live more chaste, as then was taught; but contrary to the command of the Apostle, who forbade to defraud the durie of marriage, 1 *Cor.* 7. 3. and commendeth that bed to be honourable and undefiled, *Heb.* 13. 4. See the wheele if you please in the next following page, their marriages, issues, and other collaterals.

V



The descent of the West Saxons vnto Egbert the sole Monarck

The West Saxons the first that brought the Heptarchy to a Monarchy.

THe Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, though in time later then the two former; yet in circuit and fame surmounted them both; whose *Monarch* was the Maull that first brake the Scepter of the other fixe Kingdomes in sunder, and made one Crowne of these their severall Diademes, more glorious then they all, and that first worne upon *Egbert* the *West-Saxons* head, and the Scepter swayed in his Imperiall hand; untill whose time and person we will continue the succession of their Kings, beginning with *Cherdike* that first made it a Kingdome, and briefely shew their acts whilest it so stood in the *Saxons* Heptarchy.

Florent. Wigor.

1. An. Dom. 495. The time when *Cherdike* entred into Britaine.

THis *Cherdike* is faid to have brought a fecond fupply of *Saxons* forces into *Britaine*, in the yeere of our Lord 495. and fifth of King *Ella*, and feventh of the *Monarchy* of great *Hengift*, his landing being at a place on that occafion called *Cherdike-fhore*, who with his fonne *Kenrike*, was encountred by the *Britaines*, under the conduct of *Natanleod a Britifh Prince*, (whofe Countrey was then called, after his name) whom he flew in Battell, with five thoufand of his *Britaines*: the fortune of which field gave refolutions and hopes of better fucceffe: it was fought neere unto a Brooke upon that event called *Cherdikes-ford*, now by contraction *Chard-ford*. Hereupon eftablifhing his new erected Kingdome, (which contained *Cornewall*, *Devonfhire*, *Dorfetfhire*, *Somerfetfhire*, *Wiltfhire*, *Hantfhire*, and *Barkfhire*,) he inlarged the fame with the conqueft of the *Ile* of *Wight*, the government whereof was by him given to *Stuffe* and *Withgar* his Nephewes; which latter flew the *Britaines* there inhabiting, and named the place of his victory *Withgarbirg*, affuming the name of King, and was buried at his City *Withgar*, in the fame Ile. About feven yeeres after *Cherdikes* entrance, *Porth* a *Saxon* with his two Sonnes, *Megla* and *Beda*, landed in the Weft, at the place from him called *Portfmouth*, whofe ayde with *Kent* and *Suffex*, affifted *Cherdike* in his Conqueffs. His raigne is fet to be thirty three yeeres, and his death in the yeere of grace five hundred thirty five, having had two fonnes, *Kenrike* and *Chelwolfe*, the one of which dyed before his Father; and the other fucceeded him in his Kingdome. *Chelwolfe* had iffue *Cuthgils*, whofe fonne was *Kenfridd*, and his fonne *Kenfye*, the Father of King *Kentwin*, who was the Succeffor of King *Kenwalke*, and predeceffor of King *Kentwin*, in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*.

The circuit of this Kingdome.

The firft Kings raigne, iffue, and death.

2. An. Dom. 535. Kenrike his battles. Rankery in Oxfordfhire.

KEnrike, the eldeft Sonne of King *Cherdike*, having formerly made proofe of his prowefle in the affiftance of his Father, was after his death alfo very fortunate in obtaining two victories over the *Britaines*; the one at *Searesberige*, and the other at *Beranbrig*: whofe raigne beginning Anno 534. continued twenty fixe yeeres; ending in the yeere of our Redemption, five hundred fixty. He had iffue three Sonnes, of which *Cheaulin* the eldeft fucceeded him in his Kingdome; *Cuthwolfe* the fecond affifted his Brother in his Warres, and was partaker with him of his victories, who dyed Anno 672. leaving iffue one onely Sonne, named *Chell*, or *Cearlike*, who prooved nothing fo vertuous and dutifull a fubject as his father had beene: for hee rofe in rebellion againft his Vncle, and by ftrong hand expelled him his Kingdome. The third Sonne of King *Kenrike* was *Cuth*, famous in his iffue, though mentionleffe for action in himfelfe: for he had three fonnes, of which *Chelwolfe* the eldeft, was King of the *West-Saxons*, (as fhall be declared) *Chell* the fecond, was father to *Kingils* the fixt (and *firft Chriftian King* of the *West-Saxons*, and *Grandfather* to *Kenwall* and *Kenwin*,) the feventh and ninth *Kings* of that *Kingdome*, and *Ched* the youngeft, was father of *Kenbert*, *Grandfather* to *Chedwall* the moft renowned King of the *West-Saxons*, of whom we are prefently to fpeake, and of them all in the fucceffion of the *Engliffh Saxons Monarchs*: and now to returne againe to the iffue of King *Kenrike*.

Iffue, Cheaulin, Cuthwolfe, and death.

Cearlike the fon of Cuthwolfe, rebelleth a. gainft his Vncle.

Chedwall, the moft renowned King of the west-Saxons.

CHeaulin his firft fon, entred upon the government over the *West-Saxons* Anno 561. and even at the firft began to difturbe the quiet peace of his neighbor Provinces, taking advantage at the young yeeres of *Ethelbert* (who was made King of *Kent* in the fame yeere that *Cheaulin*, was made King of *West-Saxons*) whom he difcomfited; and flew his two Captaines, Duke *Oflawe*, and Duke *Cnebba*, at *Wibbandune*, as we have faid. Other Victories he obtained over the *Britaines*, both at *Bedford*, *Durham*, *Glocefter*, *Cirencefter*, and *Bathanceffer*. But the fortunes of warres being alwayes variable, at length his fucceffe altered, and at *Wannes ditch* in *Wiltfhire* hee was overthrowne, and difpoffeffed of his Kingdome by *Cealrik* his brother *Cuthwolfes* fonne, when hee had raigned thirty three yeeres. He had iffue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*: the former ferved valiantly in the Warres under his Father at *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*, where King *Ethelbert* of *Kent* was chafed, and his Souldiers flaine: and with the like valour and victory hee fought at *Fethanleygh* againft the *Britaines*, notwithftanding that therein hee loft his life, the yeere of our Lord 585. and the five and twentieth of his fathers raigne. *Cuthwin* his younger brother furvived his father, but fucceeded not in his Kingdome, being then (by reafon of his young yeeres) unable to recover his right. He had two fons, *Kenbald* and *Cuth*; the latter of which was father to *Chelmald*, whofe fonne *Kenred* had iffue, *Ine* the eleventh King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Ingils* his brother, whofe fonne was *Eoppa* the father of *Eafa*, whofe fon was *Alkemmud*, the father of *Egbert* the eighteenth King of the *West-Saxons*, who reduced the *Saxons* divided *Heptarchy* into an abfolute *Monarchy*.

His raigne. His iffue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*. *Cuth* a valiant warrier.

Slaine at *Fethanleygh*.

4. An. Dom. 592. *Cearlike* the fourth King of the *west-Saxons*. His raignes continuance.

CEarlike the fonne of *Cuthwolfe*, who was brother to this laft King, fucceeded in the Kingdome by the election of his *Vncle*, and was the fourth King of the *West-Saxons*. He began his raigne in the yeere of our Redemption 592. and continued it the terme of fixe yeeres, without any memorable act by him atchieved befides his Treafon fpoken of before.

5. An. Dom. 598. *West-Saxons* invaded by three fundry enemies Hen. Huntingd. His death.

CHelwolfe the Sonne of *Cuth*, the fonne of *Kenrike*, and Cofen-germani to *Cearlik* the preceding King began his raigne over the *West-Saxons*, the yeere 598. on whofe firft entrance, this province of the *West-Saxons* was invaded both by the *Britaines*, and alfo by the *Scots* and *Picts*: and the *Eaft-Angles* likewife molefted his peace, under the conduct of *Redwald* at that time *Monarch* of the Engliffmen. But hee wading thorow thefe troubles, harried the *Province* of the *South-Saxons* with invafions and calamities, in the Profecution whereof he dyed, leaving the purfuit of his warres and poffeffions of his Kingdome to *Kingils* his Nephew, that immediately fucceeded him, after he had raigned the fpace of fourteene yeeres.

6. An. Dom. 612. *Kingils* his comming to the Kingdome. *Quim-helmus* his affociate. *vrid. Malmesbu:* *Mariannus.* *Florent. wigorn.* Their victory over the *Britaines*. *Kingils* converted to Chriftianity, the firft of all the *west-Saxons* Kings. *Beda hift. Angli: lib. 2. cap 7.* *Oswald* a witneffe at his baptizing.

His gift to *Kingils*.

KIngils the Son of *Chel*, who was brother to King *Chelwolfe*, fucceeding his Vncle in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, in the yeere fixe hundred and twelve, in his third yeere he affociated unto him in his Government *Quincheline* his Sonne; who joyntly managed the *West-Saxons* affaires both of warre and peace. And fighting with victory againft the *Britaines* at *Beandune*, flew of them one thoufand forty fixe perfons; and after that againft *Penda* King of *Mercia*, neere unto *Cirencefter*, about the fift yeere of his raigne, where laftly they came to a conclufion of peace. This King at the preaching of *Berinus* (an *Italian Divine*, afterward reputed for a *Saint*) and by the perfwafions of *Oswald* the moft Chriftian King of *Northumberland*, (who was a fuiter to become his *fon in Law*, by the marriage of *Kineburg* his daughter, and was made his Godfather by receiving him at the *Font*) received the *Word of Life*, and became the firft *Chriftian King* of all the *West-Saxons*; in witneffe whereof, he gave the City *Dorchefter*, neere unto *Oxford*, to his Converter, who therein erected his Epifcopall Sea. He raigned the fpace of thirty one yeeres, fome fay but twenty feven; and had iffue (befides

Quinchelinus, who raigned with him, and dyed before him) *Kenwin* and *Kenwald*, that succeeded him; and *Kineburg* his daughter married to *Oswald*, as is said. *Quinchelinus* had a sonne named *Cuthred*, that was baptized with his Father at *Dorchester*, and is faid by *Stowe*, to have raigned after the death of *Kingils*: but I take it rather to be *Kenwen*, whom some suppose to bee his fathers Associate the terme of foure yeeres, but never sole King himselfe.

John Stowe. Annal.

7 An. Dom. 643. *Beda hist. Angl. lib.3. cap.7. Kenwald* reflecteth the Christian faith.

KEnwald, whom *Beda* calleth *Senwalch*, succeeded his Father *Kingils* in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*. His beginnings by *Matthew Westminster* are compared to be with the worst, and his endings with the best of those Kings. At his first entrance he fought with victory against the *Britaines* at *Penmum*, whereof he became most insolent, and refused not onely to receive the *Christian Faith*, but also put from him his lawfull wife *Sexburg*, the sister of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, whereby hee became hatefull to his owne Subjects, and sore assaulted by the *Mercian* King, who followed the revenge so farre, that he forced *Kenwald* out of his Kingdome, who being driven to extremity sought succour at the mercy of *Anna* the Christian King of the *East Angles*, where he was both curteously entertained, and at last (wonne to the Christian Faith) was baptized by *Bishop Felix*, whereupon he did recall his wife, according to prescript of *Christianity*, and recovered againe his former Majesty, which he much advanced by his pious workes. He founded the *Cathedrall* of *Winchester*, and the *Abby* of *Malmesbury*, and when he had raigned thirty one yeeres, gave place unto nature in the yeere 673. leaving no issue of his body to succeed him: whereupon *Segburg* his wife tooke upon her the government of the *West-Saxons*, the same yeere that *Lothair* was made King of *Kent*, thee being a woman of great spirit and understanding, & sufficiently worthy to have managed the Kingdome, had she not beene prevented by death or rather (as some write) by a religious devotion, that the affaires of this present life might not hinder her zealous meditations of the future: in desire whereof she abandoned her Regency, and built a house of devotion in the *Ile* of *Shepey*, wherein herselfe became a *Vowesse*, and afterward was elected the *Abbesse* of *Elie*.

Hee is driven out of his Kingdome.

Kenwald won to the faith of Christ.

His workes of devotion. *Will. Malmes.* His raigne. His death. *Vide Ann.* His wife governeth the Kingdome.

An. Dom. 674.

She becomes a Nunne, and is elected Abbesse of *Elie*.

8 An. Dom. 675. *Escwin* his raigne not long. *Hen. Hunting.* His battle with *wolfere*.

He dyed without issue.

ESkwin after the departure of Queene *Segburg*, succeeded in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*. He was the sonne of *Kenfy*, the son of *Kenfrid*, the son of *Cuthgils*, the sonne of *Chelwolfe*, the sonne of *Cherdike*, the first King of that Province: his raigne lasted but two yeeres, in which time he fought a great Battle with *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, at the place then called *Bidanheasford*, and wherein many of the *Saxons* on both sides perished, leaving neither issue to succeed him, nor other matters to be spoken of him, though (as it seemeth) hee had dispossessed *Kenwin*, who had more right to the Crowne then himselfe; or (as *Beda* and *Malmesbury* averre) hee raigned with him the space of two yeeres, and *Kenwin* alone for seven yeeres more.

9 An. Dom. 677. *Kenwin* when he began to raigne. A great scourge to the over-borne Britains.

KEnwin the brother of *Kenwald*, and sonne to King *Kingils*, in the yeere 677. became the ninth King of the *West-Saxons*, and raigned the space of nine yeeres. He was a great scourge unto the weake and over-borne *Britaines*, making Conquests of their possessions, and forcing them even to the Sea-shoare, being a people allotted unto misery, and by these strangers pursued so vehemently, that lastly they were driven into the *Welsh-Angle* of this *Iland*, and their lives defended and maintained among those waste Mountaines and hard Rockes, which therein were more propitious and gentle then the stony hearts of their Oppressors.

10 An. Dom. 686. *Beda hist. Eccle. Angl. l.4. c.15.*

CEadwalla a valiant young man, and of the blood-Royall of the *Geniffes*, faith *Beda*, being banished from his Country through the envy of others, who maligned him onely for his vertues and worthinesse, succeeded *Kenwin* his kinsman in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, and with greater glory raigned then any other in that Province before him had done. Hee was the sonne of *Kenbert*, whose father was *Ched*, the second Sonne of *Cuth*; and *Cuth* was the third Sonne of *Kenrike*, who was the eldest Son of *Cherdike*, that laid the first stone of this Kingdomes foundation. His first brunt of fury was against *Edilwach*, King of the *South-Saxons*, whom in field he slew: and in another battell *Berthun*, that had made himselfe King of that State. The *Ile of Wight* also he almost quite wasted: and though hee were unbaptized, yet did hee bind himselfe by vow to give the fourth part of the spoile unto Gods use, and performed it accordingly unto Bishop *Wilfrid*, who with *Bernewine* and *Hildila* converted the people from their Idolatrous superstition, unto the true service of Christ, it being the last part of the *Saxons* possessions that was turned from their Pagan manners. Of which his specious devotion, *Malmesbury* giveth this censure: *Although we praise his affection*, (saith he) *yet allow we not the example; for it his written, that who so offereth unto God the goods of the poore, doth as it were sacrifice the sonne in the sight of the Father.* *Kent* also with grievous warres he twice afflicted, and therein spilt so much *Christian* blood, that nature her selfe was therein offended, and he at last as much lamented: in repentance whereof, after hee had raigned in great flourneste the space of two yeeres, in a zealous devotion went to *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized upon *Easter Even* (saith *Beda*, the yeere of our Redemption 689.) by the name of *Peter*, and wearing as yet the white Robes of innocency, put (as the rite then was) upon him at his laver of *Baptisme*, fell sicke, and the twentieth day of *April* following dyed, having had neither wife nor child that we reade of. He was buried in Saint *Peters* Church in *Rome*, under a faire Monument, with this inscription thereon ingraven: *Heere Ceadwall, otherwise named Peter, King of the West-Saxons, is buried, who dyed the twentieth of April, in the second Indiction, and lived thirty yeeres or thereabouts, when that noble and mighty Prince Iustinian was Emperour of Rome, and had raigned foure yeeres in the Empire; and Sergius a true patterne of the Apostles, had sate two yeeres in Peters Seat.* What hath beene written of this *Ceadwall*, King of the *West-Saxons*, by *Beda* the *Saxon* and his followers hath beene attributed to *Cadwalader* King of the *Britaines*, by *Geffrey* of *Monmouth* the *Britaine*, *John Castor* and *More*, affirming him to be the same man, and that upon the admonition of an *Angel* hee went to *Rome*, tooke pennance of *Pope Sergius*, there dyed in the twelfe *Kalends* of *May*, and was there buried with the same *Epitaph*, and after the same manner. But the Writer of the *History* of *Cambria*, of *Cadwaladers* going to *Rome*, and the other appendances, seemeth to be doubtfull, and faith that it differed from the assertion of *Bernardus Guidonius*, the neerenesse of the names being the very cause of the like relations, and confidently affirmeth that it was *Edwall* the sonne of *Cadwalader*, who in such devotion went to *Rome*, and there made such a religious end, about the yeere of our Lord 720.

Ceadwall raigned with great glory then any other.

His deficent.

His warres against the *South-Saxons*.

His vow to God.

The last of the Saxons that were converted to Christ.

An unpleasing sacrifice to God.

His great bloudshed in *Kent*.

His repentance.

His baptizing.

His death.

His burriall.

Beda hist. Eccle. Angl. lib.5. cap.

The history of *Ceadwall* attributed to *Cadwallader* by Geffrey.

Booke of Saint *Albans, part.1. cap.62.* D. *Powel* History. *Camb. pag.9.*

11 An. Dom. 688. *Flores. wigorn.* *Ine* his deficent.

Ine his first warres.

Matth. westm. Kenwald terrified by the appearing of two blazing Starres. The continuance of his raigne.

West. Malmesbury.

Matth. westm. His battle with the *Britainers*.

His Conquest of the *South-Saxons*.

His love of Iustice.

His zeale to piety.

His wife. 12. An. 726.

His last estate wherein hee died.

His Subjects rise against him.

His death, His raigne.

13. An. Dom. 740.

Hen. Hunting. *Adelme* a rebell.

Vanquished by *Cuthred*.

Restored again to favour.

Cuthred his raigne & death.

Matth westm. *Kynrike* his son.

14. An. Dom. 754. *Sigebert*, his raigne without honour. *will. malmesb.* Given to viciousnesse.

His subjects rise against him.

His death, His raigne.

15. An. Dom. 755. *Kenwulfe* his defence. *Hen. Hunting.* His victories against the *Britainers*.

He founded a Cathedrall Church.

He is slaine. Buried at *Winchester. Simeon Dun.*

his owne raigne (as *Mathew of Westminster* hath observed) he fought with the *Britaines* under their Captaine *Gerent*, whom he victoriously subdued: and in his twentie sixth yere, against *Cheolred* King of *Mercia*, with doubtfull victory, at the place then called *Wodensbury*: and in his thirtie sixth, invaded the *South Saxons* with such successe, that he reduced the same *Kingdome* into a *Province*, and annexed it in subjection to the *West-Saxons*: and manifesting his good desires both to the administration of *Iustice*, and the advancement of *Divine Piety*, he ordained many good lawes for the amendment of manners in his people, which are yet extant written in the *Saxon Tongue*, and translated into *Latine* by the learned M. *Williams Lambert*.

He built at *Wels* a *Colledge* dedicated unto God, and bearing the name of S. *Andrewes*: which afterwards *Kenulph*, King of the *West-Saxons* made an Episcopall Sea. The renowned *Abbey* of *Glastenbury* most stately he built to the honour of Christ, *Peter*, and *Paul*, (whereof *Malmesbury* maketh mention in his booke of *Glastenbury* Antiquities) in a fenny place sequestred from the road way, where formerly had stood the *old Cell* of *Ioseph of Arimathea*, and that being decayed *Dene* Bishop of S. *Davids* had thereon erected a new; which time also having ruinated, twelve men well affected in the North parts of *Britaine* had repaired, but now by this *Ina*, was quite pulled downe, and after a most sumptuous manner new built; the *Chapell* whereof he garnished with gold and silver, and gave rich ornaments thereto; as *Altar*, *Chalice*, *Censer*, *Candlesticks*, *Basons* and *Holy Water*, *Bucket*, *Images*, and *Pale* for the *Altar*, of an incredible value: for the gold thereupon bestowed, amounted to three hundred thirtie three pound waight, and the silver to two thousand eight hundred thirtie five pound, beside precious Gemmes, embroched in the *Celebrating Vestures*. He instituted also a certaine yeerely payment to the See of *Rome*, enjoyning every one of his subjects that possessed in his house of one kinde of goods to the value of twentie pence, that he should pay a penny to the *Pope* yeerely upon *Lammas Day*: which at first was contributed under the name of *The Kings Almes*, but afterwards was called and challenged by the name of *Peter-pence*. At length, by the instigation and earnest perswasion of *Ethelburga* his *Queene*, hee renounced the glistering glory of his present and princely estate, wherein he had in great prosperitie raigned thirtie seven yeeres and odde moneths; and professing a voluntary poverty, (so great was the zeale, and so little the knowledge of that age) went to *Rome*, where in the habit of a *Religious Man* he ended his life in poore estate; and *Ethelburga* his wife became a vailed *Nunne*, and was made *Abbesse* of *Barking* neere *London*, wherein she ended her life. The brethren of this *Ina*, were *Kenten*, whose sonne was *Aldelme Abbot* of *Malmesbury* and Bishop of *Sherborne*, and *Ingils* that was the progenitor of *Egbert* the first *Saxon Monarch* of the whole Iland: and his sisters were S. *Quenburg* and *Cuthburga*, married into *Northumberland*, sued a divorce against *Ofrich* her King and husband, and in the habit of a *Nunne* ended her daies at *Winburne* in the Countie of *Dorset*.

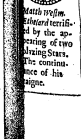
Ethelard the kinsman of king *Ina* (whom he ordained his successour at his departure to *Rome*) was the sonne of *Oswald*, and he of *Ethelhald* the sonne of *Kenhald*, the brother of *Cuth*, and both of them the sonnes of *Cuthwin*, the sonne of *Cheulin*, the sonne of Kings *Kenrik*, the sonne of *Cherdik*, the first *West-Saxon* King. He began his raigne the same yeere that King *Edbert* did his over the Kingdome of *Kent*, and with him was terrified by the dreadfull appearance of two *Blazing Starres*: of whose Acts, no other mention is recorded, saving that at his entrance into regall estate, *Oswald* a *Norman* of the *West-Saxons* blood, emulated his glory, and troubled the quiet peace of his prosperous beginning: but not able to winne fortune to favour his proceedings, he quite abandoned his native Countrey, and so left *Ethelard* to rule the Kingdome in peace, who therin quietly raigned the space of fourteene yeeres, without any mention of wife or issue.

CVthred, brother to king *Ethelard*, succeeded him in his Dominions, and was much disquieted by *Edilbald* King of *Mercia*, both by open war and privy practises: but these two Kings comming to a conclusion of peace, joyned both their Powers against the over-borne *Britains*, and in a bloody battell gave them a great overthrow. In this time, saith *Beda*, the bodies of the dead were permitted to be buried within the walles of their Cities, which thing before was not lawfull, but their corps were interred without in the Fields; many of whose Tombes as yet are witnesses to us, that daily find them in digging of the grounds adjoining, & reserve thē for fight, or other necessary use.

The peace of this King was molested by his owne subject, an Earle named *Adelme*, who boldly encountred his Soveraigne in Battell, and fought it out even to the point of victory; but failing thereof, and forced to flie, his life was pardoned. And he made *Generall* against the *Mercian Edilbald*, *Cuthreds* ancient foe; wherein by his valiant prowesse, with the flight and discomfiture of the Enemy, hee made a worthy amends for guerdon of his life, and was ever after held in great favour and honour. This King raigned in great fame and victories the space of fourteene yeers, and died in the yeere of our Lords Passion 753. Hee had issue one onely son, whose name was *Kenrik*, a valiant young Prince, who in the ninth yeere of his Fathers raigne was feditiously slaine in his Army, for bearing himselfe (as it may seeme) over-rigorous towards the Souldiers.

SIgebert obtaining the Principalitie of the *West-Saxons*, raigned therein no long time, and that without all honour or fame. His parentage is obscure and unknowne, but his vices are made apparant and manifest; for he wallowing in all sensuall pleasures, added exactions and cruelties upon his subjects, setting aside all lawes and rules of true pietie: of which vicious life, when he was lovingly admonished by his most faithfull Counsellor a worthy Earle called *Cumbra*, so farre was his minde from abandoning his impious courses, as that he caused this Noble Personage to be cruelly slaine; whereupon the rest of the Peeres seeing their State and Lives were every day in danger, and the common subjects, whose Lawes were thus violated, being incensed into fury, they rebellionsly rose up in Armes against him, and would acknowledge him no longer their Soveraigne. *Sigebert*, by nature as fearefull, as he was audacious unto vice, fled into the woods as his only safeguard, where like a forlorne person he wandred in the day, and in caves and dens lodged in the night, till lastly he was met with by a *Swine-herd* that was servant to *Cumbra*, and of him knowne to be *Sigebert*, was presently slaine in revenge of his masters death, in the wood that was then called *Andreads Wald*, when he had raigned not fully two yeeres.

KEnwulfe, sprung from the blood-Royall of the *West-Saxons*, after the death of wicked *Sigebert* was made King of that Province; and appeasing some tumults that were stirred for *Sigebert*, obtained many victories against the over-mastred *Britaines*: but had not the like successe against *offa* King of the *Mercians*, who at *Benfington* gave him a great overthrow. He founded the Cathedrall Church of S. *Andrewes* at *Wels*, which afterwards was an Episcopall See, and in great honor raigned for the space of twentie foure yeeres; but then Fortune turning her face away from him, the rest of his raigne did not sure to that which was spent: for he giving himselfe to pleasure and security, banished *Kineard*, the brother of his Predecessor *Sigebert*; who dissembling his wrong, gave place unto time, and occasion being offered, made his use thereof. For *Kenwulfe* comming to *Merton*, to visit his Paramore, was there set upon and slaine; and his body conveied

conveied and buried at *Winchester*, after he had raigned twentie nine yeeres, leaving no memoriall either of Wife or Children.

16 An. Dom. 784.



His Wife. *Hen. Hunting. Matth. Weſt. Simeon Dun. Ran. Ceſt. lib.5.cap.15.* His raigne and death.

Brithric, lineally deſcended from *Cherdik* the firſt King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, a man of a ſoft and quiet diſpoſition, ſucceeded *Kenwulfe* in that Principalitie; in the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation 784. He married *Ethelburga*, the daughter of great *Offa* the *Mercian* King, by whoſe power he expelled *Egbert* that ruled a Lordſhip in his Province under him, whoſe fame increaſing through his feates of wars, drave many jealouſies into King *Brithrikes* head, and the more by the inſtigation of *Ethelburga* his Queene, who bearing her ſelfe great, becauſe of her parentage, practiſed the downfall and deſtruction of them whom ſhe hated, and by her ſuggeſtions this *Egbert* was baniſhed on ſuſpition of conſpiracie. It afterward chanced, that ſhee preparing poiſon to make an end of one of the Kings Minions, wrought thereby (though unwittingly) the Kings death: for he by taſting the confection ended his life, after he had raigned the ſpace of ſixteene yeeres. Wherein, ſhe fearing the juſt revenge of his ſubjects, fled into *France*, and by *Charles* then King was ſo courteouſly entertained, as that for her great beautie there was offered her the choice of him or his ſonne. But ſhe in her youthfull and luſtfull humour, chooſing the ſonne, was debarred from both, and thruſt into a Monaſtery, in the habit (not the affection) of a Nunne: where not long after ſhee abuſed her body by committing of adultery, and was ſhortly expelled, and in beggerly miſery ended her life, as *by many that ſo ſaw her, we have heard it reputed*, ſaith *Aſſerius* mine Author. For this her moſt hainous crime, whereby was wrought the death of her Husband, the *Weſt-Saxons* ordained a Law, to the great prejudice of all their Queenes ſucceeding; That none of them ſhould have either title, majeſty or place of roialtie; which was ſeverely executed for many yeeres after.

Roger Hoveden.

After.

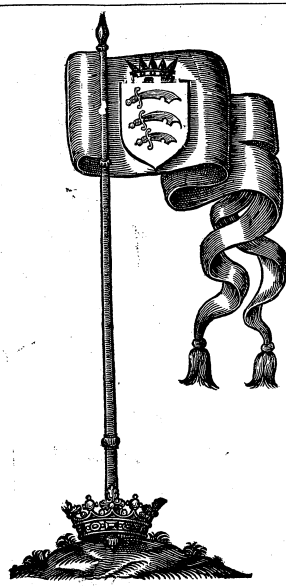
A Law againſt the Saxon Queenes.

In the daies of this *Brithrike*, many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be beleeved. For it is reported, that in his third yeere a ſhowre of blood rained from heaven, and bloody croſſes fell upon mens garments as they walked abroad. And in his tenth yeere were ſeene fiery Dragons flying in the ayre. Which wonders, ſome tooke to be preſages of the miſeries following, both by the Invaſions of the Pagan *Danes*, that in theſe times were firſt ſeene to arrive in this *Iland*, and the extreme Famine that afterwards happened: howſoever, ſure it is that the Heptarchy now began to ſet, and the riſing Monarchy to appeare in the Weſt, by King *Egbert*, whoſe acts and iſſue ſhall be further rehearſed, when we ſhall come to the time of his ſucceſſion among the *Engliſh Monarches*.

Will. Malmeſb. The prodigies that happened in this Kings time.

Matth. Weſtm. Henr. Hunt. The Pagan Danes invade this Iland in this Kings time.

THE



THE EAST-SAXONS KINGDOME,

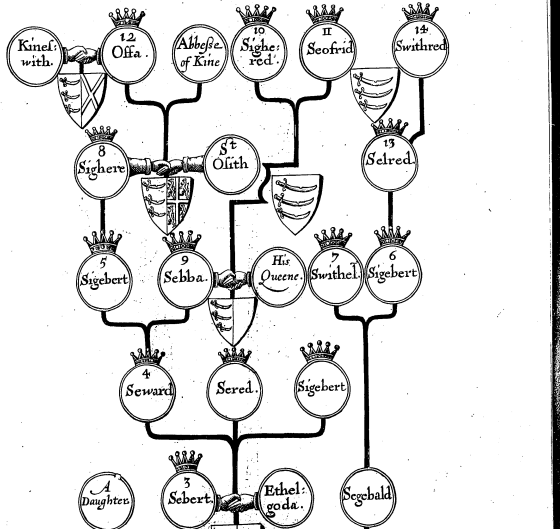
THE CIRCUIT, SUCCESSIONS OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSUES, AND KINGDOMES CONTINUANCE.

Chapter VIII.

HIS kingdome of the East-*Saxons*, though one of the leaſt in circuit & power, yet in converſion from paganiſme, and imbracing Chriſtian Religion, were with the firſt: and out-went many others in their religious zeale. For *Sebert* King of this kingdome, aſſiſted by his uncle *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* (the firſt Chriſtian King of all the *Saxons*) for the honour and ſervice of God, built a Monaſtery in *London*, dedicating it unto his Apoſtle Saint *Paul*: And another at *Weſtminſter*, unto his other Apoſtle Saint *Peter*, both which had been the Idolatrous temples of the heathen Idoles, *Diana* and *Appollo*. And in the like pious zeale, many of his ſucceſſors laid the foundations of many Oratories unto Gods uſe, and became themſelves votaries therein. Such were King *Sebba*, who abandoning the vaine pleaſures of this life made himſelfe a Monke in the foreſaid Monaſtery. And King *Sigherd* his ſucceſſor, following him in the like devotion, took the rules of holy religion, and in the ſame Monaſtery likewiſe, in holy contemplations ſpent the reſt of his life. In the like devoted zeale *Offa* King of this Province, laid downe the Scepter of his kingdome, and as a Pilgrime travelled to *Rome*, where in ſteed of the Crown he put on the Cowle and entred a Monaſticall life, wherein he ſpent his time in holy meditations to the day of his death. Neither were theſe kings ſo zealous alone, but that their Queenes likewiſe abandoning the glory of this world, tooke upon them the mantles and veiles of holy votaries and were great inſtigators of others unto the like. For ſo did the Queene and wife of King *Sebba* (whoſe name I finde not recorded by any:) *Oſith*, the Queene and wife of King *Seighere*, even in the life-time of her husband, became Abbeſſe of *Barking* neere *London*, for which, (though contrary to the precept of the Apoſtle) ſhee obtained the name of a Saint. And *Kineſwith* the wife of King *Offa*, made her ſelfe a Nun in the Abbey of *Kineſburgh*, whereof her husbands ſiſter was Abbeſſe. The time of whoſe ignorances howſoever theſe brighter dayes doe condemne, yet by them we may learne to adde deeds unto knowledge, leſt knowing, and not doing, we be beaten with many ſtripes.

1.Cor.7.10.

The



The site of this Kingdome.

THe site of the *East-Saxons* Kingdome, was the Countrey of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hartfordshire*, and the Circuit so farre as the Diocesse of *London* tow extendeth: It was bounded on the *East* with the *Ocean*; on the *South* with the *Thames*; on the *West* with the *Colne*; and on the *North* with the river *Stowre*. The kings thereof claime their descent from *Prince Woden*, not as all the rest of the *Saxon* kings, but onely by a collateral line; and *Erchenwine* became the first king, which nevertheless he held as *Feodarie* to the kings of *Kent*. For which cause, it seemeth that *Malmsbury* mentioneth him not in the Catalogue of those kings, but maketh his sonne *Sledda* the first, and tenth in descent from *Woden*.

The descent of these Kings.

Anno Do. 527. *Malmsb. de Gest. Angl. l. 6.*

1. *Erchenwin* the first King of the *East-Saxons*

His descent.

ERchenwine, is said to be the Sonne of *Offa*, the sonne of *Bedca*, the sonne of *Sigefuget*, the son of *Sneppa*, the sonne of *Aufeeg*, the sonne of *Supig*, the sonne of *Seaxnod*, the sonne of *Woden*, from whom all these Kings fetch their originall: His kingdome began about the yeare of grace 527. & in the 15 of *Eske* the second king of *Kent*; and his raigne long, but yet without any memorable acts; dying in the yeare 586. and leaving his sonne to succeed in his place.

His death.

2 Anno. Dn. 587. *Sledda* the second King. His mariage.

SLedda the sonne of *Erchenwine*, succeding in the *East-Saxons* kingdome, raigned peaceably without mention of any warres, for having married *Ricula* the daughter of *Imerick* king of *Kent*, was thereby the more favoured of them, and feared of others; and nothing left (besides his quiet raigne) to be recorded to posterities; neither are many yeeres of succession numbred, but as they are gathered from the Computations of other Princes, with whom they either lived, or were linked in action. This *Sledda* dyed about the yeare of our Redemption 596. and left issue by his wife *Queene Ricula*, *Segebert*, who succeeded him in the kingdome, and *Segebald* his brother, whose sonnes afterward were Kings of that *Province*.

His death.

His issue.

Sebert

3. An. Dom. 596. *Sebert* the time when he began to raigne.

Beda hist. Eccl. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Sebert converted to Christianity by *Ethelbert*.

SEbert the sonne of *Sledda* and of Queene *Ricula*, began his Raigne in the yeere of *Christs Incarnation* 596. and in the thirty sixth yeere of the raigne of King *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, his mothers brother, at that time *Monarch* of the *English-men*, who in *Seberts* chiefe City *London*, a *Princely Mart Towne*, (saith *Beda*) of many people arriving thither both by sea and land; new built a *Church*, making it the *Cathedrall* of Bishop *Miletus*, and so wrought with King *Sebert*, that hee converted him to Christianity; and assisted him in that *Foundation*, where formerly (say some) had stood the *Temple of Diana*. This Church these new Converts and *Saxon* Kings, either new reared or inlarged for the honour and service of God, and dedicated under the name of Saint *Paul*: which worke *Ethelbert* further confirmed with sufficient maintainance, as by this his *Charter* is seene, containing these words: *Ethelbert Rex, Deo inspirante, pro anime sue remedio, dedit Episcopo Mileto terram que appellatur Tillingham, ad Monasterium sive Solatium sedentes S. Pauli. Et ego Rex Ethelbert ita firmiter concedo tibi Presuli Mileto potestatem ejus habendi & possidendi, ut in perpetuum in Monasterij utilitate permaneat, &c.* And that this was the *Temple of Diana*, some have further confirmed unto us by the incredible number of Oxe-heads there digged up in the dayes of King *Edward* the First, when the East-end of that Church was enlarged; which were supposed to be of those Beasts that were there sacrificed to this *Goddes Diana*. These Kings likewise founded the Church of Saint *Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thornye*, where sometimes stood the *Temple of Apollo*, as *Sulcardus* affirmeth; which being overthrowne by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the celebration of Gods service; and that againe being decayed, those Kings restored it unto a greater beauty, where *Sebert*, after thirteene yeeres raigne; (as some write) with *Æthelgoda* his Queene were buried: whose bodies in the dayes of *Richard* the Second (saith *Walsingham*) were translated from the old Church to the new, and there interred. He had issue by the said Queene, *Sered*, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, whose lives and deaths were as followeth,

Saint Paules Church built.

Saint Paules Church aforetime the Temple of *Diana*.

Saint *Peters* Church in *Westmin.* built afore time the Temple of *Apollo*. *Sulcardus.*

Stowe.

Tho. Walsing.

SEred, *Seward*, and *Sigebert*, the sons of King *Sebert*, raigned as it seemeth, together in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*; all three wicked irreligious men, and deadly enemies to the *Christian Profession*. These contumeliously presuming to the *Lords Table*, and holy *Sacrament* of his *Body* and *Bloud*, were prohibited by *Bishop Miletus*, because they were *Idolaters* and *unbaptized*: which repulse they tooke so offensively, that they expulsed *Miletus*, who thereupon fled into *France*. But their impiety was not long unrewarded; for fighting against *Kingils*, and *Quincelinus* his sonne, (Kings of the *West-Saxons*) were by them overcome: and in battle slaine about the yeere of Grace 623. as by the learned Sir *Henry Savile* is calculated, whose account for these times I altogether follow.

4. Three Kings iointly raign the Kingdome. Enemies to Christianity. *Beda hist. Eccles. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 5.* They are put from the Communion. *Osilettus* fled into *France*.

Rond. cost. The three Kings slaine.

SIgebert the little, the sonne of *Seward*, the second sonne of King *Sebert*, entred his raigne over the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of Christ 623. of whose affaires, little matter is left for us to relate, saving that he having both a *Brother* and a *Sonne*, yet his Kingdome was succeeded by neither, but by one *Sigiberi*, his *Cosen German* once removed.

5. An. Dom. 623. *Segebert the Little.* *Mouth. writ.* The time when he began to raigne. His successors.

SIgibert, the sonne of *Segebald*, the brother of *Sebert* the sonne of King *Sledda*, and of *Ricula* his Queene succeeded his kinsman in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*. This *Sigibert* reduced against his Province unto the embracing of the *Christian Faith*, (being daily instigated thereunto by *Oswye* King of *Northumberland*, and received Baptisme himselfe at the hands of *Bishop Finnan*, at the place called *The Wall*) procured vertuous *Cedda* to be his assister for the plantation of the Gospell in his Kingdome. Hee was murdered by two of his Kinsmen, who, as *Beda* saith, were Brethren, no other cause mooving them, but his overmuch lenity and clemency. He raigned by the foresaid account, sixteene yeeres, leaving issue a young sonne named *Selred*, that succeeded *Seofrid* in that Kingdome.

6. *Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 22. Sigibert* his descent. He restored the Christian faith.

His death.

Hee was baptized by *Bishop Finnan*.

Stephe Confball. His death.

His issue.

SWithelme succeeded his brother in the Province of the *East-Saxons*, nothing being mentioned of his life or raigne, besides his *Baptisme* by *Bishop Cedda*, and that his *God-father* at the *Font-stone* was *Edelwald* King of the *East-Angles*.

His burriall.

His Issue.

7. An. Dom. 661. *Beda hist. Angle. lib. 3. cap. 22. Swithelme* baptized.

SIghere, the sonne of *Sigebert the little*, entred his raigne over the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of our Lord 664. and was the eighth King of that Province, in part whereof *Sebba* his nephew raigned, with better commendations then *Sighere* at his beginning had done; for *Beda* reporteth that upon a great mortality and plague, to appease the wrath of his *Gods*, *Sighere* became an *Apostata*, and forsooke the faith of Christ, whereas *Sebba* continued constant with those in that Province under his Iurisdiction: yet by the diligent care of *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, *Sighere* and his people were reclaimed, throwing downe the *Temples* and *Altars* erected to Idolatry, and opening againe the Christian Churches for the Saints assemblies, that so (saith he) they might rather dye in hope of the Resurrection, then wallow in sinne, and live in Idolatry. His wife was *Oswith* the daughter of *Edelfrith*, King of *Northumberland*, whom *Capgrave* maketh a *Saint*, and *Abbesse* of *Berking* neere *London*, even in the dayes of her husband.

8. An. Dom. 664. When Sighere beganne to raigne *Beda hist. l. 3. cap. 30.*

Reclaime d to the King d of *Mercia.*

His Wife.

SEbba, the Brother of *Segebert the Little*, and Sonne of *Seward*, (as we have said) succeeded as sole King in the *Province* of the *East-Saxons*, and with much equity and administration of Iustice raigned therein thirty yeeres: towards the end whereof, the better to prepare his mind for contemplation, he relinquished his Princely Robes, and put on the Habit of Religious Profession in the Monastery of Saint *Pauls* in *London*; as *Radulphus de Diceto*, with others affirme. Wherein this penitent King living a while in fasting and prayers, dyed the yeere of Christ 693. whose body was intombed in a Coffin of Gray Marble, the cover copped, and as yet standing in the North Wall of the Chancell of the same Church.

9. An. Dom. 664. *Sebba hist. Londin.* Sebba his raigne for thirty yeeres. *Rad. de Diceto*

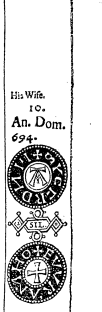
His Interr ment, His death.

Sebba his Coffi in Paul's.

Beda hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 11. A miracle.

A miracle thereof *Beda* reporteth, needlesse either then to be wrought, or now of us repeated, were it not to point at the blindnesse wherein even good men were then led; and thus it is: They having prepared a Tombe-stone, to lay his body in, found it too short by the quantity of an hands bredth, and hewing it longer, yet would not serve; therefore they minding to bow up the knees, laid the body therein, and suddenly it lengthned of it selfe with more then was sufficient. But surely how soever this tombe was then set on this Monkish tenter, it is now since shrunke againe in the standing, and exceeds not in measure five foot in length. His wife (but unnamed) he likewise instigated to leave the momentany pleasures of princely State, for that which is permanent: which thing with much adoe hee lastly obtained, leaving her to follow him in his vertuous devotions, and his two sonnes to succeed him in his kingdome.

10. An. Dom. 694.



SIgherd the sonne of King *Sebba*, whom *Beda* maketh a Monke with his Father, followed him also in the succession of the *East-Saxons* Kingdome; the time of whose entrance is set in the yeere of *Christs Incarnation* 694. and his death in 701. no other mention being made either of Acts, Life, or Issue.

11. *Seofrid* the son of King *Sebba*.

SEofrid, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, and Brother to King *Sigherd*, either joynly raigned with him, or succeeffively after him, of whom I finde nothing mentioned worthy inserring, having had neither wife nor issue that are recorded.

12. An. Dom. 701.



Rich. Cicest. Beda hist. eccles. Angl. lib. 5. cap. His latter end. His wife.

13. An. Dom. 709.

OFfa the Sonne of *Sighere*, and of Queene *Oswith* his Wife, a man noted for his comely feature and sweet countenance, succeeded King *Seofrid* in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of Grace 701. He both enlarged with buildings, and inriched with lands the goodly and beautifull *Church* of *Westminster*; but after hee had ruled eight yeeres, being mooved with a supposed religious devotion, he abandoned *Kinswith* his wife (the daughter of *Penda* the *Mercian* King) his lands, Kinne, and Countrey, and with *Kenred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edwine Bishop* of *Worcester*, went to *Rome*, where he was shorne a *Monke*, and in that habit dyed, leaving his Cosen *Selred* to succeed in his Kingdome. His wife *Kinswith* after his departure, (with the like penance) vowed her selfe availed *Nunne* in the *Abbey* of *Kineburg*, whereof his sister was *Abbesse*.

SElred, the sonne of *Sigebert tho good*, who was murthered for his overmuch clemency, attained to the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons* in the yeere of Grace 709. His raigne was long, though his acts are little spoken of, either that other worthier affaires filled the Pennes of those Story-writers, or that his time was so peaceable and unactively spent, that it ministered not matter whereof to indite. Hee raigned thirty eight yeeres, and dyed Anno seven hundred forty and sixe: without relation either of Wife or Childred.

Sebred, after the death of *Selred*, was made King of the *East-Saxons*, which title he retained, untill that *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, taking Armes against him, expulsed him out of that Kingdome; as also the same yeere hee did *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, which was in the yeere of Christs Incarnation eight hundred twenty and seven, and made it a Province annexed unto the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood in state of a Kingdome, two hundred eighty and one yeeres.

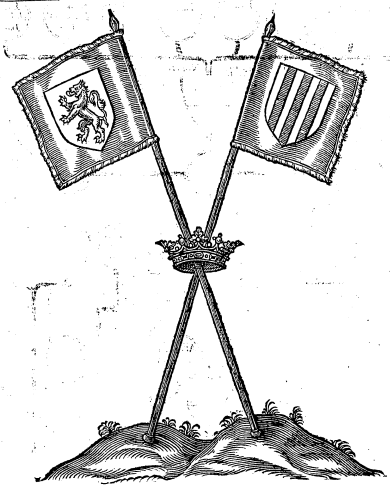
R. Grimald. Selred the son of Sigebert the good.

His raigne and death. Henr. Huntin.

14. An. Dom. 747. Sueba red King of the East-Saxons.

West-Saxons stood a Kingdome 281 yeeres.

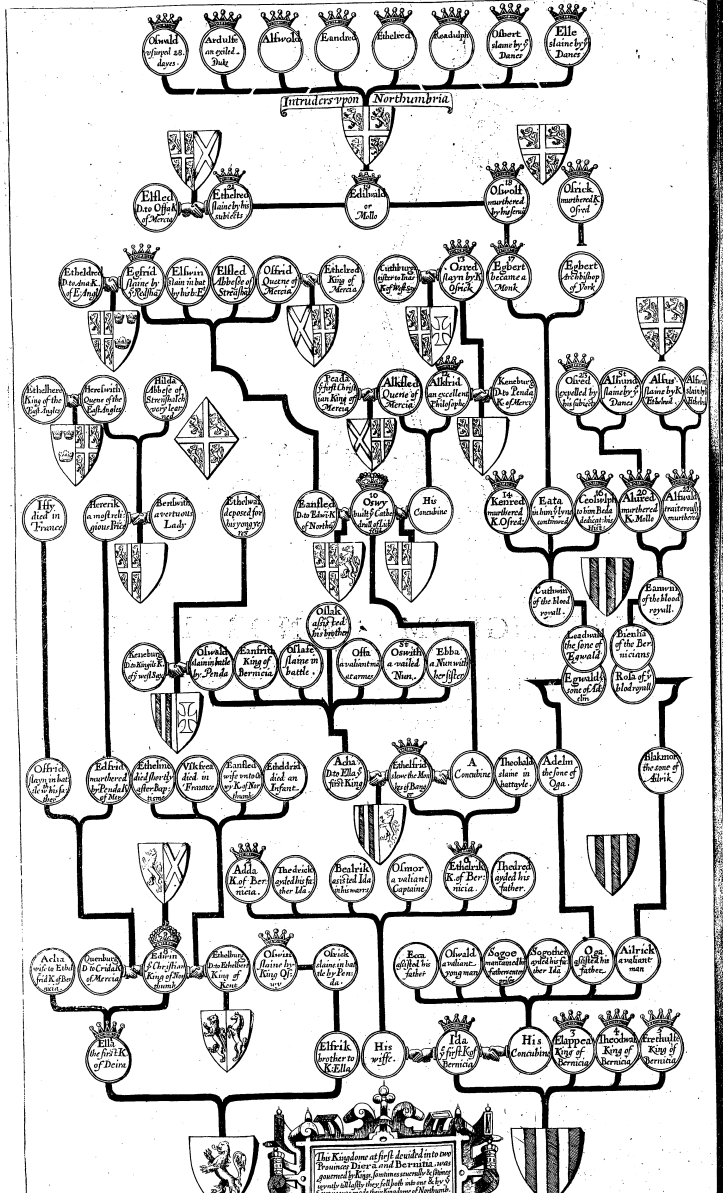
THE



THE KINGDOME OF NORTHVMBERLAND, THE CIRCVIT AND CONTINVANCE, WITH THE SVCCESSIONS AND ISSVES OF THOSE KINGS, VNTO THE LAST SVBVERSION THEREOF BY KING *EGBERT*.

Chapter IX.

THe ancient inhabitants (as *Xiphilinus* out of *Dio* reporteth) inhabiting on each side of the *Wale*, neere the *Meate*, who in their revolt against the *Romans*, called to their ayde the *Caledonians*; which forced *Severus* the Emperour himselfe unto *Britaine*. By *Ptolomy* they are called *Ottadini*, which *Cambden* thinketh might well be from *Attatini*, and that derived from the British word *Vchtine*, which signifieth above *Tine*, or on the other side of *Tine*, according to the site of the Country. And in the change of the name by the *Saxons*, the site of that Country was the cause, for it lying upon the North of the river *Humber*, they named Nortan-humber-londe, rightly contracted into *North-humber-lande*, and of three, one word is now made. What government they had, before the *Romans* obtained it, or what Governour under them, but such as all other parts of the Iland (besides their Prefects or Lieutenants) is uncertaine, yet certain it is, when the *Saxons* had got it, the Country was divided into two Provinces, and those called *Deira*, and *Bernicia*; which *Ella* and *Ida* two famous Captaines among them first possest, and changed the title thereof from a Dukedome unto a Kingdome, inlarging their coasts upon the South of *Humber*, and and their successors upon their fellow Kings; whose stem-like draught annexed, both in the marriages, issues, and collaterals, are therein branched as farre as any warrantable records affordeth. And as plenteous of Saints (if Nuns be Saints, and those sanctified that through blind zeale, leave their duties undischarged, to live idle without all imployments) as any other of those Kings that put off their Crownes, to weare a Monks Cowle. For so did two Kings of this Kingdome; foure Queenes, and five of their children, besides others that vowed their pilgrimages to *Rome*. And King *Oswald* so zealous, that himselfe was the interpreter of *Bishop Aidans* Sermons unto his people; and the people so desirous of Christianitie, as that above ten thousand men, besides women and children, were in one day baptized in the river *Swale*, by *Paulinus* the first Arch-Bishop of *Yorke*.



thumber- d how divi- at first.

ent triarchs. e pedigree hese kings.

time when Province me a King- o. Malmsb.

Province ded into Kingdoms. a & Bernic.

da raigne. lmesbury, his raigne. his illue le- mate and gitimate.

ey arriue at mberge h forfie ans. his illue.

dbury Co- s built by Ida d Ella.

6. An. Dom. 89. Adelrikes ath in ob- nitie spent.

THis Kingdome of *Northumberland* consisted at first of two distinct Provinces: whereof the one was called *Deira*, and the other *Bernicia*; and were governed sometimes by their Kings severally, and sometimes under one, as successe of warre, or other casualties incident did afford. The royall descents of whose Kings are brought by *Florentius* both from the *fourth* and *fifth* sonnes of Prince *Woden*, after this manner. *Ella*, under whom the Kingdome of *Deira* began, was the sonne of *Iffi*, who was the sonne of *Wuskfrea*, the sonne of *Wilgils*, the sonne of *Westurwalchna*, the sonne of *Seomel*, the sonne of *Swarta*, the sonne of *Sapugell*, the sonne of *Seabald*, the sonne of *Siggeat*, the sonne of *Swebdeg*, the sonne of *Siggar*, the sonne of *Weadeg*, the fourth sonne of *Woden*. And the descent of *Ida*, the raiser of the *Bernicians* kingdome, is brought from *Bealdeag* the fifth sonne of *Woden*; for *Bealdeag* was father to *Brand*, whose sonnes were *Beorn* and *Freodegar*, the latter of which twaine was the progenitour of *Cherdik* the first *West-Saxon King*: and his brother *Beorn* begate another *Beorn* also, and hee *Weghrand* the father of *Ingebrand*, whose sonne was *Aluſa*, the father of *Angengeal*, and this mans sonne *Ingengat*, the father of *Aethelbright*, whose son *Oeſa* begate *Eoppa* the father of this *Ida*, the first King of *Bernicia*.

These Saxon Captaines *Ella* and *Ida*, about sixtie yeeres after the death of King *Hengiſt*, changed the title of this Province from a Dukedome to a Kingdome. For *Hengiſt* having given the possession of those North parts unto *Octha* his brother, and to *Ebuſain* his sonne, their Successors held it, with many hostile irruptions the space of 99. yeeres. But now the *Britaines* subjected, and no resistance made, those Captaines divide the Province into two parts, intituling either by the name of a *Kingdome*; the first *Deira*, was possessed by *Ella*, which stretched from *Tyne*, to the river *Humber*; and the second *Bernicia*, enjoyed by *Ida*, whose Continent lay betwixt the *Tyne* and the *Frith* of *Edenborough*. These together contained the Counties of *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, *Yorkeshire*, *Lancaster*, and *Durham*: and was bounded on the West with the *Irish* Seas, on the North with the Wall of *Severus*, on the East with the *German Ocean*, and on the South with the rivers *Mersey* and *Humber*. *Ida*, saith *Malmesbury*, raigned fourteene yeeres: and *Ella* by *Matthew of Westminſter*, is said to succeed him for thirty yeeres. The issue of *Ida* legitimate, as *Huntington* recordeth, were *Adda*, *Bealric*, *Thedrik*, *Ethelrik*, *Osmer*, and *Thedred*; illegitimate, *Oga*, *Ecca*, *Oſwald*, *Ailrik*, *Sogoe*, and *Sogother*. These (saith *Matthew of Weſtminſter*) arrived at *Flemiſburke* with 40. Ships, and assisted their Father in many of his enterprises. The issue of *Ella*, by *Florentius* his record, were *Acca*, Wife of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, and mother to the most Christian *Oſwald*, Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, and *Edwine* the Monarch and first Christian King of *Northumberland*. *Ida* is said to begin his raigne Anno 547. And *Ella* in the yeere 559. No other particulars ascribed unto either, besides the building of *Bamburge Castle*.

With *Ella* raigned the two sonnes of *Ida*, namely, *Adda* and *Thedrik*, with three others, *Elappea*, *Theodwald*, and *Frethulfe*, sprung from *Eoppa* the father of *Ida*, all five his substitutes over the *Bernicians*: but because there is no other mention of them besides their names and raignes, I will leave them as I finde them, and proceed to the more worthy of recitall.

2. 5 *Adda* raigned 7. yeeres.
3. 2 *Elapea* raigned 5. yeeres.
4. *Theodwald* raigned 1. yeere. } Kings of *Bernicia*
5. *Frethulfe* raigned 7. yeeres.
6. *Theodrik* raigned 7. yeeres.

Ethelrik the sonne of King *Ida*, having out-run his youth in pernicious obscuritie, attained in his old yeeres to the government of both the *Provinces*, and whole *kingdome* of *Northumberland*, wherein his time was so spent (saith *Malmesbury*) that had not his sonne in the glasse of his own worthis shewed the face of his fathers remembrance, his acts and raigne might easily have beene forgotten. His issue were *Ethelfrid* that succeeded him, and *Theobald* slaine in Battle against the *Scots*. He raigned five yeeres, and died, Ann. 593.

Bede hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 3. His raigne and death.

7. An. Dom. 593. *Bede hiſt. eccleſ. Angl. l. 1. c. 34.* Ethelfrid very daintily of fame.

A greater Conquerour then all the rest.

Or, *Edelu. Matthæus.* Edwarden enrieth *Ethelfrid*.

Edwarde ouerthrowne.

Theobald.

Ethelfrid proud of his victory. * *Wigtchester.*

The description of Bangor Monastery.

Bernardus Clarivalentius. Bangor Monastery the first in the world. *Bede hiſt. Eccleſ. Anglikæ cap. 2.* Her Monks divided into seven portions. Lived by the labour of their hands. Their prayer and fasting. *Ethelfrid* enquireth the cause of their praying. Hee slayeth a great number.

Ethelfrid in feare of his wife.

daily

Edwine forced into exile.

Succoured by Redwald.

Henry Hunt. Edelfrid slaine. His raigne. Five sons. His illegitimate daughters.

8. An. Dom. 617. Beda hist. Eccles. & Gildas. &c. The story of Edwines banishment.

His life in danger.

Edwine in doubt what to doe.

One unknown came to him, demanding the cause of his sorrow.

Edwine his answer.

Then an unknown him his griefe turned

He demandeth what he would give to be eased.

Edwine his answer.

He promiseth to throw him from to heavens soules.

He suddenly vanished away.

Edwines friend bringeth him good newes.

His wife a Christian Lady.

daily molested, that he was forced to save his life by avoiding the Country, and tossed in exile from place to place, was lastly received and succoured by *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, who in his quarrell forthwith assembled his forces, and meeting *Ethelfrid* in the field, slew him neere the River *Idle*, after he had raigned twenty three yeeres, in the yeere of Christ his incarnation 617. He had issue by his Wife *Acca* (the daughter of *Ella*) *Eanfrith* king of *Bernicia*, *Oslafe*, and *Oswald* King of *Northumberland*, *Oslake*, and *Offa*, with two daughters canonized for Saints, *Oswith* and *Ebba* the Nun; as also by his Concubine, *Osfwy* the tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

Edwine thus raised by the helpe of King *Redwald*, returned to his Countrey, and was of the Inhabitants made King of *Northumberland*, and afterward Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as in their succession shall be declared. *Beda* (somewhat too much addicted to fabulous miracles) of him reporteth this story: That whilest hee lay banished in King *Redwalds* Court, *Ethelfrid* instigated his receiver, by promises to take away his life: or if he refused, threatned him warres: for feare whereof, *Redwald*, partly inclining to his wicked purpose, revealed the same to the Queene his wife; which a friend of *Edwine* hearing, told him of his danger, and wished him to flie. *Edwine* thus perplexed with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, sate solitary under a tree in dumps, musing what was best to be done; to suspect and flie from *Redwald*, that had honoured him so much, he held it a wrong, and to thinke himselfe safe in other Provinces against so powerfull pursuers, he thought it was vaine. Thus distracted in casting what way might be safest, suddenly approached a man unto him, utterly unknowne, who after salutation, demanded the cause why hee sate at so unseasonable a time, in so uncouth a place, and pensive manner? *Edwine* thinking him to be his deaths-man, resolutely answered; it nothing concerned him at all, either to aske, or to know his estate. Oh *Edwine* (said he) thinke not but that I know thy sorrow, and the cause of thy sitting thus upon that stone; thy death is pretended, and even at hand: but what wouldest thou give to rid thee of that danger and to make King *Redwald* thy assured preserver? Any thing, quoth *Edwine*, which is in my power. But what shall be his reward (said the other) that shall see thee upon the throne of thy kingdome, and that with such glory, as none of thy Progenitors ever attained unto? I would bee thankfull to that man, said *Edwine*, in all things, and at all times, as reason required, and of right I ought. But tell me *Edwine*, said he, what if the same man shew thee a more safe way to preserve the life of thy soule, then either thou at this present knowest, or any of thy Parents ever heard of, will thou consent and imbrace his counsell? Yea, said *Edwine*, God forbid that I should not be ruled by him, that thus should free me from this present danger, set me upon the throne of a kingdome, and after these great favours, should also teach me the way to an eternall life. Upon this answer, laying his right hand on *Edwines* head, he said unto him; When these things shall in order come to passe, then call to minde this time, and what thou hast promised, and so vanished from his presence. The young Prince thus left betwixt hope and despaire, his friend that had forewarned him of his death: came hastily to him with a more cheerefull countenance, Come in *Edwine* (quoth he) and surcease thy cares, for the Queene hath not onely changed *Redwalds* mind to save thy life, but he also hath granted to maintaine thy right against *Ethelfrid* thine enemy. Which shortly he did, and slew him as we have said.

Edwine thus placed upon the Princely Throne, his first Wife *Quenburg* being dead in his exile, received in marriage *Ethelburga*, surnamed *Tace*, (a fit name for a woman) the daughter of King *Ethelbert* and sister to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*, a most chaste and vertuous Christian Lady, whose teacher was *Paulinus*, and both of them Gods instruments for the Conversion of the *Northumbrians* to the inbracement of Christian Religion. But because we shall have occasion to speake of this *Edwine*, as he was monarch of the *Englishmen*, we will reserve his *Acts*, *Issues*, and *Raigne*, to be further related in the course of his Succession. He was slaine in battell against *Cadwall* king of the *Britaines* and *Penda* king of the *Mercians*, when he had prosperously raigned seventeene yeares, the twelfth of *October*; *Anno* 633. and was buried in Saint *Peters* Church in *Streanshall*, after called *whitby*. Vpon whose death, the Kingdome of *Northumberland*, was againe divided.

His death.

His raigne.

His place of burriall.

11 An. Dom. 671. Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 14. Rapin.

9. An. Dom. 633. Osfwie King of Deira. Eanfrith King of the Scots.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 22.

They renounce the profession of Christ. Beda, Hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 1. Cadwall God infruments punish them.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 26.

His death.

Raigne.

Wife, who was both a widow and a virgin.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.

* Cadwall.

The British Kings tyranny.

3 Cor. 7. 5.

Heb. 13. 4.

1 Tim. 2. 15.

Oricke the sonne of *Alfrid* (*Edwines* Vncle) succeeding in the Province of *Deira*; and *Eanfrith* the sonne of *Ethelfrid the Wilde*, in the Province of the *Bernicians*; these with the rest of *Ethelfrids* Children, for the continuance of *Edwines* Raigne, had in banishment beene preserved among the *Scots* and *Red-shankes*, and there had received the Sacrament of Baptisme: but after the death of their Enemie, these Princes returned to their owne Countrey, and former superstitions, renouncing againe the profession of Christ. Yet this their Apostasie (saith *Beda*) remained not long unpunished: *For Casswallader King of the Britaines, with wicked force, but with worthy vengeance, slew them both the next Summer ensuing.* Oricke *unprepared, and his whole Army penned in the Suburbs of their owne City, he horribly slew, and possessing the Province of the* Northumbrians, *not as a King or Conqueror, but rather like an out-ragious Tyrant, destroyed and rent in tragicall manner, all things before him.* Eanfrith *unadvisedly with twelve chosen persons comming to* * Cadwallader *to intreat upon peace, were cruelly put to death. This yeare* (saith he) *continueth unhappy and hatefull even unto this day, as well for the Apostasie of these* English *Kings, as also for the* Britaine *Kings furious tyranny. Wherefore the Historographers of that time have thought it best, that the memory of these Apostate Kings being utterly forgotten, the self-same yeare should be assigned to the Raigne of the next following King*, Oswald, *a man dearely belov'd of God.*

9. An. Dom 634. Oswald.

His consell of the Britans.

Oswald the ninth from Hengist.

Canonized for a Saint.

12. An. Dom. 686. Aldfrid.

Matth. wrestm. A great Philosopher.

Beda 4.26.

His raigne. Wife. Issue. Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 21.

Oswald, the son of *Wilde Ethelfrid*, and brother to King *Eanfrith*, began his Raigne over the *Northumbrians*, *Anno* 634. having first embraced Christianity, and received Baptisme in *Scotland*, wherein hee was secured all the Raigne of King *Edwine*, and had withall learned some experience in warre. He comming unlooked for with a small Army, but fenced (saith *Beda*) with the *Faith of Christ*, obtained against *Cedwald* King of the *Britaines* a great victory: the manner whereof, with his other acts atchieved, wee will further declare in his succession among the *Monarkes* of the *Englishmen*, whereof he was the ninth from *Hengist*.

He sent for *Aidan*, a *Scottish* Divine, to teach his people the Doctrine of *Christ*, inlarged his Kingdome, and reconciled the *Dairians* and *Bernicians*, who were at mortall enmity. He was slaine, and cruelly rent in peeces by the unmercifull Pagan *Penda* the *Mercian*, at *Oswaldstree* in *Shrop-shire*, *Quinto Augusti*, the yeare of our Lord 642. when he had raigned nine yeares, and was buried in *Bradney* in *Lincoln-shire*. His wife was *Kineburg*, the daughter of *Kingils* King of the *West-Saxons*; and his sonne *Ethelwald*, young at his death, and therefore defeated of his Kingdome by *Osmy* his Vncle, the *Naturall sonne* of King *Ethelfrid the Wilde*. Notwithstanding when *Oswin* King of *Deira* was murdered by this *Osfwy* of *Bernicia*, & he not past sixteene yeares of age, entred by force upon *Deira*, and kept the same Province by strong hand so long as he lived; and dying, left it to his chosen *Alkfrid*, the *Naturall sonne* of the said King *Osfwy*.

His Wife. Issue. Death. Beda lib. 4. c. 4.

His Wife. Issue. Death. Beda lib. 4. c. 5.

His Wife. Issue. Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 21.

His death. His raigne.

His place of burriall.

10. An. Dom. 643. Osfwy the illegitimate son of Ethelfrid the Wilde.

Osfwy the illegitimate son of *Ethelfrid* the *Wilde*, at thirty yeares of age succeeded King *Oswald* his brother in the Kindome of the *Bernicians*; at whose entrance, *Osfwine* the sonne of *Osfrike*, (that had denied the

Beda hist. Eccles. lib. 3. cap. 1.

The tenth Monarch of the English-men.

His Wife. Issue. Death. Beda lib. 4. c. 4.

11 An. Dom. 671. Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 14. Rapin.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 22.

They renounce the profession of Christ. Beda, Hist. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 1. Cadwall God infruments punish them.

His death.

Raigne.

Wife, who was both a widow and a virgin.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 15.

* Cadwall.

The British Kings tyranny.

3 Cor. 7. 5.

Heb. 13. 4.

1 Tim. 2. 15.

Canonized for a Saint.

12. An. Dom. 686. Aldfrid.

Matth. wrestm. A great Philosopher.

Beda 4.26.

His raigne. Wife. Issue. Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 21.

3. An. Dom. 705. Osred. Bed hist. l. 5. c. 9. 10 W. Malmesb. His wickedness.

Raigne.

Wife, who became a Nunne.

Beda hist. Anglor. lib. 5. cap. 7.

13 An. Dom. 718. Osrike. His Raigne.

His adopted Sonne. His death.

16. An. Dom. 729. Ceolnulph. His raigne.

A Monke.

Gladstone tines.

Matth. wrestm.

Reades booke to K. Ceolnulph.

17. An. Dom. 738. Egbert. His raigne.

Simon Dunelm. Diverse Kings that became Monks.

Wife. Issue of.

Eclipsis of the Sunne and Moone.

the Faith, and was slaine of King *Cedwall*) raigned in *Deira*. This *Osfwine* was slaine of King *Osfwye*: after whose death, seizing all *Northumberland*, hee spread his terrour further into other parts, and was the *tenth Monarch* of the *Englishmen*, as in his succession we will further speake. His wife was *Eanfled*, daughter to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, by whom he had many Children. His raigne was 28. yeeres, and died the fifteenth day of February, in the yeere of grace 670. and of his age 58.

Egfrid, the eldest sonne of King *Osfwy* by Queene *Eanfled*, had beene *Hostage* in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and after his father was made King of *Northumberland*, in the yeere of Christ 671. He warred, but with great losse, against *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, neere unto the River of *Trent*, wherein his younger brother *Elfwyne* was unfortunately slaine, to the great griefe of both the Kings, the one being his owne brother, and the other his brother in law by marriage: whereupon a peace and reconciliation was made. But *Egfred* being by nature of a disquiet disposition, invaded the *Irish*, and destroyed those harmelesse and silly people, which (as *Beda* saith) *had beene great friends to the English*. Their resistance consisted chiefly in curses and imprecations for revenge, which though they could not open heaven, yet (saith he) *it is to be believed, that for their cause he was cut off the next yeere ensuing by the Picts or Red-shanks, against whom he prepared, contrary to the advice of his Councell, and by them was slaine among the strait and waste mountaines*, 20. *Maij*, the yeere of mans felicity 685. and of his age fortie, after hee had raigned fifteene yeeres. His wife was *Etheldred* the daughter of *Anna* King of the *East Angles*: shee was both *Widow* and *Virgin*; first married to *Tonbert* a Noble man that ruled the *Girvij*, a people inhabiting the fenny Countries of *Norfolke*, *Lincolne*, *Huntington*, and *Cambridge-shires*; and after him also in virginitie continued twelve yeeres with her husband King *Egfrid*, contrary to his mind, and the *Apostles* precept, that forbiddeth such *defrauding either in man or woman, except it be with consent for a time*, and to the preparation of prayer; affirming else-where, that *Marriage is honourable, and the bed thereof undefiled*, wherein the woman doth redeeme her transgression, through faith, love, holinesse, and modesty, by bearing of children. This notwithstanding, she obtained licence to depart his Court, and got her to *Coldingham Abbey*, where shee was professed a *Nunne* under *Ebba* the daughter of King *Ethelfrid*. Then went shee to *Ely*, and new built a *Monastery*, whereof shee was made *Abbesse*, and wherein with great reverence shee was intombed: whose vertues and remembrance remained to posterities by the name of S. *Audrie*, she being canonized among the Catalogue of English Saints.

Numes, and other religious holy women: wherein when he had spent eleven yeeres more to his age, his kinsmen *Kenred* and *Osrike* conspired against him, and in battell by his slaughter made an end of his impious life. His wife was *Cuthburga*, the sister of *Ines* King of the *West-Saxons*, as by the time may be gathered, from the computation of *Marianus*, and the *Annales* of the *English-Saxons*, who upon a loathing wearinesse of wedlocke, sued out a divorce from her husband, and built a *Nunnery* at *Winburne* in *Dorset-shire*, where in a religious habit shee ended her life; and he by *Kenrid* and *Osrike*, leaving his Kingdome to them that wrought his death.

Kenred, the sonne of *Cuthwyne*, whose father was *Ceolwald* the sonne of *Ingwald*, and his mother *Adelm* the sonne of *Oga*, the naturall sonne of *Ida*, the first King of *Deira*, after the death of *Osred* raigned two yeeres; no other remembrance left of him, besides the murder of his Soveraigne Lord and King.

Osrick, after the death of *Kenred*, obtained the kingdome of *Northumberland*, and raigned therein the space of eleven yeeres, leaving to the world his name stained with blood in the murder of young *Osred*, no other mention of parentage, wife or issue of him remaining; for want whereof, he adopted *Ceolnulph*, brother to his predecessor *Kenred*, and died unlamented the yeere of Grace seven hundred twentie nine.

Ceolnulph, the brother of *Kenred*, after the death of King *Osrik*, was made king of the *Northumbrians*, which Province he governed with great peace and victory the space of eight yeeres: but then forsaking the Royall Estate and Robes of Majesty, put on the habit of a *Monke* in the Ile of *Lindesferne* or *Holy Iland*. These were these daies (saith *Beda*) *wherein the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse was embraced among the Northumbrians, who now laid their armour aside, and applied themselves to the reading of holy Scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, then to exercise feates of warre, or of armes.* For not onely Priests & Lay men vowed, and performed Pilgrimages to *Rome*, but *Kings*, *Queenes*, and *Bishops* also did the like: so great (so blind I might say) a devotion was in their hearts, and so holy a reverence held they of the place. Vnto this King *Ceolnulph*, the said *Venerable Beda* (a Priest in the *Monastery* of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Werimouth* neere unto *Durham*) a great Clerke, and Writer of the English Hiftory, dedicated the same his Worke, which he continued till the yeere of Christ 731. and from the first entrance of the *Saxons*, containing 285. yeers, according to his owne account.

Egbert, the sonne of *Eata*, who was brother to King *Kenred*, succeeded his uncle *Ceolnulph* in the kingdome of *Northumberland*, and ruled the same with the like peace and piety, the time of twentie yeeres; and then following his example, also forsooke the world, and shore himselfe a *Monke*, as divers other Kings in those daies had done, whereof *Simon Dunelmensis* writeth, and noteth the number to be eight: as *Inae* King of the *West Saxons*, *Ethelred* and *Kenred* Kings of *Mercia*, *Sigebert* King of the *East-Angles*, *Sebbi* and *Offa* Kings of the *East-Saxons*, and *Ceolnulph* and this *Egbert* Kings of the *Northumbrians*. These forsaking the world (as they tooke it) left the Charge that God upon them had imposed, whose authoritie in earth they swayed, and wherein they might much more have advanced Gods glory and Christs Gospell, then for a more easie private & safe life, not warranted by his word, but rather disliked, and perhaps foreshewed by those heavenly creatures the Sunne and Moone, which in those daies were fearefully darkned, and for a time seemed to have loft their light: for Anno 733. 18. *Calend. Septemb.* the Sunne suffered so great an Eclipse, that the earth seemed to be over-shadowed as with sack-cloth. And Anno 756. 8. *Calend. Decemb.* the

the Moone being in her full, appeared both darke and bloody, for a Starre (though there be none lower then the Moone) seemed to follow her, and to deprive her of light: but passing before her, shee againe recovered her former brightnesse. This King *Egbert* had a brother that bore the same name, and was installed *Archbishop of Yorke*, where he erected a beautifull Library (a worke well befitting a noble Prelate) and plentifully stored it with an infinite number of learned bookes. His sonne was *Oswulph*, that succeeded in the Kingdome.

His issue.

18. An. Dom. 758. *Oswulph. Simeon Dunelm. Henr. Hunt.* His raigne. His death.

Oswulph, when his father *Egbert* had put off the Robes of Majesty, and clad himselfe with a *Monks* Cowle, ascended the Throne of *Northumberland*, and sate therein only one yeere: for before hee had made attempt of any memorable act, he was traiterously murdered by his owne servants at *Mikilwaigton*, the ninth Kalends of August, leaving the Crowne undisposed of, untill the Nones of the same moneth in the next yeere.

19. An. Dom. 759. *Edilwald or Atello. Will. Malmes.* His raigne. His death.

Edilwald or *Mollo* was then made King of *Northumberland*, and with great valiance defended his Subjects. Some say, that at the end of fixe yeeres he resigned his government; yet others affirme his raigne to be eleven yeeres, and lastly that hee was slaine by *Alured* his Successour.

20. An. Dom. 765. *Alured. Simeon Dunelm.*

Alured, the murderer of his Lord and master, began his raigne over the kingdome of *Northumberland*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation seven hundred sixty five, and continued the same with such dislikes, that he lastly was expelled out of the Province by his owne subjects, and enforced to abandon the same. He was the sonne of *Tanwin*, the sonne of *Bienhorn*, the sonne of *Basa*, the sonne of *Aibricke*, the naturall sonne of *Ida* the first King of *Bernicia*: And the sonnes of this *Alured* were *Osred*, afterwards King of *Northumberland*, and *Alhmud*, slaine by the *Danes*, and canonized a *Saint*.

Fier-figer.

His issue.

21. An. Dom. 774. *Ethelred. Matthew Flem.*

Ethelred, the sonne of *Mollo*, was advanced to the Regiment of *Northumberland*, and in the fifth yeere of his raigne, was driven out of the same by *Edelbald* and *Herebert*, two Dukes that warred against him; who having discomfited and slaine his Generall and souldiers in a fierce battell, so weakned the hopes of King *Ethelred*, that he fled his Countrey, and left the kingdome in a miserable estate, through the dissensions of those ambitious Princes.

22. An. Dom. 778. *Alfwald.*

Elfwald the brother of the foresaid King *Alured* aspiring to the Soveraignty of the *Northumbrians*, ruled the same in great Justice, to his worthy commendations: notwithstanding the wickednesse of his people was such, that without all guilt he was traiterously murthered by the conspiracy of *Siga*, 23. *Septemb.* the yeere of Christs incarnation, seven hundred eighty eight, after he had raigned eleven yeeres, and his body buried at *Hexham*. His sonnes were *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, both slaine by King *Ethelred*.

His raigne.

His death.

His issue.

23. An. Dom. 786. *Osred.* His raigne.

Osred the sonne of King *Alured*, tooke upon him the Rule of *Northumberland*, the yeere of grace seven hundred eighty nine, and the same yeere finished his government thereof, being expelled by his subjects, and deprived of all kingly authoritie.

24. An. Dom. 794. *Ethelred. Will. Malmes. Chesterfelden. Henr. Hunt. Simeon. Dunelm.*

Ethelred the sonne of *Mollo*, revoked from exile wherein he had lived the space of twelve yeeres, was againe restored to the Crowne; but he minding the iniuries that his Lords had formerly done him, fought the revenge by their deaths, as also to establish his throne the surer, slew *Alfus* and *Alfwin*, the sons of *Alfwald*, as we have said, the right heires to the Crowne, and inticing *Osred* the former deposed King into his danger, commanded him to be put to death at *Cunburge*, the foureteenth of *September*, and yeere of Christ seven hundred ninety two. And to strengthen himselfe the more against all his opposites, the same yeere he married Lady *Elfled*, the second daughter to great *Offa* King of *Mercia*, forsaking his former Wife without any just cause given on her part.

Rendul. Higden in Polydor.

These things sate so neere the hearts of his subjects that after seven yeeres from his second establishment they rebelliously rose in Armes, and at *Cobre* miserably slew him the eighteenth day of Aprill, the yeere of Christ Iesus 794.

His raigne.

His death.

24. *Oswald* King 28. daies.

After whose death, the *Northumbrians* were sore molested with many intruders, or rather tyrants, that banded for the soveraignty the space of thirtie yeeres. The first whereof was *Oswald*, that held the title of King only twenty eight daies, and then was forced to save his life by flight unto the King of the *Picts*. Next, *Ardulfe* a Duke, revoked from exile: then *Alfwold*, *Eandred*, *Ethelred*, *Readulph*, *Obert*, and *Elle* slaine by the *Danes* in *Yorke* at a place from *Elle* his slaughter called to this day *Elle-Crofte*; and the kingdome yeelded to the protection of *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, who was now become *Englands* first absolute Monarch, (as holding all the rest of the Kings no longer for his Associates, but his subjects) in the yeere nine hundred twentie sixe, after it had stood in forme of a *Kingdome* three hundred seventie nine yeeres, and was made a *Province*, and joyned with the rest unto the *English Monarchy*.

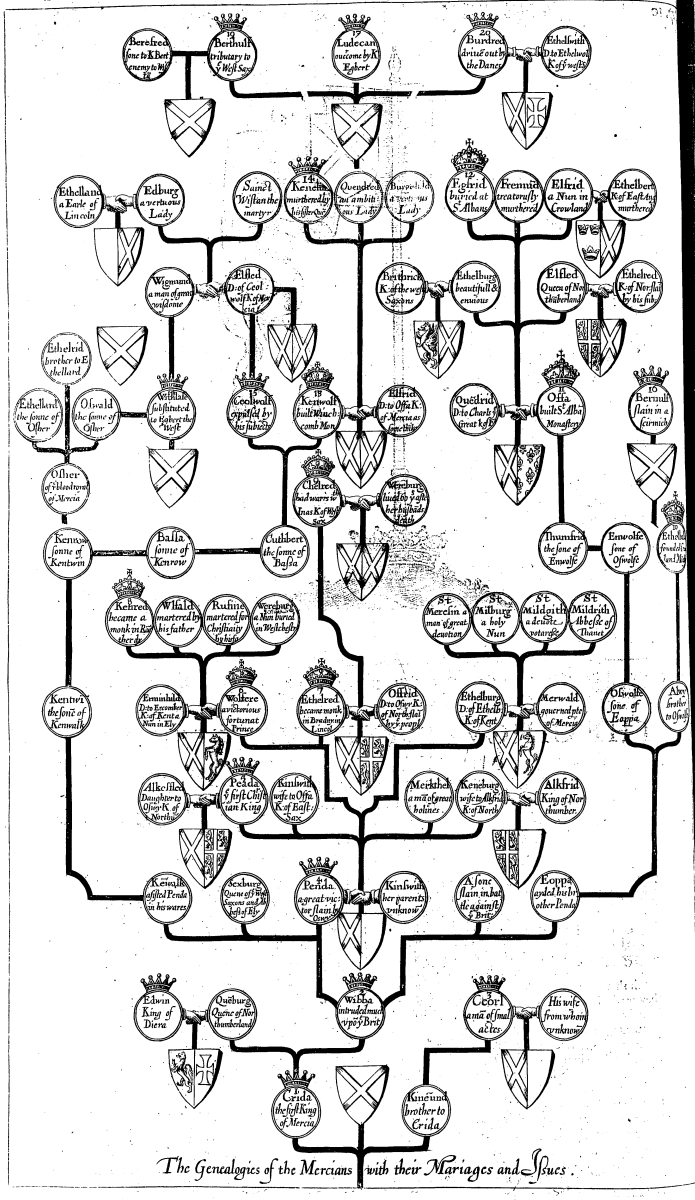
The continuance of this kingdome.

THE

THE CIRCVIT AND SVCCESSORS OF THE MERCIAN KINGDOME, VNTILL IT WAS SVBIECTED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.

Chapter X.

THe *Mercian* Kingdome contained more Countries, and circuit of ground, then any other of the *Saxons Heptarchy*. For it spred it selfe through the heart of the Iland, even from *Humber* in the North, neere unto the river *Thamesis* in the South: having no lesse then seventeen shires (as now they are devided) and six severall Estates, as *Ptolomy* hath seated them, under their command. The first *Saxon* King of this Kingdome was *Crida*, the eleventh in descent from Prince *Oden*: and the last in a lineall succession from him, was *Ceol-wulfe*, the fifteenth king of that Kingdome, besides five other collaterals, that by intrusion put on the Crown. Their issues were many, as in the stem annexed is to be seene, and therein their matches or marriages, their Armes or Atchievements, as the ancient have delivered, and the modern have received, are according insculped from the authority of both. Those *Mercians* as they were many, so were they strong, and by strong hand eight of their kings in a continued succession, got and kept the Empériall Crowne of the *Heptarchy*. For though those Kings raigned as Kings in their owne Territories; yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest, and was called King of *Engleland*, till *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* laid all into one. Neither were their kings more strong then they were pious, after they had been wet in the laver of Baptisme, themselves and children shewing their faiths by their works, in building of Churches, Monasteries and Hospitals; and some of them were so zealous in the doctrine then taught, as they laid away their robes, and tooke the tonsure or habite of Monkes. For so did two of their Kings, *Ethelred* and *Kenred*; the one cowled in *Bradney*, and the other in *Rome*: where likewise great *Offa* through the like zeale, made his kingdome tributary to the yearely paiment of *Peter-pence* unto the Pope. Two of their Queens, *Ermenhold*, and *Ethelswith*, vailed themselves Nunnes, the one in *Ely*, and the other in *Padnah*: and of their Princely issues, three were crowned with martyrdome, and nine more Canonized for Saints. But to detaine thee no longer, see if thou please, these *Mercian* Kings branched from first unto last.



The Genealogies of the Mercians with their Mariages and Issues.

Mercia.

The limits of it.

THis *Kingdome* of *Mercia* contained more Counties, & the skirts of that royall Tent were spread with a wider compasse then any of the rest in the *Saxons Heptarchy:* for in the middeft of the Iland this *Kingdome* was seated, and from the verge of *Northumberland*, touched some part of *Middlesex*, which was the possession of the *East-Saxons*: The North thereof was bounded with *Humber* and *Mersey*; the East was inclosed with the *Germaa Ocean*; the West extended to *Severne* and *Dee*; and the South part nerely touched the River of *Thames*; containing the Counties now known by these names, *of Chesshire, Darby-shire, Nottingham, Stafford*, and *Shrop-shire*, *Northampton, Leicester, Lincolne, Huntington*, and *Rutland-shires*; *Warwicke, Worcester, Oxford*, and *Glocester-land-shires*; *Buckingham, Bedford* and part of *Hertford-shire*. *Ibires*; *Buckingham, Bedford* and part of *Hertford-shire*.

1. An. Dom. 582. *crida. Plow wiger.*

The first raiser of that Title and name of a *Kingdome* was *Crida* the sonne of *Kenwald*, who was the sonne of *Cnebba*, the sonne of *Icbell*, the sonne of *Eomer*, the sonne of *Engengeate*, the sonne of *Offa*, the sonne of *Weremund*, the sonne of *Withleg*, the sonne of *Waga*, the sonne of *Wethelgeate*, the third of the five sonnes of *Prince Woden*. This man, without more fame of his further acts, is said to have raigned the space of ten yeeres, and to have died Anno 594. His issue was *Wibba* that succeeded him in his Kingdome, and a daughter named *Quenburg*, matched in mariage with *Edwin* afterwards King of *Northumberland*, with whom she lived in the Court of King *Redwald* in the time of his troubles, and died before him in that his banishment. She bore him two sonnes, *Osfrid* and *Edfride*, as in succession of *Edwins* Monarchy shall bee shewed: notwithstanding *Beda* reporteth this *Quenburge* to be daughter of *Ceorl*, the third King of *Mercia*, and grand-childe to this first *Crida*.

His raigne.

His issue.

2. An. Dom. 593. *Wibba. Matthewell. His issue.*

VVIbba, the sonne of King *Crida*, not only held what his Father had gotten, but also inlarged his dominions by intrusion upon the weake *Britaines*. His issue was *Penda, Kemwalke*, & *Eoppa*, all three Progenitors of Kings afterwards in that kingdome, with a daughter named *Sexburg*, maried to *Kenwald*, King of the *West-Saxons*, whom he without just cause divorced from him; for which cause great troubles afterwards ensued, as in the raignes of those Kings wee have said. He in great honour raigned twenty yeeres, and giving place unto nature, left his kingdome to be enjoyed by another.

Cap. Sect. 7.

His raigne. His death.

3. An. Dom. 614. *Ceorl.*

CEorl, not the son, but the Nephew of *King Wibba*, succeeded in the dominions of the *Mercians*, about the yeere of grace six hundreth and fourteenth. He was sonne to *Kinemund*, the brother of *Wibba*, the younger sonne of *King Crida*, who was the first king of that kingdome. His raigne is set to be ten yeeres, without mention either of Act or Issue.

His raigne.

4. An. Dom. 626. *Penda. His raigne.*

PEnda, the sonne of *Wibba*, beganne his raigne over the *Mercians* the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred twenty six, and continued the same the space of thirty yeeres. He was a man violent in action, and merciless in condition, cruell and unstatiate of bloud: he shooke the Cities, and disturbed the borders of the *Saxon-Kings* more then any other in that Heptarchy before him had done. Against *Kingils* and *Quinchelme*, Kings together of the *West-Saxons*, he joyned battell neere vnto the City *Cirencheffer*, where both the parties fought it out to the utmost, with the effusion of much *Saxons* bloud: but those comming to concord, he with *Cadwallo* King of the *Britaines*, slew in battell *Edwine* and *Oswald*, Kings of *Northumberland*; *Sigebert, Egfrid*, and *Anna*, Kings of the *East-Angles*; and forced *Kenwald* King of the *West-Saxons*, out of his Country, in quarell of his Sister. Of these his prosperities he became so proud, that he thought nothing impossible for his atchievement; and therefore threatning the destruction of the *Northumbers*, prepared his Army for that expedition. *Oswy* then raigning King of that Country, proffered great summes of mony, and most precious Iewels to purchase his peace: which being refused, and the battell joyned, more by the hand of God, then power of man, this Tyrant was slaine, and his whole Army discomfited. His Wife was *Kinswith*, and issue by her *Peada*, who after him was King: *Vlfere* and *Ethelred*, both Monarchs of the *English*, *Merkithel*, a man famous for his great holinesse; and *Merwald* that governed some part of *Mercia*, whose Wife was *Edburga*, the foundresse of *Minster* in *Tanet*, and daughter to *Egbert* King of *Kent*, by whom he had issue *Mereffa*, a man of noted devotion; *Milburg*, and *Mildgith*, both holy Virgins, and *Mildrith* also Abbesse of *Tanet*, all foure canonized for Saints. The daughters of King *Penda* were *Kineburg*, the Wife of *Alkfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, afterward a *Votaresse* in *Kinesburg Abbey*; and *Kinswith*, who married *Offa* King of the *East-Angles*, and became also a *Nunne* with her sister *Kineburgh*.

His death. Wife. Issue. Ing. ibiers.

PEada, the sonne of *King Penda*, in the dayes of his father, and with his permission, had governed the middle part of *Mercia*, and after his death, by the gift of *Oswy* of *Northumberland*, all the South of that kingdome from the River *Trent*, upon composition to marry his daughter, and to imbrace Christianity; which thing this *Peada* performed, and was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*. His Baptisme received, to witnesse the first fruits of his profession, hee laid the foundation of a faire Church at *Medeshamsted*, now called *Peterborow*, but lived not to finish the same, for that he was slaine by the treason of *Alkfled* his wife in the celebration of *Easter*, (as *Beda* saith) having had no issue by her. But *Robert de Swapham* (an Author of good antiquity, who saw the stones of that foundation to be so huge, as that eight yoke of Oxen could hardly draw one of them) saith, that *Peada* was brought to his end by the practise of his Mother, and not of his wife, as in these his words is manifest: *Peada* (saith he) *laid the foundation of a Monastery at Medeshamsted, in the Girvians or Fen-Country, which he could not finish, for that by the wicked practise of his Mother, hee was made away.* Whereby this blot is taken from this Christian Lady, and brands the face of her that most deserveth it. This King raigning as substiture to king *Oswy* of *Northumberland* aforesaid, by some is not accounted for a *Mercian* king, his regiment resting under the command of another.

An. [illegible] 656. *Peada*

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 21.

Hoga de Peterbur.

His wife. His death. Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap.

6. An. Dom. 659. *Vulfhere.*

VVlfhere, the Brother of murthered *Peada*, set up by the *Mercians*, against king *Oswy*, prooved a Prince most valiant and fortunate. For he expelled the *Northumbrians* Lieutenants forth of those dominions; fought victoriously against *Kenwald* King of the *West-Saxons*; conquered the *Ile of wight*, and attained to be sole Monarch of the *Englishmen*: whereof more shall be said when we come to the times and successions of their raignes.

His raigne.

This *Vulfhere* is said to raigne in great honour for seventeene yeeres, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which he had founded. His Queene *Ermenheld* after his death, became a Nunne at *Ely*, under her Mother *Sexburg*, and there died. His children were *Kenred, Vulfald*, and *Rufin*, with a daughter named *Werburg*, a Nunne in the Monastery of *Ely*.

His wife. His issue.

7. An. Dom. 675. *Ethelred. Simeon. Dunelm.*

EThelred the third sonne of King *Penda*, in the nonage of yong *Kenred* the sonne of *Vulfhere*, (who in his tender yeeres rather desired a private life then any publike authority in the Common-weale) succeeded his brother both in the kingdome of *Mercia*, and Monarchy of the *Englishmen*. But when hee had raigned thirty yeeres, gave over the Crowne to his Nephew the said *Kenred*, and became a Monke in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolne-shire*, where hee died Anno 716. His Wife was *Osfride*, Daughter to *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*: and issue, *Chelred*, that succeeded *Kenred* in the *Mercian* kingdome.

His raigne.

His wife. His issue.

8. An. Dom. 470. *Kenred.* His raigne. *Bede hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 24.* His death.

KEnred the sonne of *Wulfrere*, (his Vncle *Ethelred* changing his Princely Crowne for a Monks coule,) began his Raigne over the *Mercians*, and his Monarchy over the *English*, An. 704 wherein he raigned the space of foure yeeres, and then with like devotion of those times, addicted to an easie and quiet Religion, abandoned both Crowne and Country, and went to *Rome*, where of Pope *Constantine* hee received the tonsure and habit of a Monke at the *Apostles Tombes*, and entring a Monastery, therein spent other foure yeeres of his life to the day of his death, which was Anno 708. having had neither wife nor issue to revive his name, or to rule his kingdome.

9. An. Dom. 709. *Ceolred.* Means ch of the English Sout. His wife. His raigne. His death.

CHelred receiving the resignation of *Kenred* his Cosin-german when he went to *Rome*, and of sufficient yeeres and discretion to have succeeded *Ethelred* his Father, what time the said *Kenred* was ordained King, raigned with great valour over the *Mercians*, and was likewise Monarch over the *Englishmen*. His peace was disquieted by *Ina* and his *West-Saxons*, who for seven yeeres continuance invaded his kingdome. His Wife was *Werburge*, saith *Marianus*, and *Florentius* the Monke, who ascribe to her a long life, and to die without Children. This *Chelred* raigned the space of eight yeeres, and died the yere of grace seven hundred and fifteenth: whose body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Lechfeild*.

10. An. Dom. 716. *Ethelbald.* His raigne.

EThelbald, after the death of *Chelred*, was made king of the *Mercians*, and Monarch of the *English*, the yeare of Christs Incarnation seven hundred sixteene. He was a Prince given to peace, but withall a most lascivious Adulterer: insomuch that *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz* wrote his Epistle unto him in reprehension of the same; which tooke such effect, that in repentance of his foule facts, he founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty Piles of Oake into that moorish ground, whereon hee laid a great and goodly building of stone. He was the son of *Alwy*, the elder sonne of *Eoppa*, the second sonne of King *Wibba*, the brother of King *Penda*: and raigned forty two yeares, in the end whereof he was slaine in a battel fought against *Cuthred* King of the *West-Saxons*, by the treason of *Bernred* his Captaine, at *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth*, the yeere of Christ seven hundred fifty five, and was buried at *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, having had neither Wife nor Children.

11. An. Dom. 758. *Offa.* His raigne. *Florent. Ingulf.* His wife. His issue.

OFfa slaying *Bernred* the murtherer of King *Ethelbald*, entred upon the government of the *Mercians*, and the Monarchy of the *Saxons*, Anno 758. Hee inlarged his dominion upon the *Britaines*, overcame the *Kentish* in battell, put to flight the *Northumbrians*, and vanquished the *West-Saxons*: the *East-Angles* also he seised upon, after he had murthered *Ethelbert* their King. He reigned 39 yeares, and died at *Ofley*, the 29 day of *July*, the yeare of our Lord seven hundred ninety foure, and was buried without the Towne of *Bedford*; in a Chappell now swallowed up by the River *Ouse*. He was the sonne of *Thingfryd*, the son of *Eamulfe*, whose father *Osmund* was the son of *Eoppa*, the brother of King *Penda*, and son of King *Wibba*, whose father was *Crida*, the first King of the *Mercians*. His wife was *Quendred*, and children many; of whom, and of them we will further speake when we come to the time of his Monarchy.

12. An. Dom. 796. *Egfryde. Florent. Adam Mar.*

EGfryde, the son of Great *Offa*, was by him made King at his returne from *Rome*, being the only joy of his parents, and heire apparent to the *Saxons Monarchy*; upon which he entred the day after his fathers death, and lived himselfe but an hundred and fourty dayes after, deceasing the seventeenth of *December*, in the yeere of our Lord God seven hundred ninety six, having had neither wife nor issue that wee reade of: and his body honourably interred in the Church of the Monastery of *Saint Albanes*, founded by *Offa*.

KEmwolfe, the cosen (afarre off) to King *Egfrid* deceased, and both of them remooved in bloud no lesse then six descents from *Wibba* the second *Mercian King*, was the sonne of *Cuthbert*, (as the Monke of *Worcester* derives him) the sonne of *Bassa*, the son of *Kenrowe*, the sonne of *Kenwin*, the sonne of *Kenwalk*, the son of *Wibba* aforesaid, and succeeded King *Egfryd* in his dominions. But of this *Mercian Monarch* more shall be written in the successions and time of that his government. Hee raigned two and twentie yeares, and deceased the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and nineteene, and his body interred in the Monastery of *Winchcombe*, in the County of *Glocester*, being of his owne foundation. His wife was *Queene Elfryde*, the daughter (as some suppose) of *Offa*, who had been betrothed to *Ethelbert* king of the *East-Angles*, slaine by her father; by whom he had issue, *Kenelm*, *Quendred*, and *Burgemhild*, of whom more followeth.

13. An. Dom. 796. *Kemwolfe.* His raigne. His wife. His issue.

KEnelm, the sonne of King *Kemwolfe*, a childe of seven yeres old, succeeded in the *Kingdome of Mercia*, but not in the *Monarchy*, as his fathers had done, *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* at that time being grown great in his fortunes. This young King *Kenelm* raigned only five moneths, and then by the ambitious desire of *Quendrid* his sister, who seeking the government by the shedding of his guiltlesse bloud, instigated one *Ashbert* his Instructer, by promises of great preferments and rich rewards, to make him away, who only stood (as she thought) in her way to the Crown. This wicked practise was forthwith as impiously performed: for having him forth under pretence of hunting, he slew the innocent King, whose vertuous inclination promised great hopes, and whose harmlesse yeeres had not attained to any worldly guile. His bodie hee secretly buried under a bush, and (if we will beleeve the *Golden Legend*; where his life is described) was thus found out: A white Dove (which belike had seene the deed done) and had got it ingrossed in a scrole of parchment, posted therewith to *S. Peter* in *Rome*, and upon the *High Altar* laid it to bee read, where in the *Saxon* characters thus it was found: In Clenc kon bað Kenelme Kinbapne liɛð unðep þhopne, qeaueð beneaueð cnar is, *At Clenc in a Cow pasture Kenelme the Kings Childe lieth beheaded under a thorne.* But most true it is, that an obscure sepulcher the body had at the first, and howsoever found out, was afterwards with great honour and ceremony translated to the *Monastery of Winchcombe*; which his father had founded. The murderesse *Quendrid*, for griefe and shame of so wicked an act, ended her life, without the attaining of her ambitious desire, and hath left her name indelebly stained with his innocent bloud.

Hist. Mariani. Florent. Wigorn. Ingulf. Hist. Eccl. Gent. Anglor. Roger Higd. His death. Legenda Aurea fol. 195.

CEolwulfe, the brother of *Kemwolfe*, and uncle to this murdered young King, as his nearest in bloud was elected their *Governour* by the *Mercians*: but his glory was not great, nor his raigne long, being still disquieted by *Bernulfe*, that sought his Crowne; and after one yeeres Regiment was expulsed by his people, and left the fame to his pursuer, abandoning the Country for the safety of his life. One daughter hee had, named *Elfled*, who was the wife of *Wigmund*, the sonne of *Withlafe*, the substitute King of *Mercia*, and himselfe the last that held the *Mercian Kingdome* in a lineall succession.

14. An. Dom. 798. *Ceolwulfe. Matth. Weſt.* His raigne. His issue. 15. An. Dom. 820. *Bernulfe.*

BErnulfe obtaining what hee so long desired; made himselfe King when *Ceolwulfe* was gone, and was the more approoved for his valour in Armes, and the lesse resisted for his ancient descent, being sprung from *Osher*, a man reputed to be of *Mercian* royall bloud. But *Bernulfe* perceiving the fortunes of *Egbert*, accounted those his happy successes to be his owne fame, and by defiance challenged the *West-Saxons* to the field: which *Egbert* accepted, and upon *Ellendon* joyned Battle with the *Mercians*, which was fought to the

Simon Dunelm. Hist. Anglor. His death. His raigne. Matt. Westm.

much losse of both their bloods. Notwithstanding at last the *West-Saxons* prevailed, *Bernulfe* being forced to flie with shame. The *East-Angles* that then had yeelded to *Egbert*, and but lately before had felt the fury of *Bernulfe*, thought the time fit to repay him againe, and therefore in warlike manner assaulted his Territories, where hee, in defending his Countrey against their attempts, was in a skirmish slaine, after he had raigned fully three yeeres.

17. An. Dom. 824. *Ludecan.* His raigne. His wife. His issue.

LVdecan then was chosen King of the *Mercians*, whose bloud was not downe since their last losse, neither revenge forgotten against the *East-Angles*; and therefore the yeare following made strength (sufficient to their seeming) to meet these their enemies. But the State of *Heptarchy* now drawne to the period, and the Supporters thereof weakened by their owne divisions, the Iland declined to a present alteration, and gave place to a more absolute kinde of *Monarchy*, that in *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* was now begun; who aiding the *East-Angles* against the *Mercians*, *Ludecan* their King fought with no better successe then *Bernulfe* before him had done, whose raigne lasted not fully two yeares; nor his memoriall revived either in *wife* or *issue*.

18. An. Dom. 826. *Withlafe.* His raigne. Roger Higd. His issue. *Johan. Brom.*

VVithlafe, the son of *Oswald*, the sonne of *Osher*, of the *Mercian* blood-royall, intruding himselfe (as it seemeth) into the government of *Mercia*, was unexpectedly vanquished by *Egbert* the *Monarch* that had assumed from *Bernulfe* that Kingdome before: him hee made his *Substitute* and *Tabutarie*, who so continued to *Egbert* and his sonne the time of thirteene yeares, leaving no other relation of his acts. His issue was *Wigmund*, the husband of Lady *Elfled*, the daughter of *Ceolwulfe* King of *Mercia*, the Parents of *Wyslaa* the Martyr, and the Lady *Edburg*, maried to one *Etheland*, an *Earle* in the Province of *Lincolne*.

19. An. Dom. 839. *Berthulfe.*

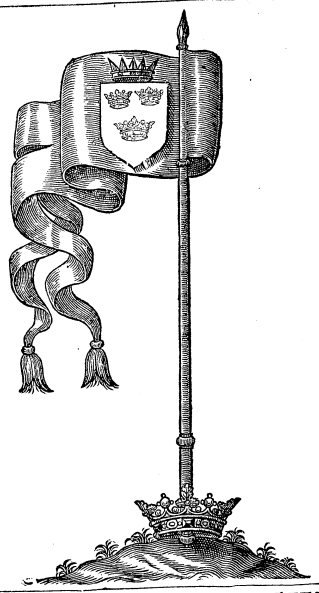
BErthulfe upon the like composition of Tribute, and in the like rearmes of subjection to the *West-Saxons* soveraignty, held the kingdome of *Mercia* as a Substitute, and without any notable report of his Acts, so raigned the space of thirteene yeares. At this time the Sea-rovers out of *Denmarke*, that had often infested this *Iland* with their many Invasions, got the head so strong, and wing so farre, even to the middle part thereof, (as this of *Mercia* was) that they filled with terror the hearts of the Inhabitants, and stained the soile with the bloud of their sides, which in a most barbarous cruelty daily they shed: whose rage was so great, and mindes so unstainable, that *Berthulfe* was inforced to forsake the Country, and in a more private estate to secure his owne life. He had a sonne named *Berefred*, who was the causer of Saint *Wistans* martyrdome.

Wish Matthew Brompton the causer of Saint Wistans martyrdome.

20. An. Dom. 852. *Burdred.* His raigne. *Matth. Weſt.* The Danes depart the Province. They returne with Kings. *Rowlo.* *Burdred* and his wife flie the land. He was buried at *Rome*. His wife at *Padua*. The Kingdome of *Mercia* brought in subjection to the *West-Saxons*.

BVrdred the last *Mercian* King, was thereunto deputed by *Ethelwolfe* the *West-Saxon* Monarch, as a shield of defence against the raging *Danes*, that made desolations where they came. In continuall imploiments against them he spent his time; and that with such noble resolutions and manhood, that *Ethelwolfe* held him worthy of his allyance; and made him his sonne in Law, by giving him Lady *Ethelswith* his daughter to Wife, the marriage being solemnized at *Chipsham* in *Wiltshire*, with great estate. This *Burdred* with *Ethelwolfe*, warred against the *Britaines* with victory, and he with *Alured* compelled the *Danes* under the conduct of *Hungar* and *Vbba*, to dislodge from *Nottingham*, and depart the Province. Yet lastly, after twenty two yeares raigne, he was so overlaid with their daily supplies, that three of their Kings (as our Writers terme them) whose names were *Godrun*, *Eftketell*, and *Ammond*, wintred at *Repindon*, and sore wasted his Kingdome

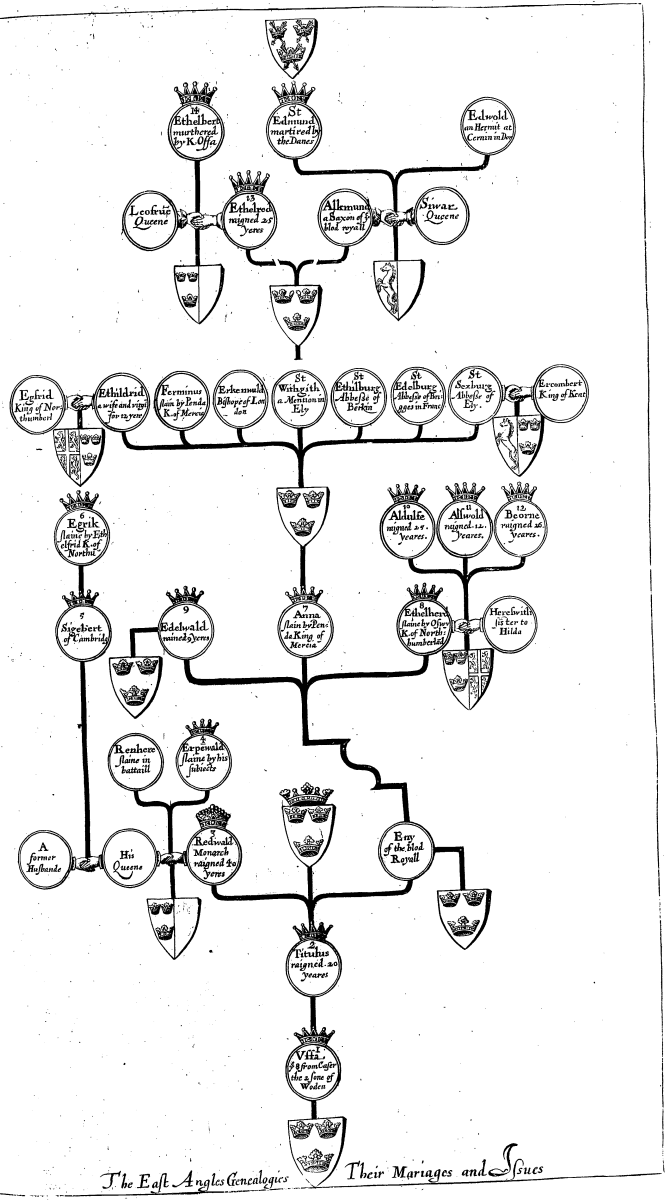
King *Burdred* at that time distressed, and himselfe not able to withstand their rage, with his wife Queen *Ethelswith* fled the Realme, and the same yeare in *Rome* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of our Lady belonging to the *English Colledge* there erected. His Queene in the habit of a *Nunne*, fifteene yeares after his death, died at *Padua* in *Italy*, and was there honourably buried, the yeare of our Lord eight hundred eighty nine. And now the fatall circle of this *Mercian* kingdome drawne to the full compasse, stayed the hand of all glorious motion from proceeding any further, and with the lot of the rest, fell under the government of the *West-Saxons*, after one yeares usurpation of the *Danes*, when it had stood in feare of a kingdome, the space of two hundred and two yeares, and ended in title and regall authority, the yeare of *Christs Incarnation* eight hundred sixty six.



THE KINGDOME OF THE EAST-ANGLES, THE CIRCVIT OF THAT PROVINCE, WITH THE SVCCESSION AND ACTS OF THEIR KINGS, SO LONG AS IT STOOD IN THAT REGALL ESTATE, AND VNTILL IT WAS VNITED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.

Chapter XI.

THe *East-Angles* Kingdome (conteining *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the *Ile* of *Ely*) was railed to the height of a Kingdome, by *Vffa* a *Saxon* Captaine, and the people thereof from him were called *Vffines* along time after. But his greater by farre was *Redwald*, the third King of his Province, who got and wore, the Imperiall Crowne of the Monarchy. Sixteene Kings of this Kingdome succesſively raigned from *Vffa* to *Edmund*, whoſe matches, iſſues, and other collaterals, are in the draught annexed, preſented to thy ſight, with the Armes or Atchievements, that the ancient have given them, and the moderne admitted: which I for my part had rather ſubſcribe unto, then to ranſcate the rubbiſh of times ruines, and get onely labour for my paines. The firſt King of the *East-Angles* that profeſſed Chriſtianity, was *Erpenwald*, but with ſuch diſlikes to his people, as they entred into conſpiracie, and traiteouſly murthered him. But his ſonne in Law *Sigebert*, with a further fore-ſight, laid the foundation deeper, then the ſtep-father had done. For hee built a Schoole, for the education of children, that the veſſell might be ſeaſoned to receive that heavenly liquour, unto which ciſterne, through the Conduits of *Felix* and others, thoſe waters of life, ſo plenteouſly ranne, that King *Sigebert* himſelfe deſcended his throne, and in *Cumbreburg* Abbey ſpent the reſt of his life in holy meditations. And *Anna* King of this Province, was ſo happy in his children, that moſt of them are commended unto poſterities by the names of Saints. For ſo was Lady *Ethelrid*, who being twice married, and more then twelve yeares in that eſtate, living in perfect virginity, and againſt the conſents of both her husbands, tooke the vaile of a Nunne at *Coldingham*, and afterwards became Abbeſſe of *Ely*. Her ſiſter *Sexburg* Queene of *Kent*, and a mother of foure children, after her husbands deceaſe, became a Nunne likewiſe, ſucceeding Queen *Sexburg*, Abbeſſe of the ſame Monaſtery, wherein Lady *Nithgith* their younger ſiſter with them was a *Menchion*. *Ethilburg* the third daughter of King *Anna*, was made Abbeſſe of *Berking*, a foundation of her brother *Erkenwalds*, Biſhop of *London*. And Lady *Withburg* a naturall daughter of the ſaid King, with *Sedrida* the daughter of his wife, went into *France*, and in Saint *Brigges* Monaſtery, ſucceeded each others the Abbeſſes; ſo full of devotions, and ſo fruitleſſe of bodies, were all theſe Princes, excepting Queene *Sexburg*. But had not their guides been blinded, and altogether ignorant in the Scriptures; they might have knowne, that God in that ſexe required procreation. For, to encreaſe and multiply was the woman created, & by faith & childbearing is to be ſaved, 1 *Tim.* 2. 15.



The East Angles Genealogies *Their Mariages and Issues*

The circuit of this Province.

THe Counties (as we now call them) that were subiect to this *East-Angles* kingdome, were *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the Ile of *Ely*. The bounds whereof were limited in this manner: the East and North sides were confined by the Ocean; the West, with Saint *Edmunds Ditch*; and the South altogether with *Essex*, and some part of *Hertfordshire*.

1. An. Dom. 575 The first King of the *East-Angles*. *Beda* hist. *Angl. lib.* 2. *cap.* 15. *East-Angles* called *Vffingi*. *Vffa* his generologie.

The first raiser of the title and state of this Kingdome, was a *Saxon* Captain named *Vffa*, about the year of Christs Incarnation, five hundred seventy five; whose renowne was such, that he gave name not onely to that his aspired dominion, but also from him, the Subiects were a long time after called *Vffins*: though lastly, it was reduced into the name and kingdome of the *East-Angles*. This *Vffa* (as *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* hath laid downe) was the sonne of *Wilhelin*, and he the sonne of *Hippus*, the sonne of *Rothmund*, the sonne of *Trigils*, the sonne of *Titmon*, the sonne of *Casar*, the second sonne of Prince *Woden*. His raigne is accounted onely seven years without any mention of further matter, worthy the recording, and his death to have hapned in the year five hundred eighty one.

2 An. Dom. 582. The second King of the *East-Angles*. His raigne.

Florent. Wigorn.

Titulus, the second king of the *East-Angles*, and only sonne of *Vffa*, that is read of, began his raigne the year of Christs Incarnation, five hundred eighty three, and continued the same for the space of twenty years. And although the Writers of these times have made no further mention of his acts, yet may we well suppose that his daies were not altogether so quietly spent, both in the infancy of that newly erected kingdome, and when such wars were commenced for the obtaining the whole Iland. His issue was *Redwald*, that immediatly succeeded him, and from whom other kings of that kingdome were lineally descended.

3. An. Dom. 593. *Beda hist. l.*2.*c.*5 The third king of this Kingdome. *cap.*9.*Sect.*7.

See more of him in Cha.18 His raigne,

R Edwald, the greatest of all the *East-Angles* kings succeeded his father *Titulus* in the dominion of the *East-Angles*, and *Ethebert* of *Kent* in the Monarchie of the *Saxons*. He received and succoured in his Court *Edwine* and his wife in their Exiles, and assisted him against *Ethelfrid* king of *Northumberland*, that fought his life, as before we have shewed, and hereafter in the succession of his Monarchy wee shall have further occasion to shew. He raigned Monarch eight years, and the king of the *East-Angles* 31. (by the account and computation of the Table annexed to *Malmesbury*, and others our *English* Writers) and died the year of our salvation sixe hundred twentie three.

4 An. Dom. 624. The fourth king of this kingdome. The first of this Province that publickely professed Christ. *Matth. West. Beda hist. l.*2.*ca.* 15. The people reject Christ. The king slaine by a Traitor. His reigne.

Iohn Stowe.

E Rpenwald, the younger sonne of King *Redwald*, (*Reinbere* his elder brother being slain in battle by *Ethelfred* in the quarrell of distressed *Edwine*) succeeded his father in the kingdome of the *East-Angles* the year of our Lord God six hundred twenty foure. He was the first king of that Province, that publickly professed the Christian faith, which he received at the friendly motion and zealous exhortation of king *Edwine* of *Northumberland*; but so much to the discontentment and grudge of the people, as thereupon they presently entred into conspiracy to practise his death; which a Pagan Ruffian named *Richebert*, not long after most traiterously executed. His raigne is placed in the foresaid Table of our writers, (as it is compared with the other kings of those times) to extend twelve years; after whose death, those people returned to their wonted idolatry, and for three yeres continuance embraced their former *Gentility*, from which they were reclaimed by *Sigebert* his brother in law, who succeeded him in his Throne he having no issue, to whom it might be left.

The Subiects reclaimed by *Sigebert*.

5 An. Dom. 636. The first King.

S Igebert, the sonne of the second wife to *Redwald*, and by her born to a former husband, whose name as unknowne, was greatly mistrusted by his father in law, King *Redwald*, that he went about to aspire to his Crowne, the motives of which suspition, notwithstanding all the endevours of innocent *Sigebert*, were still followed with an envious eye, and his subiective semblances, as notes of popularity, were ever conceived to aime at the supreame authority: which blot of jealousie, when it could no otherwise be wiped out, he abandoned the Court of the King, and country of his birth; and in *France* as an exile, al the time of *Redwald* the Father, and likewise in the raigne of *Erpenwald* the sonne, spent his time in study of good literature, and contemplative exercises, where learning the truth of Christs Doctrine, & having received the laver of Baptisme, after the death of this said *Erpenwald* his allied brother, returned, and was made King of the *East-Angles*.

Sigebert suspected of treason against *Redwald*.

He goeth into exile.

Beda hist. *Angl. lib.*3.*cap.*18. *Sigebert* with the assistance of a Bishop doth promote religion and learning.

This man (saieth *Beda*) following the examples of *France*, brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and by the assistance of *Felix* Bishop of *Dumich*, for a more firm plantation thereof, built a Schoole for the education of children, appointing them Schoole-masters and Teachers after the maner of the *Kentish-men*, who are supposed to have had at that time, the Liberall Sciences professed among them, in their *Metropolitane* Citie *Canterbury* which was the paterne (saieth that Countries *Perambulator*) that this *Sigebert* followed in the erection of his: but whether at *Cambridge* or elsewhere, hee leaveth for D. *Caius* of *Cambridge*, and M. *Key* of *Oxford*, to be disputed of. And indeed *Beda* affigneth not the place for this foundation, nor once nameth *Cambridge*, unlesse you will say, that out of the ruines of *Grantcester*, an ancient City decayed in his dayes, the fame arose, and whereof he maketh mention in his fourth booke, upon this occasion as followeth.

Iruill. Lambert in Perambul. Kent.

Mr. *Caius*, and Mr. *Key*.

Queene *Ethelred* (saieth he) that had been a Virgin, wife to *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, the tearme of twelve years, and Abbesse of *Ely* for seven more, for her reputed holinesse after her death and burial, was thought worthy by Queene *Sexburge* her sister (who had been wife to *Ercombert* King of *Kent*, and succeeded her Abbesse in the same Monastery) to be removed out of her wooden tombe and mean place of buriall, into the Church, and into a richer Monument but for want of stone, which was scarce in those parts, certaine brethren were sent to finde out some for that use, who comming to *Grantcester*, a litle Citie left desolate and uninhabited, found by the wals a Tomb of white marble very faire, and covered with a like stone. This they thought to be found, not without miracle, and therefore most fit to entomb her corps, which accordingly they did. But that this had been the place of *Sigeberts* Schoole, he mētioneth not. But whether by him or no, we know it now the other *Vniversity of England*, a seed-plot of all divine & humā *Literature*; & one of those springs whēce issue the wholsome waters that doe bedew both the Church and common-wealth, both famous for the Arts, for Buildings and Revenewes, as their like is not to bee found in *Europe* (saieth *Peter Martyr*) and that most truely. But to returne: *Sigebert* being wearied with the waighty affaeirs of this world, laied the burden therof upon *Egricke* his kinsman, and shore himselfe a Monke in the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which himself had built: and wherein he lived, untill that wicked *Penda*, the *Mercian* King, with his heathenish cruelty, molested the peace of the *East-Angles*, who after long resistance, finding themselves too weak, besought *Sigebert* for the better encouragement of their soulditers, to shew himself in field; which when he refused, by constraint (saieth *Beda*) they drew him forth, where in the midst of them he was slain in battle, using no other weapon for defence, saving only a white wand, when he had onely raigned three years, and left no issue to survive him, that is any where recorded.

Beda hist. *Angl. lib.*4.*cap.*19.

Grantcester.

Strburge Abbesse of *Ely* after her sister. *Withelm. Merulam in Ely Abbey.*

Ethelburge Abbesse of *Berking*. *Beda l.*4.*c.*6.

Edelburge Abbesse of Saint *Briggs* in *France*. *Beda l.*3.*cap.*8.

Beda maketh mention of *Grantcester*, but not of a Schoole there.

The *Vniversities* of *England* above all other in *Europe*.

Sigebert resigneth to *Egrick* and liveth his Monastery.

E Grick, cousin to King *Sigebert*, and by him made King, as we have said, was sore molested by the continuall invasions of *Penda* the cruell King of *Mercia*, who lastly in a sett battle slew him with *Sigebert*, about

He is constrained to relieve it against, and is slain in battel.

His reigne.

6. An. Dom. 368. The first King. *Penda* a mi-

Kings of *Mercia*, *Egrick* and *Sigebert* both slaine by *Penda*. His raigne.

7. An. Dom. 642. The seventh King. *Beda hist. Angl. lib.*3.*cap.*18. *Malmesb. de gestis Regum Angl.*

Anna slaine in battell by *Penda*.

Anna his issue. His raigne. *Firminus* heire apparent.

Erkenwald Abbot of *Cherisie*, and Bishop of *London*. *Etheldrid* Abbesse of *Ely*.

Iruill. Lambert in Perambul. Kent.

Mr. *Caius*, and Mr. *Key*.

Their children

9. An. Dom. 656.

10. An. Dom. 664.





11. An. Dom. 683. His raigne.

12. An. Dom. 714. *Beorne* the twelfth King.

13. An. Dom. 714. *Ethelred* the thirteenth King. He raigned two and fifty yeares.

His sonne *Ethelbert*. His wife *Leofrun*. *Florent. Wigorn. Iohn Glastonens.*

14. An. Dom. 749. *Ethelbert* the fourteenth King.

Giral. Cambrensis.

Ethelbert murdered by *Offa* King of *Mercia*.

Britius or *Mercia* gave who built a Church. *Iohn Capgrave. Lybel his ex-*

Egbert & *Ethelwolf* crowned chrisby. *Egbert* & *Ethe-*

A Lduls, the eldest sonne of *Ethelherd* and Queene *Herfswith*, after the death of his uncle King *Edelmald*, obtained the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and therein raigned without any honour or honourable action by him performed: Onely his name and time of his raigne, which was nineteene yeers, is left of him by Writers: and affordeth no further relation of us here to be inserted, besides his Coine here set.

E Lfwolf the son of King *Ethelherd*, and brother to this last mentioned *Aldulfe*, began his raigne over the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of Christ his Incarnation, sixe hundred eighty three, and continued in the same, the time of seven yeeres, without record of any memorable *Act*, *Wife*, or *Issue*, to revive his name.

B Eorne, the yongest sonne of king *Ethelherd*, succeeded his brother King *Elfwolfe* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*; no further mention being made of him, his wife, nor issue, which are all together perished, and laid long since in their graves of oblivion.

E Thelred, after the death of his cosen *Beorne*, succeeded him in the kingdome of the *East-Angles*, issuing (as is supposed) from king *Edelwald* the brother of *Ethelherd*, and of *Anna*, both of them Kings in that Province. His raigne by Writers is said to be fiftie two yeeres, which notwithstanding was passed over without any memorable note: for albeit that his government was long, and the declining *Heptarchy* nor unlikely to have minished matters of remembrance to posterities, yet is the same passed over by the silence of our Writers, and no further mention made of him, besides the education of his younger sonne *Ethelbert*, who proved a most worthy King. His wife, and the mother of this vertuous sonne, was *Leofrun*, saith the Writer of his life, without further mention of her parentage, or other issue. This King deceased the yeere after Christs nativitie, seven hundred fortie eight, the same yeere that *Ethelbert* entred his Kingdome of *Kent*.

E Thelbert, the sonne of King *Ethelred*, after his Fathers death was ordained King of the *East-Angles*, whose dayes of youth were spent in learning and deeds of charitie, and the whole time of his government in continuall tranquillity; for he is recorded to be a Prince religious and charitable, sober, profound, and wise in counsell. This King being incited by *Offa* the *Mercian* (that still thirsted after greatnesse) to marry *Elfrid* his Daughter, a Lady of great beautie, came upon that purpose to *Offa* his Court, then seated at *Sutton Wallis* in the County of *Hereford*, and was by him there cruelly murthered at the instigation of *Quendrid* his unkind (intended) mother in Law; no other occasion ministred, but the greatnesse of his Port, that much in her eyes over-heighred her husbands. His *Bride-bed* (the grave) was first at *Marden*, North from *Sutton* upon the River *Lug*. But afterwards upon repentance, *Offa* removed it unto *Hereford*; over whom, *Milfrid* an under King of the *Mercians*, built a most faire Church in memorial of him, which yet beares his name, and is the Cathedrall of that See. His Bride, Lady *Elfrid*, much lamenting his contrived murther, with-drew her selfe to *Crowland* in the *Fennes*, and there vowed chastity all the dayes of

Abbesse of *Streansh ale*, and great grand-child to *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*, who bare unto him *Aldulfe Elfwolfe*, and *Beorne*, all three succeeding *Edilwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*.

E Delwald the brother of *Ethelherd* entred his government of the *East-Angles* the yeere of our Lord 656. and continued the same the space of nine yeeres, without either mention of any other memorable act: from whom (as is supposed) issued *Ethelred* that succeeding King after *Beorne*.

He raigned 45. yeeres.

of her life; notwithstanding some affirme that shee was wife to King *Kenwolfe*, the successor of her brother *Egfrid*. This King raigned the space of forty five yeeres, as is set in the Table of our English Writers, and died the yeere of Christs incarnation seven hundred ninety three, the eighteenth day of *May*; and his Kingdome intruded upon by the *Mercians*, having had neither wife nor children, that *Historians* make mention of: after whose death the Kingdome of the *East-Angles* was brought to decay, both by the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, and them of *Kent*; so that by means of their violence, that Province was destitute of her owne Governours, the space of seventy seven yeeres, until lastly the assaults of the *Danes* (a new-come *Guest* and most dangerous Enemy) caused the other Kings to stand upon their Guards, and rather to defend what they already had gotten, then to seeke inlargement, to the hazard of all: at which time, it is said one *Offa*, to whom the right of that Crowne belonged, upon a religious devotion, tooke his pilgrimage to the Sepulcher of Christ, and visiting in his way a kinsman of his, whose name was *Alkmund*, at the Citie *Northenberge* in *Saxonie*, there made his will, wherein he adopted young *Edmund* his Heire, the sonne of *Alkmond*: and accomplishing his voyage, in his return died at the Port *Saint George*, from whence he sent young *Edmund* his Ring, and therewith ordained him King of the *East-Angles*. *Alkmund* a Prince of great power in those parts, maintained his sonnes rightfull election, and with a sufficient power sent him to claime the Kingdome. These landing in the East of *England*, at a place called *Maydenbowre*, built a royall Tower, which hee named, and to this day is called, *Hunstantone*, situated upon the North-west point of *Norfolke*, that beareth likewise his owne name.

Offa heire to the Crowne, adopteth *Edmund* the son of *Alkmond*.

15. An. Dom. 870. *Edmund* the fifteenth King. The Danes invasion. *Polydor. Virg.*

EDmund thus arrived, was as willingly received, & by the *East-Angles* made their King; in whose time *Hunger* and *Hubba*, two *Danish* Captaines, with an innumerable multitude of *Heathen Danes*, entred the Land at the mouth of *Humber*, and from thence invaded *Nottingham*, *Yorke*, and *Northumberland*, where (without respect of age or sex) they laid all waste, and left the Land whence they departed like to a desolate Wildernesse. From thence they came with the like fury into *Edmunds* Territories, and sacked *Thetford* a frequent City in those dayes: but he not able to withstand their violence, fled into his Castle at *Framingham*, wherein he was of them besieged; and lastly, taken (saith *Abba Floriacensis*) in a village then called *Heglisdune*, of a wood bearing the same name; or rather yeelded himselfe to their torments, to save more Christian blood: for it is recorded, that because of his most constant *Faith* and *Profession*, those *Pagans* first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, he still calling upon the name of *Jesus*; for rage whereof, they bound him to a stake, and with their arrowes shot him to death; and cutting off his head, contemptuously threw it into a bush, after he had raigned over the *East-Angles* the space of sixteene yeeres, having had neither wife nor issue that is read of. His body and head (after the *Danes* were departed) were buried at the same royall Town, as *Abba* termes it, where *Sigebert* the *East-Angleau* King, and one of his predecessors, at his establishing of Christianity, built a *Church*, and where afterwards (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderfull frame of Timber, and the name of the Towne, upon the occasion of his buriall, called unto this day, *Saint Edmondsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Pagan Danish* King in impiety and fury burned to ashes. But when his sonne *Canute* had made conquest of this Land, and gotten possession of the *English Crowne*, terrified and affrighted (as saith the *Legend*) with a vision of the seeming *Saint Edmund*, in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers sacriledge, built it anew most sumptuously, enriched this place with Charters and Gifts, and offered his owne Crowne upon the Martyrs Tombe. After the death of this *Edmund*, the *East-Angles* Country was possessed by the *Danes*, and so continued about some fifty yeeres, untill that *Edward* surnamed the *Elder*, expulsed these *Danes*, and joyned that Kingdome a Province to the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood three hundred fiftie three yeeres.

Fabian.

Edward takes of the Danes, and put to death for the faith of Christ.

will. Malmes. His raigne.

A Church at S. *Edmondsbury* builded in honor of *Edmund*. This Church razed to the ground by Sueno a Danish King.

Reedified and richly endowed by *Canutus* his sonne.

The Danes expulsed hence by *Edward*.

A CATALOGVE OF SVCH BRITISH PRINCES AS WITHSTOOD THE SAXONS IN THEIR CONQVESTS, FROM VORTIGERNE THEIR FIRST MAINTAINER, VNTO *CADWALLADER* THEIR LAST RESISTER.

CHAPTER. XII.

Hitherto the Saxons Heptarchy.

NOW as we have spoken of every severall *Saxon* King, that attained unto, and held possession of any part in the East and South of this Iland, untill such time as their Crownes were worne by their Conquerours, and the sevenfold divided Heptarchy, united into an absolute Monarchy: so by order of History it is required, that their opposers (the *Britaines*) so long as they kept their ground, and stood in defence of their owne right full inheritance, should be shewed: who with a great disdaine, and valorous resistance, under-went the yoake of the *Saxons* subjections, as their ancient Ancestors had endeavoured to cleere themselves from the chaines of the *Romanes* captivitie. And untill God and destiny withdrew from them the hand of defence, they mated the *Saxons* in all their designes. For albeit that the *Romans* had robbed the land of her strength, and the aspired *Vortigern*, called in these Strangers for his defence: yet their purposes being wisely perceived, the prevention thereof was presently practised, and eagerly pursued, whilest the pillars (that supported the frame of their government) stood upon their owne *Bases*. But the ground-worke failing, and those props not many, the waight of all fell upon some few, whose acts and manly resistance (Christ assisting) shall further be related, as time shall bring them to the yeeres of their adventures, and carry our History thorow the affaires of their times. Meane while, as we have recorded the names of their Ancestors, and worthy fore-runners, the resisters of the *Romanes*: so now if you please, behold the Catalogue of their Kings, from the foresaid *Vortigern* (the first subdued by these *Saxons*) unto *Cadwallader* the last of those *British* Princes; who left to them his Land, and went himself to *Rome*: whose times and stories, according to those Guids that lead us, we will declare, referring the credit thereof to our *British* Historians; against whom howsoever some exceptions are, and may be justly taken; yet are they not altogether to be cast off, in the affaires of these ensuing Princes, especially *Gyldas* and *Ninius*, who lived in, and presently after the times of those resisters. Neither is it to be doubted, but that many others there were of that Nation, no lesse carefull for transferring the remembrance of their ancestors actions to posterity, (no Nation living, being more zealously devoted in that kinde,) though their writings have in Times ruines beene buried, and their remembrances preserved onely by perpetuity of traditions. And although we have shewed the ancient Coines of the *Britaines*, and observed a series thorow the *Romanes* succession: yet be not offended, that I leave onely Blancks for these latter Princes; as also the first *Saxons*, wanting the Monies of their owne severall Mintes.

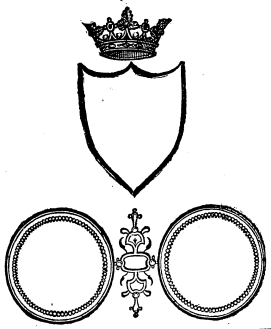
Vortigern the first and *Cadwallader* the last resister of the *Saxons*.

A successive Series of Great *Britaines* Coynes.

Such therefore as I have found of any Kings stamp, raigning whilest the land was divided and enjoyed among them, I have in the margent of their remembrances affixed, with the Armes attributed to every severall kingdome: and hence will observe the same order, without any invention or fained inscription: which howsoever wee want to furnish their successions, yet this I am sure of, no Nation in *Europe* can shew the like, or can come to so true a series of their Soveraignes Coines, as *England* is able at this day to doe.

Resisters of the Scots.

VORTIGERN. I.



VOrtigern among the many molestations of the *Scots* and *Picts*, was ordained supreme Governor of these affaires; and to that end, with the *Britains* full consent was elected their King. For as touching that

Monkish

Monkish *Constantine*, the sonne of *Constantius*, who is supposed to be the brother of *Aldroenus*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, sent for and made King by these *Britaines*, whose simplicity this *Vortigern* is said to abuse, and lastly to cause his murther and death; I rather thinke the story to be the same that happened above forty yeeres before, in the daies of *Honorius* the Emperour, when *Constantine* among the other conspirators was raised upon a hopefull expectation conceived of his name.

This *Constantius* indeed had a sonne that bare his name, a man of a soft spirit, and no deepe reach, and therefore in his youth was made a Monke. But his father risen to his aspiring honour, created him first his *Cæsar*, and next *Augustus*, till Fortune turned those smiles into frownes, and stained their purple robes in both their owne bloods. For not only the same names induceth this doubt, but the place, which was *Winchester*; and the Abbey *Amphibilus*, where this Imperiall Monke was shorne, doth not a little confirme the same: the remaines of which Colledge, by that strong and thicke wall standing to this day at the West gate of that Cathedrall Church, doth not a little confirme. But wanting better directions to our proceedings, we must follow for these times men of later yeeres, and not without some suspect of uncertaintie. The rather, for that the *Saxons* as then the chiefe Actors in this Land, have purposely concealed all Victors and Victories against themselves, neither but sparingly have recorded their owne.

Saxons have concealed all victories against themselves.

This *Vortigern*, howsoever attaining the Crowne, was over-awed (saith *Ninius*) *by the Picts and Scots, stood in feare of the Romane forces, dreading much the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, with his brother Vter, surnamed Pendragon:* and therefore wanting strength of his owne to maintaine his standing, sent for the *Saxons*, as we have said. *He* (saith the *British Story*) *was Earle of Cornwall*, of an honourable Family and noble descent, his Lady every way answerable to both; by whom he had three sonnes, *Vortimer*, *Catigern*, and *Pascentius*. His second Wife, or rather Concubine, (having cast off this first) was *Rowena*, the daughter of *Hengist*, which Pagan marriage prooved not only the bane of the Land, but so ruinated the Church of Christianity, that a Provincial Councell of the *Britaines* was assembled in *Ann.* 470. to repaire those things that this marriage had decaied.

The cause of *Vortigerns* feare, and his sending for the Saxons.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 14.

By this Heathen Damosell he had a daughter, who (against the law of *God* and *Nature*) was his third wife, that *kings* (as he pretended, to excuse his incest) *might be descended from the right issue of Kings*; upon whom he begot his sad lamenting sonne *Faustus*, a vertuous Impe of those inapious parents, that spent his life in a solitary place neere to the River *Llynterewny*, as we have said; who abandoning the company of men, among those mountaines served God in continuall teares and prayers, for remission of the fault committed in his incestuous generation, for the recalling of his parents to a better life, and for the restitution of his Countrey to her former liberty.

Vortigern raigned first sixteene yeeres, and then deposed for his favours to the *Saxons*, was retained in durance all the raigne of *Vortimer* his sonne, after whose death he was restablished: but oppressed by his *Saxons*, & pursued by *Aurelius*, withdrew himselfe into *Wales*, & among those vast mountains built a Castle by *Merlins* direction, wherof we have spoken, and more we would speake, were those fantasticke fictions, underset with any props of likelihood or truth, which *Rand. of Chester* in his daies utterly rejected.

In this Castle, *Vortigern* with his incestuous wife, after he had fecondly raigned the space of fixe yeeres was consumed to ashes, by the just revenging hand of God, by fire from heaven, as some have written; or else kindled by *Aurelius* and *Vter*, as heavens Ministers to execute wrath.

Vortigern with children by his first Wife. *Rand. Higden lib. 1. cap. 1.* His second wife a Heathen.

Vortimer made away by *Rowena.*

Vortimer the continuance of his raigne. *Fabian Chron. part. 5. cap. 89.*

His third wife was his owne daughter.

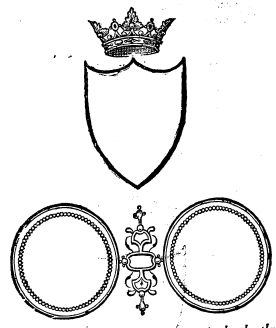
Faustus the son of *Vortigern* by his third wife.

Vortigern restablished King. *Ninius.*

Vortigern long hereing. *Fabian ibid. Vortigern* deposed and imprisoned. He flyeth into *Wales.*

Polychr. lib. 12. Vortigern and his wife destroyed by fire from heaven. *Hen. Hunt. Rom. Hist. lib. 2.*

VORTIMER. II.



12. An. Dom. 452. *Vortimer* the second restiter of the Saxons.

Vortimer how long he maintained warre against the Saxons.

Foure chiefe battles, and the successe of the first.

Vortimer the first restiter of the Saxons, was the abuse of his fathers government, for which he was deposed by his owne subjects, was erected King of the *Britaines* the yeere from Christs birth 454. a man of great valour, which altogether he imploied for the redresse of his Country, according to the testimony of *William Malmesbury*. *Vortimer* (saith hee) *thinking it not good to dissemble the matter, for that hee saw himselfe and Countrey daily surprised by the craft of the English, set his full purpose to drive them out, and from the seventh yeere after their first entrance, for twenty yeeres continuance fought many Battels with them, and foure of them with great puissance in open field; in the first whereof, they departed with likefortune, and losse of the Generals brethren, Horsa and Catigern: in the other three, the Britaines went away with victory, and so long untill Vortimer was taken away by fatall death.*

Huntington, Monmouth, Randulphus, and *Fabian*, name both the places and succesſe of those Battels: The first was in *Kent*, and upon the Plaine neere unto *Ailsford*, where the memoriall of *Catigern* to this day remaineth; & *Horsted* doth as yet relish of *Horsa* there interred. The second Battell was fought likewise in *Kent* at *Crocanford* (now *Crasford*) where many perished as well *Britaines* as *Saxons*. The third was at *Wepeds Fleet*, with great losse to the *Britaines*: and the fourth upon *Calmore*, where many of the *Saxons*, after long and sore fight were slaine, and more drowned in flight, and lastly driven into the *Ile of Thanet*, their first

The place of the first battell. *Beda lib. 1. cap.*

The place of the second battle.

The place of the third battle.

The place of the fourth battle.

Geffrey Coxton, Polych.

The Saxons quite dispossessed.

first assigned habitation (if not over the Seas) so that small hope rested for them so long as this valiant *Vortimer* lived, who had now dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in the *Ile of Thannet* likewise, as *Fabian* confidently affirmeth.

But destiny going forward for the downefall of *Britaine*, removed these rubs out of her way: for *Rowena*, the mother of the *Britaines* mischiefe, and the maintainer of the *Saxons* residence, found the meanes to make this worthy *Vortimer* away, and by poyson caused the end of his life, after he had valiantly raigned the space of foure yeeres: all which time, by the testimony of an old Chronicle that *Fabian* had seene, *Vortigerne* the father remained in durance, and under assigned Keepers in the City *Caerlegeon*, now *Chester*, and so demeaned himselfe towards his sonne (then his Soveraigne) in dutifull obedience and faithfull counsell, that hee wonne againe the hearts of the *Britaines*, and was againe re-established their King.

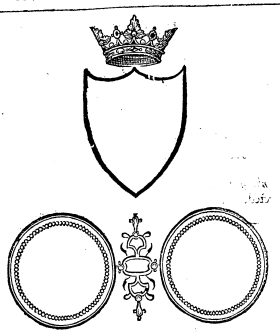
It is recorded by *Ninius*, that *Vortimer* after his last victory over the *Saxons*, caused his Monument to be erected at the entrance into *Tanet*, even in the same place of that great overthrow, which by the said Author is called *Lapis Tituli*, of us the *Stoner*, where for certaine it seemes hath beene an haven. In this Monument he commanded his body to be buried, to the further terrour of the *Saxons*, that in beholding this his Trophey, their spirits might bee daunted at the remembrance of their great overthrow. As *Scipio Africanus* conceited the like, who commanded his Sepulcher to be so set, that it might overlooke *Africa*, supposing that his very Tombe would bee a terrour to the *Carthagimians*. But how that desire of *Vortimer* was performed, I find not, but rather the contrary: for an old Manuscript I have, that confidently affirmeth him to be buried in London: yet others from *Ninius* the disciple of *Elnodugue*, hold the place to be *Lincolne*. But howsoever his grave is forgotten, yet let this bee remembred, that *Sigebertus* hath written of him, that *After he had vanquished the Saxons* (saith hee) *whose drift was not onely to over-runne the Land with violence, but also to erect their owne Lawes without clemency, he restored the Christian Religion then sorely decayed, and now built the Churches that those enemies had destroyed.*

Vortimer his Monument the *Stoner.*

Vortimer supposed to bee buried in *London.*

Sigebertus.

AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS. III.



3. An. Dom. 466. The third restorer of the Saxons.

Aurelius Ambrosius, verily descended of that *Constantine* who in the fourth Consulship of *Theodosius* the younger, was elected here in *Britaine*, onely in hope of his lucky name, succeeded *Vortigern* the Father in the Government of *Britaine*, and *Vortimer* the sonne, in affection and defence of his Countrey. Hee with *Vter* (saith *Geffrey Monmouth*) when their brother *Constantine* was murthered by *Vortigerne*, fled into *France*, where they remained the yeeres of his first raigne; whose returne (as wee have heard from *Ninius*) he greatly feared, and whose force at the last he felt to his smart. For having againe resumed his Crowne, he lived in his old sinnes, and suffered the *Saxons* to be Lords of his Land; to prevent which (saith *Beda* from *Gildas*) *the Britaines by little and little began to take strength, and with some courage to come forth of their Caves, who with one uniforme consent, called to God for his heavenly helpe. They had* (saith he) *for their Captaine a Roman called Ambrosius Aurelianus, a gentle naturèd man, which onely of all the blond of the Romans remained then alive, his parents being slaine, which bore the name of King of the Country. This man being their Leader, provoked the Victors to the fight, and thorow Gods assistance atchieved the victory. From that day forward now the Britaines, now the Saxons did prevaile, untill the yeere that Bathe was besieged, which was forty foure yeeres after their first comming into the Iland.*

Galfrid. Mon.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 16.

His first expedition (as our British Historians report) was against *Vortigern*, and his Castle in *Wales*, wherein that incestuous King was consumed to ashes by lightning from heaven, as we have said: and then following the *Saxons*, made toward *Torke*, and at *Maesbel* beyond *Humber*, encountring *Hengist*, became his Victor: unto whose mercy (say they) his sonne *Occa* yeelded himselfe, and obtained in free gift the Country *Galloway* in *Scotland* for him and his *Saxons*. But these his affaires thus prospering against the common Enemy, was envyed at by *Pascentius*, the youngest son of King *Vortigern*, who not able either to mate the *Saxons*, or after his Brethrens deaths to recover the Kingdome to himselfe, ambitiously sought to prefer his base humor before the recovery of his Countries liberty, which then lay gored in her owne bloud. For having gotten the ayde of *Gillamare* King of *Ireland*, whither hee had fled upon the death of his Father, and now returned into the West of *Wales*, first indamaged the City of S. *Davids*, and thence proceeded with fire and sword. *Aurelius* then sicke in the City of *Winchester*, sent his brother *Vter* to withstand his force, who slew both *Pascentius* and the *Irish* King his partaker, in a fetand fore battell fought betwixt them. But before this battell, *Pascentius* had sent a *Saxon*, whose name was *Eopa*, in shew a *Britaine*, and in habit a Physition, to minister poyson in stead of Physicke, which accordingly was effected with *Ambrosius* his death.

Geffrey Coxton, Polych.

Hector Boetius.

Vnto this *Aurelius Ambrosius* is ascribed the erection of that rare and admirable Monument, now called *Stonhenge*, in the same place where the *Britaines* had beene treacherously slaughtered and interred, whose manner

Aurelius Ambrosius erected *Stonehenge.*

manner and forme in our draught of *Wiltshire* wee have inserted. The matter being Stones of a great and huge bignesse, so that some of them containe twelve tun in waight, and twenty eight foote or more in length, their breadth seven, and compasse sixteene. These are set in the ground of a good depth; and stand in a round circle by two and two, having a third stone somewhat of lesse quantity laid gate-wise overwhart on their toppes, fastned with tenons and mortaises, the one into the other; which to some seeme so dangerous, as they may not safely be passed under, the rather for that many of them are falne downe, and the rest suspected of no sure foundation: notwithstanding, at my being there, I neither saw cause of such feare, nor uncertainety in accounting of their numbers; as is said to be. The stones are gray, but not marbled, wherein great holes are beaten even by force of weather, that serve for Ravens and other birds to build in, and bring forth their young. The ground-plot containeth about three hundred foote in compasse, in forme almost round, or rather like unto compasse, with an entrance in upon the East-side. A horse-shooe, with an entrance in upon the East-side. Three rowes of stones seeme formerly to have beene pitched, the largest outwards, and the least inwards, many whereof are now falne downe: but those that stand, shew so faire an aspect, and that so farre off, that they seeme to the beholders to bee some Forresse or strong Castle. A Trench also is about them, which hath beene much deeper: and upon the plaines adjoyning, may round copped hils without any such Trench, (as it were cast up out of the earth) stand like great Hay-cockes in a plaine Meadow. In these, and thereabouts, by digging have beene found peeces of ancient fashioned armour, with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus covered with earth that was brought thither by their welwillers and friends, even in their head-peeces; a token of love that then was used, as some imagine.

This Trophey, *Aurelius Ambrosius* (in memoriall of the *Britaines* massacre) erected, and is worthily accounted for one of the wonders of this Iland, and are in the verses of *Alex. under Necham* called *The Giants Daunce*; wherein this *Ambrosius* was interred after he had raigned thirty two yeeres, and whereof the towne *Ambresbury* beares the name. Others report, that the *Britaines* erected this most stately Sepulcher over the body of *Ambrosius* there slaine by the sword of his enemies; that his Countries love, in such a costly peece of worke, might remaine unto posterities in this *the Altar of his vertue and manhood*: for *Paulus Diaconus* saith, that *this man, in succouring his decayed Country, tooke upon him the Imperiall Robe, and against the violent rage of those German enemies, oft times overthrew their puissant armies, but was lastly slaine by them upon the plaines of Salesbury*. I cannot with silence let passe the ridiculous reports of the bringing of the Stones out of *Africke* into *Ireland*, and from thence, under the conduct of *Vter* the brother of *Ambrosius*, unto this *Plaine*, by the industrious meanes of *Merlin*, surnamed *Ambrose*, borne in the ancient City *Merdhyn*, and as *Humfrey Lhuyd* saith, *of a noble virgin, whose father, for his skill in the Mathematickes, and wonderfull knowledge in all other kind of learning, was by the rude common people reputed to be the sonne of an Incubus, or a male-Divell, which in the similitude and likenesse of men doe use carnally to company with women*. But how this may agree with his divine mouth, who tels us that *Spirits* have neither flesh nor bones; and the whole Scriptures, that man is carnally begotten, conceived and borne, I leave for others further to dispute. Onely I know, that such begettings as *Merlines* is reported to bee, without father, and *Simon Magus* also, that before him would needs be the sonne of a *Virgin*, doe not a little contradict our *Christian Profession*, who acknowledge onely the conception of *Christ*, to be conceived without the seed of man, or of sinne. But to our purpose: *Ambrosius Aurelius* (by *Panvinius* accounted the last Emperour of the British bloud) is said to raigne in *Britaine* thirty two yeeres, and to dye in that of Christs Incarnation foure hundred ninety seven.

Ancient fashioned Armour found at *Stonehenge*.

Paulus Diac.

Geff. Monmouth. Giral. Cant. Gerusal. Dim.

Breviary of Britaine. part. 3. fol. 89.

John Harding.

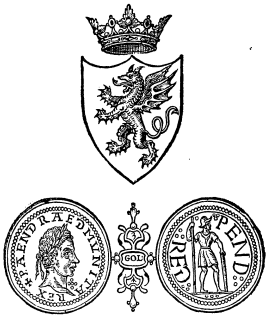
Pendragon the continuance of his raigne.

Luke 2. 4. 5.

Clement in his Recognitions.

Aurelius Ambrosius, the continuance of his raigne.

VTER PENDRAGON. IIII.



An. Dom. 498. Matth. Westm.

Vter, surnamed *Pendragon*, the brother of *Ambrosius*, succeeded him both in valour, and in the Government of *Britaine*. His entrance was with troubles against the *Saxons*, who under the leading of *Eske* and *Octa*, the sonnes of King *Hengist*, had passed with spoile to the Citie *Yorke*, whither this new-made Generall presently repaired; and giving them battell, with the discomfiture of their whole Army, tooke both the brethren prisoners, and committed them to safe custody.

Hect. Boetius.

But the *Britaines* (saith *Boetius*) becomming disloyall to their Prince, seldome assisted him with preventing counsell: and the Prince enamored upon the Duke of *Cornwalls* Wife, consulted more with *Merline* to transforme himselfe from himselfe, then to give direction against the common enemy. For comming to *Tindagell* Castle in *Cornwall*, possessed by *Gorlois*, Duke of that Province, beheld (in his eye) the *paragon* of Nature, which was lady *Igren*, his Dutches and wife. *Vter*, whose thoughts till then had bin free, and from his child-hood had ever followed *Mars* in his Shield and Armes were both neglected and unworne, and all his thoughts set on worke to purchase his most wished desire; which lastly, by *Merline* and *Magick* was effected, and that after this manner (if we will

Matth. Westm.

Alan. Niddam. *Vter* Pendragon in love with lady *Igren*.

Geffrey Mon.

An ancient Manuscript.

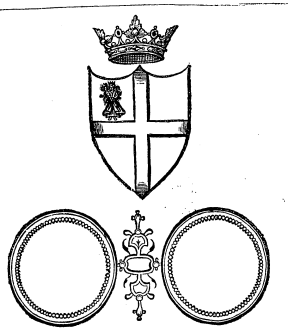
will beleeve him of *Monmouth*, who is the reporter.) His suits and hopes failing (saith he) to win her unto dishonor, *Merline* altogether new-moulded the shape of King *Vter*, and printed in his face the feature of *Gorlois* her owne Lord, by which meanes, and without suspect the King dishonourably violated this Ladyes chastity, in which Bed of deceit, the famous *Arthur* was begot. The captive Captaines *Eske* and *Octa* in these loose times of his love, gat loose from their Keepers, and with their ratling armour roused *Vter* from this wanton Lullaby: who with troopes of strength, and trumpers of defiance, met these *Saxons* face to face in the field, where berwixt them was fought a most bloudly battell, and that even almost to the last stroke; and wherein, if fatall destiny had withdrawne her hand, the Iland had beene rid of these Intruders for ever. For therein (say our Authors) the *Saxons* perished by the *Britaines* swords; upon whose points also *Eske* and *Octa* paid their escapes with the losse of their lives. This field was at *Verolam*, whither *Vter* sicke, and in his Horse-litter, was borne among his Army, and after long and sore siege, wonne from them that City. Finally, when this King had raigned the space of eighteene yeeres, he dyed by poyson put into a well, whereof usually hee dranke, and was buried at *Stonheuge* with his brother *Ambrosius*.

Of his surname *Pendragon*, these suppofals are made. At his nativity (say some) appeared a fiery Comet, in some part resembling a *Dragons Head*: whereupon that great reputed Prophet *Merline*, attributed this heavenly Meteor unto this princely newborne Babe, and gave him the name of *Vter-pendragon*. Others for his *serpentine Wisedome*, derive the surname of this Serpents Head, who like unto that of *Dan, bit the horse heeles, so that the riders fell backward*. Gen. 49. 17.

For in all his warres against the *Saxons*, he was most fortunate and victorious, with their great overthrowes. But others will have him so named from his *Royall Banner*, borne ever before him, wherein was portrayed a *Dragon* with a *Golden Head*; of which *Standard* since, neighbour Nations have had good experience, and in far Countryes it hath been displayed in the cause of *Christianity*, to the terror of the *Pagans*, as in *Syria* by that *invincible English King, Richard the* surnamed *Ceur-de-lion*; in *Scotland* and *Wales* by that conquering Prince *Edward the first*, and the same as yet is in field borne for an *Imperiall Standard* in our *English Campes*.

In gold and lawch, as standing luith.

KING ARTHVR. V.



5. An. Dom. 516. Matth. Westm.

Arthur the sonne of *Vter*, begotten as is said of Lady *Igren* Dutchesse of *Cornwall*, was crowned King at fifteene yeeres of age; about the yeere of *Christ* five hundred and sixteene; or as *Matthew of Westminster* hath it, five hundred and eighteene. His prosperous entrance was envyed at by *Lotho* King of the *Picts*, and by *Gowan* King of the *Scots*, who had married his owne Aunts, *Anna* and *Alda*, the two sisters of *Ambrose* and *Vter*, each of them expecting the Crowne before him, through the opinion and repute of his bastardy; especially *Lotho*, who had issue by *Anna*, *Mordrad*, and *Gawan*: the latter of which spent his life in the cause of that quarrell. His first proceedings were against the common enemy the *Saxons*, whose Captaine *Colgerne*, he chased from *Northumberland* into *Yorke*, which City likewise hee girt with a strait siege, notwithstanding *Colgerne* thence escaped into *Germany*, and of King *Cherdike* got succour for his *Saxons*, who with seven hundred saile arrived in *Scotland*. *Arthur* advertised of his great power, raised his siege, and drew towards *London*, and thence sent for ayde to his Nephew *Howell*, King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, who came himselfe in person to joyne with his Uncle.

Roule Guran.

These from *South-hampton* marched to *Lincolne*, which City *Cherdike* had strongly besieged, but was thence forced by *Arthurs* conquering sword. Twelve battles he fought against these *Saxons* (as *Ninius* recordeth) with great manhood and victory. The first was at the mouth of the River *Gleyne*: the second, third, fourth, and fifth, upon the Bankes of *Dowglasse*, in the County of *Lincoln*: the sixth upon the River *Bassus*; the seventh in the wood *Calidon*; the eighth neere to the Castle *Guynion*, the ninth in *Wales*, at the Towne *Cairlion*: the tenth at *Trachenrich*, or *Rithowode* upon the Sea side: the eleventh upon a hill named *Agned Cathergonien*; and the twelfe at *Bathe*, or *Bathen-hill*, where the *Britaines* (as *Beda* saith) gave the *Saxons* a very great overthrow; which (by *Gildas* report) happened forty foure yeeres after the *Saxons* first arrivage into *Britaine*, the yeere wherein himselfe was borne. Beda. hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Of *Arthurs* successe both at home and abroad, his great magnificence in *Court* and *Country*, his *Banners*, and foure *Golden Swords* borne before him, his *Round Tables*, and challenges of *Martiall Honour*, let *Monmouth* the Writer, *Newbery* the Register, and *Leiland* the Maintainer, bee heard for me. But certaine it is (by the report of *Malmesbury*) *that Arthur was a Prince of more worthy to be advanced by the truth of record in warrantable credit, then by fables scandalized with poeticall fictions and hyperbolicall fallhoods*. Whose Banner was so often spread for the cause of *Christianity*, and defence of his *Country*, being *the onely proppe that upheld the same*. And lamentable it is, that *the fame of this puissant Prince had not beene founded by a more certaine Trumpet*: for to say the truth of his Writer even in a word, he was well skilled in *Antiquities* of tradition, but

Marmouth. vrid N. sub. Leiland.

Will Malmesb.

Of G fres ap Arthur, or Monke of Mamouth

but as it seemeth, not any of ancient credit, so many toyes and tales he every where interlaceth out of his owne braine, wherewith he was charged while himselfe lived, insomuch as he is now ranged among those writers whom the *Roman Church* hath censured to be forbidden.

This hurt therefore those our zealous *Monkes* have done to the *Subject* whereof they wrote, that thorow an over-much conceited opinion, with the vertue and fame of the person, they have mingled such matters as may justly bee rejected, whereby their worths are not only deprived of their truly-deserved honours, but which more is, even their persons suspected to be nought else but fictions, as *Hercules* in *Ovid*, or *Hector* in *Homer*. And so hath *Geffrey* done by this most worthy *Prince Arthur*, whose warres against the *Saxons* for defence of this *Iland*, hee hath enlarged with the Conquests of other Kingdomes and Countries, wherein he never came: which hath made not onely his Acts to be doubted of, but even his person to be called in question, whether any such *Arthur* ever ruled in *Britaine*. Yet with better regard to the *Recorders* of his spreading fame, wee grant both the man, and many honourably parts in him, though not in the like manner as they have laid them downe: neither are we strayed so far from the steps of credulity, that we can beleeve no more then we see; or that seeing, be fore-stalled with a prejudicate opinion: for though we consent not to the fables of *Homer*, neither to the inventions that *Euripides* and *Sophocles* made upon the *Battles of Troy*, yet wee deny not but that there were *Warres* and *Battles* at *Troy*, wherein many martiall acts undoubtedly were performed: neither doubt we of his person, as *Seneca* seemeth to doe of *Iupiters*, but acknowledge it with reverence for truth, yet with this reservation, that all is not Gospel which is written in Greeke. And had there not been a truth of things whereupon Poets made their fables, there had beene at this day no fables of Poets in the world. And as *Geffrey* wondreth, that neither *Gildas* nor *Beda* doe mention *Arthur* nor his great deeds, so, saith *Randulphus*, may we at *Geffrey*, that hath augmented them above the pitch of credulity. But for the truth of this Prince, besides a Charter exemplified under the seale of King *Edward* the third, wherein mention is made of King *Arthur*, to have beene a great Benefactor to the *Abbey* of *Glastenbury*, who as *Iohn Rouse* reporteth, hath given *Bren-March* and other Demaines, to the value of five hundred Markes yerely, to the said Monastery. His *Armes* (being an *Escocheon*, whereon a *crosse* with the *Virgin Mary* bearing *Christ* in her armes) cut in stone, and standing over the first gate of entrance as yet, is said to be the *Armes* of that *Abbey*. And *Iosephs*, the judicious Monke of *Excester*, who followed King *Richard* the first in his warre for the Conquest of the *Holy Land*, in his poeticall verses extolleth *Arthur* with *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Hercules*; yea and *Ninius*, farre his ancient, calleth *Arthur* an *Iron Mall*, that both bruised and brake the Lions jawes asunder.

Item. Iliad. 1. 5. Euripides. Sophocles.

Seneca in his Morals.

Iohn Rouse.

The Armes of Arthur.

Iosephus Iscanus.

Arthur an Iron Mall.

Therefore of his person we make no doubt, though his acts have beene written with too lavish a pen: neither consent we with those *Historians* that naturalize him for a *Britaine*, seeing that *Ninius*, *Beda*, *Malmesbury*, and himselfe seeme to speake the contrary: for *Ambrosius* being the brother of *Vter Pendragon*, as we already from *Beda* have shewed, was a Captaine descended from the bloud of the *Romans*, whose parents saith *Ninius*, had worne the *Purple Robe*, and both of them the sonnes of *Constantine*, whose father in *Britaine* against *Honorius* the Emperour had put on the said *Robe*. And by his naturall descent from the *Romans*, *Arthur* not onely denyed them Tribute, but also threatned to have a Tribute from *Rome*: for in his Letters to that end sent unto the *Senate*, thus in an old Manuscript we find it indited: *Vnderstand among you of Rome, that I am King Arthur of Britaine, and freely it hold and shall hold; and at Rome hastily will I be, not to give you truage, but to have truage of you: for Constantine that was Helens sonne, and other of mine Ancestors, conquered Rome, and thereof were Emperours, and that they had and held I shall have yourz Goddis grace.* Whereby is manifest his bloud was from the *Romans*. Let not therefore any of our *Britaines* take exceptions against me for this; neither that I enlarge not his fame, by the enlargement of his Empire in *Russia*, *Lapland* and in making *Norway* his Chamber of *Britaine*, as if that Kingdome and Title should bee given him by the *Pope*, that indeed curs large thongs out of other mens Leather: his Conquests of thirty Kingdomes, and killing of *Denobus* the huge *Spanish Giant*, and his combat with *Frolo* Governor of *France*, and with *Lucius Iberus* the Roman Legate, whose slaine body hee sent to the *Senate* for the tribute of *Britaine* by them demanded: seeing that others before me, farre more ripe Historians, have made both doubts and objections against them. And therefore I conclude with this *Arthur*, as Saint *Augustine* with the *Athenians*, *Whose men* (saith he) *were ever greater in fame then in deeds*. And with *Ninius* will end with his saying: *Arthurus pugnabat contra illos in diebus illis, & licet multi ipso nobiliores essent, ipse tamen duodecies Dux belli fuit, Victorque bellorum: Arthur made warre against them in those dayes, and though many were more noble then he, yet was hee twelve times Generall in the Field, and returned Conquerour.* But more constant is the memory of his death, and place of his buriall, both which are reported upon warrantable credite: for *Mordred* the sonne of *Lotho*, whereof wee have spoken, affecting the Crowne, upon a pretence of right from King *Vter*, and supposed bastardize of *Arthur*, gave many attempts, through the ayde of his *Picts*, and assistance of the *Saxons*, to dispossesse him of that wherein he was seated: and lastly at * *Kambulan* or *Cambula* in *Cornwall* (saith *Leiland*) *this British Hector encountring Mordred, slew him out-right, and received of him his owne deaths wounds.* The witnesse of this Field as yet are those peeces of Armour, horse-harnesse, and other habiliments of Warre, which are daily digged up in tillage of the ground; unlesse those reliques of battle be the seales of that fight which *Marianus* writeth to have beene in this place betwixt the *Britaines* and *Saxons*, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and twenty.

August. de Ciu. Dei. lib. 19.

* Camsford.

Marianus Scotus.

If then it be true that *Arthur* heere dyed, this place we may say seemeth to be consecrated unto *Mars*: for *Tindagell* Castle, standing hard by, first brought into the world this glorious *Prince*, for one of her nine *Worthies*, and *Cambula* againe received his last bloud. But from this place hee was carried unto *Glastenbury* in *Somersetshire*, where he dyed the one and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Salvation five hundred forty and two, after he had most victoriously raigned twenty sixe yeeres. His body was there buried, and six hundred yeeres after was taken up, and found upon this occasion: When *Henry* the second, and first *Plantagenet*, had swayed the *English Scepter* to the last of his raigne, it chanced him at *Penbrooke* to heare sung to the Harpe certaine Ditties of the worthy exploits and acts of this *Arthur*, (by a *Welsh Bard*, as they were termed, whose custome was to record and sing at their Feasts the noble deeds of their Ancestors) wherein mention was made of his death, and place of buriall, designing it to be in the Church-yard of *Glastenbury*, and that betwixt two *Pyramides* therein standing: whereupon King *Henry* caused the ground to bee digged, and at seven foote depth was found a huge broad stone, wherein a leaden Crosse was fastned, and in that side that lay downeward, in rude and barbarous letters (as rudely set and contrived) this inscription written upon that side of the Lead that was towards the stone:

Vid. Cantuar. de reg. Glastonbur. Arthur the continuance of his raigne.

HIC IACET SEPVLTVS REX ARTVRIVS IN INSVLA AVALONIA.

Heere lyeth King Arthur buried in the Ile of Avalonia.

And digging nine foot deeper, his body was found in the trunke of a Tree, the bones of great bignesse, and in his scull perceived ten wounds, the last very great, and plainely seene. His Queene *Guenever*, that had beene neere Kinswoman to *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, a Lady

^ inclitus

The like treasse of haire my self saw in a coffin digged up in an old house neere Paules in London, very beautifull to view, but being touched, was nothing but dust.

Lady of passing beauty, lay likewise by him, whose tresses of haire finely platted, and in colour like the gold, seemed perfect and whole untill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are) shewed it selfe to be dust. *Giraldus Cam. rensis*, a worthy Author and an eye-witnesse, is the reporter of this finding of *Arthurs* bones. And the Crosse of Lead, with the Inscription, as it was found and taken off the stone, was kept in the Treasury or Revester of *Glastenbury* Church, saith *Stow*, till the suppression thereof in the raigne of King *Henry* the eight, whose forme and rude letters we have here expressed to thy sight.

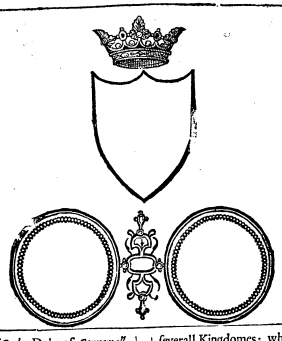
Iohn Stow.



Arthur bones inclosed.

The bones of King *Arthur*, and of Queene *Guenever* his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Bloys*, Nephew to King *Henry* the second, and Abbat of *Glastenbury*, at that present, were translated into the great new Church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid, and his *Queenes* at his feete; which noble Monument among the farall overthrowes of infinite more, was altogether raced at the dispose of some then in commission; whose too forward zeale, and over-hasty actions in these behalfes, hath left unto us a want of many truths, and cause to wish that some of their imployments had been better spent.

CONSTANTINE. 6.



An. Dom. 542.

Constantine the sonne of *Cador* Duke of *Cornewall*, and cosin to King *Arthur*, by his alliance in marriage, at his death was appointed by him to succeed in his Dominions, and most joyfully received of the Commons, as the man, in the opinion of this worthy elector and themselves, accounted most fit to defend the Land from the many oppressions of the *Saxons*, who now began to spread the wing as farre as to *Tyne* in the *North*, and to set downe the limits of their severall Kingdomes; which notwithstanding, these strangers daily enlarged upon the home-bred Inhabitants, the civill warres of the *Britaines* giving way to the same; and that not onely among themselves, but by the *Picts* also, in the behalfe of the two sonnes of *Mordred*, that sought to dispossesse him of his *Crowne*. In which quarrell many battles were fought, but with such successe to the attemptors, that these two Competitors were forced for refuge into *London* and *Winchester*

Bruts booke.

Gildas. Aluredus.

chester, where taking Sanctuary in those Churches, neere unto the Altar *Constantine* slew them: for which deed the Priest *Gyldas*, that flourished in those dayes, in his *Invective* reprehensions, thus writeth: *Britaine hath Kings, but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hath, but they are wicked, pilling and harming the innocent people; revenging and defending, but whom? Such as be guilty and robbers. They have many wives, yet break they wedlocke; many times sweering, yet perjure themselves, vowing, but for the most part with dissembling lies; warring, but still maintaining unjust and civill brayles; abroad pursuing theeues, and yet at home cherish them, even at their owne Tables, and sometimes also reward them. They give large almes indeed, yet heape they up sinnes high as the Mountaine. They sit in the Seat of sentence, yet seldome seeke the rule of right judgement, despising the humble and innocent person, and extolling up to Heaven proud and bloudy Murtherers, Theeues, and Adulterers, yea, and if he would permit them, the very enemies of God. Many they keepe in prison, and load them with irons, more to serve their owne purposes, then for any guilt in the person, taking solemne Oathes before and upon the Altars, and yet despise they the Altars, as altogether vile, and but filthy stones.*

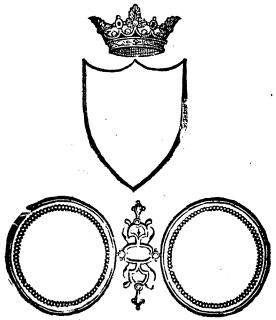
In his Booke *De excidio Britan.* Hum. Lloyd. Brit. Brit.

Of this heinous and wicked offence, Constantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the Lyoneſſe of Devon-shire is not ignorant, who this yeere, after the receiving of his dreadfull Oath, whereby he bound himselfe, that in no wise he should hurt his Subjects, (God first, and then his Oath, with the company of Saints, and his owne mother being present) did notwithstanding in the reverend laps of both his Mothers, the Church, and her by nature, and that under the vesture of an holy Abbat, devoure with sword and speare, in stead of teeth, the tender sides and the entrailes of two children of noble and Kingly race, and likewise of their two Governours, yea, and that (as I said) before the sacred Altars; the Armes of which persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselves with weapons (which few in those dayes handled more valiantly then they) but stretched forth to God, and to his Altar, in the day of Iudgement shall set up the reverend ensignes of their patience and faith at the Gates of the City of Christ, which so have covered the seate of the Celestiall Sacrifice, as it were with the red Mantle of their cluttered bloud.

These things he did not after any good deedes done by him deserving praise: for many yeeres before overcome with the often and changeable filthi's of adultery, and forsaking his lawfull wife (contrary to the Law of God) being not loosed from the snares of his former sinnes, he increaseth the new with the old. Thus farre *Gyldas*, for this time, and for the raigne of *Constantine*; whose life being no better, was cut off in battell by *Aurelius Conanus*, when he had raigned fully three yeeres, and without issue was buried at *Stonhenge*,

Constantius raigned certs uance.

AVRELIVS CONANVS. 7.



7. An. Dom. 545. Mon. westminster.

Aurelius Conanus, the Nephew of King *Authur*, after he had slaine his Cosen *Constantine* in battell, was made King over the *Britaines*, in the yeere after Christs Nativity five hundred forty five. He was of disposition free and liberal, but therewithall of a light credit, and very suspicious, cherishing them that accused others, without respect of right or wrong, putting some to death, and retaining others in perpetuall prison, among whom his own uncle was one, whose two sons he caused to be slain, no causes objected, but that these three were in truth betwixt him & the Crown: for which, and other the like impious parts, the said *Gyldas* continueth the tenor of his vehement reprehension in this manner. *And thou Lyons whelpe* (as speakes the Prophet) *Aurelius Conanus, what dost thou? art thou not swallowed up in the filthy mire of murthering thy Kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries, like to the others before mentioned, if not more deadly, as it were with the waves and surges of the drenching Sea, overwhelming thee with her unmercifull rage? Dost thou not in fasting the peace of thy Country, as a deadly Serpent, and thirsting after civill warres and spoiles (often times unjustly gotten) shut up against thy soule the Gates of celestiall peace? Thou being left alone, as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I pray thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie, and over timely deaths of thy Fathers and thy Brethren: shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy godly deserts, be reserved to live an hundred yeeres, or remaine on earth till thou be as olde as Methuselah? Nothing lesse.* And thus with exhortations for his amendment, turneth his speech to his Successor.

Gyldas.

The raigne of this King, among the uncertainties of other proceedings, is ranged by our owne Historians, as uncertainly. For some hold him to rule onely two yeeres, and no more, being then cut off by the just revenging hand of God for his sinnes: others allow three yeeres for his raigne, wherein, as they say, most viciously hee lived: and yet *Matthew of Westminster* will have him continue in government no lesse then thirty yeeres; and *John Stow* addeth three more: such extremes are wee driven unto, that have our relations onely from them.

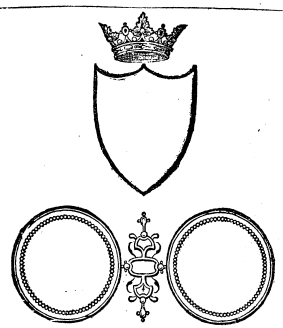
Hollinsh.

Lanquet.

Conanus the continuance of his raigne.

VOR-

VORTIPORVS. VIII.



8. An. Dom. 578.

Vortiporus after the death of *Aurelius*, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *Britaines*, which then was much scantled by the intrusions of the *Saxons*, whom in many battels (as say the British Historians) he vanquished, and valiantly defended his Land and Subjects, from the danger of them and of their Allies: notwithstanding these reported actions thus honorably atchieved, yea and his parentage with succession of government, may be both suspected and justly called in question, as by the words of *Gyldas* is manifest; who suffered not this King also to passe untouched in his *Invective* and lamentable passions. And *thou* (saith he) *Vortiporus the Tyrant of South-wales, like to the Panther in manners and wickednesse, diversly spotted, as it were with divers colours, with thy hoary head in the Throne full of deceits, crafts, & wiles, and defiled even from the lowest part of thy body to the crowne of thy head, with divers and sundry murthers committed on thine own kin, and filthy adulteries, thou proving the unworthy son of a good King, as Manasses was to Ezekias; how chanceth it that the violent streames of sinnes, which thou swallowest up like pleasant wine, or rather art swallowed up by them, (the end of thy life by little and little now drawing neere) cannot yet satisfie thee? What meanest thou, that with fornication, of all evils as it were the full heape, thine owne wife being put away, with her death, which thou wroughtest, dost oppresse thy soule with a certaine burthen that cannot be avoyded?*

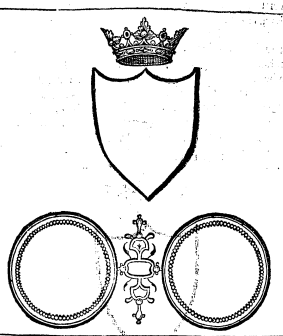
2 King. 20. 21.

Gyldas

By this testimony of *Gyldas*, this *Vortiporus* could not be the sonne of bad *Conan*, as *Geffrey Monmouth* and *Matthew of Westminster* affirme him: his Father being compared to godly *Ezechias* King of *Iudah*, and himselfe continuing his government, as is said the space of foure yeares, ended his life without issue to succeed him.

Vortiporus, the continuance of his raigne.

MALGO CANONVS IX.



9. An. Dom. 581. Mon. westminst.

Malgo Canonus, the Nephew of *Aurelius Conanus*, as some write, succeeded *Vortiporus* in the Kingdome of *Britaine*, a man of most seemely presence, but withall, charged with many unbeseeming and foule sinnes, by ancient *Gyldas*, the onely recorder of the Actions in these times, who calleth him the *Dragon of the Iles, greater in power then many, but exceeding all in mischiefe and malice; a large giver, but more lavish and prodigall in all sinnes and licentiousnesse: in Armes and dominions more strong, & greater than any other British Potentate; but stronger in the destruction of his owne soule, in committing the grand abhorred sinne of Sodomie. In his youthfull daies, with sword and fire he brought to destruction his Uncle by the Mothers side (being then King) together with many others, and after upon a shew-seeming remorse of Conscience, vowed the profession and life of a Monke; but returned shortly after to his own vomit, and became worse then he was before: for despising his first marriage, he became ensnared upon the wife of his brothers sonne, whiles he was living, and after that he had kept her a certaine time, murthered them both. In these sinnes hee continued the terme of five yeares, and dying without issue left his Crowne to another.*

Malgo Canonus the continuance of his raigne.

By these reprehensions of *Gyldas* it should rather seeme

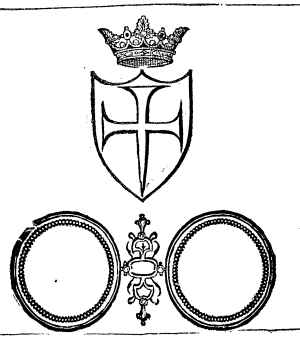
seeme that these Princes lived altogether at one and the same time, unto whom he spake personally, and mouth to mouth, which could not be, if such successions and such yeares had beene expired, as here is laid downe. And therefore not without cause some have affirmed, that these Captaines usurped authority together in divers parts of this Iland, and not successively one after another; neither indeed as Kings, but rather Tyrants, polluted with these grievous sinnes, as you have heard, and are so termed by their own Historian, that bringeth *one more to tyrannize, whom neither *Monmouth*, nor he of *Westminster* hath spoken of, which is *Cuneglasus*, whom hee calleth a *Beare, a Contemner of Religion, an Lion, tawny Butcher, a Beare, a Contemner of Religion, an Lion, tawny Butcher, a Beare, a Contemner of Religion, an Lion, tawny Butcher, a

assumed to himselfe the name of the great Prophet of God, and began to be famously published for the doctrine which he taught: the which was none other but a confused *Chaos* of all the heresies that had beene before him: for with the *Sabellians* he denied the Trinity; with the *Maniches*, he affirmed but two persons to be in the Deity; with *Eunomius*, he denied the equality of the Father and the Sonne; and with *Macedone*, taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature, He borrowed of the *Iewes* Circumcision, of the *Nicholaitans*, pluralitie of Wives; and of the *Gentiles*, much Superstition; and more to cloake his divelish invented fatasies, somewhat he tooke from the verity of the Gospel. Of these compounded, he devised a law, and wrote this his religion in the booke called his *Alcaron*; and those his Professors he named *Saracens*, from *Sara* the wife of *Abraham*.

He died of the falling sickneſſe, which long time hee had dissembled, saying forsooth after his trances, that the Angel *Gabriel* had conference with him, the brightnesse of whose glory he could not behold.

An. Dom. 625.

CADWALLADER. XIII.



13. An. Dom. 685. *Geffry Monm.*

Cadwallader, the sonne of *Cadwallo*, and last King of the *Britaines*, after the death of his Father, succeeded him in his dominions, and with great valour fought against the *Saxons*, as hee of *Monmouth* affirmeth, of whom heare him speake in his owne words. *Cadwallader* (saith he) *raigning victoriously the time of twelue yeeres, fell lastly into a dangerous sickneſſe, with despaire of recovery and unable to governe. Much debate and strife arose among his great Lords, & others of high estate, insomuch that they warred each against others to the no small annoiance and detriment of the Whole Country.* At which very time likewise, so great a dearth of corne and victuall raigned, that herbes and roots were the Commons chiefest sustenance: whose third calamity was mortality and pestilence, raigning so sore, and so suddenly, that in their eating, drinking, walking, and speaking, they were surprised with death, and in such number, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead; which miseries lasted no lesse then eleven yeres continuance, whereby the Land became desolate, and brought forth no fruit at all, insomuch that the king and many of his Nobles were driven to forsake their native Country, and to seeke releese in forraine parts. *Cadwallader* repaired to the Court of *Alan* his cosen, the King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, where he was honourably received and maintained.

But now the Angell of God sheathing his sword from slaughter, and the earth answering man again with her former abundance, those *Saxons* that were escaped, sent for more of their Nation to their further supply; who replenished the Cities, and manured the Country, at this day called *Lhyoyger*, containing all the Land that lay on the East of *Severne* and *Dee*, dispossessing the poore *Britaines* of their rightfull inheritance, and devieding their Lands unto their owne use. *Cadwallader* hearing of their daily arrivage, and their unjust intrusion upon his home-bred subjects, minded their redresse by his present returne, and to that end had wrought King *Alan*, for his succour & assistance. But see how it chanced: He being now ready to imbarke his Host, and to hoise up his sailes for *Britaine*, the silent night being much spent in praier & supplication, that God would prosper with good successe these his great affairs, behold an Angell appeared to him, or at least wise to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will that hee should undergoe that Voiage, or that the *Britaines* should rule their Land any longer; but contrariwise bade hie him to *Rome*, and of *Pope Sergius* receive the habit of Religion, wherein he should die, and rest in peace.

Wm. Newbrig. lib. 1. cap. 1.

This dreame (for I hold it no other) being told unto *Alan*, search was made into the Bookes of both the *Merlines*, as also into the speech of the *Eagle* at *Shaftesbury*, pronounced eight hundred and eighty yeeres before the birth of our Saviour Christ (if we doe beleeve these to be true) wherein it was prophecied forsooth, that the *Britaines* should lose their kingdome, and that the same should be possessed of others, untill the time that the bones of *Cadwallader* should be brought from *Rome*. By such toies and illusions in those dayes of darknesse, the ever-erring minde of men were content to be led; far not onely *Cadwallader*, a quiet and meeke-spirited man, was possessed with this conceit, that it came unto him by a divine providence, but also King *Alan* perswaded him to obey his Oracle; and thereupon preparing for his Pilgrimage, gave over his expedition for *Britaine*, and left his distressed Subjects to bee over-runne by strangers, and the Land to he enjoyed by a forraine Nation: and receiving the habit of seeming religion at the hands of *Pope Sergius*, died soone after in the yeere of our Lord six hundred eighty nine, and there was buried in *S. Peters* Church, being the last king of the *Britaines* bloud, that had held possession there-of the space of one thousand one hundred thirty and seven yeeres before the Nativity of Christ, and six hundred eighty eight yeres after his Birth, as the Chronicler of *Wales*, with other *Britaine* writers, have calculated, though (as is said) after the largest size: but howsoever, this sudden alteration was wrought in *Cadwallader*, yet whiles he continued a king in health: he raigned (saith *Geffrey*) in great magnanimitie, the terme

Cadwallader, the continuance of his raigne.

terme of three yeares, and fought many battels against the *Saxons*, whose sword was ever sheathed with victory; for *Lothaire* King of *Kent* he slew in the field, and *Edelwach* also King of the *South-Saxons*, with the ruine of his Countrey, as the *British Historians* report, and would have it.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 26.

But *Beda*, unto whom more credit is heerein to bee given, tels us, that *Lothaire* was slaine by *Edrik*, his Nephew and Successour, declaring the manner and day of his death; and that *Ceadwall*, a young man of the *West-Saxons* blood royall, being banished from among them, fell upon the *South-Saxons*, harrying the Countrey, and killing their king. But afterwards lamenting the blood he had spilt, whereat even Nature her selfe seemed to be offended, in great repentance abandoned his kingdome, and pilgrim-like went unto *Rome*, where of *Pope Sergius* he was baptized upon *Easter-Even*, the yeare from Christs Nativity six hundred eighty nine. The times thus agreeing their names so neere, their devotions alike, *Sergius*, the same ghostly father to both, their sepulchres in one

cap. 15.

Bede hist. lib. 5. cap. 7.

and the same Church, do strongly confirme that they both were the same and one only man, as we formerly have said. But with this man *Cadwallader*, wheresoever he died, lay buried the last blood of their kings, their government, and immediately the very name of *Britaine*, for many hundred yeares ensuing, as in the sequell of this History (Christ assisting) shall bee shewed.

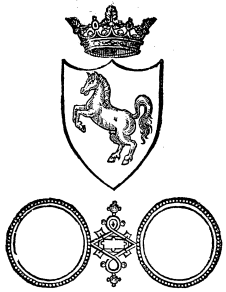
And now at last, according to my first intendment, I am come to speake of the succession of *Great Britaines Monarkes*, from which (upon the foreshewed occasions of the *Ilands* division, the *Saxons* possessions, and these *Britaine* Resisters) I have beene overlong staied, and am forced to returne againe to King *Hengist*, the first of the *Saxons*, that I may shew their succeeding succession in this *English Monarchy*, wherein of necessitie I must desire the patience of my Reader, if some things be againe touched that formerly have been taken, the matter of History so much requiring, and the Method that to my proceeding I have proposed, enforcing it.

Saxon Monarchs.

THE SAXONS SVCCESSIONS IN THE MONARCHY OF GREAT BRITAINE,

WHEREOF *HENGIST* THE FIRST KING OF KENT BECAME THE FIRST

Monarch of the Englishmen.



CHAPTER. XIII.

An. Dom. 450. *Beda. Chronicle.*

Engist, a Prince of the *English Saxons*, having the Command over certaine forces planted in the Low-Countries of *Germany*, in the yeare of *Christs Incarnation* foure hundred and fifty, transported them into *Britaine* where the fift yeare after his arrivall, he began his kingdome of *Kent*; and having surprised his son in law king *Vortigern*, slain his *Britains*, and seized into his possession the best of the Iland, he laid the foundation of a Monarchy, and deserveth to be reputed the first Monarch of the *English Nation*.

Florent. Wigorn.

(2) He (as all the *Saxon* Kings besides) doth claime his originall from Prince *Woden*, and his wife *Frea*, by *Wechta* the eldest of their seven sonnes, being the fifth in issue from them; as thus: Himselfe was the son of *Withgils*, who was the sonne of *Witha*, and he the son of *Wechta*, the eldest sonne of the *Deified Woden*.

Hengist, how long he raigned. Mary Scot. Petr. Iohan.

This Prince held the supreme Scepter of this Iland for thirty foure yeares continuance, and therein died honourably, saith *Marianus Scotus*. But *Peter de Iohan, Polydore*, and others say, that he was slaine in battell, or else taken by *Edol*, Earle of *Glocester*, and beheaded at *Conesborow*.

His Issue.

Geffrey Mon. Polydor. Virgil.

He left issue behind him two sons and one daughter, whose names were *Hatwaker, Eske*, and *Romena*.

(3) *Hatwaker* his eldest sonne, is reported by *Petrus Albinus* of *Wittenberg*, a great Genealogist and

Petrus Albinus.

Historio-

Historiographer also) to be Duke of the *Saxons* in *Germanie*, and there left to governe the people at his Fathers departure for *Britaine*. And if *Albinus* authority be sufficient, he was the Father of Duke *Hatwegat*, and Grandfather of *Hilderik* King of the *Saxons*, ancestor to the valiant *Witikindus*, the principall progenitor of the most noble Family of the Dukes of *Saxony*.

(4) *Eske*, the second sonne of King *Hengist*, came over with his Father into *Britaine*, and was his assistant in all his warres, wherein he gave worthy testimony of his valour: whose Kingdome of *Kent* after his death he enjoyed, and gave name to that Countries Inhabitants, who were from him called *Eskings*, over whow he raigned peaceably twenty yeares.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 5. *Eske, how long he raigned.*

(5) *Rowena*, the daughter of King *Hengist*, was borne in *Germany* before her Fathers departure, and afterwards sent for by him into *Britaine*, to further his designes. At whose surpassing beauty and feature *Vortigern* so viciously gazed, that he put from him his lawfull and loving wife, to enjoy the pleasures of her Paganish bed, and to the great decay of Christianity and griefe of the Nobility, he became the Kings second wife; and the principall cause of the Lands destruction. By her he had a daughter, who contrary to all lawes either of God or man, was likewise his third wife; by whom he had issue *Faustus*, that as vertuously spent the dayes of his life, as he was incestuously begot in that wicked bed.

Vltarpius.

This *Rowena*, whom some call *Ronixa*, by *Vltarpius*, is accounted the Neece, and not the daughter of *Hengist*. But seeing his opinion is grounded upon the youth of *Hengist*, as not sufficient in yeares to have a daughter so mariageable, I rather thinke and hold his bare testimony unable to turne the great streame of other Writers out of their usuall course and received channell.

ELLA THE FIRST KING OF THE SOVTH-SAXONS, AND SECOND MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Ella Monarch.

Chapter. XIV.

An. Dom. 581.

ELla a noble *Saxon*, being sent for by King *Hengist*, about the three and twentieth yeare of his raigne, brought a fresh supply of those *Germans* to the reliefe of his Countrymen, who with his forces landed at the Haven now called *Shoreham* in *Sussex*, where putting backe the inhabitants in many skirmishes, lastly chased them into a great wood then called *Andredsfege*; whence often being assailed by the sudden assaults of the *Britaines*, (wherein, as may be thought, he lost the lives of his two elder sonnes) was so hardly beset, that he sent for more aid of his *Saxons*, who came to his supply.

Mat. Westminst.

(2) His strength thus augmented, and ambition still increased, he fought three cruell and bloody battels, but the last of them most fatall against the *Britaines*, in the place then called *Macrodesburne*, and besieging the ancient and famous Citie *Andred Chester* (situated in the said great forrest, and chief defensible fortresse in all those Southerne parts) intercepted the *Britaines* that came to their reliefe, and entring the same by an assault, put to the sword all that were found within it. After which great losse, the *Britaines* fought rather to provide for their own safety by flying into desert places, then by making open resistance to procure their owne too apparant destruction.

Henry Huntingt.

An. Dom. 488.

(3) *Ella* in this state continued the time of five yeares before he assumed the name of King, or the limits of that Province assigned under his government: but then without any shew of resistance laid the foundation of this kingdom, which was the second of the *Saxons*; and as *Hengist* held *Kent*, so he had *Sussex* and *Surrey* for his possession, wherein for sixe yeares space with *Hengist*, hee lived, with such approbation of valour, as that, after his death, hee became the second *Saxon* Monarch of the *Englishmen*, in the yeere of grace 488.

Ella, how long he raigned.

(4) He is said to be the elder son of *Osa*, and *Osa* his genealogy *Florentius* of *Worcester* thus deriveth: *Osa* (saith he) was the sonne of *Etherbert*, and he the son of *Ingengeat*, who was the sonne of *Angengiat*, whose father was *Alusa*, the sonne of *Ingebrand*, the sonne of

Florent. Wigor.

of *Wegbrand*, the son of *Beorn*, the son of *Beornus*, the eldest sonne of *Brand*, the sonne of *Bealdeag*, the sixth sonne of Prince *Woden* and of Lady *Fria* his Wife.

Wil. Malmesb.

His Issue.

(5) His issue were *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Cissa*, three valiant sonnes, that came over with him, and assisted him in his enterprises for *Britaine*. From *Kymen*, the port wherein they arrived, was called *Kymenishore*; by the *Britaines*, *Cuneneshore*, which time and Seas hath both shortened, and altered: and now it is called *Shoreham*, a well knowne haven in *Sussex*. This Prince came to his grave before his Father, either by the stroke of warres, or by the course of nature, without further mention of his acts, and his succession, cut off by his death.

Florent. Wig.

(6) *Plenching* his second sonne, was borne unto him in the Low-Countries of *Germany*, and with his brethren assisted his Father to the attaining of the *South-Saxons* Crowne; but being cut off by untimely death, whether by the hand of the enemy, or by natures appointment, it is uncertaine.

(7) The youngest sonne of King *Ella*, was *Cissa*, whom death spared to live a long life; but fame as sparing to adorne it with memory of his acts: for nothing of him is left memorable, besides the building of *Chichester*. Fortune indeed set his Fathers Crowne on his head, but kept the Imperiall Diademe in her owne hand, to adorne the head of a Worthier bearer, which was *Cherdik* the *West-Saxon*, unto whom *Cissa* gave yeerely contribution, to secure him from the *Britaines*, as before and after hath beene, and shall be shewed.

(8) This *Ella* his entrance and erection of his Kingdome, for time is uncertaine; but his raigne therein, as also in his Monarchy, is more certainly knowne: for hee was King of the *South-Saxons* the space of thirtie two yeeres, and Monarch of the *English-men* sixe and twenty, dying in the yeere of Christs Incarnation five hundred and foureteene, which was the thirty sixth after his first arrivall into *Britaine*.

See Chap. 6.

CHERDIK THE FIRST, KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Cherdik.

Chapter XV.

1. An. Dom. 495.

THE *Saxons* Sunne, thus risen and high ascended upon the South of *Britaine*, began now to spread his beames towards the *West*; for *Kent* beeing quietly possessed by King *Eske*, and *South-Saxia*, with all the subdued, at the dispose of great *Ella*; *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine of the Low-Countrey *Germans*, thought himselfe as sufficient in warres, and as able for reach, to weare, and to weild a Crowne of Estate, as either of them that had so done before him: And seeing that *Britaine* was now the seed-plot for *Diademes*, set his affection and preparation that way.

Matth. Westm.

(2) He with his forces entred in the West of that Iland, where he in his first battell so danted the Inhabitants, that apparant signes of approching glory, were added to his aspiring hopes: for therein hee slew *Natanleod*, otherwise called *Nazaleod*, a mighty King of the *Britaines*, whereby an easie entrance was laid open to his desired Empire, and a more easie warre left to his posteritie. This battell chanced about the yeere of Christ Iesus five hundred and eight, and was fought in the region of *Natanleod*, (which Countrey bare the name of the King) and neere unto a brooke of water in the West of *Hampshire*, which from *Cherdik* began to be called *Cherdiks ford*, where now a Towne of the same name standeth, but by contraction and shornesse of speech, is called *Chardford*.

Henr. Hunt.

(3) *Florentius* of *Worcester*, the *Saxons* Genealogist, (as I may well terme him) bringeth this *Cherdik* (as he doth the rest of the *Saxon* Kings) from the ancient Prince *Woden*, and that in this manner: *Cherdik* (saith he) was the sonne of *Elisius*, and he the sonne of *Esla*, the sonne of *Gerisius*, the sonne of *Wigga*, the sonne of *Friaivin*, the sonne of *Freodegar*, the sonne of *Beorn*, the progenitor of *Ida* the first King of *Bernicia*, and both

Flor. Wigor.

both of them the sonnes of *Brand*, the sonne of *Bealdeag*, the fift sonne of the foresaid *Woden*.

(4) In the seventh yeere of *Ella* his Monarchie, was his arrivage, and sixe yeeres after he began his Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; seating himselfe and the foundation thereof betwixt the *Britaines* and the *South-Saxons*; for whose further securitie *Ceffa* King of that Province, gave him an yeerely contribution towards the maintenance of his charge in warre; wherin he got such reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, he assumed the Monarchy unto himselfe, and was both the first King of the *West-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Englishmen*, wherein he continued the space of twentie one yeeres, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord five hundred thirtie five, being the three and thirtieth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his first arrivall.

Cherdik, how long he raigned.

See Chap. 1.

His Issue.

(5) His Issue were two sonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolfe*: the one immediately, and the issue of the other collaterally attained to the same possession and title that *Cherdike* here first laid.

(6) *Chelwolfe* his second sonne (for of *Kenrik* the eldest we are hereafter to speake) hath little mention made of among our Writers: more then that he was the Ancestour of *Eskwin*, the eight King of the *West-Saxons*, that is to say, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenfy*; which *Kenfy* had issue the said *Eskwin*, who was the successor of King *Kenwalk*, and predecessour of King *Kentwin* in the Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Kenrik.

Chapter. XVI.

2. An. Dom. 534. *Matth. West.*

Kenrik, the eldest sonne of King *Cherdick* (as is said) being borne in *Germanie*, and following his Father into *Britaine*, valiantly served under him, as well in the Battell fought against King *Natanleod*, the first day of his arrivage, as in other Battels against the *Britaines* in other places; namely, at *Cherdikesford*, *Cherdiffley*, and in the Conquest of the *Ile of wight*. Immediately upon the death of his Father, hee succeeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the second King of the *West-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, beginning his raigne over both at one and the same time, the yeere of Christ his Nativitie five hundred thirtie foure.

(2) And enlarging his confines upon the Territories of the *Britaines*, gave them two great overthrowes; the one at *Searesbury* in *Wilt-shire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxford-shire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his Kingdome in more quiet after. Hee raigned the space of twentie sixe yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God five hundred sixtie.

An. Dom. 556. *Kenrik*, how long he raigned.

His Issue.

(3) He had issue three sonnes, *Chelwin*, *Cuthwolfe*, and *Cuth*. *Chelwin* the first, succeeded his Father in the Monarchie, and *West-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwolfe*, the second, assisted his brother in many Victories, as presently in his raigne shall follow. And *Cuth*, the third brother, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe, whereof more largely hath been spoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as hee was King onely of the *West-Saxons*.

In Chap. 15. Sect. 2.

CHEV-

Cheuline.

CHEVLINE THE THIRD KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Chapter. XVII.

An. Dom. 561. *Matth. West.*

Cheuline, the eldest sonne of King *Kenricke*, served with great commendations vnder his father, in all his warres against the *Britaines*, and is specially mentioned at the Battle of *Banbury in Oxfordshire*; and after his fathers death became the third King of the *West-Saxons*, and the fift Monarch of the *Englishmen*. He much enlarged the bounds of his Kingdome, and increased the power and glory of the *West-Saxons*.

Matth. Westm. *Gyldas.*

(2) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely subdue the *Britaines* in many Battles, but also set himselfe against his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and sought to impose the scope of his power vpon the South of the Riuer *Thames*: for entring *Kent* (whose King was then a childe, by name *Ethelbert*, the sonne of *Imerick*) at *Wiphandon* or Wilbandon in Surrey*, in a set and sore Battle, defeated all his forces; whence the yong King was chased, and two of his greatest Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were slaine, as we haue said.

Henry Hunting. *Winbledon.

(3) Not long after this victory, he set his minde to inlarge his *West-Saxons* Dominions vpon the possession of the declining *Britaines*, and to that end furnished forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. These marching to *Bedford*, gaue Battle to the *Britaines*, where they slew them downe right; and surprized foure of their chiefest Townes, at that time called *Liganburdge*, **Eglesbourgh*, *Benfington*, *and Euesham*; which they fortified, to their owne strength, and the *Britaines* great losse.

* *Aldbury.*

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about sixe yeeres after sent forth againe his *Saxons*, under the conduct of the foresaid *Cuthwin*, who encountred the *Britaines at Diorth or Deorham*, with such valour and successe, that besides great slaughter of the *British Souldiers*, three of their Kings, whose names were, *Coinmagill*, *Candidan*, *and Farinnagill*, fell in the field, with the surprizal of these three Cities, *Gloceſter*, *Bathe*, and *Cirenceſter*. *Then* (saith *Gyldas*) *euidently appeared the Lands destruction, the sins of the Britaines being the onely cause, when neither Prince nor people, priest nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord but disobediently wandred in their owne waies.*

Matth. Westm.

(5) But no greater were the sinnes of the *Britaines* then the unsatiable desires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Cheuline* about the last of *Malgoe* his government, met the *Britaines at Fetanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out, to the great slaughters of them both, and with the death of *Prince Cuth*, King *Cheulins son*: notwithstanding the victory fell on his side with great spoiles obtained, & possessions of many Prouinces, which himselfe no long time enioyed.

Tho. Elienſis.

(6) For growne proud through his many prosperous victories against his enemies, and tyrannizing over his own Subjects, the *West-Saxons*, fell into such contempt, that they ioyned with the *Britaines* for his destruction. The greatest against him, was disloyall *Chell or Cealricke*, his nephew, the sonne of *Cuthwin* his most loyall brother, whom both the Nations had elected for *Generall*. Vnder him they muster and march into *Wilshire*, and at *Wodnesbeath* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Cheuline* that thought hee led fortune in a lease, with confident boldnesse built his present proceedings upon his former successe, and in the face of his enemies displayed his colours. But the Battles joyned, and the Field goared with bloud, the day was lost upon the Kings side, and he in distresse saued himselfe by flight. Heere might you haue seene the world, as it is, unconstant and variable; for he a *Mars*, that had over-borne the *Britaines* in so many Battles, and had raised his *Saxons* unto so great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captives, and to exile himselfe from the sight of his owne Subjects, after he had gloriously raigned thirty one yeeres, or (as some will) thirty three, and as a meane

Reyn.

Ceolulfe, how long he raigned.

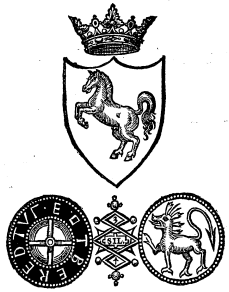
meane man, dyed in his banishment, the yeere of grace fiue hundred ninety two.

His Issue.

(7) He had issue two sonnes, which were *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*, the elder whereof had valiantly serued in his fathers warres, namely at *Wimbledone* in *Surrey*, against King *Ethelbert* and his power of *Kentishmen*, in the yeere of Christ five hundred sixety seuen; and lastly in the Battle at *Fethanleah*, where the *Britaines* receiued a great ouerthrow. Notwithstanding he valiantly fighting among the thickest of his enemies, was there slaine, in the yeere of our Lord five hundred eighty foure, being the five and twentieth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and that without issue.

(8) *Cuthwin*, the younger sonne of King *Cheuline*, survived his Father, but succeeded him not, because of his young yeeres; or else (and that rather) for the hatred that his father had purchased of his Subiects; which they repaied him in his owne expulsion, and in this his sonnes deprivation. But although the wreath of the *West-Saxons* did not adorne this *Cuthwins* head, yet shone it more bright, and stood with greater majesty upon the browes of *Ina*, the warlike and zealous King of *West-Saxons* and of *Egbert* the victorious and first sole absolute Monarch of the *English Empire*: both of them in a right line issued from this *Cuthwin*, as in the seventh Chapter we have said.

ETHELBERT THE FIFTH, AND FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF KENT, AND THE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XVIII.

An. Dom. 561.

THe flame of the *West-Saxons* for a time thus quenched; the Lampe of *Kent* began againe to shine, and to assume the Title of the Monarchy, after it had been suppressed in them through the raignes of these foure last Kings: for young *Egberts* entrance, with the great losse of his *Kentish*, overthrowne by King *Cheuline*, gave rather inducements to a tributary subiection, then any apparant hopes to purchase an Empire.

Will. Malmesb.

(2) But such is the disposé of God in his hidden Counsell, that things of least appearance many times become the greatest in substance, as in this Prince it was evidently seene, who making use of his owne youth and losse, got thereby experience, both to defense himselfe, and to provoke others, and with such victories abroad, repaired his losses at home, that as farre as *Humber* he made all subject to *Kent*.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 25.

(3) Thus growne to be the greatest of any *Saxon* before him, he sought to hold it up by forraine alliance, and to that end became suter for *Berta* a most vertuous Christian Lady, the Daughter of *Chilperike* King of *France*; unto whom by her father she was lastly granted, but with these conditions, that shee might reserve her *Christian Profession*, enjoy the presence and the instructions of *Luidhard* her learned Bishop, with the place of his Queene.

(4) These covenants concluded, and many *French* Christians attending her in his Court, by their daily service of God, and continuall practise of piety, drew many of the *English* to favour their Religion, yea and the King also to be inclined that way. And as these were working the salvation of *Kent*, behold Gods proceedings for the conversion of the rest.

(5) It chanced great *Gregory* (then Arch-deacon of *Rome*) to see certaine youths of this Iland brought to that City, to be sold for slaves: His Christian heart pitying at such heathenish tyrannizings, and beholding stedfastly their faces to bee faire and Angellike, demanded of their Merchants, from what Nation, and whence they were; who made him answer, that they were *Angles*, and by that name knowne in the *Ile* of *Britaine*. Indeed, said *Gregory*, and not without cause are they so named, their resemblance is so Angelicall, and fit it is that they be made inheritours with the Angels in heaven. But of what Province in *Britaine* are they, said *Gregory*, of *Deira*, say they, a Country in the North of that continent. Now surely, said hee, it is great pitty but that these people

Austine commeth into England.

people should be taken from *Dei ira*, *the ire of God*. And farther asking, what was the name of their king, it was answered, that he was called *Ella*; whereunto he alluding, said, that *Alleluia*, to the praise of God, in that Princes Dominions should shortly be sung.

(6) And to that purpose himselfe, being afterwards Pope, sent *Austine* a Monke, with forty others his assistants, whereof *Melitus*, *Iustus*, and *Iohn* were chiefe. These landing in *Tanet*, in the moneth of *July*, about five hundred ninety and sixe yeeres after the Incarnation of Christ, and one hundred forty and seven after the first arrivage of these *Angles* into *Britaine*, had immediately accesse unto the presence of King *Ethelbert*, but yet in the open Field; for he feared to conferre with them in any house, lest by sorcery (as he fondly surmised) he might be overcome.

Austine and his followers entertained in Canterbury.

(7) These preaching unto him the word of life, his answer was, that presently he could not consent to their Doctrine, neither rashly forsake his ancient and accustomed religion. But seeing (said he) you tell us strange things, and give us faire promises of after life, when this life shall be ended, we permit you to preach the same to our people, and to convert as many as you can; and wee our selves will minister all things bechoovefull for your livelihood. Which promise he instantly performed, and in *Canterbury* his head City, allowed them fit places for residence, and sufficient provision for their maintenance, wherein these religious men, following in some measure the examples of the Apostles, spent their times in preaching and prayers, watching for the peoples conversions, and exercising the works of true piety, as examples and motives unto others, to embrace the Gospell which they sought to plant.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 26. Beda hist. lib. 1. cap. 26.

(8) Neere unto the East part of the City stood an ancient Church, built by the *Christian Romans*, whiles they had dwelt in *Britaine*, and by them dedicated to the honour of S. *Martin*, and is so yet called. To this Church the Christian Queene *Berta*, with her Communicants the *French*, daily resorted to pray, and unto these, and in this Church, *Austine* and his fellowes began daily to preach: unto whose Sermons so many of the *Kemish* also resorted, that a plentifull harvest in short time appeared, upon the seed-plot of their tillage, for it is reported that ten thousand of the *English* people were baptized there in one day, insomuch that the King himselfe forsooke his *Heathenish Idolatrie*, and likewise received the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, unto his salvation in *Christ*: in witnesse whereof hee gave the Lordship and Royaltie of his chiefe Citie *Canterburie*, unto *Augustine* and resigned his Princely Palace therein unto him; who in the East of this Citie laid the foundation of that great, and afterwards magnificent Church, dedicated to the service and name of Christ, which at this day is the Cathedrall of that *Metropolitan See*: and *Ethelbert* to give him more roome, withdrew himselfe unto *Reculuer* in *Tanet*, where he erected a Palace for himselfe and his Successours, the compasse whereof may be traced by an old wall, whose ruines remaine there yet to this day.

Gregory lib. 7. epist. 6.

Canterbury given to Austine.

(9) *Austine* thus seated, and in the well-deserved favour of King *Ethelbert*, got one request more, which was this; that whereas by the Law of the *Twelve Tables*, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the walles of any Citie, (the practise whereof, wee daily find by monuments taken up in the fields adjoyning) it would please him to give to that use, an old Idoll-Temple standing without the East wall of the Citie, wherein the King himselfe had wontedly worshipped his Idols. This obtained, and the Church purged from that profane exercise, to the service of God, being honored with the name of S. *Pancras*, King *Ethelbert* added thereunto a most faire *Monasterie*, built upon his owne cost, and dedicated it unto the name of *Peter* and *Paul* the *Apostles*, appointing it to be the place for the *Kemish* Kings Sepulchers; and *Austine*, likewise meant it for the burials of his successours in that See. But first it became the monument of his owne name: for in regard of the Procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soone swallowed up, and the whole called onely by the name of S. *Austines*. In this place, eight Kings of *Kent* had their bodies interred, and ten of their *Archbishops* therein laid, untill that *Cuthbert* the eleventh in succession, in favour of S. *Iohn*, a new Church by him erected, procured of King *Egbert* the sonne of *Ercombert*, that the succeeding *Arch-bishops* might be buried there. This *Monastery*, as all the rest did, came to her fatall period in the daies of King *Henry* the eighth; whose uncovered walles stood so long languishing in time and stormes of weather, that it daily increased the aspect of her ruines, till now lastly they are made subject to other publike uses, and the wholetract of that most goodly foundation in the same place no where appearing. Only *Ethelberts Tower*, in memory and honour of the man, as yet hath escaped the verdict and sentence of destruction; whose beautie, though much defaced and overworne, will witnesse to succeeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all stood compleat in their glory together.

Will. Lambert. Peramb. of Kent.

The buriall of Kings and great men within the Citie.

S. Austines Monastery.

Ethelberts Tower yet standing.

(10) These his happy beginnings, *Austine* signified by Letters to *Rome*, and withall demanded directions, how he might further proceed: which questions, were they not written by the *Venerable Beda*, wee could hardly beleeve that such idle conceits should have place in the minde of a man so well and fruitfully busied: as, *Whether a woman with child might receive the Sacrament of Baptisme, or in her monethly disease, she holy Communion, or enter the Church: How long after her deliverance, she husband ought to refraine her Bed: How the Gifts that were offered on the Altar, ought to bee destributed: and unto what degree of consanguinitie Christians might marry*: and many others such like, as though himselfe had never read either *Moses* or *Paul*. But of the thing then more needfull, for that at that time it stirred most contention, it seemeth he was sufficiently instructed; neither among his other questions is it once named: and that was, the due time for the celebration of *Easter*: the difference whereof, betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Romanes* was such, that it caused Lord-like *Austin* to prophecy (if not to seeke) their destructions; and they in their opinions, to hold him no better then the Man of Sinne: for thus the Story is reported.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 2. Ranul. Cestr. Sigebertus. Galfrid. lib. 8. cap. 4.

Austines questions to the Pope.

(11) *Austine*, by the assistance and authoritie of King *Ethelbert*, called an Assembly of the *British Bishops* and *Doctours*, that had retained the Doctrine of the *Gospell* amongst them, even from the first plantation thereof by the *Apostles* themselves, to be holden in the Borders of the *Victians* and *West-Saxons*, and at the place upon that occasion called * *Austines Oake*: *thither resorted seven British Bishops, & many other well-learned men* (saith *Beda*) *out of their greatest Monastery at Bangor, where at that time Dinoth was Abbat. These men now ready to go to the foresaid Synod, came first to a certaine holy and wise man, which lived there about an Anchorets life, to aske his counsell, whether they ought at Austins preaching and exhortations, leave their Traditions or no: The Anchoret replied, If he be a man of God, follow him: But how shall we prove (said they) that he is a man of God? The Anchoret answered, Our Lord saith, Take yee on you my Yoke, and learne yee of mee, for I am milde and humble of heart: If therefore this Austine bee milde and humble of heart, it is like that himselfe beareth the Yoke of Christ, and will offer you the same to beare: But if hee be curst and proud, it is certaine that he is not of God, neither must we much esteeme his words: Then they enquired, how must we much esteeme his words: Then they enquired, how they might know whether this Austine were proud or no: they might know whether this Austine were proud or no: provide (quoth he) that he and his companie may come first to the place of the Synod or Councell-house: and if it bee so that when you approch neere him, he arise courteously, and salute you, then thinke him to be the servant of Christ, and so heare him, and obey him: but if when you approch, hee despise you, and will not vouchsafe to rise at your presence, which are the greater number, let him likewise bee despised of you. And truly (saith hee) as this Anchoret bade them, so did they: for it happened, that when they came thither, S. Austine was already set in his Chaire, and shirred not: which*

* About Southampton as is thought.

The Anchorites counsell.

which when they saw forthwith waxing wroth, they noted him of pride, and therefore endeavoured to overthwart and gainsay what soever he proposed. And so the *Synod* brake up without any thing done.

Gal. 4. 9.

Thus then we see, that the substance of doctrine was embraced in *Britaine*, before the sending of *Austin* from *Rome*: only in ceremonies they dissented, as the most of Christian Churches, without derogation to the Gospell, at this day doe. And this for the celebration of *Easter*, a matter of no great moment (if we consider our Christian liberty, and the *Apostles* feare, that the observations of dayes, moneths, times, and yeeres, turne the hearts after *beggerly rudiments*, bring againe into bondage, and make his labours for Christ in vaine) yet for the different observation only of this Feast from the *Romans*, how oft are the *Britaines* tearmed by *Beda*, a wicked people, a curfed nation, and well deserving those calamities which the Lord did inflict upon them? This controversie for *Easters* celebration, thus begun, continued no lesse then ninetie yeeres after, and was lastly concluded in manner as followeth.

Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 25.

(12) This variance (saith *Beda*) made not onely the people to doubt and feare, lest bearing the name of *Christians*, they did and had *runne in vaine*, as the Apostle speaketh, but also good *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*, and le arned Prince *Alkfryd*, with Queene *Eanfled*, were much distracted and perplexed: for by this variance (saith he) it oftentimes hapned, that in one yeere two *Easters* were kept; for the King breaking up his Fast, and solemnizing of the Feast, the Queene with Prince *Alkfrid*, continued their Fast, and kept that day their *Palme-Sunday*. To conclude which contrarietie, a *Synod* purposely was called, and the Question disputed by their best Divines. The place was *Strunfhalch* or *Whitby*, whereof *Hilda* was Abbesse. The chiefe parties for, and against the accustomed time of keeping that Feast, were King *Oswy* and Prince *Alkfrid* his sonne. The Disputers for *Oswy* and the established orders, were *Colman* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, with his *Scottish Clergie*, and *Hilda* the vertuous and learned Lady Abbesse of the place. For *Alkfrid* and the attempted alteration, were *Agilbert* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Rippon*, with *Iames* and *Romanus*, two learned men, and the reverend *Cedda* newly consecrated Bishop, appointed *Prolocutor* of the Assembly.

Strunfhalch Synode.

King Oswy perswadeth to union.

The *Convocation* set, King *Oswy* made a solemne Oration, wherein he urged a necessity, that those people which served one God, ought to celebrate his heavenly Sacraments alike, and should keepe one order and rule in the same: the truth of which service, and surcease of that long unchristian variance, for the Christian celebration and time of *Easter*, was then presently by those learned men to be handled, and by best approovements to be determined; whereunto hee requested their uttermost endeavours, and to that purpose commanded his Arch-bishop *Colman* first to speake: whereupon *Colman* with reverence stood up and said: *The Easter which I observe, I received of my fore-fathers, of whom I was consecrated, and sent hither for your Bishop. They all (you know) were godly men and observed the Feast as wee doe now; neither thinke you they kept this tradition without sure warrant from greater then themselves, which was Saint* Iohn *the Evangelist, and the Disciple whom Iesus especially loved, who in the Churches which himselfe planted, celebrated the Feast of Easter, as we doe now. Therefore knowing the man so worthy, and the manner so ancient, I hope you will all confesse, it is not safe for us now to reject it.*

Colmans speech to the Synode.

Wilfrid the declaimer, appointed to answer, stood vp and said: *The Easter which we observe, we our selves have seene observed in Rome, where the blessed Apostles* Peter *and* Paul *lived, preached, suffered, and are buried: and in our travels thorow France and Italy, either for study or upon pilgrimage, we have seene the same order kept: and we know by relation, that in Africke, Asia, Egypt and Greece, nay thorowout all nations and tongues in the world where Christ hath his Church, that this our time and order is observed. Shall then these obstinate Picts (I meane the Britaines) and these remote Ilands in the Ocean Sea, and yet not all of them neither, fondly contend in this point against the whole world?*

Wilfrides answer.

Colmans vanitie.

But heare *Colman* interrupted him, and said, *I much marvell, brother, that you tearme our doings a fond contention, seeing we have for our warrant so worthy an Apostle as Iohn was, who onely leaned upon our Lords brest, and whose life and behaviour all the world acknowledgeth to be most wise and discreet.*

Iustinian. histor. angl. lib. 14. cap. 3. Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Wilfrides moderation.

God forbid (said *Wilfrid*) *that I should accuse Iohn: but yet we know that he kept the decrees of Moses literally, and according to the Iewish Lawes; and so the rest of the Apostles were constrained in some things to doe, for the weakenesse of them who accounted it a great sin to abrogate those rites that God himselfe had instituted; and for that cause S. Paul did circumcisse Timothy, offred bloudy sacrifices in the Temple, shaved his head at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla: upon which consideration also spake Iames unto Paul, you see brother how many thousand of the Iewes have received the faith and all of those are yet zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Gospell now shining thorow the world, it is not lawfull for any Christian to be circumcised, or to offer up bloudy sacrifices of Beasts. Saint Iohn therefore, according to the custome of the law, in the fourteenth day of the first moneth, at euen began the celebration of Easters Festivitie, regardlesse whether it fell upon that Sabbath day, or any other of the weeke. But S. Peter preaching the Gospell in Rome, remembring that our Lord arose from his graue the first day after the Sabbath, giuing thereby unto us certaine assurance of our resurrection, observed the Feast of Easter according to the commandement of that Law he looked for, euen as S. Iohn did, that is to say the first Sabbath after the full Moone of the first moneth. Neither doth this new observation of the Gospell, and Apostles practise, breake the old law, but rather fulfilleth it; for the Law commandeth the Feast of Passeouer to be kept from the fourteenth day of that moneth, to the twentie and one of the same. And this hath the Nicene Councell not newly decreed, but rather confirmed (as the Ecclesiasticall History witnesseth) that this is the true observation of Easter, and of all Christians after this account is to be celebrated: and thereupon charged* Bishop Colman, *that hee neither observed it according to* Iohn *or* Peter.

Act. 15. 20.

Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 1. Ethelbert, how long hee raigned.

Exod. 12.

Rossensis lib. 3. cap. 6.

To this the Bishop replied, that Anatholius *for his holinesse much commended by the said Ecclesiasticall History, and* Columba *a Father of like sanctitie, by whom miracles were wrought, kept the Feast according as he then did, from whose imitation he durst not digresse.*

Colman.

Your Fathers, which you pretend to follow, how holy soever they be (said Wilfrid) *and what miracles soever they have wrought, yet this I answer, That in the day of iudgement many shall say unto Christ, that they have prophecied, cast out divels, and wrought miracles in his name, to whom our Lord will answer, I know you not. And if your Father* Columba (*yea and our Father, if he be the true servant of Christ*) *were holy and mighty in miracles, yet can he by no meanes be preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, unto whom our Lord said, Thou art* Peter, *and upon this rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevaile against it, and to thee will I give the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven.* Thus said, the King asked *Colman, whether our Lord indeed spake thus unto* Peter, *who answered. He did. But, Can you* (said he) *give evidence of so speciall authoritie granted to your Father Columba?* The Bishop said, *No. Then* (quoth the King) *doe you both agree confidently, that these words were principally spoken unto* Peter, *and that unto him the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven were given?* They all answered, *It is most certaine.* Whereupon the King concluded this great controversie, and said, *Then will not I gainesay such a Porter as this is, but as farre as I know, and am able, I will covet in all points to obey his ordinance, lest perhaps when I come to the Doores of Heaven, I find none to open unto mee, having his displeasure, which is so cleerely prooved to beare the keyes thereof.*

Wilfrid.

Matth. 7.

Matth. 16.

And with this so simple a collection of King *Oswy*, concluded this long and great contention for the celebration of *Easter*; which here, as borne before the time,

The Synode mildly dismissed by King Oswy.

time, I have inserted, to continue the narration thereof together, and to avoyde repetition of the same things, which I seeke purposely to shunne; and so returne againe to King *Ethelbert*.

(13) Who now became an instrument himselfe for the conversion of his Nation the *Saxons*. The first fruits of his intendments were wrought upon *Sebert* King of the *East-Angles*, his own sisters son, whom not only he converted to Christianity, but therein assisted him in the building of the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul* for *Miletus* his Bishop; as also the Church of S. *Peters* on the West of *London* then called *Thorny*, with the assistance of a *London* Citizen, as some have said; and himselfe at *Rochester* built the Cathedrall Church there which he dedicated to the *Apostle* Saint *Andrew*.

Will. Malmesb. viri. Thorne. Register. Cant.

(14) This noble King having a care for them that should come after, brought the lawes of his Country into their owne mother tongue, and left nothing unattempted, that might advance the glorious *Gospell of Christ*, or with honour adorne his owne temporall raigne; and is worthily an example to all succeeding Princes, in all true piety and heroicall parts of a true Christian King. Hee dyed the foure and twentieth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord God fixe hundred and sixteene, being the one and twentieth of his *Christianity*, the three and twentieth of his *Monarchy*, and the fifty fixth of his Kingdome of *Kent*, and was buried at *Canterbury* in the Church of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*, afterwards called Saint *Augustines*, in the Chappell of Saint *Martines*.

His Wives.

(15) His first wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperike* King of *France*, as we have said, who was the sonne of King *Clotayre*, the sonne of *Clodone*, the first Christian King of that Country. She deceased before the King her husband, and was buried in the Church of Saint *Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*, within the Chappell of Saint *Martines* there.

(16) He had a second wife, whose name is not recorded by any Writer, being, as is thought, unworthy of remembrance, because of the unnaturall contract and marriage of *Edbald* her husbands sonne; a sinne that both law and religion doe condemne: and lastly by her converted husband was forsaken, without either note of her issue or death.

His issue.

(17) The issue of King *Ethelbert* by Queene *Berta* were *Edbald* that succeeded him in the *Kentish* Kingdome, *Ethelburge*, and *Edburge* two daughters.

(18) *Ethelburge*, the elder, was a Lady of passing beauty and piety, and surnamed *Tace*, who greatly desired and intended a Virgins life; had not her mind beene averted by the intreaty of her brother, the perswasions of Bishop *Paulinus*, and the earnest suit of *Edwine* King of *Northumberland*; unto which *Edwine* lastly, she yeelded to be his wife in hope of his conversion, and unto whom for that purpose Pope *Boniface* directed his Epistle from *Rome*, earnestly exhorting her that she should be diligent for the Kings salvation: which shee soone after effected, to the great joy of both the Kings; and to the comfort and increase of the Christian Faith thorowout *England*.

Who sent her a looking glasse and an ivory combe, which my kinde hearts keene, in Sir Thomas Cottons Library. Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 11. Copgrave.

(19) *Edberge*, another daughter of King *Ethelbert*, is warranted onely by the testimony of *Iohn Capgrave*, a great traveller in Antiquities, and should bee most skilfull in his owne County of *Kent*: notwithstanding he is to be suspected in this, that he reporteth her to have beene a Nunne in the Monastery of *Minster* in the Ile of *Thanet*, under the Foundresse *Domneve*: being the daughter of her nephew *Ermenred*, and that shee succeeded in the government of that house, *Mildred* the daughter of the same *Domneve*. Hee reporteth also, that shee dyed and was buried in the same place, and that her body was from thence mooved by the Arch-bishop *Lankfranke*, to his Church of Saint *George* in *Canterbury*.

Redwald.

REDVWALD THE THIRD KING OF THE EAST-ANGLES, AND SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS WIFE AND ISSVE.

Monarch. 7.

Chapter. XIX.

An. Dom. 616.

REdwald, the sonne of *Titulus*, and the third King of the *East-Angles*, had beene a substiture under *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and served a long time as his Vice-roy over all his dominions, whereby he gained such reputation to himselfe, that either for his owne valour, or *Edbalds* vices, (contemned of the people for his Apostacy, frenzie, and incestuous bed) became the seventh Monarch of the *Englishmen*, about the yeere of Christ his Incarnation fixe hundred and sixteene; and the twentieth and fourth of his raigne over the *East-Angles*.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 15.

(2) This *Redwald* (saith *Beda*) had received Baptisme

tisme in *Kent*, but in vaine, and without zeale, as it afterwards appeared. For returning to his Country, through the perswasion of his wife, returned againe to his superstitious worships; and in one and the same Temple, after the manner of the old *Samaritans*, he erected an Altar for the service of Christ, and another little Altar for burnt sacrifices to his Idols, which stood unto the dayes of *Beda* himselfe. But as she was an instigator to the *East-Saxons* idolatry, so was shee an instrument to the further spreading of Christianity (though not by her so purposely meant) in saving the life of *Edwine*, who afterwards planted the Gospell in all the North parts of the *Saxons* government.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 12.

(3) For *Edwine* flying the rage of wilde *Ethelfrid* was succoured and maintained in the Court of King *Redwald*, unto whom lastly, the *Northumbrian* sent both threats and rewards to have him delivered, or else put to death; And surely had not the Queene stood for his life, he had presently dyed. But she alleaging the law of humanity, the trust of a friend, and the royalty of a Prince, prevailed so farre, that *Redwald* did not onely save his life, but assisted him in battell, to the destruction of his enemy, and the gaining of *Northumberlands* Crowne. For upon the returne of *Ethelfrids* Ambassadors, unto whom *Redwald* yeelded not to make *Edwin* away, he with his power of the *East-Angles* were at their backes, and as an enemy made towards *Northumberland*.

Hen. Hunting.

(4) *Ethelfrid*, whose rage and revenge was ready enough upon lesser occasions, with such sudden preparation as he was able to make, met the *East-Angles* almost at *Notingham*, and that not farre from the River *Idle*, where boldly encountring his unequall enemy, at the first brunt slew *Reynhere* the sonne of King *Redwald*, to the great griefe of him and his whole host: whose revenge was so violently sought, that they slew King *Ethelfrid* in the Field, and established *Edwine* to be his successor; which was the second yeere of *Redwalds* Monarchy.

Redwald his raigne.

(5) Wherein he raigned the space of eight yeeres, and was King of the *East-Angels* thirty one, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord five hundred twenty foure: the eighth of *Edbalds* King of *Kent*: the thirteenth of *Kingils* King of the *West-Saxons*, and the eighth of *Edwines* over the *Northumbrians*.

His Wife.

(6) The Queene and wife of this King is not named by any of our Writers, but that shee had beene the widow of a Nobleman, descended of the Blood-Royall of that Nation, and was a Lady that had deserved great commendations for the many vertues by her possessed, had she beene a Christian, or a favorer of the Christians, or had not beene an utter enemy to their faith. Notwithstanding by her first husband she had a sonne named *Sigebert*, that prooved a learned and most religious Prince, of whom we have spoken in Chapter eleventh.

Sigeberts good parts.

His issue.

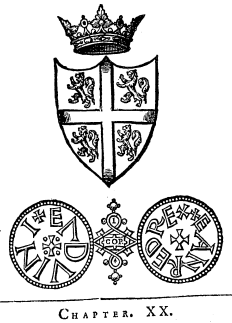
(7) His issue were *Reynhere* and *Erpenwald*. *Reynhere* the elder, and Prince of the *East-Angles*, was slaine as you have heard, in the battell that his father fought against wilde *Ethelfrid*, neere unto the River *Idle* in *Notingham-shire*.

(8) *Erpenwald* the younger succeeded his Father *Redwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and was the fourth King of that Nation, whose life and raigne we have declared in the succession of the *East-Angles* Kings: Chapter 11.

Edwine.

EDVVINE THE GREAT KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE EIGHTH SOLE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch. 8.



CHAPTER. XX.

An. Dom. 617.

HIS Monarchy reverted from the *East-Angles*, was next possessed by the *Northumbrians*, wherein it was held with greater glory and for longer time. For *Edwine* in King *Redwalds* life growne very porent, after his death became his successor in the *English* Monarchy, and most worthily did adorne the same by his civill justice and divine piety: his exile, visions and obtaining of the *Northumbrian* Crowne, wee have already spoken of, and therefore without repetition will passe on to his end.

An. Dom. 624.

(2) This *Edwine*, the sonne of great *Ella*, the first King of the *Deirians*, was the third King that possessed the same, the eighth of *Bernicia*, the second (and first Christian) King of all *Northumberland*, at the age of twenty three, and in the yeere of Christ five hundred twenty foure, succeeded *Redwald* in the Monarchy, and was the greatest King of all the *Saxons*. For as

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 9.

Invites.

(as *Beda* saith) he subdued all the coasts of *Britannie* wheresoever any Provinces were inhabited, either of *English* or of *Saxons*, which thing no King of the *English* before him had done; and added the * *Mevian Iles* unto his owne Dominions. The first of them, next the South, was large and fertile, affording roome for nine hundred and sixty of his English Families, and the second, gave ground for above three hundred Tenements.

(3) His first wife dead, he became suiter for Lady *Ethelburg*, daughter to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, deceased, and sister to King *Eadbald* then raigning: whose Ambassadours were answered, that it was not lawfull for a *Christian Virgin* to be espoused to a *Pagan*, lest the faith and sacraments of the heavenly King should be prophaned, by the matching with that earthly King, which knew not to worship God aright. But *Edwine* hearing of the Virgins beauty, integrity, and piety, was so farre overgone and ravished there with, that hee condescended, shee should with her place retain her owne *Christian Profession*, and enjoy the *Christian* society both of her men, women, Priests, and servants her attendants in his Court. These covenants thus confirmed, the Lady accompanied with *Paulinus* the reverend Bishop, and an honourable retinue, all of them Christians, came to King *Edwins* Court, and with great joy shee was espoused his Queene.

Ethelburgs good parts.

(4) The greatnesse and prosperity of this *Northumbrian* King, was both feared by them afarre of, that raigned in no such power; and beheld by his neerer, with an envious eye: among whom, *Quinchelme* that raigned with his father king over the *West-Saxons*, sent a desperate Ruffin, whose name was *Eumerus*, to murder *Edwin* the next yeere of his mariage; who repairing to his Court, then resident neere the river *Dervent*, at the place that is now called *Aldelbyin York-shire*, with a double-edged short sword, the point thereof poisoned, and girt under his garment, upon *Easter* day entred his Palace, as an Ambassadour, and with crafty speech retained the Kings attention; where getting occasion, and stepping forward, drew his sword which one *Lilla* the Kings servant saw, and wanting wherewith to defend his person, put himselfe betwixt the King and the sword: and thorow his body so slaine, the same was so farre runne, that it dangerously wounded the King with his point, and with the same sword, before he could be beaten down by the *Guard*, slew another servant, whose name was *Fordhere*.

A conspiracie.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 9.

(5) It happened the same night, being holy *Easter* Sunday, that Queene *Ethelburg* was brought to bed of a daughter: for joy whereof, and her safe deliverance, the King gave thankes to his *Idols*; which Bishop *Paulinus*, then in presence, greatly reproved, and bade *Edwin* to give thankes unto *God*, from whom onely all goodnesse came; and spake unto him of our new birth in Christ: at which conference the King much rejoyced, and promised that he would ever after renounce all his *Idols*, and worship that *Christ* whom he preached, if that God should grant him his life, and give him victory against that King, who had sent this Manqueller to murder him; in pledge wherof, he assigned *Paulinus* to baptize his daughter, the which upon *Whitsunday* following was performed in her, by the name of *Eanfled*, and shee the first of the *Northumbrians* which received that *sacrament*. At which time also, *Edwin* being recovered of his wound so lately received, made an Army, and marched forth against the *West-Saxons*, and in battle either slew or took prisoners all them that had conspired his death, and as a victorious Conquerour, returned to his Country.

Bishop Paulinus.

(6) Where continuing in honour, and his affaires prospering to his owne desires, hee was yet in minde distracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed, what God hee should worship. The sanctity of the *Christians* moved him much, and the ancient customes of his Ancestours sate neere his heart, betwixt whom there seemed a combare in himselfe. And in these dumps sitting one day alone, it chanced Bishop *Paulinus* to have accesse to his presence, where laying his right hand upon the Kings head, demanded of him whether he remembred that signe: whereat *Edwine* suddenly fell at the Bishops feete, whom he in haste, and reverence presently lifted up, and spake unto him as followeth,

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 12.

Behold O Soveraigne (saith he) *by the bountifull hand and power of our God, you have escaped the hand and vengeance of our most hated and dreadfull enemie. Behold also, by his most gracious goodnesse you have obtained the soveraignitie of raigne and rule of the Kingdome. Remember now therefore the third thing which you promised him, and deferre no longer to accomplish the same by receiving his faith, and keeping his commandements, who hath delivered you from your temporall adversities, and exalted you to the honour and Majesty of a King; whose holy will if you hereafter obey, and doe his precept which by me is preached; he will also deliver you from the perpetuall torment of Hell, and make you partaker with him in his heavenly Kingdome, and eternall blisse without end.*

Edwine put in mind of covenants.

(7) Whereupon conferring with his *Councell*, whereof Bishop *Coyfi* was chiefe, for the establishing of the Gospell, and suppressing of Idolatry, it was then concluded, that the true God, should be worshipped, and the Altars of their wonted Idols overthrowne: unto which action, *Coyfi* himselfe became the first man; for mounted on horseback in armour, with a girt sword and launce in his hand (all which was unlawfull for those *Idoll-Priests*) hee brake downe their Altars, Grates, and Barres, and destroyed their Temples wheresoever he came. Some ruines thereof not farre from *Yorke*, and neere unto the rising of the river *Dervent*, remained to be seen unto the dayes of *Beda*, and were then called *Gotmond in Goham*. And king *Edwine* himselfe, with all his Nobility, and most of the Commons, received the laver of *Baptisme*, the eleventh yeere of his raigne, and of Christs Incarnation six hundred twenty and seven, one hundred and eighty yeeres after the *Saxons* entrance into *Britaine*. The king was baptized the twelfth of *Aprill*, being Easter Sunday, at the City *Yorke*, in the Church of *S. Peters*, built then of wood, and was the Kings Oratory, which hee enclosed about with a deepe foundation; and laying the walles with squared stones, made it the Cathedrall Church, and his Converter *Paulinus* Archbishop of that See.

Idolatry abolished.

Beda hist. Angl. cap. 13.

(8) The Gospell thus established in these Northerne parts, spread dayly further into other Provinces, and with such fruit of peace, that in the raigne of this *Edwin*, and thorowout his Dominions, a weake woman with her new-borne babe might have passed without dammage or danger over all the Iland, and from Sea to Sea. And so much did the King tender his Subjects, that his provident care was extended to the way-faring passengers, for whose use he enclosed cleere Springs by the wayes, where hee set great Basons of brasse, both to wash and to bathe in; which either for love or displeasure of the King, no man defaced, or tooke away.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 16.

And so great was the magnificence of this *Monarch*, that (according to *Bede*) he had not onely in Battle the Ensignes proper to battle borne before him, but in his ordinary passages thorow the Cities and Townes of his kingdome, there alwayes went an Ensigne-bearer before him. And (to use the words of the same venerable Author) he went not in any street, in which there was not borne before him that kinde of Standard which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and the *English Thuuf*. That the *Romans* had such an Ensigne, as that which here is called *Tufa*, *Iustus Lipsius* in his Commentary upon that place in *Vegetius* (*lib. 3. cap. 5.*) where the several Ensignes of the *Romans* are recited, doth declare, correcting that place of *Vegetius* (where *Rufa* was set for *Tufa*) by this place of *Bede*, and in the same shewing, that *Tufa* signified a *Ball*, as the *Ball* (by the example of *Augustus*) was an Ensigne of Monarchy, or absolute government.

Tufa the Romans Ensigne.

Iustus Lipsius.

(9) But as the Sunne hath his rising, his height

and descent, and ever is mooving in the circle of his celestiall orbe; so man hath his birth time, being, and death, and till then is never stayed in one certaine point. Kings therefore, as they be Kings, are the Suns of their owne world, but as they are men, goe to the shadow of death: neither can the strength of their power, wisedome, or policie, love or applause, stay the hand heere that holds the fatall knife; for so in this King *Edwin* we see, raised above hope to attaine the Diademe, and ruling in love and liking of the people, was notwithstanding cut off in the midst of his glory and greatnesse of strength.

(10) For *Penda* the stout *Mercian*, envying his peace, and *Cadwallo* the *Britaine* seeking to receive his right, joyned in friendship against this Monarch, and met him as his enemies in the face of a Field. The plaine was large, and called *Hethfield*, where after a long and most bloudy fight, King *Edwin* was slaine, with Prince *Offryd* his sonne, his whole Host put to the sword, or most shamefull flight: which chanced the fourth of October, the yeere of our Lord six hundred thirty three, the sixth of his *Christianity*, the seventh of his *Monarchie*, the seventeenth of his Kingdome, and the forty seventh of his age. His body was lastly buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Streanshall*, after called *Whitby*.

His Wives.

(11) *Quenburge* his first wife, was the daughter (as *Beda* reporteth) of *Ceorle*, but as all other Writers doe witnesse, of *Crida* King of *Mercia*. Shee was married unto him in the beginning of his youth, (and when he was dispossessed of his inheritace by the Tyrant *Ethelfrid*, as we have said:) with him shee lived a great part of his banishment, and in the Court of *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles* deceased, before her husband could recover his Kingdome.

(12) *Ethelburg*, surnamed * *Tate*, was the second wife of this King, who was the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and of Queene *Berta* his first wife. Shee was married unto him in the yeere of grace six hundred twenty five, being the second of his Monarchy, and was his wife six yeeres: but surviving him, and desirous to live a religious life, shee returning into *Kent*, withdrew her selfe to a place not farre from the Sea-side, called *Lymming*, wherein shee built a Monasterie of Nunnes, and among them spent the rest of her life, and therein dyed, and was there buried.

*Tate.

His Issue.

(13) *Offride*, the eldest sonne of King *Edwine*, and *Quenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile among the *East-Angles*. He was baptized in the faith of Christ by *Paulinus* the first Archbishop of *Yorke*, and was slaine the same day, and in the same battell that his father was. He had a sonne named *Iffy*, who was baptized also by Bishop *Paulinus*; and after the death of his Father and grand-father, for feare of King *Oswald*, was conveied over the Seas into *France*, to bee brought up in the Court of King *Dagobert*, where he died in his childhood, and was there honorably interred.

(14) *Edfrid*, the second sonne of King *Edwine* and Lady *Quenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile, and baptized with his brother *Offrid* by Bishop *Paulinus*. After his Fathers death, for feare of King *Oswald*, hee fled to *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who was his fathers enemy, and his mothers kinsman; by whom he was most treacherously murthered. He left behind him a son named *Heverik*, who by his wife *Berefwith* had issue the vertuous and learned Lady *Hilda*, Abbesse of *Streanshalch*: and Queene *Herefwith* her sister, the wife of *Ethelhere* King of the *East-Angles*, brother to King *Anna*, by whom shee had issue *Aldwolfe*, *Elfwold*, and *Botorne*, all three succeeding Kings of the *East-Angles*.

(15) *Ethelme*, the third sonne of King *Edwine*, and the first of Queen *Ethelburg* his second wife, was baptized by *Paulinus* Archbishop of *Yorke*, not long after his father and halfe-brethren; but in short space after his baptisme, hee departed out of this world, even in the time that he wore the white attire, which in those dayes was used to be worne by such as were newly baptized for a certaine space. His body was with all due funerall obsequies enterred within the new Church of *S. Peter* in the City of *Yorke*, which his father had newly founded.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 25.

(16) *Vsfrea*, the fourth sonne of King *Edwine*, and the second of Queene *Ethelburg* his second wife, and the last and youngest of them both, bare the name of his fathers great grand-father. He was baptized by the Archbishop *Paulinus* at one time with his brother *Ethelme*. After the decease of his father, his mother carried him with her out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and from thence conveyed him over into *France* with his Nephew *Iffy*, the sonne of his halfe-brother *Offrid*; where hee continued in the custody of King *Dagobert*, being his mothers cosen-german, and there died, and was honourably buried in a Church with his Nephew *Iffy*.

(17) *Eanfled*, the elder daughter of King *Edwine*, and Queene *Ethelburg* his second wife, was borne the night following that her father was wounded, and baptized, he being a Pagan. Shee was afterwards married to *Osiw*, the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as shall bee said,

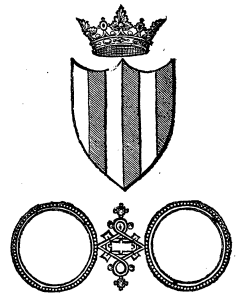
(18) *Etheldrid* the younger daughter, the fifth and last-borne child to King *Edwine* and of Queene *Ethelburg*, was baptized at the same time with *Ethelme* and *Vsfrea* her brethren. Shee died an infant, the white clothing not yet put off, which in those dayes was usually worne at certaine set times after their baptisme, and was with like funerall obsequies buried by her brother *Ethelme* in the Church of *S. Peters* in *Yorke*, which their father had founded.

OSVVALD

Oswald.

OSVVALD KING OF NORTHVM. BERLAND, AND THE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch. 9.



Chapter. XXI.

An. Dom. 634.

Oswald, the fifth King of *Deira*, the ninth of *Bernicia*, the third of *Northumberland*, and the ninth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, began his raigne the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred thirty foure. He with *Eanfrith* and his brethren, the sons of wilde *Ethelfrid*, and *Osrik* also the sonne of *Alfrid* King *Edwins* Vncle, had been secured in *Scotland* all his raigne, and among the *Red-shankes* lived as banished men, where they learned the true Religion of Christ, and had received the Laver of Baptisme. But *Edwines* death wrought and divulged, these Princes returne to their Countrey, and the *Northumbrians* kingdome lately governed by one, was now again divided into two severall parts, as formerly it had been.

(2) Over the *Deirans*, *Osrik* was made King, and of *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid* assumed the raigne; but Gods justice overtaking their Apostasie, neither their lives nor this division lasted long. For *Cadwall* the Christian, and *Penda* the Pagan, were Gods instruments, that with worthy vengeance in the first yeere of their government, cut the one off in battell, and the other by trechery; whose names and yeares of raigne as unhappy and of hatefull remembrance, the Historiographers of those times would have to be omitted.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 1.

(3) But Religious *Oswald* lamenting the effusion of his Countries blood, long slept not their revenge. For assembling his power, which was not great, hee suddenly and unlooked for came upon *Cadwallo*, and at *Denisburne* pitched downe his Tents. The place (saith *Beda*) stood neere the wall that *Severus* had made, where *Oswald* for the first day forbare to fight, and among his Souldiers for his Standard set up a Crosse of wood; whereunto it seeming those dawning daies of Christianity were overmuch addicted. Here *Oswald* making first intercession to God, the onely preserver of his people, in sore and long fight obtained great victory, with the slaughter of *Cadwallo*, and of all his British Armies: which so accomplished many have attributed the vertue of the Crosse to be no small cause of that great overthrow. This Crosse so set up, was the first we reade of to have beene erected in *England*, and the first Altar unto Christ among the *Bernicians*, whose pretended miraculous cures, not onely in the wood it selfe, but in the mosse, and in the earth wherein it was set, let *Beda* report them, and *Stapleton* urge them, yet for my part, I hold them no Article of our Canonicall Creed.

(4) But certaine it is, that *Oswald* himselfe was a most religious and godly King, and tooke such care for the conversion and salvation of his subjects, that he sent into *Scotland* for *Aidan* a Christian Bishop, to instruct his *Northumbrians* in the Gospell of Truth. And whereas the Bishop could not speake their language, the King himselfe was Interpreter at his Sermons, and gave his words in the *English*, as he spake and pronounced them in the *Scotish*; which language *Oswald* perfectly spake, having beene there the space of eighteene yeares.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Thus the godly proceedings of the King and Bishop, produced such increase of their heavenly seed, that it is reported in seven dayes space, fifteene thousand Christians received Baptisme; & many of them forsaking the pleasures of the world, to have betooke themselves to a religious and solitary life.

(5) At this time the whole Iland flourished both with peace and plenty, and acknowledged their subjection unto King *Oswald*. For, as *Beda* reporteth, *all the Nations of Britanie which spake foure languages, that is to say, Britaines, Redshankes, Scots, and Englishmen, became subject unto him, and yet being advanced to so royall Majestie, he was notwithstanding (which is marvellous to be reported) lowly to all, gracious to the poore, & bountifull to Strangers.* The fruits whereof the same Authour

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 3.

exemplifieth in his bounty and humility towards the poore; who upon a ſolemne feaſt day, ſeeing many ſuch at his gates, ſent thē both the delicares for himſelfe prepared, and commanded the charger of ſilver to be broken, and divided among them. The Biſhop much rejoycing thereat, tooke the king by the right hand, and prayed that it might never conſume; as after his death it did not, but was ſhrined in ſilver, & in S. *Peters* Church at *Bebba*, now *Bamborough*, with worthy honour was worſhipped for the many miracles and cures that it did, as likewiſe the earth wherein his bloud was ſpilt: with ſuch laviſh enlargements have thoſe Writers enterlined the deeds of Gods Saints.

(6) But as the Sunne hath his ſhadow, and the higheſt Tide her ebbe, ſo *Oſwald*, how holy ſoever, or government how good, had emulators that fought his life, and his Countries ruine: for wicked *Penda* the *Pagan Mercian*, envying the greatneſſe that King *Oſwald* bare, raiſed warres againſt him, and at a place then called *Maſerfield* in *Shropſhire*, in a bloudy and ſore fought battell ſlew him; and not therewith ſatiſfied, in barbarous and brutiſh immanity, did teare him in peeces, the firſt day of *Auguſt*, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, ſixe hundred forty two, being the ninth of his raigne, and the thirty eight of his age; whereupon the ſaid place of his death is called to this day *Oſwaldſtree*, a faire Market Towne in the ſame Countie.

Beda hiſt. lib. 3. cap. 9.

(7) The diſmembred limmes of his body were firſt buried in the *Monaſtery* of *Bradney* in *Lincolnſhire* ſhrined, with his ſtandard of Gold and Purple ereCted over his Tombe, at the induſtry and coſt of his Neece *Oſfryd*, Queene of *Mercia*, wife unto King *Ethelred*, and daughter to *Oſwin* that ſucceeded him. From hence his bones were afterwards removed to *Glocester*; and there in the North ſide of the upper end of the Quire in the Cathedrall Church, continueth a faire Monument of him, with a Chappell ſet betwixt two pillars in the ſame Church.

His Wife.

(8) *Kineburg*, a moſt vertuous Lady, and daughter to *Kingils* the ſixth, and firſt Chriſtian King of the *Weſſe-Saxons*, was the wife of king *Oſwald*, who becam both his father and ſonne in the day of her marriage, by receiving him at the Font, and her of his gift. Shee was maried unto him in the ſecond yeere of his raigne which was the yeere of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred thirty ſixe: no other relation made of her beſides the birth of his ſonne.

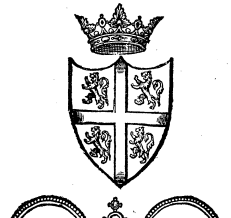
His Iſſue.

(9) *Ethelwald*, the onely child of King *Oſwald* and Queene *Kineburg* his wife, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred thirty ſeven, being the third yeere of his Fathers raigne; and but an infant at his Fathers death, was diſappointed of the *Northumbrian Kingdome* by the frand of his Vncle *Oſwin*. Notwithſtanding at the death of *Oſwin* king of *Deira*, and then not aboue ſixteene yeeres of age, he tooke the ſame kingdome, and by ſtrong hand held it againſt his Vncle ſo long as he lived, and at his death left it to his coſen *Alkefryd*, the naturall ſonne of king *Oſwine*, as in the ninth Chapter we have ſaid.



Oſwy. Monarch. 10.

OSVVY KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE TENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND CHILDREN.



CHAPTER. XXII.

An. Dom. 643.

OSwye, the illegitimate ſonne of King *Ethelfrid*, ſurnamed the *Wilde*, at thirty yeares of age ſucceeded *Oſwald*, his halfe brother in his Dominions, being the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and the tenth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, entring his government the thirteene day of *October*, and yeare of Chriſts Incarnation ſix hundred forty three. His firſt beginnings were much diſquieted by *Penda* the *Heathen Mercian*, by the rebellions of his baſe ſonne *Alkfrid*, and by the oppoſitions of *Ethelwald* the ſon of King *Oſwald*: but none fate more neere his heart then *Oſwin* King of the *Deirians* did, whoſe vertuous government did much darken (as he tooke it) his own and the free love of thoſe ſubjects, daily to leſſen his, among the *Bernicians*.

(2) This *Oſwin* of *Deira* was the ſonne of *Oſricke* (who

Oſwyes King of the Deirians.

(who did apoſtate from his faith) and ruling his Province in plenty and peace the ſpace of ſeven yeeres, was there fore greatly envied by *Oſwy* of *Bernicia*, and laſtly by him provoked into the field. Their hoſts met at the place then called *Willfares Downe*, ten miles Weſt from the village *Cataracton*, and there attended to hazard the day. But *Oſwyn* finding himſelfe too weake for *Oſwy*, alſo to ſave the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, forſooke the field; accompanied onely with one Souldier, and went to Earle *Hunwald* his friend as he thought to ſecure his life. But contrary to truſt, he delivered him unto King *Oſwy*, who cruelly ſlew him the twentieth of *Auguſt*, and ninth of his raigne, at the place called *Ingethling*; where afterwards for ſatisfaction of ſo hainous an offence, a Monaſtery was built, as upon like occaſions, many the like foundations were laid; whoſe ſtones were thus joyned with the morter of blood.

Cataractons Village.

Oſwyn betrayed into the hands of Oſwy.

(3) Of this *Oſwine* thus ſtaine, *Beda* reporteth the Story following: *Among his other rare vertues and princely qualities, his humilitie* (ſaith he) *and paſſing lowlineſſe excelled:* whereof he thus exemplifieth: *The reverend Chriſtian Biſhop Aidan uſing much travel to preach the Goſpell throughout that Province, the king for his more eaſe, gave him a goodly Gelding with rich and coſtly trapping. It chanced one day, as the Biſhop rode to miniſter the word of Life, that a poore man demanded his almes: but he not having wherewith to releeve him, and pitying his diſtreſſed poore eſtate, preſently alighted, and gave unto him his horſe and rich furniture; whereof when the king heard he blamed him, and ſaid, What meant you (my Lord) to give to the begger the horſe that I gave you, with my ſaddle and trapping? Had we horſes of no lower price to geve away to the poore? To whom the Biſhop replied, And is the brood of a beaſt dearer in your ſight, then this poore man the child of God? The King thus reproved, turned himſelfe towards the fire, and there ſadly pauſing upon this anſwer, preſently gave from him his ſword, and in haſt fell at the Biſhops feet, deſiring forgiveneſſe in that hee had ſaid. The Biſhop much aſtonied, ſuddenly lift up the King, deſiring him to ſit to meat, and to be merry; which the King immediately did, but the Biſhop contrariwiſe began to be penſive and ſad, and the teares to tricle downe his cheekes: in which paſſion he burſt out into theſe ſpeeches, and ſaid to his Chaplaine in an unknowne tongue, I never till this time have ſeene an humble King; and ſurely his life cannot be long, for this people are not worthy to have ſuch a Prince to governe them.* But to returne to King *Oſwy*.

Beda lib. 3. cap. 14. Henry Hunt. hiſt. ang. lib. 3.

His gift to the Biſhop Aidan.

The Biſhops Almes to a poore man.

King Oſwines repentance.

(4) Who after many cruell invaſions of the mercileſſe *Penda*, was forced to ſue unto him for peace, with proffers of infinite treaſure and moſt precious jewels: all which rejected, and the Tyrant comming on, *Oſwy* fought his help by ſupplication to God, and with ſuch zeale as then was embraced, vowed his young daughter *Elfled* to be conſecrated in perpetuall virginitie unto him, with twelve Farmes and their lands, to the erection and maintenance of a Monaſtery and thereupon prepared himſelfe for battell.

Biſhop Aidans teſtimony of King Oſwynes pietie.

Beda hiſt. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Elfled the daughter of King Oſwy.

(5) The Army of this enemy is reported to redouble thirty times his, all well appointed and old tried ſouldiers: againſt whom *Oſwy* with his ſonne *Alkfryd* boldly marched, *Egfryd* his other ſonne then being an hoſtage with *Cimwiſe* an under Queene of the *Mercians*: *Ethelwald* the ſonne of *Oſwald*, tooke part with *Penda*, againſt his naturall Vncle and native Country: ſo did *Ethelherd* the brother of Chriſtian *Anna*, ſide with this heathenish and cruell *Mercian*.

Alkfrid.

Ethelwald.

(6) The battle was fought neere to the river *Iuwet*, which at that time did overflow his bankes, ſo that the victory falling with *Oſwy*, more were drowned in the water then ſlaine with the ſword. And heerein proud *Penda* loſt his life, with the diſcomfiture of all his *Mercian* power. Herein alſo died *Ethelherd*, the *Eaſt-Angles* king, who was the onely motive to theſe warres: and *Ethelwald* eſcaping, returned with diſhonour unto *Deira*. The day was thus gotten the thirteenth yeere of King *Oſwy* his raigne: the fifteenth day of November, and yeere of Chriſt his Incarnation ſixe hundred fiftie five.

Iuwet River.

Penda ſlaine.

Ethelwald his eſcape.

(7) After this victory, King *Oſwy* raigned in great glory the ſpace of three yeeres, ſubduing the *Mercians*, the South parts of the *Engliſh*, and made the northerne parts likewiſe ſubject unto him. He it was that decided the long controverſie for Eaſters celebration, and founded the Cathedrall Church in *Lichfield* for a Biſhops See: which City, with all *South-Mercia*, divided from the North by the River *Trent*, hē gave to *Peada* the ſonne of King *Penda*, in marriage with his naturall daughter *Alhfled*, on condition that he ſhould becomea Chriſtian: all which the ſaid King not long enjoyed, but was murdered in his owne Court. And the *Mercians* erecting *Vulfhere* his brother and their native country-man for King, rebelled againſt *Oſwy*, and freed themſelves from a forraine ſubjection.

Liber Lichfeild. Thos Walſingham.

Oſwy his gift of Peada.

(8) Thus *Oſwy* ending in troubles as he began in warres, raigned the ſpace of twenty eight-yeeres, and then falling ſicke, was ſo ſtrucke with remorſe for the death of good *Oſwyn*, and bloud which he had ſpilt, that hee vowed a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which reputed holy place hee purpoſed to have ended his life, and to have left his bones therein to reſt: but his diſeaſe increaſing, and that purpoſe failing, he left this life the fifteenth of February, and his body to remaine in Saint *Peters* Church at *Streanſhalch*, the yeere after Chriſts birth ſixe hundred ſeventy, and of his owne age fifty eight.

Beda hiſt. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 5. The time of King Oſwys raigne.

His iſſue.

(9) *Eanfled*, the wife of this King, was the daughter of *Edwin* and *Ethelburg*, king and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was the firſt Chriſtian that was baptized in that Province, and after her fathers death, was brought up in *Kent* under her mother, and thence marryed unto this *Oſwy*, whom ſhe ſurvived, and ſpent the whole time of her widowhood in the Monaſtery of *Streanſhalch*, wher her daughter *Elfred* was *Abbeſſe* wherein ſhe deceaſed, and was interred in the Church of Saint *Peter*, hard by her husband King *Edwin*.

Eanfled.

Streanſhalch Monaſtery.

His iſſue.

(10) *Egfrid*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Oſwy* and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace ſixe hundred forty five. In the twenty fifth yeere of his age, and of our Lord God ſixe hundred ſeventy one, he ſucceeded his father in *Northumberland*, but not in his *Monarchy*: of whoſe life and acts, we have further ſpoken in the ſeventh Chapter of this Booke.

Egfrid the eldeſt ſonne.

(11) *Elfwine*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Oſwy*, and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred ſixty one, being the ninth of his fathers raigne; at whoſe death he was nine yeeres old: and in the ninth yeere after, being the eighteenth of his age, was unfortunately ſlaine in a battle, wherein he ſerved his brother *Egfrid*; againſt *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, to the great griefe of them both, the yeere of Chriſts nativity ſixe hundred ſeventy nine.

Elfwine the ſecond ſonne. Beda hiſt. angl. lib. 4. cap. 21.

(12) *Elfled*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Oſwy* and Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the month of *September* the yeere of grace ſixe hundred fifty foure, being the twelfth of her fathers raigne; and when ſhe was a yeere old, by him committed to the cuſtody and bringing up of the renowned Lady *Hilda*, Abbeſſe of *Streanſhall*, wherein ſhe lived under her a Nun, and after her death did ſucceed her, Abbeſſe of the places; and in great holineſſe and vertue, ſpent therein her life, unto the day of her death, which was the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus ſeven hundred fourteene, and of her owne age ſixty, being interred in Saint *Peters* Church within the ſame Monaſtery.

Elfled his eldeſt daughter.

Hilda Abbeſſe of Streanſhall.

(13) *Offrid*, the younger daughter of King *Oſwy* and Queene *Eanfled*, was borne about the fifteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord ſixe hundred ſixty ſeven: and when ſhe was fully twenty, was married unto *Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, the twelfth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*, in the third yeere of his raigne, and of Chriſt ſixe hundred ſeventy ſeven.

Offrid the youngeſt daughter.

(14) *Alkfrid*, the naturall ſonne of King *Oſwy*, did firſt ſucceed his coſen *Ethelwald*, ſonne of king *Oſwald* his

Alkfrids naturall ſonne.

his Vncle in part of *Northumberland*, and held the same by force against his father, which afterwards he peaceably enjoyed both with him and his halfe-brother king *Egfrid*, whom lastly hee succeeded in the whole kingdome of *Northumberland*, as more at large in the same story we have declared.

Chap. 7. sect. 12.

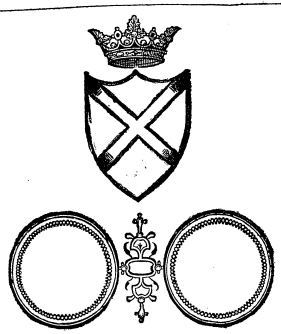
(15) *Alfled*, the naturall daughter of king *Oswy*, borne before her father was King, in the yeare of Christs incarnation six hundred fifty three, and the eleventh of her fathers raigne, was married to *Peada* the sonne of *Penda*, that by his permission had governed some part of *Mercia*, and by *Oswy* his gift with this *Alfled*, all the South of that Province. She was his Wife three yeeres, and is of most Writers taxed to be the actor of his death, being wickedly murthered in the feast of *Easter*, the yeare of grace six hundred fifty six, and the fourteenth of her Fathers raigne.

Alfled a naturall daughter.

VVLFHERE THE SIXTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE ELEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 11.

Wulfere.



Chaper. XXIII.

An. Dom. 659.

Vlfhere, after the murther of his brother *Peada*, advanced against *Oswy*, by the Nobles of *Mercia*, maintained his Title and Kingdome for twelve yeares continuance, in the life time of that *Northumbrian* Monarch; and after his death transslated the Monarchy from those Kings and Countrey, unto himselfe and his Successors the *Mercians*, who now wore the Imperiall Diademe without reverse ment, untill such time as great *Egbert* set it upon the *West-Saxons* head.

Beda hist. Ang. lib 3. cap. 24.

Vulfheres parentage.

He was the second sonne of *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, and the sixth in succession of that kingdome, beginning his raigne the yeare of Christ his Incarnation, six hundred fifty nine; and twelve yeares after, *Anno* six hundred seventy one, entred his Monarchy over the *Englishmen*, and was in number accounted the eleventh Monarch of the Land.

Linsey Iland lost to the *Northumbrians.*

(2) His entrance was with trouble against the *Northumbrians*; for unto *Egfrid* their King he had lost the possession of the Iland *Linsey*, and was expelled the Country: yet three yeares after he fought against the *West-Saxons* with better successe, whose Country with Conquest he passed thorow, and wan from *Renwald* their King the *Ile of Wight*, which Iland he gave to *Edilwach* the *South-Saxons* king, whom he received his God-son at the Font-stone: notwithstanding himselfe had lately beene a prophane Idolater, and most cruell Heathen, as by the Liger booke of the Monastery of *Peterborow* appeareth, whose story is this.

Beda hist. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 12.

Bede hist. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 12.

Lib. Peterbur.

(3) King *Vulfhere* of *Mercia* remaining at his Castell in *Vlferchester* in *Staffordshire*, and understanding that *Vulfald* and *Rufin* his two sonnes, under pretence and colour of hunting, usually resorted to reverend *Chad*, to be instructed in the fruitfull faith of Christ Iesus, and had at his hands received the Sacrament of Baptisme, at the perswasion of one *Werebod*; suddenly followed, and finding them in the Oratory of that holy man, in devout contemplations, slew them there with his owne hands. Whose martyred bodies Queene *Ermenhild* their Mother caused to be buried in a Sepulchre of stone, and thereupon a faire Church to be erected, which by reason of the many stones thither brought for that foundation, was ever after called *Stones*, and now is a Market Towne in the same County. But King *Vulfhere* repenting this his most unhumane murther, became himselfe a Christian, and destroyed all those Temples wherein his heathen gods had beene worshipped; converting them all into Christian Churches, and Religious Monasteries: and to redeeme so hainous an offence, undertook the finishing of * *Medilham*, his brothers foundation, enriching it largely with lands and possessions

Vulfheres repentance

* Now Peterborow.

ons: notwithstanding hee is taxed by *William* of *Malmesbury*, with the foule sinne of Symony, for selling unto *Wyna* the Bishoprick of *Landon*.

Will. Malmesb.

(4) He raigned King over the *Mercians*, the space of seventeen yeares, and Monarch of the *English* fully foure; leaving his life in the yeare of our Lord six hundred seventy foure, and his body to be buried in the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which was of his brothers and his owne foundation.

The time of his raigne.

His Wife.

(5) *Ermenhild*, the Wife of King *Vulfhere*, was the daughter of *Ercombert*, the seventh King of *Kent*, and sister to *Egbert* and *Lothair*, both kings of that Countie. Her mother was *Sexburg*, daughter to *Anna*, the seventh King of the *East-Angles*, whose sisters were many and most of them Saints. She was married unto him in the third yeare of his raigne, and was his wife fourteene yeares. After his decease, she went to her mother Queene *Sexburg*, being then Abbesse of *Ely*, where she continued all the rest of her life, and therein deceased and was buried.

Ermenhilds parentage.

Queene Sexburg Abbesse of Ely.

His Issue.

(6) *Kenred* the son of King *Vulfhere*, and of Queen *Ermenhild*, being the heire apparant of his fathers possessions, was under age at his fathers decease, and by reason of his minority, was withheld from the government, which *Ethelred* his Vncle entred into, without any contradiction of this *Kenred*, who held himselfe contented to live a private life: notwithstanding *Ethelred* taking the habit of a Monke, left the Crowne to him who was the right heire.

Kenred the first Saint.

(7) *Vulfald* a yong Gentleman converted to the Christian faith by Bishop *Chad*, and martyred for profession of the same by King *Vulfhere*, is reported by *Walter* of *Wittlesey*, a Monke of *Peterborow*, in a Register which he wrote of that Monastery, to be the supposed son of King *Vulfhere* himselfe, and to have been slaine by him in his extreme fury before he was a Christian, or could endure to heare of the Christian faith. He was buried in *Stone*, as we have said, where his father built a Colledge of Canons regular, which was afterwards called S. *Vulfalds*.

Vulfald a supposed sonne. *Walter Wittlesey.*

S. *Vulfald's* Colledge. *Rufine* another supposed son.

(8) *Rufine* the fellow Martyr of *Vulfald*, is by the same Writer reported to be his brother, and the supposed sonne also of *Vulfhere* the King. Their murthers, as he saith, was committed the ninth Calends of *August*, which is with us the foure and twenty of *July*, upon which day there was yeerely celebrated a solemne memoriall of their martyrdomes in the same place, where they both suffered, and where their Monument was then remaining.

(9) *Wereburg*, the daughter of King *Vulfhere*, and Queene *Ermenhild*, was in her childhood committed to the bringing up of Queene *Etheldred* her mothers Aunt, in the Monastery of *Ely*, by whose perswasion she professed virginity, and returning to her Country in the raigne of King *Ethelred* her Vncle, was by him made overseer of all the Monasteries within his dominions. She deceased at *Trickingham* (now called *Trentham*) in *Stafford-shire*, and was buried at *Hanbery*. Her body was afterwards removed to *Westchester*, where *Leafrick* the Earle built in honour of her a goodly Church called S. *Wereburgs*, which to this day is the Cathedrall Church of that Citie.

Wereburg the daughter of *Vulfhere.*

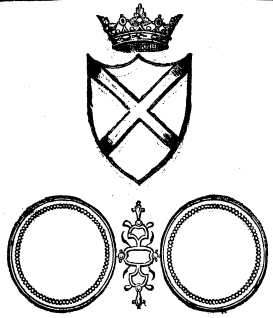
Buried at *Hanbery.*

S. *Wereburgs* Church.

ETHELRED THE SEVENTH KING OF MERCIA, AND TVVELFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 12.

Ethelred.



Chapter. XXIV.

An. Dom. 675.

Thelred, the third sonne of King *Penda*, and brother to the last deceased *Vulfhere*, in the yeare of Christ Iesus, six hundred seventy five, began his raign in the Kingdome of *Mercia*, and at the same time in the Monarchy of *Englishmen*, being the seventh King among them that wore their Diademe, and the twelfth person that bare the Imperiall Title of the whole: his claime was not immediately, nor next in succession, young *Kenred* his Nephew standing betwixt him and the Crowne. But himselfe a childe in yeares, and in them also addicted unto a private life, hee gave his Vncle way to undergoe so publike a charge which without contradiction was likewise accepted of the subjects.

Circumstances belonging to the beginning of his raigne.

(2) His entrance was with warre against the *Kentish Lothair*, whose country he destroyed, sparing neither Churches nor religious Abbeyes, the king not daring

Henry Hunting.

Putta Bishop of Rochester.

daring to appeare in field. The City *Rochester* felt also his fury, whose Citizens were ransacked, their buildings ruinated, and their Bishop *Putta* driven to such distresse, that he became a Teacher of good Arts and Musicke in *Mercia*, to maintaine his aged yeares from the necessity of perishing want. These stirres (saith *Beda*) happened in the yeare of grace sixe hundred seventy seven; and the next following, so fearefull a Blazing starre, as was wonderfull to behold, first discovered in the moneth of *August*, and for three moneths together continued rising in the morning, and giving forth a blazing pile very high, and of a glittering flame.

Beda hist. Angl. lib.4. cap.12. A blazing star.

(3) The remorse of conscience for the bloud hee had spilt, and the places of Oratories by him destroyed, (besides his intrusions into another mans right) strucke so deepe a wound into King *Ethelreds* breast, that ever hee bethought him what recompence to make. First therefore building a goodly Monastery at *Bradney*, and that most fruitfully seated in the County of *Lincolne*, he thought that not sufficient to wash away the scarres of his foule offence, but determined in himselfe to forsake the world, for that was the terme attributed to the monasticall life: wherein notwithstanding, in lesse cares they lived, and their persons more safe from all dangers attempted, then when they publikely administred their lawes to their people, the just executions whereof, many times breed the overthrow of their Princes, and their Persons never secure amids their owne guards.

The occasion of founding Bradney Monastery.

(4) But such was the Religion then taught, and the godly zeale of the good Princes then raigning, whose workes have manifested their vertues to posterities, and faith in Christ the salvation of their soules, in whose Paradise we leave them, and *Ethelred* to his devout intent: who to reconcile himselfe first unto *Kenred*, bequeathed the Crowne solely to him, although he had a sonne capable thereof: then putting on the habit of religion, became himselfe a Monke, in his owne Monastery of *Bradney*, where he lived a regular life the terme of twelve yeares, and therein lastly dyed Abbat of the place, when he had raigned thirty yeares, the yeare of Christs Nativity, seven hundred sixteene.

Ethelred resigneth his crown.

The continuance of his raigne.

His Wife.

(5) *Offryd*, the wife of king *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Offwy*, and of Lady *Eanfled*, King and Queene of *Northumberland*. She was married unto him in the yeare of our Lord six hundred seventy seven, being the third of his raigne, and the twentieth of her age. Shee was his wife twentie yeares: and passing thorow the North parts of *Mercia*, she was set upon and slaine by the people of that Countrey, in revenge of the death of *Peada* their King, who had long before been murthered by *Alkefled* his wife, and her halfe sister, as we have said. And thus strangely came she to her untimely end, the yeare of our Lord six hundred ninety seven, the twenty three yeare of her husbands raigne and the fortieth of her owne age.

Kenred and Offa nine Monkes.

Offryd. Beda hist. Angl. lib.3.cap.11.

Beda in Epit. Offryd slaine.

His Issue.

(6) *Chelred* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Offryd* his wife, was the heire apparant of his fathers Kingdome, and of sufficient yeares to have succeeded him, when he entred into religion; but that it was his fathers will to make amends to his Nephew *Kenred*, sonne to his elder brother King *Vulfhere*, that now he might raigne before his sonne, who should have raigned before himselfe.

Chelred the fift sonne.

Kenred.

KENRED THE EIGHTH KING OF MERCIA, AND THE THIRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 13.



Chapter. XXV.

An. Dom. 704.

Kenred the sonne of *Vulfhere*, because of his minority at his Fathers death was defeated of his Dominions by his Vncle *Ethelred*, and untill it pleased him to resigne his Crowne, lived a private life, whereunto by nature, he was most inclined. But king *Ethelred* for the wrongs to him committed, and to redeeme the time that in warre and wealth he had prodigally spent, yeelded the Scepter unto his hand, and set his seeming over-heavie-Crown upon his nephew *Kenreds* head: who began his raigne at one and the same time, both over the *Mercians* and Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, which was the yeare of Christs Incarnation seven hundred and foure.

The matters pertaining to his entrance into government.

(2) He is in account the eighth king of that Province, and the thirteenth Monarch since *Hengist* the *Saxon*. He raigned in peace the space of foure yeares; then weary of government, and desirous of contemplation

The continuance of his raigne.

Beda hist. Angl. lib.5. cap.30.

plation, after the example of his uncle, fought a more private and religious life: and thereupon appointing *Chelred* his cosen germane to rule in his place, in the fifth yeere of his raigne, abandoned his Kingdome and Country, and departed for *Rome*, accompanied with *Offa* King of the *East-Saxons*, and with *Edwine* Bishop of *Worcester*: where both these Kings were made Monkes in the time of Pope *Constantine* the first, *Iustinian* the younger then wearing the Imperiall Crowne; and in a Monastery at that City, both these penitent Converts in the Coules and Orders of Monkes, spent the rest of their lives, and therein died and were enterred; this *Mercian* King *Kenred* having had neither wife nor child, that I can reade of.

(3) It is not greatly to be wondred at, that in these times to much overshadowed with superstitious zeale the holy acts of men, which no doubt were many, and the habit of Monks, the accounted holy garments of humility, were so meritoriously respected and reputed in the devout hearts of the religious, when by the Clergy (that are accounted the light of the world) in a Councell at *Rome* held under this Pope *Constantine* the first, it was decreed and commanded, that carved Images, which neither had action, nor life, nor could save themselves from the stroke of destruction, should bee made to the memoriall of Saints, and should be set up in Churches, with respective adoration, contrary to Gods most expresse Commandement, and condemned for idolatry by the warrant of sacred Scripture.

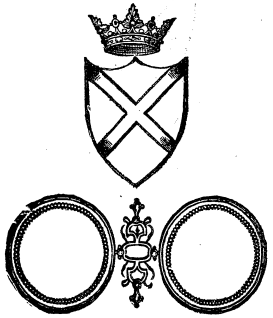
Bale.

Levit. 26.

Chelred.

CHELRED THE NINTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FOVRTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND SVCCESSION.

Monarch 14.



Chapter XXVI.

An. Dom. 709.

Chelred, the sonne of King *Ethelred*, was of sufficient yeeres, and well able to rule, at such time as his father resigned his Scepter unto his Nephew *Kenred*, had not the pricke of that sinne touched his conscience, which made him to bestow the same as hee did notwithstanding the Crowne being too waighty for *Kenred* to weare, he as freely againe gave it the sonne, as he had received it of the father before, and relinquished his claime and title thereto.

The appendances of his ingresse into government.

(2) *Chelred* thus advanced before he it expected, entred his government with great applause of the people, in whose opinions he was held the onely man worthy of their Crowne. Over the *Mercians* he raigned the ninth King, and of the *English* Monarchs the fourteenth in number, beginning them both in the yeere of grace seven hundred and nine, and the fourth of *Iustinian* the youngers, Empire.

Chelred worthy of the Crowne.

(3) His quietnesse was disturbed by *Ina* the *West-Saxons*, whose fame for his fortunes began then to grow great. For *Kent* he had forced to buy their peace with money; the *Britaines* subdued, and had inlarged his confines upon them; and now against *Chelred* this new risen Monarch, hee meant to try chance, whose glory he looked at with an over envious eye.

Ina King of the west-Saxons.

(4) His greatnesse likewise *Chelred* suspected, who either to himselfe or successors, (by the foundation which he laid) would divert the monarchy from him and his *Mercians*, and entaile it to himselfe and his *West-Saxons*. Hereupon great preparation was made, and each set forward with all their powers, the one to attaine, and the other to keepe, the glory and title that both of them so much thirsted after. At *Wodensbury* they met, and with undaunted spirits so fought, that the victory was doubtfull, for neither could say the battell was his, or that hee departed with the lesser losse.

Chelred provoketh against Ina.

Mem. Monast.

Matth. Westm.

(5) These emulations were followed betwixt these two Princes the space of seven yeeres, and longer had done, if *Chelred* had lived, or *Ina* not beene strucke with remorse of conscience for his overmuch spilling of bloud. Of this *Chelred*, some Authors have censured, that he was marvellous in prowesse, and valiant of courage, but his Countrey miserable

John Stow.

The continuance of his raigne.

by his untimely death, whose raigne lasted onely seven yeeres: and death in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred and sixteene, dying without issue: his body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Litchfield*.

Chelred his wife Marries Scot.

His Wife.

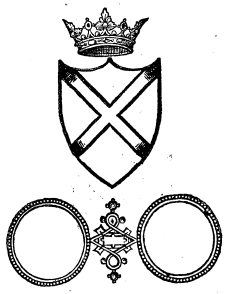
(6) *Wereburg* the wife of King *Chelred*, is mentioned by *Marianus* the learned *Scottish* Historian, and by *Florence of Worcester*, who was the follower and continuer of his History, whom we may reasonably credit in this matter, being not incredible, although shee must of necessity be thought to have beene married very young, or to have dyed very old, because they record her decease to have beene in the yeere of Christ seven hundred eighty one: which was almost sixty yeeres after the death of her husband, and towards the end of the long reigne of King *Offa*.

Sheldyed fifty yeeres after her husband.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIFTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.

Monarch. 15.



Chapter. XXVII.

An. Dom. 716.

Ethelbald, Cosen German once remooved unto King *Chelred*, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *Mercians*, whereof he was the tenth in number, and of the Monarchs over the *Englishmen* the fifteenth in account. He began his raigne in the yeere of grace seven hundred sixteene, and with great honour raigned over all the Kings on the South side of *Humber*, whose time for the most part was spent in peace; yet some warres hee had, and those with variable events.

Nunnes infamy

The precedence of his raignes initium.

(2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne; hee besieged *Sommerton*, and wonne it: and invading *Northumberland*, without proffer of resistance, returned with great riches by spoile. The *Britaines* also that were joyned confederates with the *West-Saxons*, hee molested and overcame, for whose revenge King *Cuthred* gave him battell neere unto *Burford*, where he with his *Mercians* received the foile, the thirty seventh yeere of his raigne.

Cromland ab bey built.

Read. Cosern.

Henr. Hunt. lib. 4.

Chron. of Holl.

(3) The sinnes of these times both in Prince and people, were many and great, as by the Epistles of *Boniface* an *Englishman*, and Archbishop of *Mentz*, is most manifest, wherein he reprooved his adulterous life, who refraining to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia* did the like, *And their women, as well Nunnes as others made away their children borne out of wedlocke, whereby the graves were filled with dead bodies, as hell it selfe with damned soules* And in another Epistle sent unto *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hee complaineth of the *English Nunnes*, *who wandring in pilgrimage under show of devotion, liv'ed in pleasure and wanton fornication through all the Cities of* France *and of* Lombardy.

The continuance of his raigne.

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in repentance King *Ethelbald* released and priviledged the Church from all tributes to himselfe; and built the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, for the pacifying of Gods wrath towards his sinnes, when also it was enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergy, in a Convocation held in his Province, *that the sacred Scriptures should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Prayer and Creed, taught in the English tongue*: which accordingly was done. Which Councell was held in the thirty yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation seven hundred forty eight.

Wil. Malmsb.

(5) Finally, when he had ruled forty two yeeres, fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a war not prudently undertaken, hee was traiterously slaine by his owne subjects, at the procurement of *Bernred* a Leader of them, who affecting the kingdome by this stratageme of Treason sought to attaine it, but was himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this ill sowne seed could take any roote. The place of this *Great Ethelbalds* death, was *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth* in the Country of *Warwicke*; and of his buriall, *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, where with honourable obsequies he was enterred, the yeere of Christs humanity seven hundred fifty eight, having had neither Wife nor Children.

Ro. Mai.

OFFA

Fennes, where in contemplation and solitary sadnesse shee spent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that suppose her to bee the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, who was the Founder of *Winchcombe* Monastery, and the successor of his brother *Egfryd*.

John Capgrave.

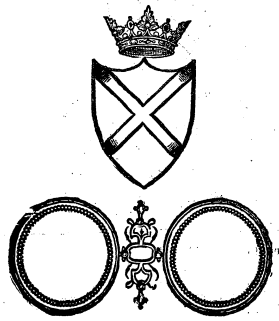
(19) *Fremund* by *John Capgrave* is supposed to be the sonne of King *Offa*, who, as he saith, was traiterously murdered by one *Osmy* that envyed his victories which he got against the *Danes*: his body was buried at *Offchurch* in *Warwickshire*, and neere unto the Palace of *Offa*, alleadging for his Author one *Burghard*, who was at his death, and wrote his life; yet some there are that thinke him mistaken, for that hee calleth him a young man, when as those warres hapned an hundred yeeres after King *Offa* his life.

Burghard.

Egfrid.

EGFRID THE TVVELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SEVENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 17.



Chapter XXIX.

An. Dom. 794.

Egfrid, the sonne of *Offa*, succeeded his father in the *Mercians* Kingdome, whereof he was the twelfth in number, and in the Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, ranked in account the seventeenth. Hee began his reigne the thirteenth day of *July*, in the yeere of Christ his Nativitie, seven hundred ninetie foure. The first businesse that hee undertooke after hee came to the Crowne, was the restauration of ancient priviledges to the Church, which his father had deprived them of; and great hope was conceived of his further proceedings, had not God cut him off by untimely death. For having reigned onely foure moneths, hee gave place unto nature, and to another successour, the sins of the people deserving no such Prince: for whose cause, and his fathers great bloodthed, as *Alcuine* wrote to *Ofbertus*, he was taken away so soone.

Egfrid restoreth ancient priviledges.

Bleon Abbas.

(2) He deceased the seventh day of *December*, and in the first of his reigne, having had neither Wife nor Issue that we reade of. His body with all due obsequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of S. *Albans*, of his fathers foundation.

The continuance of his raigne.

by his untimely death, whose raigne lasted onely seven yeeres: and death in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred and sixteene, dying without issue: his body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Litchfield*.

His Wife.

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The continuance of his raigne.

Chelred his wife *Marian. Scot.*

Sheldyed sixty yeeres after her husband.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIFTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.

Monarch. 15.

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The precedents of his raignes *Iohan.*

(2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne; hee besieged *Sommerton*, and wonne it: and invading *Northumberland*, without proffer of resistance, returned with great riches by spoile. The *Britaines* also that were joyned confederates with the *West-Saxons*, hee molested and overcame, for whose revenge King *Cuthred* gave him battell neere unto *Burford*, where he with his *Mercians* received the foile, the thirty seventh yeere of his raigne.

Rond. Cestern.

Henr. Hunt. lib. 4.

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(3) The sinnes of these times both in Prince and people, were many and great, as by the Epistles of *Boniface* an *Englishman*, and Archbishop of *Mentz*, is most manifest, wherein he reprooved his adulterous life, who refraining to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia* did the like, *And their women, as well Nunnes as others made away their children borne out of wedlocke, whereby the graves were filled with dead bodies, as hell it selfe with damned soules* And in another Epistle sent unto *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hee complaineth of the *English Nunnes, who wandring in pilgrimage under shew of devotion, liv'd in pleasure and wanton fornications through all the Cities of* France *and of* Lombardy.

Re. Mai.

Nunnes living

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in repentance King *Ethelbald* released and priviledged the Church from all tributes to himselfe; and built the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, for the pacifying of Gods wrath towards his sinnes, when also it was enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergy, in a Convocation held in his Province, *that the sacred Scriptures should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Prayer and Creed, taught in the English tongue*: which accordingly was done. Which Councell was held in the thirty yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation seven hundred forty eight.

Crowland he bey built.

(5) Finally, when he had ruled forty two yeeres, fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a war not prudently undertaken, hee was traiterously slaine by his owne subjects, at the procurement of *Bernred* a Leader of them, who affecting the kingdome by this stratageme of Treason sought to attaine it, but was himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this ill sowne seed could take any roote. The place of this *Great Ethelbalds* death, was *Secondone*, three miles from *Tamworth* in the Country of *Warwicke*, and of his buriall, *Repton* in *Darby-shire*, where with honourable obsequies he was enterred, the yeere of Christs humanity seven hundred fifty eight, having had neither Wife nor Children.

The continuance of his raigne.

vril. Malmsb.

OFFA

Fennes; where in contemplation and solitary sadnesse shee spent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that suppose her to bee the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, who was the Founder of *Winchcombe* Monastery, and the successor of his brother *Egfryd*.

Iohn Capgraue.

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EGFRID THE TVVELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SEVENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch 17.

Chapter XXIX.

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Restitueth ancient priviledges.

Alcuin Abbas.

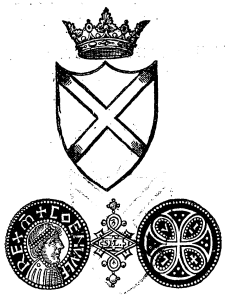
(2) He deceased the seventh day of *December*, and in the first of his reigne, having had neither Wife nor Issue that we reade of. His body with all due obsequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of S. *Albans*, of his fathers foundation.

The continuance of his reigne.

Kenwolfe.

KENVVOLFE THE THIRTEENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE EIGHTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.

Monarch. 18.



Chapter. XXX.

An. Dom. 794.

Kenwolfe, not so neere in blood to King *Ethelred*, as he was like him in all vertuous conditions, by him was ordained to succeed in his Dominions, whereby hee became the thirteenth King of the *Mercians*, and the eighteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred ninetie seven. At home hee was an example of pietie, peace, and religion, and set the scale of justice without respect to all alike; abroad, temperate, humble, and courteous, without vaine ostentation or ambitious conceits; in warres hee was stout and victorious; in peace studious to enrich his subjects: briefly, at all times so carrying himselfe, that envy could not touch him with her tongue.

Kenwolfes genius.

(2) Whether upon a new quarrell begun, or the old retained, (as inheritable to the *Mercians* against those of *Kent*) I cannot say; but true it is, that in the entrance of his raigne, he entred that Province with a great host of men, and in a fore fought field discomfited the *Kentish*, and carried away prisoner their King, whose surname was *Pren*. His kingdome hee gave to *Cuthred*, and kept him captive in *Mercia*, to his great griefe, and his subjects dishonour.

Will. Malmesb.

(3) But *Kenwolfe* in peace, and minding the works of true piety, gave himself to the building of a goodly Church at *Winchcomb* in *Glocestershire*, where, upon the day of dedication, in the presence of *Cuthred* (assigned his Viceroy in *Kent*,) thirteene Bishops, ten Dukes, many Nobles, and a great concourse of people, he led *Pren* this *Kentish* captive to the *high Altar*, and there without either his entreaty, or ransome for Redemption, released and set him free; shewing thereby his devotion to God, and the heroicall parts of a magnanimous Prince.

Winchcombe Monastery.

(4) His reigne was twenty two yeeres, and *death* in *Anno* eight hundred nineteene, being solemnely buried in the Church of the *Monastery* of *Winchcombe* aforesaid which himselfe had founded.

Kenwolfes buriall.

His Wife.

(5) *Elfryd*, the wife of King *Kenwolfe*, hath not her parentage certainly reported by any of our Historians; yet some later upon a likelihood of her name, the place and time agreeing, having thought her to be the daughter of *Offa*, affianced to King *Ethelbert*, as hath beene said: but in these obscurities, conjecture may wander astray.

Elfrids parents unknown.

His Children.

(6) *Kenelm* the sonne of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfryd* his wife, was very yong at his fathers death, and succeeded him in the *Mercians* kingdome, but not in the *Monarchy* of the *English*; King *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* King then growne too great. And in the same yeere that he began his reigne, by the Treason of his unnaturall Sister he was murthered, and first obscurely buried, but afterwards solemnly removed and reposed neere to his Father in the *Monastery* of *Winchcombe*, as in the *Mercian* Kings successions we have said.

Kenelm beh. chap. 10 follo.

(7) *Quendred* the eldest daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, and Lady *Elfrid* his Queene, after the decease of her father, ambitiously aspiring to compasse the sway of the *Mercian* Kingdome wholly to her selfe, wickedly conspired the death of her brother King *Kenelme*, which was traiterously acted by *Askebert* her instrument, who had the charge of him: but the same turning to her reproch, for very shame of so damnable a deed, shee within short time after ended her life, but not her ignominie.

Quendred the eldest daughter of Kenwolf.

(8) *Burgenhild*, the younger daughter of King *Kenwolfe*, and of Queene *Elfrid*, hath not beene so famous to posteritie as her sister *Quendred* was for her infamous Act; notwithstanding, shee may reasonably be supposed to have led a better life, and to have dyed a better death; especially of us, who finde her not stained with any aspersion of misdeserving.

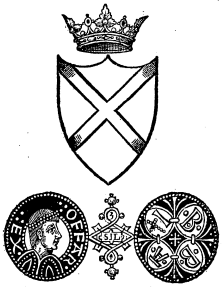
Burgenhild the younger daughter.

EGBERT

Offa.

OFFA THE ELEVENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SIXTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 16.



Chapter. XXVIII.

An. Dom. 758.

Offa, the cosen of King *Ethelbald*, after some time of *Inter-regnum*, succeeded him in his dominions of *Mercia*; a man of so high stomacke and stoutnesse of mind, that he thought nothing unpossible for him to attaine; and for vertue and vice, so equally composed, that hardly could bee judged to whether of them the scale of his carriage most inclined, although the Monke of Saint *Albans* and Writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with superlative praises.

Will. Malmesb. Liber M. S.

(2) His Parents he nameth *Twinfreth* and *Mercella*, and himselfe he saith to have beene first named *Pinered*, borne both lame, deafe, and blind, wherein he so continued unto his mans estate. The rage of *Bermed* (saith the same Author) had forced all three into a solitary place, where suddenly by miracle *Pinered* was restored, and for that cause called another *Offa*; who presently affailed, and in a great battell, manfully fought, slew the usurping *Bermed*. The Nobles of *Mercia* being rid of that Tyrant by the valour of *Offa*, gladly imbraced and received him for their King; who began his raigne with greater shew of glory, then any *Mercian* before him had done, being in number the eleventh that had raigned in that Province, and is accounted the sixteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

The parents of Offa.

Bermed slaine.

(3) His neighbour Kings foreseeing whereat his eye glanced, sollicited by Letters *Charles the Great* then King of *France*, against him; who wrote unto *Offa* in their behalfe, and in threatning wise commanded him to desist. But he was so farre from fearing of his threats, that to his contempt he was the more eager.

King Charles the Great.

(4) The first that felt his fury, were the *Kentishmen*, under *Alrike* their King, whose overthrow was the lesse dishonorable (saith *Malmesbury*) *for that they were vanquished by so great a Monarch*. The place was *Otteford*, unfortunate to them, where their King was slaine by the hand of *Offa* himselfe, their forces quite discomfited by the losse of this field, and their Country trodden downe under the feet of the *Mercians*.

Malmesbury.

(5) From South to North King *Offa* then marched and beyond *Humber* made havocke of all that stood against him; whence returning triumphant, hee set upon the *West-Saxons*, that had formerly joyned with his enemies: the place was *Bensington*, which Castle King *Offa* tooke, with the discomfiture of King *Kenwolfe*, and all his *West-Saxons*, who sought their revenge by the aydes of the *Britaines* in *Wales*. Their King (saith mine Author) was then *Marmodius* betwixt whom some intercourse by letters passed, and great presents to King *Offa* sent, onely to protract time, and to worke upon advantage.

Bensington Castle taken by King Offa.

Liber S. Albani, M.S. Marmodius a Welsh King.

(6) In this *Interim* of complements for a further security, *Offa* caused a great *ditch* to be drawne betwixt his and the *Britaines* borders, which worke began at *Basingwarke* in *Flint-shire*, and *North Wales*, not farre from the mouth of *Dee*, and ranne along the Mountaines into the *South*, and ended neere *Bristow* at the fall of *Wye*; the tract whereof in many places is yet seene, and is called to this day *Clawdh Offa*, or *Offaes* ditch. *Marmodius*, who openly bare saile to this wind, and seemed to winke at *Offaes* intents, secretly called a Councell of *State*, wherein he declared how the Act thus in working, would soone proove the bane of liberty unto their country, and the marke of dishonour to themselves and posterity for ever: therefore his advice was, that by some stratagem it might be staid betime.

Offaes Ditch. Clawdh Offa, in Welsh.

Marmodius treachery.

(7) To this his *Britaines* consented, the truce yet lasting, and the feast of *Christs Nativity* even then at hand; in the celebration whereof was held the greatest advantage with least suspect, to put themselves in action against it; and secretly working the assistance of their allies the *Saxons*, both of the *South*, the *West*, and the *North*, upon Saint *Stephens* day at night, suddainely brake downe the banke of this Fortification, filling up againe a great part of the *Ditch*, and in the morning most furiously rushed into *Offa* his Court, putting

The Britaines accessary to it.

Saxons assistance.

Offaes people slaine.

putting a great number to the sword, who were more intensive and regardfull to the Feast, then to any defence from their cruell and mercilesse swords.

Marmodius vanquished by Offa.

(8) These wrongs King *Offa* delayed not to requite, first making their hostages his vassals and slaves, and then with a great army entring Wales, in a bloudy and fore-fought battle hee overcame *Marmodius* and all his associates in the field. Thus then as a Conquerour over all his enemies, triumphantly after ten yeeres warres abroad, returned he to his owne Kingdome, neither puffed with pride, nor suffering his title to be enlarged according to his conquests: yet he was not negligent of regall state, by the report of the Ligger booke of S. *Albans*, which saith, *that in regard of his great prerogative, and not of any pride, he first instituted and commanded, that even in the times of peace also, himselfe and his successors in the Crowne, should, as he passed through any Citie, have Trumpeters going and sounding before them, to shew that the person of the King should breed both feare, and honour, in all which either see him or heare him.*

The Ligger of Saint *Albans* M. S.

King *Charles* congratulateth *Offa*.

(9) Vnto King *Charles* of *France* he wrote in excuse of his warres, and desire of his amity; whom *Charles* againe congratulated with letters of gladnesse, both for his victories, and the Christian piety in his land embraced; desiring of *Offa* safe conduct for such his subjects, as came to his country in devotion to God, and withall sent to him, (for a present) a Booke of the Decrees of the second Councell of Nice. Which *Synodall Booke* (to use *Roger Hovedens* owne words) *was sent unto King Charles from* Constantinople, *Wherein* (saith hee) *alas for pitty, by the unanimous assertion of three hundred Bishops or more congregated in that Councell, were decreed many things ingregated in that Councell, were decreed many things ingregated in that Councell, were decreed many things inconvenient, yea and quite contrary to the true faith; as is convenient, yea and quite contrary to the true faith; as is most especially the worshipping of images, which the Church most especially the worshipping of images, which the Church most especially the worshipping of images, which the Church of God doth vtterly detest. Against which Booke* * Albinus *wrote an Epistle, admirably strengthned by the authority of the holy Scriptures, which together with the foresaid Booke himselfe presented in the name of the Princes and Bishops of this land, vnto the foresaid* Charles *King of* France. Such intercourse both for State and Church had this great *Offa* with that great *Charles*.

Ro. Hoved. Annali. par. 1. The second Councell of *Nice.*

* *Alcuinus.*

Offaes last warr.

(10) His last warres (according to mine Author) were against the *Danes*, whom he forced to their ships with the losse as well of their booties, as of many of their lives; and then (saith he) with the spirit of humility, both to recall himselfe from the trace of blood, and to the better establishment of his Kingdomes peace, he joyned in affinity with his neighbor Princes upon whom he bestowed his daughters in marriage.

Offa went to *Rome.*

(11) And making *Egfrid* his sonne a King with himselfe, in great devotion went to *Rome*, where with the like zeale and example of *Ina* the *West-Saxon*, he made his Kingdome subject to a Tribure, then called *Peter-pence*, afterwards *Rom-Scot*; besides other rich gifts that hee gave to Pope *Hadrian* for canonizing *Albane* a Saint: in honour of whom, and in repentance of his sinnes, at his returne (over against *Verolanium*, in the place then called *Holmehurst*, where that *Protomartyr* of *Britaine*, for the constant profession of Christ, lost his head) *Offa* built a magnificke Monastery in Anno 795, indowing it with lands and rich revenewes for the maintenance of an hundred Monkes: upon the first gate of entrance in stone standeth cut a *Saltier Argent* in a field azure, and is assigned by the judicious in Heraldry to bee the Armes that he bare.

His repentance.

(12) Also in Testimony of his repentance for the bloud he had spilt, he gave the tenth part of all his goods unto the Churchmen, and unto the poore. At *Bathe* hee also built another *Monastery*, and in *Warwickeshire* a Church, where the adjoyning Towne, from it and him beareth the name *Off-Church*.

Off-ley Towne.

(13) Finally, when hee had raigned thirty nine yeeres, he dyed in peace at his Towne *Off-ley* the nine and twentieth of July, the yeere of Christ Iesus, seven hundred ninety foure: and with great solemnity his body was buried without the Towne of *Bedford* in a Chapell standing upon the Banke of *Ouse*, which long since was swallowed up by the same river: whose Tombe of lead (as it were some phantasticall thing) appeareth often (saith *Rouse*) to them that seeke it not, but to them that seeke it, is altogether invisible.

Lib. Saint. Albani. M. S. *Iohn Rosse.*

His issue.



(14) *Quendrid* the wife of King *Offa* hath not her parentage set downe by any of our Writers: notwithstanding, the recorder of this his life, saith that her name was *Drida*, and that she was the Kinswoman to *Charles the Great* King of *France*, and by him for some offence banished his Realme, who arriving upon the coasts of *England* in a ship without Tackle, was taken thence, and relieved by *Offa*, being then a young Nobleman, where shee changed her name unto *Pretronilla*, with whom hee fell so farre in love that hee made her his wife, contrary to the liking of his parents. She was a woman of condition ambitious, covetous, and cruell, as appeared specially in the death of *Ethelbert*, King of the *East-Angles*, that came to her husbands Court to marry their daughter; whose port shee so much envyed, that she procured him to bee treacherously murdered: the manner the foresaid Author declared to be by his fall into a deepe pit, purposely made in his bed-chamber and under his chaire of estate. That his head was cut off, and found by a blind-man; that the Well which beares his name sprung up presently in the place where it lay, that the bloud thereof gave the blinde man his sight, and that *Dryda* dyed in the same pit which shee had digged for *Ethelbert*, I leave to the credit of my Author, and the liking of my Reader: but certaine it is that Gods vengeance followed this heynous fact within one yeare after the same was committed, by the death of her selfe, her husband, and her sonne, and the translation of that Kingdome from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*.

In the life of S. *Albane*, printed before the Ligger booke of that Abbey.

Offa affianced to *Quendrid.*

Quendrid treacherie.

An ancient *Saxon* coyne inscribed with her name, *CENEDRED REGIN*. wee have found and here placed, which the judicious suppose to bee hers, and that not unlikely, shee being so powerfull, proud and ambitious.

Quendrid rewarded with the like paine.

His issue.

(15) *Egfrid* the onely sonne, and heire apparant of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was the onely joy and pride of his parents, who succeeded his Father in his dominions and title, and in the same yeare also in the shades of death.

Egfrid the onely son of *Offa.*

(16) *Ethelburga*, the eldest daughter of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was married to *Brithricke* the sixteenth King of the *West-Saxons*: shee was a Lady of passing beauty, but withall of an insolent disposition, hating all whom her husband loved, and practising the deaths of them that shee hated; Shee departed into *France* after the poysoning of her husband, and for that her offence, a law was enacted to the great prejudice of the *West-Saxons* Queenes, as in the raigne of *Brithrike* we have declared.

Ethelburga the first daughter.

(17) *Elfled* the second daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, by the report of *Randulph Higden* the Monke of *Chester*, was the second wife to *Ethelred* King of *Northumberland*; who in regard of her had put from him his former wife, for which his subjects rose in Armes against him, and slew him in the last yeare of King *Offa*, his raigne.

Chap. 8. Saint. Polychr.

Elfled the second daughter.

(18) *Elfrid* the third and youngest daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, being promised in marriage, and assured unto *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles*, after the murther of her hoped Bridegroome with great lamentations, and prophesying threats of revenge, abandoned the society of men, and withdrew herselfe unto the monastery of *Croyland* in the *Fennes*,

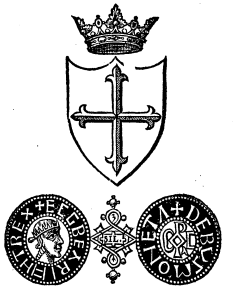
West-Saxons ambition.

Elfrid the third daughter.

Egbert.

EGBERT THE NINETEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, THE NINETEENTH, BVT FIRST SOLE AND ABSOLVTE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 19.



CHAPTER XXXI.

An. Dom. 800.

THE *Saxon Heptarchy* drawing now to a period, the spring of an entire Monarchie began to shew it selfe, and the glory of the Englishmen more cleerely to arise: for though they had weakned each other by their owne warres, yet stood their power strong in the possession of the whole, and the over-borne *Britaines* held still at the worst.

Egbert vnlearned and rebelles.

(2) But such is the dispose of the sole disposer of Empires, that they have their risings, their falls, and their falls: never staying in one and the same point, neither entailed to one and the same Nation, how strong, politicke or populous soever. The proofe whereof is apparant in all the Kingdomes of the earth, and this of ours as mutable as any; whose change of State unto, and in, this *Seven-fold* Government hath hitherto beene seene: the severall Kings thereof long contending to branch their owne fountaines furthest and fairest, lastly let them fall into one streame, which so meeting, made a more famous influence in this *Monarchy*, then the *seven heads of Nilus*, in the *Egyptian Sea*.

Simon Dunel. lately Rog. Wendo. worst. saith Bed.

(3) Formerly, the *Kentish*, *South-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, *Northumbrians*, and the *Mercians*, who through no lesse then eight descents had worne the Emperiall Diademe, whose rayes thone now so bright in the *West-Saxons* eyes, that they againe sought to re-estate themselves in so glorious a possession. For, whereas *Brightrik* was possessed and contented with the *West-Saxon* Crowne, neither that worne without jealousie and feare: yet others of the blood royall from *Cherdik* raised the wings of their soaring thoughts much higher, among whom *Egbert* was one, neither the last nor the least in the opinion of the people, or suspect of his Prince.

Iohn Bever.

(4) This *Egbert* having command of some part of that Province, so carried himselfe, that his fame grew fearefull to *Brightrik* the King, and hatefull to the envious *Ethelburg* his most proud Queene, by whom he was enforced first to secure himselfe with the *Mercian Offa*; and lastly constrained to flie into *France*: where under *Charles the Great*, he turned his adverse into an occasion of his valour, by serving in his warres, and learned by his politicke government, how to rule a quiet or disturbed State.

Chap. 5.

(5) But King *Brightriks* death acted, and his Queene the contriver banished, *Egbert* is solicited to the wearing of the *West-Saxon* Crowne, where he became the eighteenth *King* in number, and nineteene yeeres after the nineteenth *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*; entring his reigne the yeere of Christ Iesus, eight hundred, being the same yeere that *Charles* was made Emperour of the *West*, and *Conwall* then ruling over the *Scots*.

Chap. 5.

(6) His first warres were against the *Cornish*, and their associats the *Welsh*, both of them a remnant of the old *Britaines*, who had beene oftentimes vanquished, but never would seeme to be subdued, and for foureteene yeeres continuance held side against *Egbert*; which their resistance so provoked his furie that hee enacted a most severe law against them, commanding that no *Britaine* should presume to passe over great *Offaes* ditch, and prefent death to them that durst set foot upon any English ground. Their greate *Caer-legion* (now *West-Chester*) hee tooke from them, and at *London* from their *West* gate cast downe the brasen Image of *Cadwallo* there set up by the *Britaines* for a terrour to the *Saxons*, as wee haue said.

Chap. 5.

(7) His warres thus prospering, his puissance grew dreadfull, and his glory much envied at by the other Princes, whereof *Bernulfe* of *Mercia* was the first attempter that sought to pluck the wing of this *West-Saxon* Eagle, but thereby wrought his owne down-fall; for *Egbert* joyning battell with him at *Ellendon* overthrew his power, and in that quarrell *Bernulfe* was lastly slaine.

Chap. 10. & 11.

(8) *Kent* was the next, and fairest marke in *Egberts*

berts eye, whose King not gracious in his owne subjects sight, was the easier to be subdued, him he chased over Thamisis, and added not onely that Countie, but also Suffex and Surrey, for Provinces unto his owne Kingdome: next were the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and in truth all, that both upon the *North*, and the *South* of *Humber* gave him obedience; so that the bounds of his dominion were greatly enlarged, and his royall authoritie by those severall Kings acknowledged.

(9) Then to confirme his estate he called an assembly unto the Citie *Winchester*, where causing himselfe to be solemnly crowned, became the first Saxons absolute Monarch of the whole Iland, so reducing the Monarchicall title from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*, in whose Progeny it continued without reversement untill the *Danes* first got, and againe lost it, and the *Saxons* issue failing, the same fell to the *Normans* Duke by Conquest, as in continuance of our History, Christ assisting, shall be seene.

(10) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, and entrance in the yeere of grace, eight hundred and nineteene, at which time by his Edict in that City dated, he caused all the South of the Iland to bee called *England*, according to the *Angles*, of whom himselfe came, and promising great felicitie to his State and Successors, was therein not so happy as in his affaires he had beene fortunate.

(11) For those *Saxons* that by warre and blood, had made themselves Lords of other mens rights, and of one Kingdome no lesse then seven, are now endangered to be made servants unto subjection, and by warre and blood their seven-fold Kingdome brought againe unto one; neither yet freed from the revenge of bloody violence: for that a fierce and cruell nation (the *Danes*) ceased not continually to invade them, till they had subdued and set the Crowne thereof upon their owne heads, who in King *Brightrick* dayes, and about the yeere seven hundred eightie seven, having with three vessels landed in the *West* of *England*, at three severall times, in so many severall places, sought the ruine of the land in the raigne of this *Egbert*.

(12) The first was in his thirty third yeere, when with thirtie five ships they landed at *Lindisferne* upon the *North* of *England*, where they were met and fought with at *Carham*, but with such losse to the *English*, that two chiefe Captaines, *Dudda* and *Osmond*, two Bishops, *Herefrid* of *Winchester*, and *Vigferd* of *Shirborne*, with many Souldiers were therein slaine, King *Egbert* himselfe hardly escaping by the covert of the night.

(13) Their second attempt was in the second yeere following, when in *West-Wales* they landed, unto whom the *Britaines* there joyned, and at the place called *Hengistenton* abode the King in Field, where *Egbert* with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew both the *Danes* and the *Welsh*.

(14) The third place of their arrivage was *Sheepie* in *Kent*, which Iland they sacked, and with much adoe were expelled in the last of King *Egberts* raigne, and but the new beginning of their savage cruelties.

(15) This *Egbert* by *Florentius* of *Worcester* is said to be the sonne of *Alkemund*, who was the sonne of *Eafa*, and he the sonne of *Eoppa*, the sonne of *Ingils*, the brother of *Ine*, the eleventh King of the *West-Saxons*, and both of them the sonnes of *Kenred*, descended from *Cherdike* the first King of that Province: he was but low of stature, yet well composed and strong of limme, very valiant, wise, and politicke, a skilfull souldier, and as great in minde, as fortunate in warre; he raigned over the *West-Saxons* the space of thirtie sixe yeeres and seven moneths, and *Monarch* of the whole *Iland* seventeene yeeres; his death happened the fourth day of February, and yeere of Christs Incarnation eight hundred thirtie five.

(16) His body was with all obsequies solemnly buried at *Winchester*, and his bones since taken up, remaine with others in that Cities Cathedrall Church, bestowed in Chests set upon the wall of each side the *Quyer*, with these verses neither ancient, nor elegant, thereon inscribed:

Hic Rex Egbertus pausat cum Rege Kenulpho,
Nobis egregia munera uterque tulit.

His Wife.

(17) *Redburg*, the Wife of King *Egbert*, was the first of the *West-Saxons*, that by their new made law was deprived of title, authority, or place of a Queene; notwithstanding it seemeth shee bare a great stroke with her husband, in that *Iohn Bever* the Monke of *Westminster* reporteth, that shee procured a law to be made against the *Britaines*; the penalty whereof was present death for any of them to set footing within the Realme of England, or to passe the *Ditch* that King *Offa* had made.

His Issue.

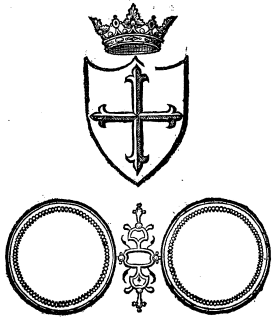
(18) *Ethelwolfe*, the eldest sonne of King *Egbert*, and Lady *Redburg* his Wife, was in his childhood committed to the charge of *Helmestan* Bishop of *Winchester*, under whom he was carefully trayned up in learning and vertue, who comming to mans estate prooved also a perfect Souldier, and had the leading of his fathers power against *Baldred* King of *Kent*, whom he forced to flie over the Thamisis, and to abandon his kingdome, which he subdued to the subjection of his father, and afterwards succeeded him in the *Monarchy* of the Englishmen.

(19) *Ethelstane*, the younger sonne of King *Egbert*, and of the Lady *Redburg* his wife, was by his father deputed King over the *Kentishmen*, the *South-Saxons*, and the *East-Saxons* after he had brought them unto his subjection; which people he most valiantly defended against the invasions of the *Danes*, defeating their forces both by Sea and Land, and at *Sandwich* gave them a most memorable overthrow, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fiftie one, being the sixteenth of his brother King *Ethelwolfes* raigne; in whose time he deceased, and is reported to have left a sonne named *Osrid*, who by reason of his minoritie succeeded not in his fathers dominions; which *Ethelbert* the second sonne of King *Ethelwolfe* entred upon, and being *Monarch* re-united these kingdomes inseparably unto the *Monarchy*.

(20) *Edgith*, commonly called Saint *Edith* the daughter of King *Egbert*, was in her childhood by her brother *Ethelwolfe* committed to the charge and bringing up of a Lady in *Ireland*, greatly renowned for her holinesse of life, named *Modewine*, by whom she was afterwards recommended to a Disciplesse of the said Lady, named *Athea*, and made Governesse of a *Monastery* of the Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had given her, called *Pollesworth*, situated in *Arden* in the North verge of the County of *Warwicke*, wherein she lived, died, and was honourably buried, and the place in regard of her afterwards called Saint *Ediths of Pollesworth*.

ETHEL-

ETHELVVOLFE THE NINETEENTH
KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND
THE TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN; HIS WARRES, ACTS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN.



CHAPTER. XXXII.

Thelwolfe, the eldest sonne of King *Egbert*, committed in his youth to the care of *Helmestan*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and by him unto *Swithun* a famous learned Monke of that time, tooke such a liking unto the quiet and solitary life, (onely enjoyed by vertue of Religion, all other estates molested to withstand the intruding *Danes*) that hee undertooke the Monkish vow and profession, and was made Deacon; shortly after which degree taken, *Helmestan* dyed, in whose place Prince *Ethelwolfe* was confecrated, as *Roger Hoveden* affirmeth, or at least elected, (as *Iohn Brampton* Abbat of *Iarvaux* writeth) Bishop of *Winchester*. But the death of his Father King *Egbert* immediately following, by great intreaty of the Nobles, and partly by constraint of the Clergie, hee was made King, and was by the authority of Pope *Gregory the fourth*, (whose creature in both professions he was) absolved and discharged of his vowes.

(2) Hee entered his *Monarchy* the fourth day of *February* in the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation, eight hundred thirty seven, and was the nineteenth *King* of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentieth *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*. His Bishopricke he gave unto *Swithun* his Tutor, and according to his place, combined all his powers to withstand the dangerous *Danes*, that attempted the vtter subversion of his faire land: whose *fifth invasion* in his first yeere happened; which drew the *Saxons* civill warres unto a constrained peace, having more then they could well doe to defend their lives from their slaughtering swords, or to save their unjustly gotten land from the spoiles of those common enemies; who, not like Conquerours, but destroying Caterpillers, left nothing undevoured whersoever they came, and had now begunne their mercilesse depopulations in divers places at once, so that the distracted *English* were to seeke where was most need first to withstand.

(3) At *Hampton* and *Portesmouth* many of these *Norway* Pirates had entred; at *Hampton* with their overthrow, at *Portesmouth* with victory; and the same time at *Carrum*, a Troupe of these *Danes* discomfited King *Ethelwolfes* power. The next yeere at *Meresware*, *Lindsey*, in *East-Angle*, and *Kent*, they did much mischiefe, and harried all the Country before them: yet in his tenth yeare at *Pedredesmouth*, the *Somersets* and *Dorsetshire* men gave them a memorable overthrow, under the conduct of Earle *Enwulfe*, Bishop *Adelstan*, and *Osred* their captaines.

(4) But in the sixteenth yeare of this king, the great Planet *Mars* seemed to predominate continually, and *Fortune* to cast the chance of victory ever on his side: for two hundred and fifty ships, (some reckon a hundred more) entred into *Thamisis* mouth and set on shore an infinite number of these destroying *Danes*. *London* and *Canterbury* they had sacked and left waste, had pierced into *Mercia*, and chased *Berthulfe* their king out of his Country, and now in *Southery* had pitched their battle, as able and resolute to abide all the power of the *English*; whither king *Ethelwolfe* with his sonne prince *Ethelbald* repaired, and tooke the field at the place called *Osley*; wherein after a long and fore fight, the victory fell to the *English*, with such slaughter of these *Norway* invaders, as is incredible to report, and the same held as great and famous, as ever had happened in the land before.

(5) With the like successe his Brother *Athelstan* king of *Kent*, fought with the *Danes* at *Sandwich*, where chasing them to Sea, tooke nine of their ships; and in *Devonshire*, Earle *Ceorle* at *Wiclesthore* so overthrew their whole power, that in despaire they withdrew themselves into the Ile of *Thanet*, where they made their abode all the Winter seasons; and if destiny had not withstood the *English*, the *Danes* had beene expulsed for ever. But the *Saxons*, seeming

seeming cleared of this common enemy, fell to their wonted quarrells with the ever depressed *Britaines*, against whom *Burthred* the *Mercian* obtained the assistance of *King Ethelwolfe* in his eighteenth yeare, whose daughter *Ethelswith* hee had obtained in marriage; whereby for a while was encreased the fame and power of that valiant, but unfortunate King.

Flores Hist. S. Chap. 10. Sect. 20.

(6) In this State the affaires of the land stood unto the nineteenth yeare of *King Ethelwolfes* raigne, who now remembring his former Ecclesiasticke profession, ordained that tithes and Lands due to holy Church should bee free from all Tributes or Regall services; and in great devotion went himselfe to *Rome*, where hee was both honourably received, and entertained the space of a whole yere; in which time hee new built the *English Schoole* that *Offa* the *Mercian* before had there founded, and lately was fired, bearing the name of *Thomas the Holy*; confirming also his Grant of *Peter pence*, and further covenanting in lieu of his Kind entertainement to pay yeerely three hundred markes to *Rome*, thus to bee employed; one hundred to Saint *Peters* Church, an other hundred to Saint *Pauls Light*, and the third to the *Pope:* the Bride that evermore must be kissed and largely payd.

Will. Malmsb. Simon Dun.

(7) His returne from *Rome* was through *France*, and being a Widower, hee there married *Iudith* the most beautifull daughter of *Charles the Bald* then *Emperour*; in honour of whom in his owne Court, he ever placed her in a Chaire of Estate, with all other majesticall complements of a *Queene*, contrary to the law of the *West-Saxons* for *Ethelburgaes* offence, formerly made. Which his doing so disliked the *Nobles*, that Prince *Ethelbald* his eldest Sonne, *Adelstan* Bishop of *Shirborne*, and *Enwulfe* Earle of *Somerset* rose up rebelliously in Armes and sought to depose him; yet by mediation of friends, the matter came to a comprimize, and the land to be divided betwixt the *Father* and *Sonne*, but with such partiality that the better part *west-ward* was allotted to *Ethelbald:* which unequality gave great suspition that this revolt was rather grounded upon ambition, then any inclination they had for the defence of their lawes, which commonly is the pretence and vaile for all disloyall attempts of seditious subjects against their soveraigne Lords.

Will. Malmsb.

(8) Howsoever it was, long after this he lived not, but left his *Monarchy* unto his eldest Sonne *Ethelbald:* and by will appointed *Ethelbert* his second, to be King of *Kent* and *Essex*, which countries he had conquered. He raigned twenty yeares, one moneth, and nine dayes, and deceased at a place called *Stamrige*, the thirteenth day of *January*, in the yeare of our Lord, eight hundred fifty seven, being the twenty one of his raigne. His body was first buried at the place of his decease, and afterwards removed into the *Cathedrall Church* at *Winchester*.

Ethelwolfes time of raigning.

His Wives.

Osburgs parentage.

(9) *Osburg*, the first wife of King *Ethelwolfe*, was the daughter of a Nobleman named *Oslake*, who had the Office of *Great Butler of England*, and was descended of the stocke of *Stuffe* and *Withgar* two brethren, being noblemen of the people called *Iutes*, who were the first Princes of the Ile of *Wight*, and Nephewes to *Cherdike*, and cozen-germans to *Kenrike*, the first and second Kings of the *West-Saxons*, and the third and fourth *Monarches* of the *Englishmen*. She was the second Kings wife that was debarred of the title and place of *Queene*. Shee deceased three yeares before the King her husband, in the nineteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Christs Nativity eight hundred fifty and five.

Iudith a second wife.

(10) *Iudith* his second wife, was the daughter of *Charles* the Emperour, and King of *France*, as wee have said: her Mother was Queene *Ermentrude*, the daughter of *Vodon* Earle of *Orleance*. She was a Lady of passing beauty, and married to this King in *France*, and when she came into *England*, was received with the Title and place of a Queene, in abolishment of the perverse law of the *West-Saxons*, made against the Kings *Wives*, as before was touched. She was his wife three yeares, and survived him without any issue.

Ethelbald the first sonne.

His issue.

(11) *Ethelbald*, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelwolfe* and of Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was brought up in his youth in the exercise of warre, and served under his Father in the great victory obtained against the *Danes* at *Ocley* in *Surry*, in the yeare eight hundred fifty one: afterwards hee turned his force against his Father; and at his returne from *Rome*, practised to defeat him of his Kingdome, and was ready to have given him battaile, had not his father parted with him his Dominion.

Ethelbert his second sonne.

(12) *Ethelbert*, the second son of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was in the life time of his Father, after the decease of his uncle *Ethelstan*, appointed and placed his Successor in his *Kingdome* over the *South-Saxon*, the *Kentish*, and the *East-Saxons*, without any mention or meaning (as it seemeth) that he should intermeddle further with any other part of *England*. Notwithstanding after the death of his brother *Ethelbald*, it was generally holden of all men for law, equity, and reason, that he should succeed him in the *Monarchy*: and so he did, with the consent of his brethren, and without resistance, or contradiction of any other.

Ethelred's third sonne.

(13) *Ethelred* the third sonne of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg* his first wife, had by the disposition of his Father in his last will, the one halfe of his Fathers proper inheritance; which was all such land as King *Egbert* his Grandfather had before hee was King, and was no part of the Demaines of the *kingdome*; and this was divided betwixt him and his brother *Elfred*, as the kingdome was betweene their elder Brethren *Ethelbald* and *Ethelbert*: with an intent that this *Ethelred* should succeed his brother *Ethelbald* in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; notwithstanding, his brother *Ethelbert*, after the decease of King *Ethelbald*, entred into the other part, adoyning it to his former kingdome, and was king of the whole, and after left it entire to this *Ethelred*, who succeeded him in the *Monarchy*.

Elfrid a faire Queene.

(14) *Elfrid* the fourth sonne of *King Ethelwolfe* and of Lady *Osburg* his first wife, was borne at *Wantage* in *Barkeshire*, in the yere of our Lord God, eight hundred forty nine; and the thirteenth of his fathers raigne. Being a child of five yeeres old, he was sent very honorably attended to the City of *Rome*, where *Leo* the fourth then Bishop confirmed him, was his Godfather at the confirmation, and anointed him to to the expectation of a kingdome. Growne in yeares, he grew so in discretion, magnanimity and favour of all men, that in the successive raignes of his three elder brethren, hee ruled as a Vice-roy or secondary king under every of them, and after them at the last succeeded in the *English Monarchy*.

Ethelswida daughter.

(15) *Ethelwith*, the daughter of King *Ethelwolfe* and Lady *Osburg*; was married to *Burthred* the twentieth king of *Mercia*, which marriage was solemnized at the towne of *Chippingham* in *Wiltshire*, in the moneth of *April*, and yeare of Christs Nativity eight hundred thirty five, and the fifteenth of her fathers raigne; but within twenty two yeares after, they were both forced by the *Danes* to abandon their kingdom and departed into *Italy*, where the King died the same yeare in the *English* Colledge at *Rome:* the lived after him fiftreene yeares in the habite of a *Nunne*, at the City of *Padua*, and there dyed, and was there honourably buried in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred eighty nine, which was the eighteenth yeare of her brother King *Elfreds* raigne.

Neote a stopped sconce.

(16) *Neote*, supposed by *John Capgrave* the *Legend Writer*, to be the sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, was in his youth brought up at *Glastenbury* under *Dunstan*, who was afterward *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*. He proved a man of great learning, and was one of the first Readers of *Divinity* in the Vniversity of *Oxford*, at the foun-

foundation, or as some will have it, the restauration thereof by King *Elfred*; hee planted a *Monasterie* in *Cornwall*, whereunto hee used for devotion and studious meditations often to withdraw himselfe, which, of his abode there, was afterward called *Neotestocke*; and when he was dead, his body was with great honor enterred in the County of *Huntingdon*, at a place then called *Anulfesburie*, and afterward in regard of his enterment, Saint *Neotes*, and now Saint *Needes*.

Sallecter vom.

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TVVENTIETH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS ACTS, AND RAIGNE.

Monarch 21.



Chapter XXXIII.

An. Dom. 857. Florilegium.

Thelbald, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, having had part of the Kingdome in the life time of his Father, after his death entred upon the whole, and was the twentieth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentie one Monarch of the *Englishmen*, beginning his raigne in the yeare of Christs Incarnation eight hundred fifty seven.

His warres against the Danes.

(2) His youth he had spent in the exercise of war, having made proofe of valour in his service against the *Danes* in many battels; and likewise attempted (though not in so good a cause) to have fought against his own father. Which his affaies, as they seemed violent and unnaturall, yet being in the quarrell of the *West-Saxons* lawes, enacted in prejudice of their Queenes, he was both sided and approved, as hath been said.

Will. Malmsb.

(3) But howsoever unwilling hee was this faire Queene should sit in state by his fathers side, yet contrary to all lawes either of God or Man, hee laid her by his owne, and by nuptiall rites, brought her to his sinfull and incestuous bed. Which Act, though foule enough, some have made worse, in reporting his Wife to be his owne Mother, whom King *Ethelwolfe* kept for his Concubine. And surely this his sinne was not long unpunished by the shortnesse of his raigne and life, leaving no other memory of his acts, besides this foule blot to his faire name.

The time of his raigning.

(4) His raigne was onely two yeares and a halfe, his death chanced upon the twentieth day of *December*, the yeare of Christs assuming our flesh, eight hundred and sixty. His body was first buried at *Shirburne* in the County of *Dorset*, where at that time was the Cathedrall Church and Episcopall Sea; but afterwards was removed and interred at *Salesbury*, in the Countie of *Wiltshire*.

His Wife.

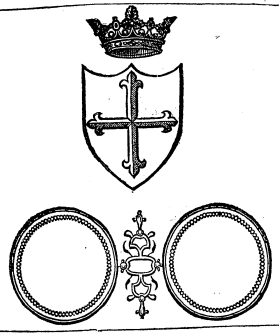
1 Cor. 5. 1.

(5) *Iudith*, the Wife of King *Ethelbald*, was the widow of his owne Father, a most unlawfull Matrimony contracted against all law of God or of Nature; which being both dissolved and punished by the hasty death of the King, and the returning towards her father and country in *Flanders*, was ravished by *Baldwin* the Forrester of *Arden* in *France*, and by him forcibly kept untill she consented to become his wife, who in regard of that marriage, when he was reconciled to the Emperor *Charles* her Father, was by him created the first Earle of *Flanders*, by whom she had issue *Baldwin the second*, who espoused Lady *Elfrid* the youngest daughter of *Elfred* King of *England*; from whom, through five descents lineally, *Maude* Queene of *England*, Wife to *William* the *Conquerour*, descended, and from her, all our *Norman English Kings* unto this day.

Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT THE TVVENTY ONE KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWO AND TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ISSVES.

Monarch 22.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

An. Dom. 860.

ETHELBERT, the second sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, who had succeeded his Vncle *Ethelstan* in the Kingdome of the *South-Saxons*, *Kentish*, and *East-Saxons*, and for five yeares continuance, ruled those Countries with great equity and valour; after the decease of his brother *Ethelbald*, succeeded him also both in the *West-Saxons* Kingdome, and the whole LandsMonarchy: whereof he was the one and twentieth King, and the two & twentieth Monarch.

(2) His raigne began in the yeare of Christs Nativitie, eight hundred and sixtie, and was disquieted from first to last by the Invasions of the bloudy *Danes*. For presently after his Coronation, these common enemies entred the Land, ruinating all before them unto the Citie *Winchester*, which they sacked, and left it troden under their destroying feet, even to the ground. But in their returne were encountred by the *Barke-shire-men*, under the leading of *Osrirke* Earle of *Hampton*, by whom they were vanquished, the prey recovered, and a great number of those Infidels slaine.

Hen. Hunting.

(3) In his first yeare also a Navie of *Danes* and *Normans* entred into the Iland *Thanet*, and began their wonted spoiles among those people: whereupon the *Kentish* compounded their peace for a great summe of money given. Notwithstanding those miscreants, which knew not God, gave little regard to their promised covenants, and before the dayes of truce were expired, like a sudden cloud over-bare all before them. These their irruptions to withstand, the *Kentish* then prepared, rather adventuring themselves upon the chance of battell, then to rest upon a seeming truce, wherein their destruction was too apparant, and forthwith assembling all their powers together, set upon those Truce-breakers, and with much slaughter forced them at length out of their Country.

The Kent. frim compound for their peace.

Ethelbert rirts of raigning.

(4) But the date of King *Ethelberts* life being expired, hee yeelded his body to the course of nature and his Kingdomes to his next brother, after he had raigned over the *Kentish*, *South*, *and East-Saxons*, the terme of ten yeares, and had fate Monarch of the whole onely five. He died the yeare of grace eight hundred sixty six, and was honourably buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Shirborne* in *Dorset-shire*, by his brother King *Ethelbald*.

His supposed issue.

Athelm the eldest sonne.

(5) *Athelm*, the brothers sonne of King *Elfred*, mentioned in the last Will and Testament of the same King, seemeth by all likelihood to be the eldest sonne of this King *Ethelbert*, elder brother to the same king *Elfred*, although he succeeded not his father in his kingdome. For in those dayes, if the kings sonne were under age, the succession went to the next brother; and if that brother left his sonne at full age, then it went unto him; otherwise it reverted to his eldest brothers sonne.

Ethelwald the second sonne.

(6) *Ethelwald*, surnamed *Clito*, which is a word of addition given to all the *Saxon* kings sonnes of *England*; is mentioned in king *Elfreds* Will to be his brothers sonne, and is most likely to be the sonne of this king *Ethelbert*: he proved a most deadly enemy to his cosen king *Edward*, the sonne of king *Elfred* his Vncle, destroying his townes in *Dorset-shire*; and being driven out of *England*, joyned himselfe with the *Danes*, who made him their king in *Northumberland*, and under his leading, grievously assailed the Countries of the *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, and *Mercians*; wherein he was lastly slaine, the yeare of our Lord nine hundred and five, being the fourth of King *Edward* his cousen-germans raigne.

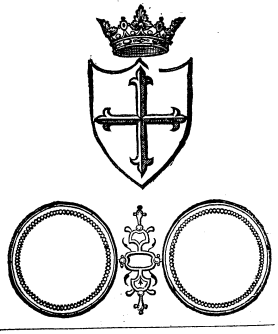
Hen. Hunting.

ETHELRED

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE TVVO AND TVVENTIETH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN; HIS ACTS AND ISSVE.

Monarch. 23.



CHAPTER. XXXV.

An. Dom. 866.

ETHELRED, the third sonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, after the decease of his brother, succeeded him in his Dominions, and was in number the two and twentieth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentie third *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*; he began his raigne in the yeare of our salvation eight hundred sixty and sixe, and for the time that he was King, raigned in continuall wars against the Pagan *Danes*, whose numbers now were greater, and footing furer in this land then formerly had been.

Hungar and Hubba.

(2) In the first yeare of his raigne, there arrived upon the *English* coasts, a huge army of these *Danes*, whereof *Hungar* and *Hubba*, men of incredible strength and cruelty, were the Captaines: These wintred in *East-Anglia*, made truce with the inhabitants upon certaine conditions, and forbare a time from their wonted ravening.

The Danes march Northward.

(3) But in the next yeare, the King being busied to put backe a fresh inrode of *Danes* in the *South* and *West* of the *Iland* then entred; these devourers tooke advantage upon the civill broiles commenced among the *Northumbrians*, who in these turmoiled times sought to with draw their subjection from the *West-Saxons*, and to set up Kings against of their owne, The foresaid Captaines *Hungar* and *Hubba*, having in time of their truce strengthened themselves with new supplies of aid, marched further into the *North*, where finding the people unprovided of strength, and the two Kings *Osbright* and *Ella*, of reconciled enemies to be made no sure friends, they harried the Countrey before them, and entring *Yorke* slew the two Kings, with infinit number of the *English*; which City they consumed with fire, and burnt therein all those that had fled thither for succour.

(4) The State thus standing, and their forces encreasing every day, brought new feares upon the inhabitants, when every late victory with increase of Captives and rich spoiles, ministred occasion and meanes of some other conquest to follow, which these Pagans so pursued, till lastly they set a Substitute King to raigne under them, over all the *North* Borders beyond the river *Tyne*; and so retiring themselves out of *Northumberland* into *Mercia*, came to *Nottingham*, which Citie they wonne, and therein wintred the third of King *Ethelreds* raigne, who with the aid of *Burthred* the *Mercian* King, constrained the *Danes* to sue for peace, and safe departure, yeelding the Citie, and againe retyring themselves over *Tyne*, remained in *Yorke* all the next Winter.

(5) The Summers opportunity approaching, their wonted desire for spoile was with it increased, and to cut off long travell, these *Danes* by Boats passed *Humber*, where *Hungar* and *Hubba* began with fire and sword to lay all waste before them, sparing neither Person, sexe nor age. The places respected for publike good, and sacred Temples consecrated onely to God, which all other Tyrants have forborne, these savage men as the earths destroyers, cast downe and trampled under their prophane feet: among which for note were the goodly Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, all laid levell with the ground, and their Votaries, as well the *Nuns* as the *Monkes*, murthered with their unhumane and mercilesse swords; to avoyd whose barbarous pollutions, the chaste *Nunnes* of *Coldingham*, deformed themselves to their lascivious eyes, by cutting off their upper lippes and nose; but to everlasting remembrance they remain most faire, and well beseeming faces of pure Virgins.

(6) These *Pagans* piercing further into the land, came into the Territories of the *East-Angles*, wherein holy *Edmund* raigned King, whose *Martyrdome* in most cruell manner they wrought, hee constantly calling upon the name of Christ; whereof we have already

ready spoken, and shall be occasioned hereafter to speake.

(3) But in the last yeare of this Kings raigne, their raging power was most great: for with a new supply, two *Danish* Kings, *Sweg*, and *Halden*, entred into *West-Sexia*, and at *Reading*, the Kings Towne entrenched themselves: these forraging the Countrey, were encountred with at *Englefield* by *Ethelwolfe* Earle of *Barke-shire*, and his men, who in skirmish slew one of their Leaders; and chased the rest backe to their Trench.

(8) These *Danes* fearing lest delayes would prove dangerous, and knowing that the first successe is commonly seconded with further courage of hope; foure dayes after shewed, themselves in field ready to fight: their hoast they divided into two battalians; whereof the one was guided by two of their Kings, and certaine Earles were Leaders of the other; which when the *English* perceived, they also divided theirs, whereof King *Ethelred* had the leading of the first, and *Elfred* his brother was *Generall* of the second; the place was *Assendon*, where their Tents were pitched, and the day approached for battaile: King *Ethelred* in his Tent staid so long in prayers that *Elfred* upon a forward courage hasted to encounter the enemy, and that with a most fierce and sharpe fight, wherein having spent the most of his strengths, and ready to decline, and give backe: *Ethelred* manfully entred the battaile, and so seconded his brother, and over-tyred Souldiers, that hee made way by dint of his sword through the thickest of their almost-conquering enemies, and with such losse of the *Danish* bloud, drawne from the sides of one of their *Kings*, five *Earles*, and an infinite number of the common souldiers, that the streams thereof seemed as an over-swelling Tide, altogether to cover the face of the field, and is accounted for the noblest Victory that the *English* till then had gotten of the *Danes*.

(9) Yet were not these *Pagans* therewith discouraged, but gathering more strengthes and supplies from other parts; fourteene dayes after, made head againe against the *English*, and pitching downe their Standards at *Basing*, abode the comming of *Ethelred*, and triall of battell: wherin successe was altogether altered; for herein the Kings part was discomfited, and the *Danes* the winners of the day.

(10) Thus both sides borne upon rage and hope, in their heat of bloud prepare for new fight. The *Danes* power was augmented with a further supply sent from beyond Seas, and the *English* confirmed with hope of Successe: These meeting at *Merton* (two moneths after the battle of *Basing*) encountred each other both boldly and bloodily; wherein at first the *English* prevailed, and the *Danes* were chased; but their numbers the greater, and fresh supply maintaining their battaile, they recovered themselves, and wonne the day; wherein King *Ethelred* received his deathes wound, with such slaughter of his people, that little wanted the end of all encounters, to have been afterwards attempted any more by the *English*.

(11) Great was the valour and resistance of this King; for in his short time of Raigne as Writers record, no lesse then nine set battels against the *Danes* he fought in one yeare, to the great effusion of Christian bloud, and to no little losse of the *Danish* power; for in his raigne fell of them one *King*, nine *Earles* and of the common sort without number.

(12) He died at *Wittingham* of his wound received the three and twentieth day of *April*, in the yeare of our Lord God eight hundred seventy two, and was buried in the Collegiat Church of *Wimborne* in *Dorsetshiere*, where remaines his *Tombe*, and his *Armes* unto this day, with this Inscription.

In hoc loco quiescit corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis West-Saxonum Martyris, qui Anno Domini 872. 23. die Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit.

His Issue.

Elfred, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelred* seemeth to be Grandfather to the noble and learned *Ethelward*, who being Kinsman, Counsellour and Treasurer to King *Edgar*, wrote an Historie of his Countrey, beginning at the first arrivall of the *Saxons* into *England*, and continuing unto his owne time: which history hee dedicated to his kinswoman, and cozengerman the Lady *Maude*, Abbesse of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxony*, being the daughter of the Emperour *Otho*, by *Edgith* his Wife, daughter of King *Edward* the elder, and sister of *Ethelstane* and *Edmund*, Kings of *England*.

Oswald, a young sonne of *King Ethelred*, is mentioned in a Charter of his fathers, by which he gave lands to the *Monastery* of *Abingdon* neere *Oxford*; and to which this son of his hath his name set downe for a witnesse; which Charter is yet extant, recorded in a great Legier-booke, and Register of the Evidences of the lands, sometime belonging to the said *Monastery*.

Thyre, the daughter of King *Ethelred*, is reported by the histories of *Ireland* to bee married to *Gormon* King of the *Danes*, and to have had issue *King Harald*, which *Harald*, by Queene *Gonhild* his wife, had issue *Sweyn* King of *Denmarke*, *Iringe* King of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. *King Sweyn* by King *Sigred* his wife, had issue *Cnute King of England* and *Denmark*, *Ostryde*, wife of Duke *Wolfe*, and mother of *King Sweyne* the younger, and *Thyre* the first wife of Earle *Godwin* of *Kent*.

Polydor. Virg.

Wil. Malmsb.

Assendunbattle.

Scala Chronic.

Basing battle.

Scala Chron. Marian. Scot.

Elfred the eldest sonne.

The Abbesse of Quedlingburg.

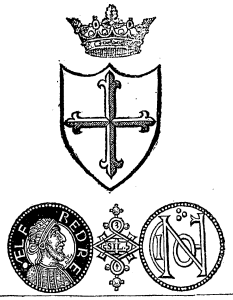
Oswald a younger sonne.

Thyre a daughter.

ELFRED

ELFRED THE TVVENTY THIRD KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE WIVES AND ISSVE.

Elfred. Monarch 24.



Chapter. XXXVI.

An. Dom. 872.

Elfred, or *Alfred*, the fourth son of King *Ethelwolfe*, though he had beene anointed King at *Rome* by Pope *Leo* in his yong yeares, and fathers life time, yet raigned he in no part of his Dominions, before the deaths of al his brethren, under whom he served in most of their warres, assisting them likewise in all their counsels. The land now miserably torne by the cruell intrusions of the bloudy *Danes* was left unto him both to redeeme, and to raigne over, by the death and Testament of King *Ethelred* his last brother.

Matth. West.

Mariana. Florilegus.

(2) He began his raigne in the yeare of his age twenty two, and of our Lord God, eight hundred seventy two, being crowned in the City of *Winchester*, the twenty third King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twenty fourth *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*: but of some Historians hee is famoused by the stile of the *first absolute Monarch*.

(3) His raigne began with troubles and warres in defence of the land which the *Pagan Danes* intended to destroy; and though his powers were small, yet was he forced into the field, within one moneth after his Coronation, the place was *Wilton* in the County of *Wiltshire*, on the South-banke of the River *Wily*: where the *Danes* at first gave backe and fled. But seeing the fewnesse of their pursuers, reenforced their battle, and got the field, with whom the *West-Saxons* entred league, and compounded for their departure from among them.

After.

(4) These Rovers then with their Associates at *Reading*, got themselves into *London*, where they wintred (with whom the *Mercians* likewise compounded for their peace; which proved shortly to be the destruction of their princely bloud; and lastly, the lands subversion by a forraigne Nation. For the *Danes* having got footing in the *North*, the *West*, and the *South* of this land, (unto whose aide many new-come guests from their *Easterne* Countries were arrived under the leading of other three Kings *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond*) all together set their griping talons with such fast hold upon *Mercia*, that at *Ripendon* they constrained *Burthred* the King with his Queene *Elfwith* out of the land, and in his stead placed a King of their owne choise, upon condition to deliver up the same againe unto them when they should demaund it.

Sweyn. Hist. Norweg. Ethelwerd. Simeon. Dunelm.

(5) In the fourth yeare of King *Elfred* their armies divided themselves into two parts, the one of them guided by King *Halden*, returned into *Northumberland*; where hee bestowed that Country among his followers, and therein remained for two yeares continuance, doing much harmes both to the *English* and *Picts*. The other part led by the last new-come King, came to *Grandbridge*, where they wintered and spoiled the Countrey, and there spreading themselves as Grashoppers upon the face of the earth, eate up all where they came; so that King *Elfred* was enforced to compound for their departure out of his kingdome *West-Saxia*; to which covenants they promised and swore; yet contrary to both, tooke into *Devonshire*, and wintered at *Excester*: unto whom a further supply by sea fought to joyne themselves, but met with such boisterous blasts, that one hundred and twenty of their ships were cast away by tempest at *Swanwiche* upon our coasts, and their land-army marching towards *Excester*, were there welcommed with so sharpe an encounter by King *Elfred*, that they gave him both pledges and oath to depart with all speed.

Ethelwerd. An. Dom. 875

Ethelwerd. Simeon. Dunelm.

(6) But Fortune ever dallying with them whom she meanes to downe-cast, set the chance of losse presently

Three Kings against Elfred.

fently upon the *Saxons* side: for now the three Kings, *Gurthrun*, *Esketel*, and *Ammond* thought it not good to let *Elfred* thus reſt, and thereupon drew their forces Weſtwards towards him, where at *Chipingham* (a Mannor of his) they wintered and compelled the *Weſt-Saxons* there, either to yeeld, or to forſake the Countrey.

An. Dom. 876.

(7) King *Elfred* therefore, with ſuch ſtrength as he had, haſted towards them, and ſeventeene miles from *Briſtow* pitched downe his Tents even in the face of the Enemie; where betwixt theſe fierce Nations a great battaile was fought, to the infinite loſſe of blood on both ſides, and that upon ſuch equall departure, as neither could challenge to be maſters of the field; yet the report went, that King *Elfred* was diſcomfited, which turned greatly to his advantage; for thereupon many of the *Engliſh* haſted to his ſuccour, leſt the overthrow of him ſhould be the bane of them all; his ſtrengthes thus renued with an unexpected ſupply, no time was detracted to ſtay the *Daniſh* rage who were now returned further into the heart of the land, and at *Abington* by *Oxford* had pitched their ſtandards for fight.

Abington.

(8) Thither the *Engliſh* repaired, and the next morning *Elfred* ordered his Army; neither were the enemies unprepared, but with braves ſtood ready to receive the encounter. The battaile joyned, continued with ſuch loſſe of blood, that it is accounted one of the foreſt that ever betwixt them before had been fought, and onely parted by the approach of the night, neither party challenging the honour of the day, the loſſe being ſo great upon both ſides.

Seven of theſe battailes are reported to be fought in that yeare, whereby both their ſtrengthes were much abated, and their ſpilt blood ſoone cooled their livers; that laſtly they concluded upon a peace: one article was this, that *the Danes ſhould admit no more of their Nation to arrive in this Iland*: but how ſoone that was broken, the ſequels did ſhew.

Seven Battails in one yeare.

An. Dom. 876. Simon Dun.

(9) For in the yeare eight hundred ſeventy ſixe (ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*) *Rollo* a Noble man of *Denmarke* with a great army entred into *England*, with no leſſe ſpoile and deſtruction then other of thoſe *Danes* before him had done, notwithſtanding the truce: with whom King *Elfred* met, and gave him ſo hot a welcome, that he liked not greatly his entertainement, and being warned (forſooth) in his ſleepe that better fortune attended him in *France*, he left his countreymen to tugge with the *Engliſh*.

Elfreds exigences.

(10) The *Danes* then accounting the peace to be broken, like Bees from the Hive, inſeſt all the land, in ſo much that this undaunted King *Elfred* was oftentimes brought to ſuch extremities, that hee hid himſelfe out of ſight, and in the Fennes and Marſh grounds, was forced with ſuch ſmall companies as he had, to live by fiſhing, fowling, and hunting of wilde beaſts for his food, having no more of his great *Monarchy* left him but *Somerſet*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltſhires* onely, neither yet them free from the incurſions of the *Danes*.

Edelingſey Iland.

(11) The ſolitary place of his moſt reſidency was an *Iland* incloſed with the two rivers, *Thone* and *Parret*, at their meeting in the County of *Somerſet*, commonly called *Edelingſey*, where he in very poore attire diſguiſed, was entertained in a Cowheards houſe (if not into his ſervice) where on a time as hee ſate by the fire in trimming of his bowe and ſhafts, a Cake of Dow baking upon the hearth before him, chanced to burne; the Cowheardeſſe coming in, and ſeeing him minde more his bow then his bread, in a great fury caſt away both his bow and arrowes, and checking him as her Groome, ſaid, *Thou fellow, doeſt thou ſee the bread burne before thy face, and wilt not turne it? and yet art thou glad to eate it before it be halfe baked?* Little ſuſpecting him to be the man that had beene ſerved with farre more delicate Cates.

Aſſer. 506. Hiſtor. Ric. Cirenc.

Polydore Virg.

(12) But this Prince the very mirrour of Princes, more minding the wealth of his Subjects, then the majeſty of State, diſguiſed himſelfe in the habite of a common Minſtrell, and in perſon repaired to the *Danes* Campe, who lay like *Senacheribs*, wallowing in wantonneſſe, and ſecure in their owne conceit from impeach of danger; which *Elfred* a moſt ſkilfull *Muſitian*, and an excellent *Poet*, did not a little egge on by his ſweet muſicke, and ſongs of their valour, ſo that he was ſuffered to paſſe uncontrolled into the company of their Princes, at banquets, or elſewhere: whereby he both ſaw their negligent ſecurity, and by diligent obſervance learned the deſignes that in their counſels they entended.

Walſing.

(13) Returning to his comfortleſſe company, he told them the condition of the hoſtile Campe, and how eaſie it was to recover againe their decayed eſtates: whereupon ſhewing himſelfe to his ſubjects, unto whoſe ſight nothing could be more joyous; on the ſuddaine ſet upon the careleſſe Campe of the *Danes*, and made thereof a very great ſlaughter, to the great terrour of others in other parts, that had accounted him dead long before.

Henry Hunt. An. Dom. 878.

(14) *Hubba*, that had harried the *Engliſh*, and now rowzed upon the newes of King *Elfreds* victory and life; with thirty three ſhips ſailed from *Wales*, and arriving in the mouth of *Tau*, where it falleth into the *Severne Sea*, aſſayed to take there the then ſtrong Caſtle called *Kimwith*, unto whom the *Devonſhire* men gave battle, and ſlew eight hundred and eighty perſons of their retinue; where died the *Daniſh* King *Hubba*, whoſe corps being there interred under a great heape of copped ſtones, gave name to the place, and was called *Hubbleſtone*. There and then was taken the *Daniſh* much eſteemed *Banner*, called *Reafan*, wherein a *Raven* was purtraied wrought in needle-worke, (ſo *Aſſerius Menevenſis* reporteth) by the three ſiſters of *Hubba* and *Hunger* the daughters of *Lothbroke* (that is, *Leather-breach*) the *Dane*: In regard whereof, as alſo for the opinion of good lucke, as they tooke it, it was ever born before them in their wars.

An. Dom. 879.

(15) Theſe adverſe proceedings of the *Danes* deſignes, eſpecially falling when the game was neere wonne, made them ſuſpect, how faire ſoever the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would ſerve it in the end to their loſſe: for *Elfred* now flocked unto upon every ſide, beganne to build fortreſſes behind his backe, and forward to march with his conquering ſword: whereupon the *Danes* ſent to him for Peace, and delivered him hoſtages, upon aſſurance that they meant as they ſpake: The Conditions were, that their King ſhould receive *Baptiſme*, and the great Army of the *Danes* quietly to depart out of the land.

Aſſer. Menev.

Danes leave peace.

(16) Whereupon *Gurmound* or *Gurthrun* the *Daniſh* King repaired to the new built Caſtle of *Edelingſey* unto *King Elfred*, and in the place then called *Alre*, was waſhed in the laver of *Baptiſme*, whom *Elfred* received for his God-ſon by the name of *Athelſtane*, and gave him in free gift the Country of *Eaſt-Angles*. In the ſame fountaine of grace (ſaith *Simon Dunelmenſis*) thirty of the chiefe *Daniſh* Nobility were initiared: upon whom the truly Chriſtian King *Elfred* beſtowed many rich gifts: And that the limits of the *Engliſh* might bee free from their incurſions, thus the confines of King *Elfreds* kingdome were laide forth, as we find it in the end of thoſe *Lawes* that *Elfred* publiſhed, whoſe words are theſe: *Let the bounds of our Dominion ſtretch from the river Thamiſis, and from thence to the water of Lea, even unto the head of the ſame water, and ſo forth ſtraight unto Bedford: and finally, going along by the river of Ouſe, let them end at Watling ſtreet.*

Simon Dun.

Beanfleet.

(17) But ſo farre were the *Danes* from performance of covenants, that in this eight yeere of King *Elfreds* raigne, and the eight hundred ſeventy nine after Chriſt, this *Gurmund* and his company wintered at *Chipnam* in *Wiltſhire*, and a new ſupply of theſe *Pagans* (known by the name of the *Wiccingi*) wintred at *Fulham* neere *London*; yet after upon better advice, the one went into their aſſigned circuit, and the other

Hoſtings Wife and children ſet at liberty.

Trill. Lambert in his booke of thould Engliſh lawes.

An. Dom. 879.

Excester and Chester beſieged.

Mariana.

others departed to the realme of *France*, and ſo to his tweſfe yeare the land tooke ſome reſt, that had been kept long waking by the loud ſound of warre.

(18) In the yeare of Grace eight hundred eighty five, theſe laſt retyred *Danes*, finding *France* not fitting their purpoſe, returned into *Kent*, and put into *Medway*, where on his Eaſt ſide they began a fierce ſiege unto the City *Rocheſter*, before whoſe gate they built a ſtrong Caſtle: Thither King *Elfrid* haſted, before whoſe power theſe *Danes* could not ſtand, but were forced to their ſhippes, and backe againe into *France*.

An. Dom. 889.

(19) Whereupon the King removed his ſiege unto *London*, whence all the *Danes* fled (as Wolves abide not the preſence of the *Lion*) the inhabitants rejoycing to ſee the face of their King: which City hee reſtored to her former liberty and beauty, and committed the cuſtody thereof unto *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, that had married his daughter the Lady *Ethelfred*, whoſe title the king had maintained againſt *Colwolphus*, made king thereof by the *Danes*. Whereupon both *Kent*, the *South-Saxons*, and *Weſt-Saxons*, came willingly, and ſubmitted themſelves to King *Elfred*. The *Eaſt-Angles* being governed, or rather ſpoiled by *Athelſtan* the Chriſtned *Dane*, who after twelve yeares raigne there dyed, and was buried at *Hadley* in *Suffolke*.

Aſſerius. Florilegus.

Brill. Malmeſb.

An. Dom. 892.

(20) But in the one and twentieth of his raigne, and of Chriſts Incarnation eight hundred ninety two: thoſe roving *Danes* returned out of *France*, and againe arrived in *Kent* in the mouth of the river *Limen*, with two hundred and fifty ſhips, which they drew foure miles into the great wood, then called *Andreads Weald*, and there deſtroyed a Caſtle that ſtood for defence, building another more ſtrong at *Apulder*, wherein they kept. At the ſame time likewiſe entered one *Haſtings*, a Noble man of *Norway*, with eighty ſhips; but with a fairer ſhew as hee entended, for he ſent his oath unto *Elfred*, not to annoy any part of his Dominions; and withall his two ſonnes to be baptized, which King *Elfred* accepted, himſelfe becomming the Godfather of the one, and Duke *Ethelred* of the other; and both they, and his Ambaſſadors returned with rich gifts. Againſt theſe *Kentiſh* invaders, King *Elfred* fought a great battaile at *Fernham*, neere unto *Aceſſford*, wherein hee wounded their King, and forced his Army to flee over *Thameſis*; in paſſing whereof, through overmuch haſte and great feare, many of them were drowned, and they that eſcaped, fled to an *Iland* called *Brekleſey*, incloſed about by the river *Colne*.

Simon Dun.

Aſſer. Menev.

Fernham Battell.

(21) Newes then being brought into the Eaſt, that the *Danes* from *Northumberland* had infeſted the Weſt, and with a ſtrong ſiege begirt the Citie *Exceſter*: *Elfred* left for *Generall* his ſonne in law, Duke *Ethelred*, whileſt he with a ſtrong power went to ſuppreſſe their rage, who hearing of his comming, brake up their ſiege, and were gone: upon the advantage of his abſence, perjured *Haſtings* then wrought, who out of his new built Caſtle at *Beamfield*, made ſpoile of the Kings people, and forraged all the Countrey before him. Whereupon Duke *Ethelred* aſſembled a power, and firſt affailing his well ſtored Caſtle, took thence his Wife and two Sonnes, with exceeding ſpoiles of gold, ſilver and garments; all which were preſented unto King *Elfred* at his returne to *London*: who out of his Princely magnanimity, ſent backe to *Haſtings*, his wife and two ſonnes; becauſe (ſaid hee) ſhe was no Warriour, and his two ſonnes were his *God-children*: whereupon *Haſtings* repaired his Caſtle, and ioyned with the other *Danes* that lay at *Apulder*.

(22) Thoſe then that had fled but lately from *Exceſter*, in their returne met with other their conſorts, and roving about the coaſt for their prey, fell laſtly upon the ancient City *Cheſter*, which preſently they beganne to facke and burne. But the Countrey Inhabitants comming to the reſcue, begirt them about with their hoaſt, and foreſtalled the paſſages of all ſupply of victuals; ſo that for want of food, the *Danes* were conſtrained to eate up their horſes, and upon compoſition thence to depart.

An. Dom. 894. Florent Wigorn. Asſerius. Simeon.

(23) Thence fetching a compaſſe all along the coaſts of *Wales*, in the ſame yeare they arrived in *Eſſex*, being the twenty foure of King *Elfreds* raigne: and in the Winter following, drew their ſhips by the *Thameſis* into the river *Lea*, by which they paſſed in thoſe light Pinnaces twenty miles Northward into the land, and built them a fortreſſe at the place called **Weare*: thither forthwith the King repaired, and pitched his Tents before his enemies in the ſame place; who ſeeing their ſtrength, and the danger of long ſiege, did that by policy, which power could not ſo ſodainly doe: for he divided the River into ſundry ſtreames, whereby the Channell was made unnavigable, and the Ships bedded in the mudde, lay rather to their annoiance then defence. The former experience of their hunger-ſtarved ſiege made them more fearefull to fall into the like: and therefore in great haſte departed their fortreſſe, leaving their wives and children to the mercy of the *Engliſh*. Neither ſtayed they till they came unto the borders of *Wales*, when at *Carthridge* upon *Severne* they built another Caſtle, and lay there all the next Winter.

*Weare.

The river Lea, divided and made nauigable.

Hen. Huntingd.

(24) Long there they ſtayed not, without diſlike of their lodgings and cold entertainments, but that they returned to their wonted ſpoyles, and dividing themſelves, ſome to *Northumberland*, and ſome into *Eaſt-Anglia*, like Locuſts eate up all as they went: whoſe breath, as it were, ſo infected the ayre, that for three yeares following, a great mortality raigned both upon men and beaſts, and ended not much before the death of this incomparable Prince: which hapned to the great ſorrow of his ſubjects upon Wedneſday the twenty eight of *October*, when he had raigned twenty nine yeares and ſixe moneths, of his age fifty one, and yeare of Chriſts Ieſus nine hundreth and one.

An. Dom. 897.

(25) The vertues of this Prince are matchable to any that ever raigned before him, and exceed the moſt that ever raigned after him, both in ſervice of God, whoſe *Subſtitutes* they are; in defence of his Countrey, which charge they all beare; in providing good lawes, the ſinewes of Kingdomes; and care of poſteritities, from which no man is exempted.

Scal. Chr. Polyd. Virg. Trithem. Functorius. Reſtitut.

The day and night containing twenty foure howers, he deſigned equally to three eſpeciall uſes, and them obſerved by the burning of a Taper ſet in his *Chappell* or *Oratory*; eight howres hee ſpent in contemplation, reading and prayers; eight, in proviſion for himſelfe, his repoſe and health; and the other eight in the affaires of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdome hee likewiſe divided into *Shires*, *Hundreds*, and *Tithings* for the better ordering and adminiſtring of Iuſtice, and for the abandoning of Theeves, which had formerly increaſed by the meanes of long Warres; whereby, notwithſtanding the multitude of Souldiers continually imployed, it is reported that a Virgine might travaile alone in his dayes through all his Dominion, without any violence offered; and that bracelets of gold were hanged in the high wayes, and no man ſo hardy as to take them away.

Aſſerius Menev.

He was a moſt zealous, and ſtudious Protector and provider for the Clergy, Widdowes, and Orphans, liberall of his goods, wiſe, temperate and juſt, valiant, patient in adverſities, and ever religious in the ſervice of God. A moſt learned Poet: the beſt lawes full Muſition, and an excellent Poet: the beſt lawes befitting his Subjects, he tranſlated into the *Engliſh* tongue: as alſo the Paſtorall of *Gregory*, the Hiſtory of *Beda*, and *Boëtius his Conſolation of Philoſophy*; the *Pſalmes of David* (whoſe godly raign he propoſed to himſelfe for imitation) hee likewiſe began to tranſlate, but died before he could finiſh the ſame. And ſo great a deſire had he unto learning, that (as *Aſſirdius Rivallenſis* witneſſeth) he publiſhed this Act: *We will and command, that all Freemen of our Kingdom, who*

Aſſerius Menev. Ingulph. Thomas de Otterbourne.

soever possessing two hides of land, shall bring up their sons in learning till they be fifteene yeeres of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily: for, of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no otherwise then of a beast, or a brainelesse body, and a very sot. And for the furtherance of this his royall intent, consorted with *Asserius Menevensis, Grimbald, John Scot* and others: neither permitted he any in office in Court, or elsewhere, unlesse he were learned, which incited his nobles to the earnest pursuit of learned arts; and to traine up their children in good letters. His buildings were many, both to Gods service, and other publike use, as at *Edelingsey* a *Monastery*, at *Winchester* a *New Minster*, and at *Shaftsbury* a house of *Nunnes*, wherein hee made his daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbesse. But the foundation of the *Vniversity of Oxford* (which he began in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred ninetie five, and whose Lectures he honoured with his owne presence) surmounteth all his others, to the continuance of posteriries, a living spring and gracious fountaine, whence issue the streames of all knowledge, that abundantly have watered both this and other kingdomes.

Asserius Grimbald. John Scot.

Annales of printed Monastery.

(26) His body was first buried in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Peters* at *Winchester*, under a faire Monument of most precious Porphyry, afterwards because the lewd religious Chanons gave it out (to work some feat of their usuall imposture) that his ghost did walk every night from house to house; both it and the Monument were taken up, and by his sonne the Kings command (in detestation of those sorceries) remooved into the Church of the new *Monastery*: and lastly, his body, Monument, Church and Monastery, were taken thence, and remooved without the *North gate* of the Citie since called *Hyde*.

Malmsf. de Reg. l. 2. c. 4.

(27) Some alledge that the malice of those Chanons against him, was for displeasure that he placed over them a rude Swinheard named *Denewulphus*, whom he made their Bishop; but the ground of that assertion seemeth unwarrantable by the relation of *Wigornensis*, and also of *Thomas Rudburne*; the first of which saith, that *Elfred* caused him to be trained up in learning, and the later, that after long study, he attained to the degree of a Doctor of *Divinity* in the Vniversitie of *Oxford*, and was afterward made Bishop of *Winchester* by the King. For doubtlesse at that time the Bishops of *Rome* had not devested our Kings of that prerogative.

Wigornensis. Th. Rudburns.

His Wife.

(28) *Elfwith* the Wife of King *Elfred* was the daughter of *Ethelred* surnamed *Muchel*, that is, the *Great*, an Earle of the *Mercians*, who inhabited about *Gainesborough* in *Lincolnshiere*: her mother was *Edburg* a Lady borne of the Blood royall of *Mercia*. Shee was married unto this King in the twentieth yeere of his age, being the second of the raigne of his brother King *Ethelred*; and was his wife twentie eight yeeres, and living after him foure; died in the yeere of grace nine hundred and foure, and was buried in the *Monastery* of *Nunnes* which shee had founded at *Winchester*; out of which afterwards King *Henry the first* tooke to his wife *Maud* the daughter of *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, by whom the royall blood of the ancient Kings of *England* became united to the *Normans*, whereby he wanne much love of the *English nation*.

Elfwith.

Malcolme King of Scots.

His Issue.

Edward, the eldest sonne, and second child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elfwith*, was borne about the beginning of his Fathers raigne, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred seventy one: hee was brought up in his Fathers Court, and carefully attended, and instructed by men of great vertue and knowledge, in learning, and in all other qualities, and exercises convenient for Princes. He was married, and had divers children: being thirtie yeeres of age before his Father deceased, and then succeeded him in his *Kingdome* and *Monarchy*.

Edward the eldest sonne.

Ethelward, the second sonne, and fifth, and last child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfwith*, was borne about the midst of his Fathers raigne, and about the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and eightie. Hee was in his youth by his Fathers appointment, and for the example of other young Nobles brought up in the study of good Arts, at the Vniversity of *Oxford*, where (saith *Th. Rudburne*, and the *Annals* of *Winchester*) he became a man very learned, and a great Philosopher: hee had of his Fathers gift by his last Will great livings in the Counties of *Devon*, *Somerset*, *South-Hampton*: hee prooved a man of great judgement and wisedome, and living untill he was above forty yeeres old; hee died the fixteenth day of *October*, in the two and twenty yeere of his brother King *Edwards* raigne, *Anno* nine hundred twentie two, and was buried at *Winchester*.

Ethelward the second sonne.

Rudburne Antiquities South Saxon.

Elfleda, the eldest daughter and first child of King *Elfred*, and Queene *Elfwith* his Wife, was married to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, who in respect of this marriage was suffered to have all royall juridiction over that Countrey, in as ample manner as the Kings thereof had enjoyed; and after the decease of her husband, which happened in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and twelve, shee continued the government in the same sort eight yeeres, with such resolution and valiant resistance of the common enemy (the *Danes*) that shee stood her brother *Edward* in great stead, as in the relation of his life shall be further shewed. She died the fifteenth of *June*, nine hundred and nineteene, and was buried in S. *Peters* Church at *Glouc*ester, leaving issue, a daughter, named *Elfwin*, whom King *Edward* her brother deprived of that *Dutchy* which her owne mother enjoyed, and he his crowne by her assistance.

Elfleda the eldest daughter.

Ethelgeda, the second daughter and fourth child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfwith*, was never married, but tooke upon her the profession and vow of *Virginity*, and was by her fathers appointment made a Nunne of *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorset*, in the *Monasterie* there founded by him: who is also accounted the first of the Towne it selfe. Shee was afterward *Abbesse* of the house, and therein spent and ended her life, and was there also buried.

Ethelgeda the second daughter.

Elfride, the youngest daughter, and child of King *Elfred* and Queene *Elfwith* his wife, was married to *Baldwin* the second, surnamed the *Bald*, Earle of *Flanders*, sonne of Earle *Baldwin* the first, and Queene *Iudith* his wife, the widdow of King *Ethelwolfe* her Grandfather. Shee was his wife thirty yeeres and more; shee survived him and was a widdow eleven yeeres: shee died the seventh of *June*, in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred twenty nine, being the fift of the raigne of King *Ethelstan* her Nephew. She is buried by her husband in the Chapell of *our Lady*, within the *Monastery* of S. *Peter*, at the City of *Gaunt*. She had issue *Arnulfe* the third Earle of *Flanders*, progenitor of all the Earles of *Flanders* since his time; *Adulfe* Earle of *Boloigne* and *Terwin*.

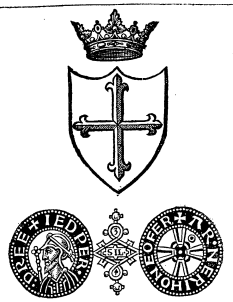
Elfride the youngest daughter.

EDWARD

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE ELDER, THE TVVENTY FOVRTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 25.



CHAPTER. XXXVII.

An. Dom. 901.

NO greater, were the griefes conceived for the death of worthy *Elfred*, then were the hopes of the people in his sonne Prince *Edward*, whose valour had beene often approoved against the raging *Danes*, and whose vertues were both many and princely; not so learned as his Father, neither so patient to undergoe his chance; but as glorious in martiall prowesse, and as fortunate in all his fights; under whose hand the *Danes* every where fell, and under his *Monarchy* all the *English* did stoope, excepting the *Northumbrians*.

Mon. Mantuing.

(2) Hee entred his raigne the yeare of Christs nativity, nine hundred and one, and at *Kingston* upon *Thames* was crowned and annointed with holy oyle. The *Danish* warres continuing in a successive manner, fell as it were hereditarily from the Father unto the Sonne, and ripened dayly towards their wished harvest. Besides *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Ethelbert* the uncle to this King *Edward*, young at his fathers decease, and therefore perhaps held uncapable of government, shewed now the blossomes of under-sucking plants, whose fruits are neither plenteous nor pleasant in taste; for his humors ever working upon discontents, drew his thought onely how to make the possessor fall.

Rom. Hist.

(3) He then entring action of rebellion, tooke the Towne of *Wimborne* neere unto *Bathe*, and besides the allegiance due to his Prince, in sacrilegious manner brake the hests of holy Church, in deflowring and taking a Votarist to wife. *Edward* the elder, so called (it may be in regard of this his *Opposite*) with a selected Army repaired to *Bathe*, and thence prepared for the *field*: whose sight was so cockatrice-like to his cosen-garmens eye, that in the night he bade his *Num* and *Wimborne* adew, posting to *Northumberland*, and proffering his service to the *Danes* that lay for advantage of rapine and spoile.

Saint Edmunds Ditch.

(4) Him as a fit instrument they created their King and forward in hope of some prosperous successe, passed through the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and the *Mercians Countries*: and laden with robberies came to *Crikelade* in *Wiltshire*, whence they departed over *Thamisis* to *Basingstocke*; and harrying the land before them, with triumph returned unto *East-Anglia*. *Edward* thus endangered by these dreadfull enemies, gave them no advantage by lingering delayes, but followed their tract unto Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, whence in his returne, the *Danes* gave him battaile, and obtained the victory, though bought with the lives of *Ethelwald* and *Cochricus* their Kings, and losse of many *English*, which made *Edward* the readier to enter a truce with them about the fift of his raigne.

Ethelwald his minority.

Wimborne taken by him.

(5) That the *English* were most expert for warre in these dayes, is witnessed by their resistance of those sturdy *Danes*, against whom the *Commons* many times with victory fought, without either King of Captaine to guide them: and they were likewise famous in other lands; for about this time it was, that the *Englishmen* at the perswasion of the *Gothes*, besieged the great City *Argilla* in *Barbary*, which they wonne with such slaughter of the enemy, and spoile of the towne; that for thirty yeares after it lay desolate without inhabitants, whereby it was hoped that the *Saracens* would have departed *Europe*, as *Ioannes Leo Afer* hath told us, who according to the *Saracens* doth referre this siege to the three hundred and foureteenth of *Mahomet Hegira*, which meeteth with the yeare of Christs Nativity, nine hundred and five.

An. Dom. 905.

Ioannes Leo Afer in descript. Africæ.

The Danes breake truce with the King.

An. Dom. 910. Simon Dunelm. Two Danish Kings slaine.

Wal. Malmesb. Leolin his homage to King Edward.

His admiration of King Edwards mildnesse.

An. Dom. 912. Henry Huntington. Elfleda dislikes of Wednesday.

Shee winneth Brecknoke and Dasby.

Many Townes planted by her.

(6) The truce yet lasting, the *Danes* in *Northumberland* were nothing quiet, to stay whose irruptions King *Edward* sent a great power, who harried the Country before them, and with much slaughter returned victorious. These dalliances of Fortune made the *Danes* very desperate, and therefore to stay the rowling ball before it should passe their goale, they gathered their powers and entred *Mercia*, where with victory and spoile they raged for a time. But *Edward* to ayd *Ethelred* his brother in law, and Earle of that Province, mustered his men, and at *Wodnesfield* neere *Wolfrunc-hampton* in *Staffordshire* gave them battaile, wherein the *English* so behaved themselves that the two Pagan Kings *Cowilfus* and *Healidine*, the two Earles *Yter* and *Scurfa*, besides other Nobles and Commons innumerable they slew: and now the clouds of these distemperatures being driven backe, King *Edwards* Monarchy ascended the *Horizon*, and the *Sunne* of his power began to shine very bright, therefore he seeking to hold what he had got, set his thoughts to secure his Townes with Castles and wals of defence.

(7) These his proceedings caused him to bee both beloved and feared; but his mind still free from any ambitious pride, as may appeare by the intercourse betwixt *Leolin* Prince of *Wales* and himselfe whereof *Wal. Malmes* maketh mention as followeth. *What time* Edward *the Elder* (saith he) *lay at* Austeline, *and* Leolin *Prince of* Wales *at* Bethelley, *intending a Parly*, Leolin *refused to come downe, or to crosse the* Severne: *Whereupon* Edward *tooke boat and entred the river towards him, which when* Leolin *saw, and knew who hee was, he cast off his rich roabe wherewith he was clad, and which he had prepared for that royall assembly, and entred the river breast-hye, where clasping the boat with an imbrace, submissively said: Most wise and sage King, thy humility hath overcome my insolency, and thy wisedome triumphed over my folly; come, get upon my necke, which I have (foole as I am) lifted up against thee, so shalt thou enter into that land which thy benigne mildnesse hath made shine owne this day: and after he had taken him upon his shoulders, he would needs have him sit downe upon his royall roabe, and so putting his hands joyntly into his, did him homage.*

(8) In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, as *Henry Huntington* hath it; *Ethelred* Earle of *Mercia*, who had married *Elfleda* King *Edwards* sister, departed this life, she having borne him one onely daughter named *Elfwin*, whose travell in childbirth was so grievous, that ever after she forbare the nuptiall imbracements of her husband, alledging that it was an over foolish pleasure, which brought with it so great paines; and thereupon changing the wonted Affection of her sexe from the bed unto battaile, governed *Mercia* eight yeares after her husbands decease, as another *Zenobia*, and did not a little assist her brother in his warres: for the *Welsh* shee pursued as farre at *Brecknoke*, which she tooke with their Queene: from the *Danes* shee wonne the County of *Darby*, and assaulting the Towne upon them, put her selfe in great danger; for enterprising to enter the Gate, shee was regerd; for enterprising to enter the Gate, shee was repelled by whole multitudes of *Danes*; notwithstanding, the persisted, and got entrance, in which encounter many dyed, and foure of her chiefe men of war, being Warders of her person, even fast by her side were slaine.

The *Danes* in *Yorkeshire* she constrained to bee at her devotion, so that some of them became her subjects, some vowed to attend in her ayde, and some promised to bee prest at her dispose. Her policy in warre prooved ever the surest; her counsell of State was regarded with the wisest, and her providence in building, and repairing Cities for the weale-publike, or fortifying places for munition of warre exceeded others: which she extended upon *Chester*, *Tamworth*, *Litchfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwicke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Wednesbury*, *Eadsbury*, *Fimborow*, *Rincorne*, *Brimsbery-Bridge*, and others.

This renowned Lady giving place unto Nature, left the warres to bee continued by her brother; her daughter at the dispose of her Uncle, and her body to bee buried at *Glocester* in the Monastery of Saint *Peter*, which her husband and her selfe had formerly built.

(9) The last battaile of this King against these unsatiate enemies, was in the Country of the *East-angles*, whereof *Edricke* the *Dane* was King; for he intending new warres with the *English*, sought to incite other *Danes* to his ayde, whereof *Edward* having intelligence, prevented his purpose, by his sodaine approach into those parts.

Edricke therefore having all in a readinesse, rashly encountered with his enemy, and fought a fierce battaile to the great losse of his Army, and damage of his life; for returning to his Court after so foule a discomfiture, became odious to his owne subjects, who violently fell upon him and murdered him; and themselves brought low by civill dissention were shortly made subject to the *English King Edward*, and that Kingdome with *Mercia*, joyned unto his *West-Saxons*. And now having raigned in great warres and honour the space of twenty foure yeeres, deceased at *Farringdon* in *Barkshire*, the yeare of Christs incarnation, 924. and was buried in the *new Monastery* of *Winchester*, which his Father begun, and himselfe wholly finished.

Polydor.

Edricke his doings.

The time of King Edwards raigne. His children and issuall.

His Wives.

(10) *Egwina* the first wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of a meane Gentleman named *Beorhec*, whose eye-pleasing feature and alluring beauty made her to be educated above the degree of her birth, and was brought up by the nurse of King *Edward* in tender affection and great esteeme. It chanced Prince *Edward* in kindnesse came to visite his nurse, where seeing the admirable beauty of the Maid, fell so farre in love, that he tooke her to his wife without the consent or knowledge of his father: In which regard she is reputed by some Writers rather his *Concubine* then his Queene, no other cause mooving them but her meane parentage, and secret making and keeping of this marriage although there be some good historyes and many likelyhoods to induce that she was his lawfull Queene.

Egwina.

Prince Edward marrieth Egwina.

(11) *Elfleda* the second wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter (as *Matthew of Westminster* reporteth) of an Earle named *Ethelhelme*, and *Affer* the Bishop of *Sherborne* maketh mention of an Earle in *Wiltshire* among the *West-Saxons* of the same name; who was in great favour with King *Elfrid*, the father of this King, by whom hee was sent Ambassador to carry his Almes to *Stephen*, the sixt of that name Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord 887. and by all probable conference of name, time, and place, hee seemeth to be the man that was father to this Queene.

Elfleda.

Stephen the sixth Bishop of Rome.

(12) *Edgiva*, the third wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter and heire of Earle *Sigeline* Lord of *Mepham*, *Culinges*, and *Leanham* in *Kent*, who was there slaine in battaile against the *Danes*, *Anno* 927. Shee was married unto King *Edward* about the foureteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace, 916. She was his wife ten yeares, and after his death shee lived a widdow all the times of the raignes of King *Ethelstan* her fonne in law, of King *Edmund*, and King *Edred* her owne fonnes, of King *Edwy* her Grand-child; and was living in the Raigne of King *Edward* another of her Grand-children, almost forty yeares after the death of her husband. It is writ of her that in the yeare of Grace, 959. shee offered her lands and evidences to Christ upon his Altar at *Canterbury*. She deceased the twenty fift of *August* in the fourth yeare of the said King *Edgar*, and of Christ, 963.

Edgiva.

Two Kings her fonnes.

His Children.

(13) *Ethelstan*, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egwina*, was borne and growne to good yeeres in the time of the raigne of his Grandfather King *Elfred*, who with his owne hands gave him the order of knighthood, after a very honourable manner

Elfleda the second daughter.

Ethelstan the first sonne.

Wil. Malmesb.

Elfred the second sonne.

Crowned King in his fathers time.

Editha the first daughter. Matth. Wellm. Polidor.

Tamworth Castell.

Edward the third sonne.

Buried at Winchester.

Edwine the fourth sonne. Wil. Malm.

Edgiva.

Stephen Bishop of Rome.

Iames Meir, in his Annals of Flanders.

Edgiva.

Two Kings fonnes.

Elfleda the second daughter.

Ramsey Monastery.

Egwina the third daughter.

Ethelstan the first sonne.

ner of creation, as *William* the Monke of *Malmesbury*, a great observer of such things, hath left in writing: who reporteth, that he put upon him a Purple Robe, and girt him with a girdle wrought with pearle, and a *Saxon* sword in a scabbard of gold, hanging at the same. He was the successor of his Father in the *West-Saxons* dominions, and the *English Monarchy*.

(14) *Elfrid*, the second sonne of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egwina*, is warranted by the testimony of the story of *Hyde*, to have beene loved of his father above all his other children, that he caused him in his owne life time to be crowned King, and to sit with him in his Seat of Estate, as his Partner in the Kingdome, and that he enjoyed that great honour but for a small time, deceasing shortly after his creation; and long before his fathers death; and was buried in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, which afterwards was removed to *Hyde*.

(15) *Editha* (whom the *Scotish* Writers call *Beatrice*) the daughter of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egwina*, with great honour was married to *Sythricke*, the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, in the first yeere of the raigne of her brother King *Ethelstan*, being the yeere of grace 915. Within one yeere after her marriage, her husband deceased, and his sonne *Guthfrid* succeeded him in his Kingdome. Wherefore she forsaking that Countrey, obtained of her brothers gift, the Castell of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicke*, where she began a Monastery of Nunnes, and therein lived, died, and was interred, and both the Monastery and Body afterwards was removed from thence unto *Polleforth*.

Elfleda the third daughter.

Ethelhild the fourth daughter.

Edhild the fifth daughter.

Edgith the fixth daughter.

(16) *Elfward*, the third sonne of King *Edward*, and the first of Queen *Elfleda* his second wife, was born, as it seemeth, about the beginning of his fathers raigne. He was carefully brought up in the study of Liberall Arts, and in all other princely qualities; so that it was expected hee should have succeeded his father in the Kingdome: but presently upon his fathers decease, he died himselfe in *Oxford*, and was buried at one time, and in one place with him in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 924.

(17) *Edwine*, the fourth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, was very young when his father was buried, and his brother *Ethelstane* crowned. Notwithstanding a deepe jealousie possessing the King, that his title was too neere the Crowne, he caused him to be put into a little Pinnasse, without either Tackle or Oares, one only Page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waves: whence the young Prince overputed to the waves: whence the young Prince overcome with griefe, and not able to master his owne passions, cast himselfe headlong into the Sea, and his dead body being driven upon the coasts of *Flanders*, was taken up by *Adulphe*, Earle of *Bolaine*, his cosengermane, and honourably buried in the Monastery of Saint *Bertin*, in the Towne of S. *Omers*. Which fact was much lamented by King *Ethelstan*, who grievously punished the suggestions of his owne jealousie, and the procurers of his brothers death, sending great thanks to the Earle that buried him, and rich Presents to the Monastery which entombed him, and to appease the ghost of his innocent brother, built the Abbey of *Midleton* in the County of *Dorset*.

(18) *Elfleda*, the second daughter of King *Edward* and the first of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, entred into the orders of Religion, and tooke upon her the profession and vow of Virginitie, in the Monastery of *Ramsey*, situated upon the River *Test*, in the County of *Southampton*, in which Monastery, she was first a Nunne, and afterward Abbesse during the whole time of her life, which was there spent and ended; and her body in the said Abbey buried.

(19) *Egwina*, the third daughter of King *Edward* and the second of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, was the second Wife to *Charles the third*, surnamed the *Simple*, King of *France*, son to King *Lewis* the brother of *Iudith*, Queene of *England* before mentioned. She had issue by him *Lewis the third*, surnamed *Beyond Sea*, because he was brought up here in *England* with his Vnkle King *Ethelstan*; and *Gillet* Dutchesse of *Normandy* married to *Rollo* the *Dane*: who in regard of his marriage, was allowed to be the first Duke of that Country. This Queene survived King *Charles* her husband; and afterwards was remarried to *Herbert*, the younger Earle of *Vermandoys*; which marriage was taken for so great an indignity, because Earle *Herbert* the elder, father to this Earle, had caused the King her Husband to die in prison, that King *Lewis* her sonne presently pursued her, apprehended, and committed her to the strait custody of Queene *Gerberge* his wife: so as shee had no recourse unto him, nor issue by him.

Her marriage with Herbert disliked.

(20) *Ethelhild*, the fourth daughter of King *Edward*, and the third of Queene *Elfleda* his second wife, followed the example of her elder sister *Elfleda*, and became a Nunne in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Towne giving name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*; and anciently called *Ellandon*.

(21) *Edhild*, the fifth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fourth of Queene *Elfleda*, was married to *Hugh* surnamed *the Great*, Earle of *Paris*, Grand-master and Constable of *France*, in the yeere of our Lord 926. being the third of her brother King *Ethelstanes* raigne. This *Hugh* was the sonne of *Robert*, brother to *Endes* King of *France*, and father of King *Hugh Capet*, progenitor of the Kings of *France*, ever since unto this day: but thee died before him without any issue by him.

(22) *Edgith*, the sixth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fifth of Queene *Elfleda*, was the first wife of *Otho* the first, surnamed *the Great*, Emperour of the West, sonne to the Emperour *Henry*, surnamed *the Falconer*. By him shee had issue *Ludolfe*, Duke of *Swade*, *William* Archbishop of *Mentz*, *Ludgard* married to *Conrad* Duke of *Lorrayn*, and *Mechthild* Abbesse of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxonie*: in which Citie she deceased the seven and twentie of *August*, in the yeere of Christs Nativitie 947. the eleventh of her husbands Empire, and the first of her brother King *Edreds* raigne in *England*. Shee was buried at the East end of the North side of a Chappell which her selfe had founded in the same Citie.

Edgith the fixth daughter.

(23) *Elgiva*, the seventh daughter of King *Edward*, and the sixth of Queene *Elfleda* his second Wife, was by King *Ethelstan* her brother, with her sister *Egith*, sent to the Court of the Emperour *Henry the first*, King of the *Saxons* in *Germany*, who honourably entertained her, brought her up with his owne daughters; and after he had married her elder sister to his eldest sonne, he placed her also in marriage with a Duke of *Italy* about the Alpes, who is not named of our Writers, but may easily be conjectured by the honourable disposition of the Maker of the match to have beene a Prince of note and account, worthy of her estate and parentage.

Elgiva the seventh daughter.

Married to a Duke of Italy.

(24) *Edmund*, the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgiva* his third and last wife, was borne in the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of the worlds salvation 921. and at his fathers death little more then three yeeres of age; was notwithstanding by the carefull provision of his mother, brought up with all princely education convenient for his yeeres and estate, insomuch as there was generally a great expectation amongst the people conceived of him in the life of his brother King *Ethelstan*, under whom he learned some experience of service in warre, and after whom he succeeded in the kingdome of *England*.

Edgiva the third wife.

The yeeres of his age at his fathers death.

(25) *Edred*, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Edgiva* his third wife, and the youngest sonne of them both, was borne about the two and twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, and yeere of grace 923. which was not long before the death of his father, who left him a little infant in the custody of his mother, by whom he was carefully brought up, and prooved a Prince of so great vertue

Edred the sixth sonne.

A good Prince

and

and valour, as after the death of King *Edmund* his brother in regard of the minority of his Nephews, hee was with the Generall consent, and liking of the whole nation, chosen to be his brothers successor in the kingdome and government over them.

Edburg the eight daughter. *Ran. Higd. Polic. lib. 6. c. 4.*

(26) *Edburg*, the eight daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgiva*, in her childhood had her disposition tried, and her course of life disposed by her Father in this manner; hee laid before her gorgeous apparell, and rich Iewels, in one end of a chamber, and the new Testament and Bookes of princely instruction in the other; willing her to make her choice of which she liked best: she presently tooke up the bookes, and hee her in his armes; kissing her said, *Goe in Gods name whither God hath called thee*, and thereupon placed her in a *Monastery at Winchester*, wherein shee did most vertuously spend her whole life, and in that Abbey was buried.

Edgiva the ninth daughter. (2) *Edgiva*, the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of his last Queene, whose name shee bare, is reported in the History of the *Monastery* of *Hyde* by *Winchester*, and other Writers of our Countrey, to have beene married to *Lewes* Prince of *Aquitaine* in *France*, which not long before had beene a *Kingdome* of it selfe, sometime allotted to the portion of *Lewes* the third sonne of the Emperour *Charles* the *Great*; of which house it seemeth this *Lewes* was; afterward it became a Dukedome, and the possession of an other Family, by whom it came to be the inheritance after the Conquest to the Kings of *England*, which were descended of the house of *Angeow*.

Aquitaine belonging to England.

His Cup-bearer put to death.

Fabricke. Will. Malmesb.

A law against Fellons.

Godfrey and Anlafe the sons of Sithricke.

Rudborn, Guido Malmsbury.

An. Dom. 937. Matth. West. Polyd. Hagd.

King Constantine assisteth Godfrey.

Will. Malmes. Henr. Hunt. Ran. Higden.

Anlafe King of Ireland.

Mistir Boetius.

Pope Iohn the tenth.

Anlafe his power.

Paganisme.

Edwins death.

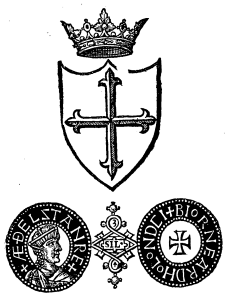
Anlafe his soule in Hell fire.



Ethelstan.

ETHELSTAN THE TVVENTY FIFT KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND SVPPOSED ISSVE.

Monarch 26.



CHAPTER. XXXVIII.

An. Dom. 924.

Thelstan, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* (as hath beene said) for the great hopes conceived of him, was crowned with a greater solemnity then any of his ancestors ever before him. The place was *Kingston* upon *Thamisis* in the County of *Surrey*, the yeere of Christ Iesus nine hundreth twentie foure, where, in the midst of the towne a high Scaffold was built, and thereon the Coronation performed to the open view of all, by *Athelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with shouts of joy as that of *Salomon*.

Crowned at *Kingston upon Thamisis.*

(2) His beginnings were with troubles, and that rather by reason of friends then force of foes: for it is recorded, that *Elfred* a Nobleman, either in favour of King *Edwards* other sonnes, holding *Ethelstan* a Bastard, or else upon an ambitious hope for himselfe, intended at *Winchester* to have pluckt out the eyes of his Soveraigne: but his treason being known, before he seed could shew blade, he was apprehended and sent to *Rome* to purge himselfe by oath: where, before the Altar of S. *Peter* and Pope *Iohn* the tenth, he there abjured the act, and thereupon fell suddenly downe to the earth, so that his servants tooke and bare him into the English Schoole, where, within three dayes after he died: the *Pope* denying him Christian buriall untill he knew King *Ethelstans* pleasure.

Will. Malmesb.

(3) These stormes over past, as great a cloud seemed to arise unto *Ethelstans* sight, whose eye of iealousie ever following the assent, and his eare ever opened unto the instillations of Parasites, amongst whom his Cup-bearer was a chiefe, who brought daily more and more suspition into the Kings head that lastly (as wee haue shewed) hee consented to young *Edwins* death, though with too late a forrow hee repented the same: for besides his seaven yeeres pennance voluntarily undergone, to pacifie the

The occasion of the Fourning of Middlesex and Mickelsex Monasteries.

the ghost of his betraied brother, he built the two *Monasteries* of *Midleton* and *Michelnesse*, as for the most part such seed-plots were ever sowne in the furrowes of blood, which hapned upon this occasion: It chanced his *Cup-bearer* in his service upon a festivall to stumble with the one foote, and recovering himselfe with the other, pleasantly to say, *you see how one brother helpeth another*; upon which speech the King with griefe and touch of heart, called to mind the death of his innocent brother, and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him the procurer, to repay his fact with deserved death: and himselfe was ever after more tender and carefull towards his other brethren, with a more repective regard, and bestowed his sisters most honorably in marriage, as hath beene said.

(4) At his entrance of government, to discharge the expectations of his subiects, hee endeavored both by warres and alliances to make them strong and rich. First therefore entring friendshippe with *Sithricke* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, upon whom with condition that hee should receive Baptisme, he bestowed his sister *Editha* in marriage, hee bent himselfe to ordaine *Lawes* for the weale-publike, and those to bind as well the *Clergy* as the *Laiety*, out of which first sprang the *attachment* of *Fellons*, to take hold of such as stole above *twelve pence*, and were aboue twelve yeeres of age.

(5) But *Sythricke* the *Northumbrian* dying the first yeare of his marriage, and his *Queene* returning to a religious life, his sonnes *Godfrey* and *Anlafe*, offended that their *Pagan Gods* were neglected, and onely by the meanes of this their fathers last wife, stirred the *Northumbrians* to disquiet the English, which occasioned *Ethelstan* to invade their Country: and forced *Anlafe* into *Ireland*, and *Godfrey* into *Scotland*, which last so wrought with *Constantine* their King, that hee undertooke to side in his quarrell, with whom joyned* *Howell* King of *Wales*. These in a fierce battle hee overcame and constrained them to submit themselves to his will, who knowing the chance of warre to bee variable, and pittying the case of these down-cast Princes, restored them presently to their former estates, adding withall this princely saying, *that it was more honour to make a King then to be a King*.

(6) This notwithstanding, the case of *Godfrey* so moved the spirit of King *Constantine*, that hee againe assisted him in his inroades into the English part, which drew againe King *Ethelstan* into the *North*: and comming to *Yorkshiere* (as he was a man much devoted to God-ward) turned aside to visite the tombe of S. *Iohn of Beverly*, where earnestly praying for his prosperous successe, for want of richer Iewels, there offred his knife, vowing that if hee returned with conquest, hee would redeeme it with a worthy price; and thus armed with hope, proceeded forward pitching downe his tents at *Brimesbury*, his navie wafting along those seas.

(7) To the aide of *Constantine* came *Anlafe*, called by writers king of the *Irish*, and of the *Iles*, who had maried his daughter, a man no doubt both hardy and desperate, as appeared by the action hee underwent; for it is recorded, that as *Elfred* the English had attempted to know the state of the *Danes*; so this *Dane* at this place did to understand the *Englishs*: for disguising himselfe like a Harper, hee went from Tent to Tent, and had accesse even into King *Ethelstans* presence, untill hee had learned what hee most desired, and then returned againe to his Campe, which part of his was no bolder nor more wisely performed, then was kept secret, and after revealed by a most faithfull souldier. For *Anlafe* departed and free from purfuit, this Souldier made the act knowne to *King Ethelstan*: who being fore displeased with his enemies escape, imputed the fault unto him the revealer; but he replying, made him this answere; *I once served* Anlafe (said he) *under his pay for a souldier, and gave him the same faith that I doe now unto you; if then I should have betrayed his designes, what trust could your Grace repose in my truth? let him therefore die, but not through my Treachery, and by his escape secure your royall selfe from danger; remove your Tent from the place where it stands, lest as unawares hee haply assaile you.*

(8) The King seeing the faith if his souldier, was therewith pacified, and forthwith commanded his Tent to bee removed, where presently a Bishop new come to his Campe pitched up his owne, and the night following both himselfe and retinue were slaine by the same *Anlafe* that fought the kings life in assaulting the place; and pressing forward came to his tent, who awaked with the suddaine Alarum boldly rushed upon his enemies, and encouraging his men, put them backe with the death of five petty Kings, twelve Dukes, and well neere of the whole Army, which *Anlafe* had brought.

Will. Malmes.

Five Kings and twelve Dukes slaine.

(9) The memory of this man is made the more lasting by a peece of ancient Saxon coine of silver, inscribed with his name, ANLAF CYNYNE, which for the antiquity of the thing, and honor of the man we have here imprinted, and placed, though in the texture of our *English Saxon kings*.



Polic. lib. 6. c. 6. Dunbar Castle.

(10) To leave a memoriall of *King Ethelstans great* victory, give me leaue to write what I find; namely, that neere unto the Castle *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, he praying that his right unto those parts might be confirmed unto posterities by a signe, at one blow with his sword strooke an ell deepe into a stone, which stood so cloven a long time after, and undoubtedly was the whetstone to this Authors knife, with the like credit as *Tarquinius* his whetstone was cut asunder by *Attius Navius* the *Augur* his *Razor*: but this is most certaine, that hee joyned *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and returning to *Beverly* redeemed his owne knife.

Vide lib. 1. Cicero de divinat. Liv. li. Beverly.

(11) From hence he turned his warres into *Wales*, whose Rulers and Princes hee brought to bee his Tributaries, who at *Hereford* entred covenant to pay him yeerely twentypound weight of gold, three hundred of silver, and twenty five hundred head of cattle, with hawkes and hounds to a certaine number, towards which payment by the statutes of *Howell Dha*, the king of *Aberfraw* was charged at sixty fix pounds; the Prince *Dinewres*, and the Prince of *Powys* were to pay the like summes.

The Prince of Wales tribute.

Cron. vrch.

(12) The *Britaines*, which to this time with all equall right inhabited the City of *Excester* with the *Saxons*, hee expelled into the further promontory of *Cornwall*, and made *Tamar* the confines of his own Empire; so that his dominion was the largest that any *Saxon* before him had enjoyed, and his fame the greatest with all forraine Princes, who sought his friendship both with love and alliance, by marching with his sisters, and presenting him with rich and rare presents; For *Hugh King* of *France*, besides other unestimable Iewels, sent him the sword of *Constantine the Great*, in the hilt whereof (all covered with gold) was one of the nailes that fastned Christ to his Crosse; he sent likewise the speare of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the same, that pierced *Christs* side, as also part of the *Crosse* whereon hee suffered his passion, and a peece of the *thorny Crowne* wherewith his blessed Temples were begored; and with these came the banner of S. *Maurice* so often spread by *Charles the Great* in his Christian warres against the *Saracens*; And from *Otho* the Emperour, who had maried his sister, was sent a vessell of pretious stones artificially made, wherein were seene Lanskips with vines, corne and men, all of them seeming so natu-

Will. Malmes. Ran. Higd. in Polycrd. lib. 6. c. 6. The King of France his Presents to King Athelstan.

conchites or sword with a mace of the Cornish Giants in England.

naturally to mooue, as if they had growne and retained life: And the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly ship with a guilt sterne, purple sailes, and the decke garnished all with gold.

Holinshed.

(12) Of these accounted holy reliques King *Ethelstan* gave part unto the Abbey of S. *Swithen*, in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelme* was the Founder, and his *Tutelar Saint*, in honour of whom he bestowed great immunities upon the towne, and large endowments upon the Abbey; hee new built the monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelnesse*, and *Midleton*, Founded S. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, S. *Petrocus* at *Bodman*, the Priory of *Pilton*, new walled and beautified the City of *Excester*, and enriched every famous Abbey in the land, either with new buildings, Iewels, Bookes, or Revenewes.

S. Swithens Abbey.

King *Athelstan* beneficence.

(14) As also he did certaine Cities with the Mintage of his money, whereof in *London* were eight houses, at *Winchester* sixe, at *Lewis* two, at *Hastinges* two, in *Hampton* two, in *Warham* two, in *Chichester* one, in *Rochester* three, two for the King, and one for the Bishop; at *Canterbury* seven; foure for himselfe, two for the Archbishop, and one for the Abbat, although it appeareth the Archbishop had his before the raigne of this King. For among these ancient *Saxon-Coynes*, we finde one of *Ceolnothus*, who sate there Archbishop in the yeere 831. which both for the antiquity and authority of truth we have here inserted.

John Stow.

Ceolnothus coyn Anno 831.



But the chiefest of his workes, for the knowledge of God, and good of his subjects, was, the translation of the Bible into the *Saxon* tongue, the mother speech then of the *English*, which hee caused to bee done.

As Tindale in his preface to the obedience of, &c.

(15) This Prince King *Ethelstan* was of an indifferent stature, not much exceeding the common sort of men, cheerefull in countenance, his haire very yellow, and somewhat stooped forward as he went; for valour invincible, in resolution constant, and for his curtesie beloved of all: hee raigned in great honour the space of fifteene yeeres and odde monethes, and deceased in the Citie of *Glouester*, upon Wednesday the seventeenth of October, and was buried at *Malmsbury* the yeere of Christs Nativitie nine hundreth fortie, having never had Wife, mentioned in our Historie.

Athelstans vertues.

His supposed Issue.

(16) *Leonea*, the supposed daughter of King *Ethelstan*, is reported by *John Rouse* and *Papulwick*, writers of the mistrusted story of *Guy of Warwicke*, to be married unto *Reynburn*, Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne to the fame *Guy*, whose remembrance and reputation is preserved and kept with no lesse renowne among the common people, for the liberty of *England*, saved by his victory in single combate against *Colbrand* the *Dane*, then was *Horatius* the *Romane* for the preservation of *Rome*, whose History I will leave for others to enlarge that have more leasure and better invention.

The time of his raigne.

John Rouse. Papulwick.

Edmund.

EDMVND THE TVVENTY SIXTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TVVENTY SEVENTH OF THE ENGLISHMEN; HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, DEATH, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 27.

Chapter. XXXIX.

Monarch. 940.

Edmund the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, borne unto him by Queene *Edgiva* his third and last wife, at the age of nineteene yeares succeded his brother King *Ethelstan* in his Kingdome and Monarchy: hee began his raigne the yeare of the worlds salvation, nine hundred and fourty, and with great solemnity was crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thamisis*, in the fifth yeare of *Otho*, the first Emperour of that name, and his brother in Law; his valour had often been tried in the wars of King *Ethelstan* against those stout and sturdy enemies the *Danes*, *Scottish*, *Irish*, and *Welchmen*, that often had assailed to disturbe his peace.

Simon Dun.

(2) *Athelstan* deceased, and the crowne scarce set upon King *Edmunds* head, but that the *Danes* in *Northumberland*, disliking subjection, called againe *Anlafe* out of *Ireland* to be their King; who now in the infancie

Will. Malmsb.

infancy of *Edmunds* estate, with great power of men purposed to subdue all before him; but *Edmund* as forward, with full resolution meant to keepe what was got; and so gathering his power, proceeded towards the *North*, and at *Leicester* encountred with the *Danes*: howbeit, through the interceding of the Archbishops of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, *Odo* and *Wolstan*, the matter was mitigated before it came to the uttermost.

An. Dom. 942. Matth. West.

(3) The next yeere of his raigne, the said *Anlafe* (whom some hold to have beene the King of *Norway*) being dead, an other *Anlafe*, sonne to King *Sithrick*, of whom wee have spoken, intruded upon the kingdome of *Northumberland*. These heads, as *Hidraes*, springing up each after other, drew King *Edmund* againe into the *North*, who raging like a provoked Lion, subdued, as hee went, those townes where the *Danes* kept, and got from them *Lincolne*, *Leicester*, *Darbie*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*, compelling them to receive Baptisme, and to become his Subjects; so that the Country was wholy his unto *Humber*. These his proceedings caused *Anlafe* and *Reinold* the sonnes of the *Danish Gurmo*, subducers of *Yorke*, to yeeld themselves wholly to his devotion, offering him subjection, and withall to receive the Christian faith; for performance whereof, they likewise received Baptisme, unto whom *King Edmund* was God-father, to *Reinold* at his *Confirmation*, and to *Anlafe* at the *Font*: but how soone they fell from both, the sequell shewed; for casting off the faith and fealty thus promised, they stirred the *Northumbrians* to another rebellion, yet with no better successe then desert; for they were forced into a perpetuall exile, and *King Edmund* adioined that Country to his owne government, without the admittance of any Secondary or Vice-roy to rule there under him.

Will. Malmsb.

An. Dom. 944. Simon Dunel.

(4) *Cumberland* also, which seldome was quiet, having beene a Kingdome entire of it selfe, and now aided by *Leolin King of Southwales*, he utterly wasted; and apprehending the two sonnes of *Dunmaile King* of that Province, commanded the eyes of those over-bold Princes to be puld out, and gave their inheritance to *Malcolme King of Scots*, to hold the same by fealty from him. Thus by power and policie clearing those coasts whence the sharpest stormes had continually blowne, hee returned into the *South*, and there see himselfe to ordaine lawes for the good of his people, the which, lest time the consumer of all things might chance to obliterate, were by the labours of the learned *Lambert* translated into Latine, and imprinted in the yeere 1568. next, to shew his love to God, and bountie to his Church, hee gave the towne of *Saint Edmundsbury* with the liberties thereof, wholly to that Martyr, and to the Monks that lived in serving at his Altars.

King Dunmaile.

W. Lambert.

(5) But as each thing hath his spring, growth, and decay; so all men their dates, howsoever eminent in degree, and the shank of their compas so set in a center that the Circle of their lines are oftentimes abrupt, before it be drawne to the full round. For so with others wee may see in this *Monarchy*, who being safely returned from many great dangers of war, at peace in his Palace, came to a lamentable and unexpected end: for at his Manor of *Pucle-kerker* in the County of *Glouester*, whiles hee interposed himselfe betweene his *Sewer* and one *Leove* to part a fray, was, with a thrust through the body, wounded to death the twenty sixth of *May*, in the yere of our salvation 946. when hee had prosperously raigned the space of five yeeres and seven moneths, and his body, with no lesse sorrow then solemnity, was buried at *Glastenbury*.

Mariana.

Will. Malmsb.

His Wife.

(6) *Elfgine*, the onely wife of *King Edmund*, hath not her parents declared (for ought I finde) by any of our Writers: but this is affirmed, that she was married unto him in the first yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of grace, 940. and that she was his wife foure yeeres and upward, after whose slaughter she remained a mournfull widdow all the rest of her life, which she spent with so great vertue and opinion of the people, as by the Writers of that age shee is commended to posteritie by the name of a Saint.

Elfgine.

His Issue.

(7) *Edwy*, the eldest sonne of *King Edmund*, and *Queene Elfgine* his wife, was borne in the second yeere of his fathers raigne *Anno* 942. When his father died, hee was but foure yeeres of age, and in respect of his minority was not permitted to succeed him in the Kingdome, but forced to give place to his uncle *Edred*, under whom he lived nine yeeres: and in the tenth, his uncle being dead, and himselfe then growne to the age of thirteene, was admitted to the succession of the *Monarchy*.

Edwy.

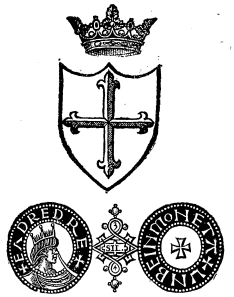
(8) *Edgar* the second sonne of *King Edmund*, and of *Queen Elfgine*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, the yeere of Christ Iesus 943, and was but three yeeres old when his Father died; notwithstanding, he proved afterward a Prince of great expectation, and in the second yere of *King Edwy* his brothers raigne, being then but fourteene yeeres of age, hee was chosen King by the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, both which people hee governed under the title of King of *Mercia*, for the space of two yeeres before his brothers death, and then succeeded him in the whole *Monarchy*.

Edgar.

Edred.

EDRED THE TVVENTY SEVENTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 28.



CHAPTER. XL.

An. Dom. 946.

EDred, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, borne unto him by Queene *Edgiva* his third and last wife, at the age of twenty three yeares succeeded his brother King *Edmund* in the nonage of his children in all his Dominions, and was the twenty seventh King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twenty eight Monarch of the *Englishmen*. He began his raigne in the yeare of mans salvation 946. and was anointed, and crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, upon Sunday the seventeenth day of *August*, by the hands of *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Polyd. lib. 6. 8.

(2) His Coronation robes scarcely put off; newes was brought him that the *Northumbrians* had revolted and stirred a dangerous insurrection, notwithstanding the Covenants that his brother *Edmund* had made with *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, to secure the same. Therefore lest delayes might prove dangerous, with a great Armie he entred into the verge of *Scotland*, without sight of enemie, or any resistance. But peace being concluded betwixt *Edred*, *Malcolme*, and the *Northumbrians*; yea and the same confirmed strongly by oath, yet was it little regarded of the last named Iurers; for no sooner was *Edred* returned, but that they sent into *Ireland* for *Anlafe*, the sonne of *Gurmo* the *Dane*, who had beene expelled the Countrey, as we have said.

Edred. Malcolme.

Anlafe commeth into Northumberland.

(3) *Anlafe* gathering a Fleet and Forces accordingly, came into *Northumberland*, where hee was with great joy received and made their *King*, which title he maintained for foure yeares continuance, banding against *Edred*, and still holding him play, till lastly the *Northumbrians* disloyall to both, tooke their feather out of *Anlafe* his Plume, and sent him packing to the place, whence he came, electing one *Heric* King in his stead.

(4) *Edred* awaked with the wastes that they made prepared a journey into those parts, where with fire and sword he bare downe all before him; and albeit he was a man religiously bent, yet spared he not the Abbey of *Rippon* from flames, but laid all unto ashes as he went, the enemy not daring to shew his face. In his returne, suspecting no perill, suddenly an hoast brake out of *Yorke*, and fell upon the Rere-ward of his Army, marching but carelesly, and broken out of their array, whereby many perished before any complete order of resistance could be made. The King seeing this bold attempt of these Rebels, stroke down his Standard, turning his face againe to the *North*, and threatned the revenge, with the Countries spoile and their lives.

Will. Malm.

Rend. Hig. Simon Dun.

(5) In this plot of sedition *Wolstan* Archbishop of *Yorke* had sowne some seed of treason, both in the affistance of action, and counsell for the enterprise, very ill befeeming a man of his ranke: this *Wolfe* therefore having thus awaked the *Lion* from rest, was the onely man that fell in his pawes; for the *Northumbrians* expulsing their stateless *Hericus*, with submissive teares and golden showres, so pacified the King, that their offences were therewith cleane washed away: but hee good man (a Saint at the least) was mued up in prison (against whom accusations daily came, and namely, that hee had commanded sundry of the Burgesses of *Thetford* to bee slaine) where hee abode till he was by *Edred* upon a reverent regard of his calling, released from thence: for as this King is commended for his lenity towards the vertuous; so is hee no lesse for his justice towards the vicious: and for the practise of his Religion, as forward as any, suffering not onely his manners to be reproved and corrected, (a quality truely royall, and best seeming Princes) but also (so much below the pitch of Soveraigne Majestie) his body to bee chastised at the will and direction of *Dunstan* Abbot of

Wolst.

of *Glastenbury*; unto whose custody, he also committed the greatest part of his treasure and richest jewels to be locke in his chests, and under the keyes of this Monastery.

Wolst.

(6) The stately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* neere *Oxford*, built by King *Ines*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly repaired, endowing it with lands and faire revenewes, and confirmed the Charters with seales of gold: hee also ordained *Saint Germans* in *Cornwall* to be a Bishops See, which there continued till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopall See of *Kyrton* in *Devon*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward the Confessor* translated to the City of *Excester*: but sith the brightest day hath his night, and the highest tide his present ebbe, what marvaile is it, if then *Edred* in the middest of his strength were seazed upon by sickneſſe and death: which surprised him after hee had raigned in great honour nine yeares and odde moneths, to the great greife of his Subjects who solemnely interred him in the old Minster within the City of *Winchester*, the yeare of Christ Iesus 955. whose bones with other Kings, to this day are preserved in a guilt Coffer, fixed upon the wall in the South side of the Quier.

His Issue.

(7) *Elfred*, the sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King; neither find I mention of his Mother, or any act by him done; onely in the sixt yeare of King *Edred* his raigne, which was the yeare of grace, 952. he is mentioned for a witnesse to his Fathers grant of lands in *Wittenham*, to *Ethelwolfe* a Duke of *England* in those dayes, as appeareth by the Charter thereof, bearing date in the yeare aforesaid.

Elfred.

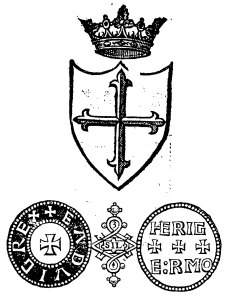
(8) *Bertfrid* another, and as it seemeth, an elder sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King, without any mention also of his Mother, who living in the second yeare of his fathers raigne, namely *Anno* 948. was written for a witnesse in the same yeare, to his grant of lands in *Bedlaking*, to *Cuthred* one of his Barons, the Charter whereof is extant to be seene unto this day.

Bertfrid.

Edwy.

EDVVY THE TVVENTY EIGHTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTY NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

Monarch 29.



CHAPTER. XLI.

An. Dom. 955.

EDwy, the eldest sonne of King *Edmund*, after the decease of his Vncle *Edred*, succeeded him in his Dominions, and was the twenty eighth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twenty ninth *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*: he began his raigne in the yeare of the worlds salvation, 955. and was anointed and crowned at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*, by the hands of *Otho*, the 22 Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Malmsbur. fol. 33.

(2) Young hee was in yeares, and vicious of life, if the Monkish Story-writers of those times his deadly enemies may be credited, nor past thirteene when he entred government, and that begun with a capitall sinne: for they report, that upon the solemne day of his Coronation, and in sight of his Nobles, as they sate in Counsell, with shamelesse and unprincely lust, he abused a Lady of great estate, and his neere kinswoman, whose husband shortly after hee slew, the more freely to possesse his incestuous pleasure: and to fill the pennes of his further infamy ready to their hands, that wrote his life, hee was a great enemy unto the Monkish orders (a fore in those dayes very tender to be touched, and may well be thought the cause of many false aspersions on him) whom from the Monastery of *Malmesburie*, *Glastenburie* and others, hee expelled, placing married Priests in their roomes: *Dunstan* likewise, the Abbot of Saint *Glastenbury*, he banished the Realme,

M. Fox Acts and Monumentes.

for his over-bold reprehensions; if not rather for retaining the treasure delivered him by King *Edred*, and demanded againe in his sicknesse; when by the voyce (forsooth) of an Angell from heaven, his journey was stayed, and those rich jewels not delivered the King in his life; I will not say kept backe, lest *Dunstan* with *Balaam* (whose stories are not much unlike) should be thought to follow (as hee did) *the wages of deceit*.

(3) Howsoever, the reverent opinion of the *Monks* single life, and the conceived holinesse of Abbot *Dunstan* in those misty times, did daily counterpoize young *Edwy* in esteeme, which made his best acts construed and recorded to the worst; insomuch that his Subjects minds ebbing as the Sea from the Full, drew backe the Current of their subjective affections, and set the eye of obedience upon Prince *Edgar* his Brother: and albeit his young yeares may seeme to cleare him from the imputation of so lustfull a fact, as he is charged with, at the day of his assuming the Crown; and the separation from his wife (as too neere in consanguinity) wrought griefe enough in his distressed heart, yet pitilesse of his estate, and careless of their own allegiance, the *Mercians* with the *Northumbrians* did utterly cast off obedience, and sware their fealty to *Edgar*, not fully foureteene yeares aged: *Edwy* then raigning in a still decaying estate; was held of such his subjects, in no better esteeme; then was *Iehoram* of *Iudah*, who is said *to have lived without being desired*: for very griefe whereof, after foure yeares raigne he ended his life, the yeare of our Lord, 959. whose body was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hide* at *Winchester*, erected without the Wall in the North of that Citie.

His Wife.

(4) *Elfgive*, the wife of King *Edwy*, was a Lady of great beauty, and nobly descended, yea, and by some deemed somewhat too neare in the bloud Royall, to bee matched with him in Spousall bed: her fathers name is not recorded, but her mother was *Ethelgive*, whom some scandalized to have beene his Concubine, and the onely causer of *Dunstanes* banishment. The Subjects disliking of this unlawfull marriage, and further infligated by the Monks, (whose humorous pleasures, or displeasure, could very much sway the State in those dayes,) failed by degrees to performe their duties to their King, and her they likewise enforced to a separation, in the third yeare of of his regardlesse government, and of Christ Iesus, 958. without other mention of her life or death.

EDGAR SVRNAMED THE PEACEABLE, THE THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES AND ISSVE.

Chapter. XLII.

Edgar, the second sonne of King *Edmund* having raigned two yeares over the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, in the dayes of *Edwy* his brother, to the great impairing of King *Edwyes* reputation and esteeme; after his death at sixteene yeares of age was chosen to succeed in all his Dominions, and was the thirtieth *Monarch* of the *Englishmen*, or rather now of whole *England*, all other Titles of Kingdome falling under his Scepter, and becomming Provinces annexed unto his absolute *Monarchy*.

(2) Hee began his raigne in the yeare of Christs Nativity, 959. and was crowned (as some write) the same yeare at *Kingston*, upon *Themesis*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But *Randulphus Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, referreth it to the twelfth yeare of his raigne: *William* Monke of *Malmesbury* to the thirteenth yeare of his age, and the *Saxon* Chronicle of

of *Worcester* Church, to the yeare of Christ, 972. and that in the City of *Bath*, he was anointed and consecrated with great solemnity by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(3) The raigne of this King is said to have beene altogether in a calme tranquillity, and therefore hee was surnamed the *Peaceable*; his vertues were many, and vices not a few, the one gloriously augmented, and the other fairely excused, by those *Monkish* Writers, unto whose professions hee was most favourable: his Guides were *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Ethelwold* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, three stout Champions against the married Clergy, (for women in those dayes were great bugs in their eyes,) therefore the married Priests he displaced, and brought in Monkes of single life to possesse their roomes, whose sinnes of incontinency grew after to be great, as the world did then witnesse, which caused *Trevisa* the translator of *Higden*, to blame King *Edgar*, charging him to be lewdly moved in following their counsell against married Clerkes.

(4) So doe *Malmsbury* and *Higden* taxe him with too favourable affections towards the *Danes*, who dwelled alike in every town with the *English*, though formerly they had sought the destruction of all, and still lay in wait attending for the spoile of his true Subjects, who apt enough unto evill, learned the beastly sinne of quaffing, and emptying their Cups, which King *Edgar* was enforced to redresse, by enacting a law against excessive drinking, ordaining a size by certaine pinnes set in the pot, with penalties to any that should presume to drinke deeper then the marke.

(5) His Policy was no lesse prudent (but much more successefull) for the destruction of *Wolves*, that in his dayes did great annoyance to the land: for the tribute imposed on the Princes of *Wales*, by the *English* king *Ethelstan* (as we have said,) he wholly remitted, and in lieu thereof, appointed certaine numbers of Wolves yearely to be paid; and *Ievaf*, or *Iage*, Prince of *North-Wales*, did for his part pay him yearly three hundred; which continued for three yeares space, but in the fourth was not a Wolfe to be found, and so the tribute ceased.

(6) His Navie Royall, containing three thousand and sixe hundred ships, he divided into three parts, appointing every of them to a severall quarter to waffe the Seas, and secure the coasts from Pirats, and forraine enemies; wherein himselfe every Summer would saile with those in the East parts, unto those in the West, and sending them backe to their charge, would with the West saile into the North, and with the Northerne Fleet compasse againe into the East, whereby the Seas were scowred, and his Kingdome exceedingly strengthned.

(7) The like custome used he in the winter season in his iesyls, and circuits throughout his Country, so to take account of the administration of his lawes, and the demeanour of his great men, especially of his *Iudges*, whom severely hee punished, so often as he found the execution of their places ballanced either with bribery or partiality; so that there was never lesse robbery, deceit or oppressions, then in the raigne of this worthy King.

(8) His state thus flourishing in peace and prosperity, he caused divers Princes to bind themselves unto his allegiance, but perchance it may justly bee doubted, whether in such performance of homage and service, as *Malmsbury*, *Florentius*, *Randulphus*, *Marianus*, *Hoveden*, and other Writers affirme to have beene at the *City Chester*, where (they say) *Kenadie* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* of *Cumberland*, *Maxentius* an Arch-Pirate, with the petty King of *Wales*, *Dufnall*, *Griffith*, *Huwal*, *Iacob*, and *Iudithil*, did with oares row his Barge upon the River *Dee*, from his Pallace to Saint *Iohns* Church, and thence againe backe to his Pallace, himselfe the while steering the helme, and saying in his glory, that *then his successors might truely account themselves Soveraigne Kings of England, when they enjoyed such a prerogative of Sublimity, and supreme honour*: although (saith M. Fox) hemight much better, and more Christianlike, have said, *God forbid that I should rejoyce, but in the Crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ*.

(9) Warres he had none in all his raigne; onely towards the end, the *Welshmen* mooved some rebellion, which to prevent, hee assembled a mighty Army, and therewith entred into the Countrey of *Glamorgan*, sharply punishing the Ring-leaders thereof; but his souldiers doing great harmes in the country, laden with spoyles for the returne, the King out of his bounty commanded all to be againe restored, whereby he purchased singular love and honour of the Inhabitants.

(10) To his magnanimity was joyned much devotion, but most especially towards the *Monks*, for whom, and for *Nunnes* hee built and repaired forty seven *Monasteries*, intending to have continued their number unto fifty; as himselfe testifieth in these words of his Charter.

The Monasteries, as well of Monks as of Virgins, have beene destroyed, and quite neglected, throughout England which I have now determined to repaire to the glory of God for my soules health, and so to multiply the number of Gods servants and handmaids: and now already I have set up forty seven Monasteries with Monks and Nunnes in them, and if Christ spare me life so long, I am determined in offering my devout munificence to God to proceed to fifty, even to the just number of a Iubile.

And by this his Charter did not onely approove the enlargement of S. *Maries Monastery* in *Worcester*, and the restoring of Votaries instead of married Priests, but himselfe either new founded or repaired many others, as the house of *Ely*, *Glastenbury*, *Abington*, *Burgh*, *Thorney*, *Ramsey*, *Wilton*, *Wenton*, *Winchorne* and *Thumstocke*, with great cost, and large endowments, having the Clergy in an high and reverend esteeme, and most of all his Confessor *Dunstan*: but with this wheate, there were tares growing, though the late *Monkish* Writers binde them up for good corne: for *some men tell* (saith *Randulphus Higden*) *that Edgar in his beginning was cruell to Citizens, and lecherous to maidens*, whereof these his actions ensuing beare sufficient witnesse.

(11) The first was committed against the Virgin *Wolfhield*, a sacred Nunne as some affirme, though others somewhat mitigating that sacrilegious offence, have reported, that she to avoid his fleshly and lascivious lust, was forced to take the habit of a Menchion upon her, and in the same brought to his bed, wherein the chaste Saint *Edith* was begot, and for whom, say they, hee under went his seven yeares penance without the wearing of his Crowne.

(12) A like offence hee committed against the Virgin *Ethelfleda*, the daughter of *Ordmar* a Duke among the *East-Angles*, who for her surpassing beauty was surnamed the *White*; on whom he begat his eldest sonne *Edward*; for which fact as M. *Fox* affirmeth, hee did his seven yeares pennance injoyned by *Dunstan*: and indeed by *Osberne* it appeareth, that *Edward* was not legitimate, where he writeth, that *the child begotten of the Harlot, hee baptized in the holy fountaine of regeneration, and so giving his name to bee called Edward, did adopt him to be his sonne*. With whom agree *Nicholas Trivet* in his *English* Story, written in *French*, *Iohannes Paris* in his *French* Story, written in Latine, both of them calling *Edward* a sonne illegitimate; as also doth *Vincentius* and *Antoninus*, howbeit *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Matthew Paris*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, *Randulphus* and others, will have her his first and lawfull wife, and *Edward* in true Matrimony to have descended from them.

(13) Another instance of his lascivious life is produced by the forenamed Writers, and thus both occasioned and acted. It chanced *Edgar* to heare a Virgin and daughter to a Westerne Duke, exceeding

Edgar. Monarch 30.

An. Dom. 959.

2 Chro. 21.20.

Iudg.2.12.

Abbot Dunstan.

Edgar the Peaceable.

Polyd. lib.6.cap. 9.

John Capgra.

Will. Malmes.

cap.38.fol.8.

Cron. Wald.

Nor. Annal. Alred. Rivall. Ran. Higd.

Edgars honest vigilancy.

Edgars league with divers Kings.

Polyd. Virg. Rand. Higd. Will. Malmsb. Saxons chron.

Gal.6.14.

Polychron.

Monasteries built by King Edgar.

Ex chart. Reg.

M. Fox Acts and Monuments.

Ran. Higden.

Will. Malmsb. Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

Polyd. l.6 cap.9.

Osborn in vita Dunstan.

Nicholas Trivet. Ioan. Paris

Vincent. Antonin.

Edgar enamoured with a damsell.

dingly praised for her incomparable beauty, the touch of which string from his eare refounded to his heart, and as a bait it drew him presently into those parts; where comming to *Andever*, commanded the Damosell to his bed: The mother tender of the Virgins honour, brought in the darke her maide, but not her daughter, who, as well pleased the King in his sinfull dalliance: the day approaching, this late laid maid made haste to arise: but the King loth to part yet with his supposed faire Lady, demanded why she made such haste? Who answered him, that her taske was great, and hardly would her worke be done, if day should prevent her ere the rose: but yet being stayed above her houre, upon her knees she made this humble request, that shee might be freed from her shrewde dame, alleadging, it was not fitting, that the woman who had tasted the pleasures of a Kings embracements, should endure a servitude under the rule of any other. The King perceiving the deceit, and therewith moved to wrath, yet could not recall what hee had done (or rather undone) and therefore turned his conceived wrongs unto a jest: but so, that he both sharpely checked the deceiver, and kept this Damsell, (whose nightworke and pleasance had fully wonne him) for his Concubine, whereby shee ruled them that lately had the command of her: and to use the words of *Malmsbury*, he loved his Concubine most entirely: keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, untill the time hee married for his lawfull wife *Elfrida* the daughter of Duke *Ordgarus*.

Malmsf. de regibus.

Duke Ordgarus

(14) His last lascivious Act, was as *Davids* joyned with blood, and wrought in manner as followeth. *Fames* lavish report of beaureous *Elfrida* (the Paragon of her Sexe, and wonder of Nature) the onely daughter of *Ordgarus* Duke of *Devonshire*, sounded so loud in those Westerne parts, that the Eccho thereof was heard into King *Edgars* Court, and entred his eares which ever lay open, to give his eyes the scope of desire, and his wanton thoughts the raines of will: to try the truth whereof, hee secretly sent his minion or favourite Earle *Ethelwolfe* of *East-Anglia*, who well could judge of beauty, and knew the diet of the King; with Commission, that if the Pearle prooved so orient, it should be seized for *Edgars* owne wearing, who meant to make her his Queene, and *Ordgarus* the Father of a King.

Ethelwold.

Ethelwold a jolly young Gallant, posted into *Devonshire*, and guest-wise visited Duke *Ordgarus* his Court, where seeing the Lady surpassing the report, blamed *Fames* over-sight for founding her praise in so base and leaden a Trumpet; and wholly surprised with her love, himselfe beganne to wooe the Virgin, yea, and with her Fathers good liking, so as the King would give his assent. Earle *Ethelwold* returning, related that the maide indeed was faire; but yet her beauty much augmented by babling reports, and neither her feature or parts, any wise befitting a King. *Edgar* mistrusting no corrivall in his love, nor dreaming false fellowship in wooing, did with a sleight thought passe over *Elfrida*, and pitcht his affections the faster another way. Earle *Ethelwold* following the game now afoot, desired *Edgars* assistance to bring it to a stand, pretending not so much for any liking to the Lady, as to raise his owne fortunes to be her fathers heire; to which the King yeelded, and for his minion solicited *Ordgarus*, who glad to be shrowded under the favours of such a favourite, willingly consented; and his daughters destinies assured to Earle *Ethelwold*.

Edgar a suter for Ethelwold.

The marriage solemnized, and the fruits thereof a short time enjoyed, the fame of her beauty beganne againe to be spread; and that with a larger Epithete then formerly it had beene: Whereupon *Edgar* much doubting of double dealing, laid his angle faire to take this great gull: and bearing no shew of wrong or suspect, invited himselfe to hunt in his Parks, and forthwith repairing into those parts, did not a little grace his old servant, to the great joy of

Edgars plot to discover Ethelwold.

Ordgarus the Duke. But *Ethelwold* mistrusting the cause of his comming, thought by one policy to disappoint another: and therefore revealing the truth to his wife, how in his proceedings he had wronged her beauty, and deceived his Soveraigne, requested her loving assistance to save now his endangered life, which lay in her power, and of the meanes hee thus advised.

Ethelwolds speech to gi. frida.

"Like as (said he) the richest Diamond rough and "uncut, yeelds neither sparkle or esteeme of great "price, nor the gold unburnished gives better lu-"stre then the base brasse; so beauty and feature "clad in meane array, is either sleightly looked at "with an unfixed eye, or is wholly unregarded, and "held of no worth; for according to the Proverbe, "cloth is the man, and man is the wretch; then to "prevent the thing that I feare, and is likely to prove "my present time, and thy last wracke, conceale thy "great beauty from King *Edgars* eye, and give him "entertainment in thy meanest attires: let them "(I pray thee) for a time be the nightly Curtaines "drawne about our new-Nupciall bed, and the day-"ly cloudes to hide thy splendent Sunne from his "sharpe, and too too piercing sight, whose vigour "and Raies will soone set his Waxen wings on fire, "that ready are to melt at a farre softer heat. Pitch "(thou feest) defileth the hand, and we are forbid to "give occasion of evill: vaile then thy faireneste "with the scarfes of deformity, from his over-lavish "and unmastred eye; for the faireft face drawes ever "the gaze, if not the attempts: and natures endow-"ments are as the bush for the wine, which beeing "immoderately taken doth surfet the sense, and is a-"gaine cast up with as loathsome a taste. Of these "dregs drunke *Amnon* after his fill of faire *Thamar*, "*Herod* of *Miriamy*, and *Aeneas* of *Dido*; yea, and "not to seeke examples farre off, King *Edgars* varia-"tion on his unstedfast motion doth easily bewray it "selfe, for could either holy *Wolfhield*, beautifull "*Ethelfled*, or the wanton Wench of *Andever*, keepe "the needle of his Compasse certaine at one point? "nothing lesse, but it was still led by the Load-stone "of his ever-mutable and turning affections. But "thou wilt say, he is religious, and by founding of "Monasteries hath expiated those sinnes. Indeed "many are built; for which, time and posteritie "must thanke holy *Dunstan*, from whose devotion "those good deeds have sprung: but is thy person "holier then sacred *Wolfields*? thy birth and beauty "greater then *Ethelfled* the *White*, daughter also to a "Duke? The former, of any holy Votary, he made "the sinke of his pollution; and the later is branded "to all ages by the hatefull name of a Concubine, "and her sonne among us esteemed for a Bastard. "These should be motives to all beaureous and ver-"tuous Ladies, not to sell their honours at so low "and too-late repented a price. Neither think (sweet "Countesse) that thy husband is jealous, or suspects "thy constancy, which I know is great, and thy selfe "wholly complete with all honourable vertues: but "yet consider I pray thee, that thou art but yong, and "maist easily be caught, especially of him that is so "old a Master of the Game: neither perswade thy "selfe of such strength, as is able to hold out so "great an assault; for men are mighty, but a King is "much more. I know thou art wise, and enough "hath been said, onely let me adde this, that evill "beginnings have never good ends: and so with a "kind kisse, hoping hee had wonne his Wife to his "Will, prepared with the first to welcome King "*Edgar*.

Lady *Elfrida* thus left to her selfe, began seriously to thinke upon this Curtain Sermon, whose Text she distasted, being taken out of an over-worne and threed-bare cloth proverbe, as though her fortunes had been wholly residing, and altogether consisting in her parentage and apparell, but nothing at all in any parts of her selfe.

"Hath my beauty (thought she) beene courted of a King

Elfrida alone

"a King, famoused by report, compared with *Helens* "and now must be hid? Must I falsifie and bely Na-"tures bounties, mine owne value, and all mens re-"ports, only to save his credite, who hath impaired "mine, and belied my worth? And must I needs de-"faile my selfe, to be his onely faire foule, that hath "kept me from the State and seat of a Queene? I "know the name of a Countesse is great, and the "Wife of an Earle is honourable, yet no more then "birth and endowments have assigned for me, had "my beauty been far lesse then it is. He warns me of "the end, when his owne beginnings were with tre-"chery; tels me the examples of others, but observes "none himselfe: he is not jealous, forsooth, and yet I "must not looke out; I am his faire, but others pitch, "fire, wine, bush, and what not? Not so holy as *Wolf-*"*hild*, nor so white as *Ethelfled*, and yet that must now "be made far worse then it is. I would men knew the "heate of that Cheeke wherein beauty is bla-"zed, then would they with lesse suspect suffer our "faces unmaskt, to take aire of their eyes, and wee no "whit condemnable for shewing that which cannot "be hid, neither in me shall, become of it what will.

Ethelfrides difsimulation.

And thus resoluing to bee a right woman, defired nothing more then the thing forbidden, and made preparation to put it in practise. Her body sheeendulced with the sweeteste balmes, displaied her haire, and bespangled it with pearles, bestrewed her breasts and bosome with rubies and diamonds, rich Iewels glittering like starres depended at her necke, and her other ornaments every way sutable. And thus, rather Angell, then Lady-like, shee attended the approach and entrance of the King, whom with such faire obeisance and seemly grace she received, that *Edgars* greedy eye presently collecting the raies of her shining beauty, became a burning glasse to his heart; and the sparkle of her faire, falling into the traine of his love, set all his senses on fire: yet dissembling his passions, he passed on to his game, where having the false *Ethelwold* at advantage, he ranne him thorow with a Iaveline, and tooke faire *Elfrida* to his wife.

Ethelwold slaine.

(15) These were the vertues and vices of this King, little in personage, but great in spirit, and the first unresisted Monarch of the whole Land, whom all the other *Saxons* acknowledged their supreme, without division of Provinces or title. He raigned sixteen yeeres and two moneths in great tranquillity and honour, and died upon tuesday the eighth of *July*, the thirty seventh of his age, and yeere of Christ 975. whose body with all funerall solemnity was buried in the abbey of *Glastenbury*.

The fifteenth Edith Elgiua.

His Wives.

(16) *Ethelfled*, the first wife of King *Edgar*, was surnamed in the Saxon English Eneba, in Latine *Candida*, which with us is *White*, because of her exceeding great beauty. Shee was the daughter of a Duke amongst the *East-Angles*, named *Ordmar*, and was married unto him the second yeere of his raigne, and the eighteenth of his age, being the yeere of Christs Nativity 961. She was his wife not fully two yeeres, and died the fourth of his raigne, in anno 962.

1 Ethelfled. Ethelfled.

Ethelfleds parentage.

(17) *Elfrida*, the second wife of King *Edgar*, was the widow of slaughtered *Ethelwold*, of whom wee have said. She was daughter to *Ordgarus*, and sister to *Ordulfe*, both of them Dukes of *Devonshire*, and the Founders of *Tawestoke* abbey in that Country: a Ladie of passing great beauty, and as ambitious as faire: for after the Kings death, she procured the murther of King *Edward* her sonne in law, that her owne son

Elfrida second wife.

Edward might came to the crowne: and afterwards to pacifie his and her first husbands ghost, and to stop the peoples speeches of so wicked a fact, she founded the Abbeys of *Ambresbery* and *Whorwell*, in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*.

Will Malmesb.

His Children.

(18) *Edward*, the eldest sonne of King *Edgar* and Queene *Ethelfled* his first wife, was born in the fourth yeere of his fathers raigne, and a little before his mothers death, in the yeare of Christ Iesus, 962. He was a child disposed to all vertue, notwithstanding great meanes was made by his mother in law for the disinheriting of him, and the preferment of her owne son to the succession of the Crowne; yet by provident care taken in the life time of his father, he succeeded him after his death, as right heire both of his kingdome and conditions.

6 heard the eldest sonne.

(19) *Edmund*, the second sonne of King *Edgar*, and the first of Queene *Elfrida* his second wife, was borne in the seventh yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace 965. He lived but foure yeeres; and died in his infancy, in the twelfth yeere of his fathers raigne, and was honourably enterred in the Monasterie of Nunnes, at *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*, which king *Edgar* had founded.

Edmund the second sonne.

(20) † *Ethelred*, the third sonne of *Edgar*, and the second of Queene *Elfrida* his second wife, and the last of them both, was borne in the eighth yere of his fathers raigne, and yere of salvation 966. He was vertuously inclined, beautifull in complexion, and comly offstature; at the death of his father being but seven yeres old, and at his brothers murther ten: which deed he fore lamented, to the great discontentment of his mother, who for his advancement had complotted the same, and wherein at those yeeres he unwillingly succeeded him.

Ethelred the third sonne.

(21) *Edgith*, the naturall daughter of King *Edgar*, had to her mother a Lady named *Wolfhild*, the daughter of *Wolfhelm*, the sonne of *Byrding*, the sonne of *Nesling*, the two latter bearing in their names the memory of their fortunes: the last of them being found in an Eagles nest, by king *Elfred* as he was on hunting. This *Edgith* was a vailed Nunne in the Monastery of *Wilton*, and according to some Authors, made Abbesse thereof by her father at fifteene yeeres of age, saith her Legend. She died the fifteenth day of *September*, the yeere of her age twenty three; the sixth of her brother King *Ethelreds* raigne, and of Christ Iesus 984. By all which accounts it is manifest, that she was borne before *Edward*, and by master *Fox* proved, that for him, and not for her, King *Edgar* did his seven yeeres penance. She is greatly commended for her chastitie and beauty, which later she somewhat augmented with more curious attire then to her profession was beseeming; for which Bishoppe *Ethelwold* sharpely reprooved her; who answered him roundly that God regarded the heart more then the garment, and that sins might bee covered as well under rags as robes.

Edgith.

Ailn and Mannumensis, in vita Edgar.

Polyd. lib. 6. c. 3.

This *Edgith*, as *Iohn Capgrave* reporteth, after the slaughter of her brother *Edward*, the holy archbishop *Dunstan* would have advanced to the Crown, and invested her against *Ethelred* the lawfull heire, had shee not by the late experience of *Edwards* fall, utterly refused that title, which neither belonged to her right, nor was safe for her person to undertake. Her body was buried at *Wilton*, in the Monastery and Church of *Saint Denisse*, which her selfe had caused to bee built.

Iohn Capgraue, in vita sanctæ Edithæ.

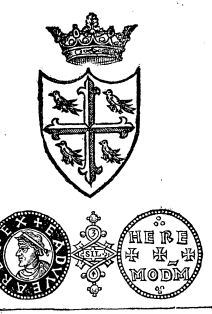
EDVVARD

Edward.

EDVVARD SVRNAMED THE MARTYR, THE THIRTY ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH.

MEN, HIS RAIGNE AND DEATH.

Monarch 31.



CHAPTER. XLIII.

An. Dom. 975. *Simon Dun. Roger. Aruen.*

GReat were the troubles and sidings that presently ensued the death of King *Edgar*, about the election of one of his sonnes to succeed; Queene *Elfrida* with *Alferus* Duke of *Mercia*, and many other Nobles combined for young *Ethelred*, disavowing Prince *Edward* as illegitimate, and therefore not reputable for succession: against them and *Ethelred* stood *Dunstan* and the *Monks*, holding their states dangerous, and their new-gotten footing unsure, if in the nonage of the King, these their opposites should rule all, under him; whereas *Edward* was altogether wrought in their mould; whose title they abetted, as being lawfully borne, and begot in the nuptiall bed of Queene *Ethelfleda*. Their claims thus banded amongst these *Statesmen*, began to be diversly affected among the *Commons*, and had put the game to the hazard, if the wisedome of *Dunstan* had not seene the chase; for a Councell being assembled to argue their rights, the Arch-bishop came in with his Banner and Crosse, and not staying for further debating *de jure*, did *de facto*, present Prince *Edward* for their lawfull King; and the assembly consisting most of Clergy men, perswading peace, drew the approbation of the rest, and so was the Prince admitted and proclaimed their Soveraigne.

Edward the son of Ethelfleda.

An. Dom. 975.

(2) He beganne his raigne at twelve yeares of age in the yeare of salvation 975. and was soone after by Archbishop *Dunstan* crowned King at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*: being the thirty one Monarch (since *Hengist*) of the Englishmen. His beginning was miserably afflicted with barrennesse of the ground, famine amongst his people, murraine of Cattle, and to their further terrour, a feared Comet appeared; which men thought to be signes from heaven, as

A blazing starre.

sent from God, for the sinnes committed against the married Clergy, whose cause was much pitied, especially of the Nobles, & whose complaints of wrongs they instantly urged, that without deserts they were expulsed from their ancient possessions; a thing which neither God nor good men ever allowed, and was contrary to the prescript rule of Christ, that wils us to doe as we would be done unto; whereto the *Monks* answered, that Christ respected neither the person nor the place, but onely them that took up the Crosse of Penance and followed him, as themselves in their single life pretended to doe. But they good men little knew the incumbrances of wiving; for otherwise they would have felt, that the condition of the married, was more truly a suffering of the Crosse and enduring of Penance.

Will. Malmsb. Fox.

(3) These Church-men thus divided and rent, were diversly sided as affection did move, and that not onely of the meaner sort, but even of the Nobles and great ones; for the *Mercian* Duke *Alferus* favouring the just cause of married Priests, destroyed the *Monasteries* in his Province, cast out the Monkes and restored againe the ancient revenewes to them and their wives: contrariwise, in *East-Anglia* the Priests went to wracke, where the Monks were maintained by the authority of *Edelwin* their Duke, who in their quarrell, with the assistance of his brother *Alfred*, and of *Brigtnoth* Earle of Essex, raised a mighty Army, and stood with that power for their defence.

Will. Malm. Simon Dun. Ran. Higd. Fabn Camp. ann. Iorn. Abb. in vita Edgari.

(4) The fire thus blowne from a sparke to a flame, was feared to mount higher, if not quenched in time, and therefore by mediation, Armes laid aside, the cause was referred to be heard in Councell, & at *Winchester* first the assembly was held, where after long dispute, and much against the Monkes, it was greatly suspected their side had gone down, but that the matter was referred from them to the *Roode*, placed upon

Questions counsell.

on the refectory Wall, where the Councell sate. To this great Oracle Saint *Dunstan* desired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent eare for an answer: who, with as great bounty, as they in devotion, made it not squemish to give them this advice; *God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so* (said he,) *you judged well once, and to change that againe is not good.*

This was authority sufficient to suppresse the *Priests*, who now with their wives went downe the wind; and indeed too blame they were to suspect his their Iudge, who never was heard to give wrong sentence before; but they unsatisfied men, thought once more to blow the coales, though therewith they were likely to burne their owne lips; for perswading the people, that this was but a subtile practice of the *Monkes*, in placing behind the wall a man of their owne, who through a truncke uttered those words in the mouth of the *Roode*; it was therefore instantly desired, that the cause might once more come to scanning.

The Priests full. sition of the Monks.

An. Dom. 977.

(5) This lastly was granted, and a great assembly congregated at *Cleve* in *Wilshire*, whither repaired the Prelates with most of the States of the land, besides Gentlemen and Commons an innumerable fort.

A heavy mischance.

This Synode being set; and the controversie propounded, a hot and sharpe disputation ensued, and a while was maintained with many bitter invectives; ill beseeming such persons. But whether through the weakeneſſe of the foundation, or the over-presse of weight, or both, the joysts of this upper-loft, wherein the Councell was held, suddainely brake, and downe fell the floore with all the people thereon, whereof many were hurt, and some slaine outright, onely Archbishop *Dunstan* then president, and mouth for the *Monks*, remained unhurt: for the Post whereon his chaire was set (and not without miracle) stood wholly untouched.

Polych. lib. 6. cap. 21.

Priests welcome one, but not without care.

Thus by this fall, fell the cause of the secular Priests and the Monkish foundations under propped with more surer pillars, *Dunstan* unburdened of many imputations, the peoples affections drawne to the Monkes, and the Priests at liberty now to accompany their wives without any cure, though not without care; and all this was wrought by the providence of *Dunstan*, and his strange preservation on the post; no lesse wonderfull then that which with the like truth is related of him, how when a huge beame of a house was sunke out of the frame, and like to ruinate the whole building, with onely making of the signe of the Crosse thereon with his fingers, hee made it returne to his former place: so wonderfully potent was he in such wooddea miracles. To which, why should wee not give credit, since the very Harpe which hee had touched, could worke miracles? as when of it selfe it founded melodiously that *Hymne, Gaudent in cœlis animæ Sanctorum, &c.* Yea sith the blessed Virgin *Mary* her selfe, is said to have come to solace him with her songs, *Cantemus Domino Socia, &c.* For, as for Angels singing familiarly unto him, and Divels in shape of Dogs, Foxes and Beares, whipped by him, that was but ordinary; as likewise his making the thee divell to roare, when comming to tempt him to dalliance in shape of a beautifull lasse, hee caught her by the nose with hot burning pincers, and so spoild a good face. But to leave those figments wherewith our Monkish-stories are stuffed to the deluding of their Readers, and dishonouring

Will. Malmsb. Polydor. Rosd. Chest. John Pits.

of those, whom thereby they thinke to magnifie; let us looke backe to young Prince *Edward*.

(6) Who in all princely parts was an imitator of his Father, and for his modest gentlenesse worthily favoured of all men: but as envy is alwayes the attendant of vertue; so had hee them that much maligned his life, namely, the favourites of Prince *Ethelred*, whereof Queene *Elfrida* his mother was chiefe, who lastly betrayed him, and that in this manner.

Alfredus Beverl. Histor. Rich. Cirencest. Speculum. hist.

(7) King *Edward* for his disport was hunting in a forrest neere unto the sea, upon the South-east shore of the County *Dorset*, and in the Iland *Purbecke*; not farre off, upon a small river, stood pleasantly seated a faire and strong Castle called *Corfe*, where his mother in law Queene *Elfrida* with his Brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then therein residing: *Edward* that ever had beene loving to both, held it a kind office, now being so neere to visite them with his presence, and thereupon either of purpose or chance singled from his attendants, hee secretly stole from them all and came alone to the castle gate.

Queene Elfrida perfidy.

(8) The Queene who had long laine in waite for occasions, now tooke this as brought to her hand, and therefore with a face as meaning no guile, shee humbly and cheerefully gave the King welcome, desiring him to grace her and her sonne with his presence for that night; but he with thankes refused the offer, as fearing least his company would soone find him missing, and craved onely of his mother a cup of wine, that in his saddle hee might drinke to her and his brother, and so bee gone. The cup was no sooner at his mouth, then a knife in his backe, which a servant appointed by this trecherous Queene stroke into him; who feeling himselfe hurt set spurres to his horse, thinking to escape to his more faithfull company.

Matth. West. Simon. Daniel. Fabian.

(9) But the wound being mortall, and he fainting through losse of much bloud, fell from his horse, and one foot intangled in the stirrup, he was thereby rufully dragde up and downe through woods and lands; and lastly left dead at *Corfes*-gate: which hapned the eighteenth day of May, after hee had raigned three yeeres and sixe (some say, eight) moneths, the yeare of his age sixeteene, and of Christ Iesus 979. His body found, was first buried at *Warham* without all funerall pompe, but after three yeeres by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great celebrity enterred in the *Minster* of *Shaftesbury*: and for this untimely death, hee gained the surname of *Martyr*.

Polydor. will. Malmsb.

(10) Queene *Elfrida* sore repenting her cruell and step-motherly fact, to expiate her guilt; and pacifie the crying bloud of her slaine sonne, built the two said Monasteries of *Almesbury* and *Worwell* in the Counties of *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, in which later shee lived with great repentance and penance untill the day of her death, and in the same lyeth her body enterred.

Almesbury and Worwell Monasteries foundings.

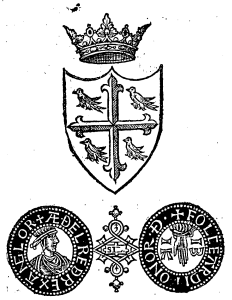
These and other the like foundations built upon the occasion of rapine and bloud, howsoever they may shew the forrowfull repentance of their founders: yet their stones being laid with the cement of murther, and the mortar tempered with bloud, have felt the wrath of him, who by his Prophet hath pronounced, that from the wall the stone shall cry, and the beame out of the timber shall answer it; *Woe unto him that buildeth a Towne with bloud, and erecteth a City by iniquity.*

Hab. 2. 12.

Ethelred.

ETHELRED COMMONLY CALLED THE VNREADY, THE TWO AND THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS WARRES, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 32.



CHAPTER. XLIIII.

An. Dom. 979. Vrst. Mcleod. Speed. Histor.

ETHELRED the sonne of King *Edgar*, and brother to King *Edward* the *Martyr*, at the age of twelve yeeres entred his goverment over the Englishmen, the yeere of mans salvation, nine hundred seventy nine, and was the two and thirtieth Monarch since King *Hengist*: he was crowned King at *Kingston* upon *Thames* the fourteenth of *Aprill*, being *Easter* day, by the hands of *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who did it much against his will.

Ethelreds life, malitiously reported.

(2) Hee was a man neither forward inaction, nor fortunate in proceedings, and therefore commonly called the *Vnready*: his youth was spent in idlenesse, feeding his senses with all voluptuous baites; his middle yeares with careleese government, maintaining civill dissentions; and his latter end deservingly in continuall resistance of the bloud-thirsty *Danes*. With these imputations by Writers hee is taxed, though wee find no such just cause in recording his life; but to such extreames are even great Monarchs themselves brought, that their breath and dignity once left and laid downe, they are subject to the censures of every affectionate and malignant reporter. And that this King lay lyable to such mens humors, the working of *Dunstan* ever against him, is a sufficient witnesse, who not onely did refuse to act his Coronation, but would have preferred Lady *Edgith* a bastard before him to the Crowne, as wee have said. And besides the generall quarrell of the Monkes and married Priests, to which latter himselfe and his Abetters were better inclined; his just indignation conceived against the Bishop of *Rochester*, and that not pacified without the Bishops submission and payment of money, was cause inough for those Monkish Writers to brand the *Lords Annointed* with their markes of infamy, unto whom they impute the miseries of those times, and the destruction of the *English* by the intruding *Danes*.

Edgith.

Bishop of Rochester.

(3) These *Danes* had kept quiet ever since the disliked raigne of King *Edwy*, without any notable attempts, for the space of twenty two yeeres: but now perceiving the hearts of the subjects to bee drawne from their Soveraigne, they thought it a sufficient occasion to forward their intendments; and omitting no time, in the second of his raigne with seven ships they arrived upon the coast of *Kent*, spoiling the Country; but most especially the Iland *Thanat*, from whence they did great hurt likewise to the Towne of *Southampton*. The English led in the dislike of young *Ethelreds* government, were the rather drawne to impute these and other adversities to this unfortunate Prince, by reason of a prediction of *Dunstan*, who had prophesied, *That they should not bee free from bloud and sword, till there came a people of an unknowne tongue, that should bring them to thraldome*: and that opinion was skrewed deeper into their fearefull conceit, by a cloud appearing of bloud and fire, immediately after his unaffected Coronation.

An. Dom. 980.

Polydor. lib. 8 cap. 13.

(4) The next yeere, those roving *Danes* entred the *British Seas*; and coasting to *Cornwall* destroyed there the Abbey of Saint *Patricke*, *Porland* in *Devonshire*, and many other places upon those shores; the like was done unto *Cheshire* by the *Norway-Pirates*, which broke into those parts in the same yeare.

An. Dom. 981.

Simon Dun. Ralph. Higd.

(5) And these calamities were seconded with others as fearefull; for in the yeare 982. the City *London* was miserably destroyed and defaced by fire; whose beauty then chiefely extended from *Ludgate* Westward: for, that within the wals, and where the heart

An. Dom. 982. Tho. Rudborn. John Brom.

Polydor. lib. 6. cap. 13.

heart of the City is now, was then neither beautifull, nor orderly built; what time also raged a sicknesse till then unknowne in *England*, which was a strong burning fever, and bloody fluxe, as also searsitie of victuals, and murraine among cattell. This hand of God thus correcting the sinnes of all, was received as sent for the offences of some few, and wholly imputed to the King and his Raisers; *Dunstan* still prophesying further woes to the land, when himselfe should be dead.

Will. Malmes. Gualth. Gemet. Simon Dun.

An. Dom. 989.

(6) The *Danes* hereupon more boldly assaulted each shore, and in so many places at once, that the *English* were to seeke, where first to withstand. In the *West* they were encountred by *Gods* Earle of *Devonshire*, as saith *Simon Dunelmensis*, by whom they were overthrowne, though with the losse of his life, as also of *Sternwold* a man of great esteeme and valour in those parts, who served there under him.

An. Dom. 991.

(7) In the East their Leaders *Iustine* and *Guthmond* warred with better successe; for at *Malden* in *Essex* they gave *Brightnod* the Earle, a great and bloody battell, wherein himselfe with most of his people were slaine. The *Danes* thus prospering, more boldly went forward, and where they set their talons, there they held fast, and lay on the land like unto Grashoppers. These evils King *Ethelred* could not redresse, his strengths being small, and his subjects affections lesse; therefore calling to Counsell his *Statesmen* and Peeres, demanded their advice what was best to be done. Some few of these proffered the King their assistance, but more of them perswaded unto a composition, whereof *Siricius* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was chiefe; and in fine, ten thousand pounds paid to the *Danes* for their departure.

Holinshed. Speed. lib. 5. Polych. lib. 6. cap. 13.

An. Dom. 992. Will. Malmsb.

(8) This golden Mine once entred, was more eagerly digged into, by these still-thirsting *Danes*, who finding the branch so beneficiall at first, hoped the veine in following, would proove farre more bountifull, and therefore regardlesse of promise, the next yeere prepared themselves againe for *England*, and with a great Fleete dispatched to Sea: the newes whereof strucke such terror into the *English* hearts, that despairing of hope, they accounted themselves the bond-slaves of misery: The King therefore with much adoe prepared a Navie, whereof hee made *Elfrick* Earle of *Mercia* Admirall; who setting from *London* unto the Seas, had power sufficient to put backe the enemy: but hee once a traitor could never proove true; for, having beene banished, forgiven, and now taken into favour, found meanes to bee false, and to betray his charge; and sending the enemy intelligence of his power and intents, gave the way to their escape; an another Fleet of *Danes* encountring with the Kings, at first hee faindly and faintly fought against; and lastly, turned to their side; through which treason many *Englishmen* died, and the Kings Fleete and power was greatly weakened; but hee escaping due punishment himselfe, lest his sonne to answer the fault, whose eyes King *Ethelred* caused to be put out.

Elfricke Earle of Mercia.

An. Dom. 993. Simon Dun. Ralphe. Gualth. Gemt.

(9) About which time also another *Danish Fleet* entring *Humber*, wasted the Countries of *Yorkshire* and *Lyndsey*: against these King *Ethelred* sent his power, under the charge of three valiant but treacherous Captaines, namely, *Frena*, *Cadwin* and *Fredegist*; for the battell but begun, these with their followers fled away, which was the occasion of a great overthrow of the *English*; notwithstanding the countrey people not able to digest their intollerable dealings, fell upon the *Danes*, slew some, and chased the rest. At what time also other of the *Danes* with ninetie foure ships sailed up the River *Thamesis*, and laid their siege against *London*, giving it a great assault; but the Citizens thereof so manfully defended themselves, that they chased the *Danes* thence to their shame and great losse: yet fell they so foule upon *Essex*, *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Hampshire*, that the King was enforced to compound a peace, with the payment of sixteene thousand pounds: for confirmation whereof, *Ethelred* sent to *Southampton* for *Anlafe* these *Norwegians* King, and honourably entertained him at *Andever*, where the same time hee received Baptisme, King *Ethelred* taking him at the Font for his God-sonne, and with great gifts returned into *Denmarke* without any further harme done to the *English*.

A Fleete of Danes on the Thames besiege London.

Matth. W. S. Simon Dun.

(10) But God and destinie suffering it, (that would have the *Saxons* to fall before the *Danes*, as formerly the *Britaines* had done before them) no covenant could be so surely made, but was as slackly in them performed; for albeit this *Anlafe* honourably kept both faith and promise, yet others of his Country continued their invasions, and as another *Hydra* shewed their still reviving heads.

An. Dom. 997.

(11) For the nineteenth yeere of King *Ethelreds* most troublesome raigne, and of our salvation 997. the *Danes* with a great Fleete failed about *Cornwall*, and came into the mouth of *Severn*, robbing, as they went, *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, and *South Wales*: and marching further into the Continent, consumed *Lydford*, and the Abbey of Saint *Ordulfes* at *Efenstocke*: thence passing thorow *Dorsetshire* with fire and sword, found not a man in the way to resist them, and wintering in the *Wight* lived by spoiles gotten in *Hampshire* and *Suffex*.

An. Dom. 998.

An. Dom. 999.

(12) The next spring they put into the mouth of *Thamesis*, and so by the river *Medway* arrived at *Rochester*: thither the *Kentish* with their strengths repaired, but unfortunately fought, and left the field to the *Danes*, who shortly after hoisted their sailes, and with a merry gale arrived in *Normandy*.

An. Dom. 1000.

(13) King *Ethelred* thus rid of these his unlooked for guests, fought to remove those leigers that lay in *Cumberland*, whither hee repaired, and with fore warre wasted the County, before whose sword the *Danes* were not able to stand; which somewhat encouraged the spirits of his people, and bettered their conceits towards him: but farre this sunne past not without a cloud, nor was his successe entailde to be fortunate.

Roger Houed. Annal. pars prim.

(14) For the next yeere, those *Danes* that departed from *Kent*, came now from *Normandy* with their full sailes, and landing in *Exmouth*, their first and greatest fury was against the City of *Exceter*, which when they fiercely besieged, they were so valiantly beaten by the Citizens, as that enraged above measure with the ignominy of that repulse, they thence as a sodaine cloud bare downe all that stood in their way; and then plainely beganne to appeare the ruse of the *Danes*, which every where lorded it, where they had to doe; and the fall of the *Saxons*, whose overtopped Monarchy, and weake walles now wanted props to hold up the weight; for the Captains of the *English* (saith *Higden*) wanting lore in deeds of Armes their direction never prospered; if ships were made, they never sped well, but were either chased of the enemy, or destroyed by tempest; if the Nobles ever assembled to consult of the State, that time was rather spent in whetting the spleene each against other, then jointly agreeing how to redresse their Present danger, or to represse the common enemy: for most of the Nobles were allianced into the *Danish* bloud, whereby not onely the secrets of those consultations were revealed, but being imployed in service, many of them revolted to the enemy. The Clergy as backward as any, denyed the King their assistance, pleading their exemptions from warre, and priviledge of the Church, when the land lay bleeding and deploring for helpe, and scandalized all his other proceedings for demanding their aide: to these were joined scarcity, hunger and robberies. These miseries caused the summes of their compositions to bee augmented, whose last was sixteene thousand, now twenty thousand, immediately twenty four, then thirty, and lastly, forty thousand pound untill the land was emptied of all the coine; the Kingdome of her glory; the Nobles of courage; the

Higdens. Censo.

The Clergies covetousnesse.

The effects of it.

Commons of their content, and the Soveraigne of his wonted respect and observance.

(15) The *Danes* thus prevailing, did not a little glory in their fortunes; and grieved the poore *English*, whose service they employed to care and till the ground, whilest themselves sate idle, and ate the fruit of their paines, abusing the wives and daughters of their hosts where they lay, and yet in every place for feare and reverence were called the *Lord-Danes* (which afterwards became a word of derision to such sturdy and lazy lozels) so that the like daies of misery the land never felt. To redresse which, the carefull King *Ethelred* was farre too weake, and therefore intending to doe that by policy, which he could not by strength, he devised a desperate straragem that proov'ed the destruction of the *Saxons* royall blood, and conquest of the land to another nation.

Hoveden. Matthias.

Ethelred bad policy.

(16) For seeking to disburden the Realme of these devouring *Danes*, which by open force hee could no wayes doe, hee attempted in a bloody massacre to destroy them, giving a secret commission unto every City within his dominions, that at an appointed time they should set upon, and kill all the *Danes*; the day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the festivall of S. *Briccius*, the yeere of Christ Iesus 1002, and presently after his marriage with *Emma*, the flower of *Normandy*; in confidence of which amitie, he presumed to doe what he did. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in *Oxford* the fearefull *Danes* for refuge tooke into the Church of Saint *Frideswide*, as into a Sanctuary of venerable antiquitie and priviledge among ancients Kings: but they in fury regarding neither place nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein were burned a great sort of those *Danes* with many rich ornaments, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. At which time (if *Malmsbury* say true) King *Ethelred* himselfe was in that Citie, and had summoned a Parliament both of *Danes* and *English*, with which even the King was much grieved: and therefore at his very great cost beautifully repaired the Church, and all the losses accreing by the fire, endowing it with large priviledges and donations, as appeareth by his owne Charter, mentioning the tenour of that *Danish* slaughter.

Polyd. lib. 6. an. 15. The massacre of the Danes.

Henry Hunting.

Matth. west.

Regiller of S. Frideswides.

Will. Malmsb.

In this massacre, Lady *Gunhild*, sister to Swaine King of *Denmarke*, a great and continuall friend to the *English*, with her husband and sonne, together were slaughtered, although shee lay in hostage upon conditions of peace, whose husbands name was *Palingus* (saith *Malmesbury*) an Earle of great might, and both of them Christians.

Ethelreds Charter.

(17) Newes brought into *Denmarke* of this sudd aine stratagem, no need there was to urge them to revenge, or to adde more fuell unto that over kindled fire; for preparation being made, the yeere ensuing *Swain* with a great Navy landed in the *West*, spoiled the Country, and gave assault to the City of *Exceter*, which by the trechery of one *Hugh* a *Norman* (whom in the favour of the Queene, King *Ethelred* had made Governour of that City) he razed and levelled with the ground, all along from the *Eastgate* to the *West*.

Hen. Hunting.

Simeon Dun.

King Swaines invasion,

An. Dom. 1003.

This treason and stirres, great of themselves, but made much more rufull in the relating, caused *Ethelred* presently to muster his men; over whom hee made Earle *Edrik* (for his covetousnes surnamed *Streon*) his Generall, who bare a brave shew till it came to the push, and day of battle: but then to cover his treason, he fained himselfe sicke, and left his souldiers to shift as they could. The *Danes* hereupon rifled *Wilton*, & pasing forward tooke *Salisbury* in their way, to which they were as welcome as water into ships; but hearing that the King himselfe in person was preparing to give them battell, they left the land, and tooke againe to Sea.

Earle Edrike for his service surnamed Streon.

An. Dom. 1004.

Simeon Dun.

(18) The next yeere following, (which was the twentie foure of King *Ethelreds* raigne, and of grace one thousand and foure) King *Swaine* with a mightie fleete of ships arrived upon the coasts of *Norfolke*, where landing his men, hee made spoile of all before him, and comming to *Norwich* sacked the Citie, with great slaughter of the Citizens; then tooke he *Thetford*, and set it on fire, notwithstanding he had entred a truce with them: but for want of victuall which then was scarce in the land, he returned to Sea, and so into *Denmarke*.

Norwich razed.

An. Dom. 1005.

Henry. Hunt.

(19) Where making preparation for another expedition, he encreased his Navie and number of men, and the next Spring arrived at *Sandwich*, miserably desolating the Countries along the Sea side, never staying in any certaine place, but to prevent the Kings Forces roved from coast to coast, ever carrying to their ships their booties and preyes: and to encrease the calamitie, the harvest was neglected, and in many places spoiled, both for the want of labourers, and by the feet of the souldiers which lay in field all that season, who from place to place travelled, although in vaine.

An. Dom. 1006.

Towards the Winter the *Danes* tooke into the Ile of *Wight*, and in the deepest time thereof, passed thorow *Hampshire*, into *Barkshire*, unto *Reading*, *Wallingford*, *Colefey*, and *Essington*, making cleane work wheresoever they came; for that which they could not carry they consumed with fire, with triumphs ever returning to their ships.

The Danes in the Ile of wight.

(20) The King lying in *Shrewsbury*, unable to resist, called to him his Councell, to consult what was best to be done; whereof *Edrike* was a principall, and in so high esteeme with the King, that he created him Duke of *Mercia*, and gave him his daughter *Edgith* in marriage: notwithstanding, these gluts of favours wrought onely the disgestion of fallhood in him, who could taste nothing unlesse it was sauced with treason. This man, then the Kings onely *Achitophel*, perswaded him to pay thirty thousand pounds to the *Danes* for their peace, whereof no doubt some fell into his owne Coffers.

Edrik made truly Counsellor.

An. Dom. 1007.

(21) This intollerable imposition extorted of the Subjects, especially at that time when the land was least able, made many suspect great matters against *Edrik*, and some did not feare to accuse him to his face, to be the onely causer of this payment; charging him as over-affectioned to the *Danes*, and to have bewraied the Kings secrets and desiignes unto them: but he seated in the heart of his Soveraigne, rubd off this staine with a few fawnings, and a faire shew, being a man in wit subtle, in speech eloquent, and for riches inferiour to none, (a stone that could turne even great streames aside) so that these suppolals of treasons (as proceeding from envy to him for his good services) wonne him greater trust, and sent hee was Ambassador to the *Danes* to mediate for peace: where revealing the weaknesse of the Land, and feares which the *English* conceived of a conquest, treacherously disswaded them from giving care to any motiues of Truce.

Simeon Dun.

His accusers.

His falsitie.

(22) The State of the land thus standing, or rather hanging at suspence, king *Ethelred* gave order, that out of every three hundred and ten hides of land a shippe should be built, and of every eight hides a complete Armour furnished. These meeting at *Sandwich*, and furnished with Souldiers, made shew of such resistance, as had not beene seene, although the event was nothing but a shew. For *Wilmot* a Noble man of *Suffex* (banished for some offence by King *Ethelred*) with twenty sayles roved upon the coast, and by Piracy did much hurt among the English Merchants: wherefore *Brithrike* the brother of *Edrike*, to winne himselfe honour, got the Kings consent to pursue this grand-Pirate, with fourscore Saile of the forefaid Ships, threating to bring in *Wilmot* either dead or alive: but his Sailes being spread under a faire winde, a violent tempest suddenly arose, and outragiously drove his shippes upon shore, where distressed and torne, their beaten huls lay unable to recover themselves, or the Sea: *Wilmot* taking advantage of this present mishap fell fiercely upon them, and after much slaughter of their

His treachery.

An. Dom. 1008.

An. Reg. 30.

Hoved. Hunting. Simeon Dun.

Will. Lambert in Peterb.

Matth. west.

An. Dom. 1012.

Polydor. lib. 6. cap. 16.

Brithrik (disgracing others) crossed by unluckie.

Money paid the Danes.

An. Dom. 1009.

Three thousand Captaines.

Money paid the Danes. Three thousand Pound, saith Simon Dunel.

their weather beaten warders, set them all on fire; so that all this preparation prooved not onely vaine, but also very hurtfull.

(23) At the receit of the said thirty thousand pounds, the *Danes* departed, in semblance satisfied and friends with the *English*; but how long that lasted the sequele shewed: for the next harvest, and yeere of salvation 1009. a great fleete of their ships strongly appointed landed at *Sandwich*, under the conduct of three *Danish* Princes, *Turkill*, *Henning* and *Anlafe*: these comming to *Canterbury*, were compounded with by the Citizens, paying a thousand pounds for their departure; who thence in the *Wight*, *Sussex*, and *Hampshire* made havocke of all.

Canute.

King *Ethelred* seeing no truth in their promises, nor quietnesse, in State, his land cloyed with daily charges of provision and coyne, thought it best to adventure once for all, and to commit his cause unto God, by the fortune of warre. To which end hee gathered his power, and comming unlookt for, when the enemy was altogether unprepared, and taken at disadvantage, he had made an end of the quarrell if wicked *Edrike* had not perswaded him from fight, and put him into a causelesse feare with his forged tale. The *Danes* thus escaping returned to *Kent*, and the winter following lodged their ships in the river *Thamesis*, whence often they gave assayes for *London*, though to little purpose.

Edrike against perfidious.

An. Dom. 1010.

(24) Then tooke they through the *Chiltern* wood unto *Oxford*, which they fired, and in their returne wasted all the countries on both sides of *Thamesis*; but hearing that *London* was prepared against them, they crossed over at *Staines*, passing through *Surrey* into *Kent*, where they fell to amending their ships, and thence sailing about the coasts of *Suffolke*, tooke *Ipswich*, and pitched their battle upon *Rigmer*, against *Yrkell* (Governour of *Norfolke*) and his *English*, upon the fifth of *May*; where they wonne the day with a great slaughter made of the *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, and *Cambridgeshire* men, and after harried those Countries with the Borders of *Lincolne* and *Huntingtonshires*; burning *Thetford* and *Cambridge*, and rifling all the *Abbies* and Churches that stood in their way, and then through *Essex* returned unto their ships.

Hen. Hunting.

Simeon Dun.

(25) Neither rested they there long in quier, ere as people wholly devoted to spoile, they brake into *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Northamptonshires*, the chiefe Towne of which last, they set on fire after much slaughter of the Inhabitants; and thence entring *Wiltshire* depopulated all before them, which was the seventh Shire in number that they had laid waste likea folitude.

The Danes forsake the Countries before them.

An. Dom. 1011.

(26) And now not satisfied with spoile nor bloud-spilling, they prepare a new expedition for *Canterbury*, and in September beleagered the City, which by treason of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Elphegus* the *Arch-Bishop*, and slew nine hundred Monkes and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy: for they tithed the captive multitudes after an inverted order, slaying all by nines, and reserving onely the tenth to live: so that of all the *Monkes* in the Towne there were but foure saved, and of the lay people foure thousand eight hundred, by which account M. *Lambert* collecteth that there dyed in this massacre forty three thousand and two hundred persons.

Hen. Hunting. Fountaines.

Edric. ad Assertion.

Will. Lambert in Peterb.

An. Dom. 1012.

Polydor. lib. 6. cap. 16.

The Archbishop *Elphegus*, for that hee refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his ransome, they most cruelly stoned to death at *Greenwich* the nineteenth of *April* following.

Turkillus the Leader of these murtherers, tooke into his possession all *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, over whom he tyrannized in most savage manner. The reft compounding with the *English* for eight thousand pound, sojourned a while quiet among them.

Money payed the Danes.

An. Dom. 1013.

(27) But King *Swaine* hearing of the dissensions and weakenesse of the land, in the yeare of Grace, **1013.** with a great number of ships arrived in the mouth of *Humber*, and entring *Trent* landed at *Gainesborough*; whose terrour strooke so deepe into the *Northumbrians* conceits, that they with them of *Lyndsey* yeelded themselves to the yoake of his subjection, so that now over all the *North* from *Watlingstreete* he reigned sole King, and exacted pledges from them for their further obedience. From the *North* hee sought to spread his wings further into the *South*, and leaving his sonne *Canute* to take charge of his Ships, and new conquered Countries, sped himselfe through *Mercia* to *Oxford* and *Winchester*, bringing all under the power of his command; with which gales of his fortunes, hee was so puffed up, that thinking nothing unpossible for him and his *Danes* to doe, in the heat of his courage hee came unto *London*, and presently begirt the Wals with a strait siege.

Simon Dun.

Canute.

Text. Ipsius obsessi.

Simon Dun. Matth. west. Henry Hunt.

Polydor.

(28) In the City lay unfortunate King *Ethelred*, who (as *Simon* Monke of *Durham* reporteth) had with him, and under his pay *Turkillus* the *Danish* Prince before spoken of, and forty five *Danish* ships to defend the coasts. King *Swaine* at his first comming fiercely assaulted the City, hoping his fortunes would have proved as before; but the prefence of the King, and *London* the eye of the land, made the Citizens above measure couragious, who beat the *Danes* from their Wals, and sallying forth of the Gates, slew them on heapes, so that *Swaine* himselfe was in great danger, had hee not desperately runne through the midst of his enemies, and by flight escaped their swords; marching both day and night in great feare untill hee had entred *Bath*, where *Ethelmere* Earle of *Devonshire* with his westerne people subsisted themselves unto him. But this saft overthrow, and want of victuals, caused him after hee had received a certaine summe of money, to haste into *Denmarke*, minding with more power, and better advantage to prosecute the quarrell.

Will. Malmes. Gaufrid. Mon. lib.

A battell between Danes and English.

(29) Not long it was ere hee returned, and immediately was met by the *English*, where betwixt them was strucke a fierce battaile, which had beene with good successe, had not the treasons of some hindred it, in turning to the *Danes*. King *Ethelred* therefore seeing himselfe, and land betrayed in this manner, to those few true *English*, that were left, hee used this speech as follow.

Ethelreds Oration.

" (30) If there wanted in me a fatherly care, either for the defence of the Kingdome, or administration of justice in the common wealth, or in you " the courage of Souldiers for the defence of your " native Countrey; then truely silent would I bee " for ever, and beare these calamities with a more " dejected mind: but as the case stands (be it as it " is) I for my part am resolved to rush into the " midst of the enemy, and to lose my life for my " Kingdome and Crowne. And you (I am sure) " hold it a worthy death that is purchased for the " liberties of your selves and kindred; and therein I " pray you let us all dye, for I see both God and destiny against us, and the ruine of the *English* nation " brought almost to the last period; for wee are o- " vercome not by weapons and hoftile warre, but by " treason and domestike falsehood; our Navy be- " trayed into the *Danes* hands, our battaile weakened " by the revolt of our Captaines, our designes be- " wrayed to them by our owne Counsellors, and they " also inforcing compositions of dishonourable " peace; I my selfe disesteemed, and in scorne tear- " med *Ethelred* the *unready*: your valour and loyal- " ties betrayed by your owne leaders, and all our " poverty yeerely augmented by the payment of " their *Dane-gilt*, which how to redresse God one- " lie knoweth, and wee are to seeke: for if wee pay " money for peace, yea, and that confirmed by oath, " these enemies foone breake it, as a people that nei- " ther regard God nor man, contrary to equity and " the lawes of Warre, or of Nations: and so farre " off is all hope of better successe, as wee have cause

" to

Paines taking for safety.

"to feare the losse of our Kingdome, and you the "extinct of the *English* nations renowne; therefore "seeing the enemies are at hand, and their hands at "our throats; let us by foresight and counsell save "our owne lives, or else by courage sheath our "swords in their bowels: either of which I am wil- "ling to enter into, to secure our estate and nation "from an irrecoverable ruine.

(31) This lamentable Oration delivered from the passions of a justly-pensive King, touched the hearers to the heartes, and a smuch distracted their afflicted minds. To abide battle they saw it; was bootlesse, the treason of their leaders so many times defeating their victories; to yeeld themselves to the enemy, would but begin their servitude and misery; and to flee before them, their eternall ignominy and reproach.

Thus their opinions were canvased, but nothing put in practise, whereas meane whiles the *Danes*, went forward with victories, and had got the most part of the land, yea and *London* also by submission; wherewithall unfortunate *Ethelred* more and more dejected, sent his wife *Emma* with his two sonnes by her, unto her brother *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, and for his owne safest refuge commitred himselfe unto *Turkill* the *Dane*, in whose ships he remained a while at *Greenewich*, and from thence went into the Isle of *Wight*, where he abode most part of the winter, and thence sailed into *Normandy* to his wife and brother, leaving the *Danes* lording it in his realme.

Hen. Hunting. Simon Dun.

An. Dom. 1014. An. Reg. 35.

(32) These were the dayes of *Englands* mourning, she being unable to maintaine her defenders, and yet enforced to nourish and cherish her devourers: for the *Danes* in two factions most cruelly afflicted the land like two Mil-stones crushing and grinding the graine. *Swayn* as an absolute King, extorted of the *English*, both victuals and pay for his Souldiers; and *Turkill* on the other side, in defence of the *English*, commanded the like for his ships and men, so that the *Danes* had all, and the *English* maintained all. Neither were churches free from their spoils, (whom other Conquerours have held most impious to violate,) but either suffered the flames of their consuming fire, or were forced to purchase their standings with great summes of money. Such composition King *Swayne* demanded for the preservation of Saint *Edmunds* Monastery in *Suffolke*: which becausse the Inhabitants refused to pay, he threatned spoile both to the place, and to the Martyrs bones there enterred: in the midst of which jollity (saith *Hoveden*) he suddainely cryed out that he was strucke by S. *Edmund* with a sword, being then in the middest of his Nobles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came, and so with great horrour and torment, three dayes after upon the third of February ended his life at *Thetford* (others say at *Gainesborough*:) but with his death dyed not the title of the *Danes*, who immediately advanced *Canutus* his sonne for their King.

Swayne and Turkills domineering.

Hoveden. Annal. pars prior. Fabian. Chron. par. 6. capar. 9. Polidorus. libr. 9. cap. 10.

An. Dom. 1015.

(33) The *English* that liked nothing lesse then bondage, especially under such tyrannizing intruders, thought now or never the time to shake off the yoake; and therefore with great joy and haste sent into *Normandy* for their native King. *Ethelred* now not *unready* for the recovering of his right, fore-slowed no meanes either to hasten or strengthen the enterprize, and having the assistance of his brother of *Normandy*, in the Lent following landed in *England*, unto whom resorted the people from all parts, accounting it their greatest joy to see the face of their King.

Canutus wisnes love of the English.

(34) *Canutus* then at *Gainesborough*, Souldier-like mustered and managed his men, and holding it good policy to keepe that by bounty, which his Father had got by tyranny, made no spare to purchase the hearts of the *English*, by which meanes those of *Lyndsey* became his Creatures, with an agreement to find him both horse and men against their owne King and Country.

Ethelred therefore now raging for revenge, with a mighty hoast entred *Lyndsey*, where he burnt all the Country, and put the inhabitants to the (word. *Canute* not able to resist this puissant Army, held the Sea more safe for him then the land, and entring *Humber*, failed to *Sandwich*, where being sore grieved at the miseries of these his confederates, requited King *Ethelreds* friends with the like, and commanded that those pledges which had beene delivered by the Nobles unto his Father, should have their Noses slit, and their hands cut off: which cruelty acted, he failed to *Denmarke*, as hopelesse of any good issue in *England*.

He is chased by Ethelred.

(35) But *Turkill* the *Dane*, retained (as wee said) into King *Ethelreds* pay, seeing successe so sudainely altered, sore repented him of his revolt from the *Danes*, and knowing now the time to recover his reputation, with nine of his ships failed into *Denmarke*, instantly importuning *Canute* to addresse againe for *England*; alleadging the feares and weakenesse of the people, the beauty and fertility of the land, an *Eden*, in respect of their owne barren feat, and (which did most moove) himselfe would assist, when the *English* least thought it. With these and the like he spurred him on, who of himselfe was forward in a full curriere.

Canutus. Matth. Westm. Malmsb.

Turkill inciteth Canute against England.

Canutus therefore with the ayde of his brother *Harrold* rigged forth a Navy of two hundred saile, all furnished with souldiers and abiliments of warre, whose terrour landed in *England* before him, and his power by report made greater then it was; and to encrease the terrour of this fearefull enemy, the Sea with a Spring-tide brake into this land, and destroyed both Townes and many inhabitants; a signe foreshewing (as was thought) the successe of that fleete, borne hitherward upon those waves; and to increase the *English* miseries, thirty thousand pound was then collected by way of Tribute to pay the *Danish* auxiliary Navy lying before *Greenewich*. The States also convening in a grand Councell at *Oxford* to determine upon the great affaires of the Kingdome, were divided into factions, and two Noblemen of the *Danes* there murthered by practise of *Edricke* the Traitour. These (I say) were accounted ominous amongst the *English*, that made each mole-hill to seeme a mountaine, and every shadow the shew of an enemy.

Canutus arrives Navy.

Ethelred tyrannizeth in King Ethelreds absence.

Money collected for the Dane.

(36) In the meane while *Canutus* had landed at *Sandwich*, and given a great overthrow to the *English*; entred *Kent*, and by his sword had made way through the Countries of *Dorset*, *Sommerset*, and *Wilton*.

Will. Malmsb. Henry Hunt. Matth. West. Simon Dunh.

Ethelred lying dangerously sicke at *Cossam*, the managing of these warres was transferred to Prince *Edmund* his sonne, who preparing to meete the enemy with his Army in the field, had suddenly notice that *Edrike* his brother in law meant to betray him into his enemies hands; which newes strucke a great astonishment unto his heart, and caused him to retrait his host into a place of security; whereby *Erike* perceiving his treacherous purposes were disclosed, gave more open proofe of his intendments, flying to the enemy with forty of the Kings ships; whereupon all the West Countries submitted themselves unto *Canutus*.

Edmund the first wife.

Matth. Westm.

Simon Dun.

(37) By this time King *Ethelred* had recovered his sickenesse, and minding revenge on his most wicked sonne *Edrike*, with purpose to try his last fortunes by hazard of fight, summoned all his forces to meet him at a certaine day and place; where being assembled, he was instantly warned not to give battaile, for that his owne subjects meant to betray him.

An. Dom. 1016.

King *Ethelred* ever unfortunate in this, to finde treasons amongst them that ought him most trust, withdrew himselfe to *London*, whose service against the *Danes* hee had lately seene, and therefore accounted his person most sure in their walles. Prince *Edmund* with his power posted over *Humber*, where obtaining Earle *Vtred* to side in his quarrell, entred the

London's fidelity.

Canutus devastations.

the Countries of *Stafford*, and *Leicester*, and *Shropshires*, not sparing to exercise any cruelties upon these inhabitants, as a condigne recompence for their revolt. Neither did *Canute* for his part spare the Kings subjects, but through *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Lincolne*, and *Yorkeshires*, made spoile of all, so that the miserable *English* went to wracke on all sides; insomuch that *Vtred* also forsaking *Edmund*, became subject to *Canute*: whereupon *Edmund* hasted to *London* to joyne his strength, with his Fathers, and *Canute* with no lesse speed sailed about the Coasts into *Thames*, preparing his Army for the siege of *London*.

Death. 1016. Will. Malmsb.

Ethelred dieth.

(38) At which time King *Ethelred*, either falne into relapse of his last sicknesse, or tired with the many troubles, and daily renued treasons against him, gave up his ghost, and found rest by death, which never hee could attaine by life, the twentie third of *April*, and of our Salvation 1016, when hee had most unfortunately raigned thirty seven yeeres, and nine dayes: his body was there buried in the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul*, and bones as yet remaine in the North-wall of the Chancell in a cheft of Grey-Marble, reared upon foure small pillars, covered with a copped stone of the same, adjoyning to another of the like forme, wherein *Sebbey* King of the *East-Saxons* lieth intombed.

The time of his raigning.

He Tombe in S. Pauls in London.

(39) Of Personage he was very seemely, and of countenance gracious, affable and courteous to his Subjects, and a maintainer of justice among them, as by his excellent Lawes which himselfe made, and by his sharpe, but godly and wise censures against unlearned, bribing, delaying, partiall Iudges and Lawyers, and their purloining officers (at large set downe by M. *Foxe*) is very apparant. Very loving and render affectioned he was to his brother King *Edward*; for whose death hee made such lamentation, that his mother beate him with a taper of waxe that stood before her, yea and so fore that he could never after well endure the sight of a taper. Favourable he was to the married Priests, and least esteemed the opulent and idle lives of the Monks, whose pennes therefore (as in such cases we ever find them partiall) have been very lavish in his dispraise, accusing him with sloath and unreadinesse of Armes, of voluptuousnesse and lechery, covetousnesse, pride, and cruelty: whereas in following the records of his life, laying aside the *Danish* malfacre, we finde no such sinnes, neither any mention of Concubine that ever he kept, or name of childe unlawfully begot, having had many by his wives, which were as followeth,

His Wives.

(40) *Elgiva*, the first wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of an *English* Duke named *Thored*, who is reported in the History of that time, to have done great service against the *Danes*. Shee was married unto him when he was seventeene yeeres of age, in the first of his raigne, being the yeere of grace nine hundred eighty foure, and was his wife seventeene yeeres, who deceased in the twentie foure of his raigne, and of Christ Iesus, one thousand and three.

Elgiva the first wife, by some called Elfleda.

Emme the second wife.

(41) *Emme*, the second wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daughter of *Richard* the second Duke of *Normandy*, and sister of Duke *Richard*, and Duke *Robert* father to *William* the Conqueror; her mother was sister to *Herfast* the *Dane*, Grandfather of *William Fitz-Osbert* afterward Earle of *Hereford*. Shee was a Lady of passing beauty, and therefore commonly called the *flower of Normandy*, married unto him in the twentie and fifth yeere of his raigne, and yeere of Salvation, 1003. with whom shee lived thirteene yeeres, and surviving him was remarried to King *Canute* the *Dane*.

His Issue.

Ethelstan the eldest sonne.

(42) *Ethelstan*, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, was borne about the eight yeere of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of Christ, 986. he lived unto the age almoft of twentie five yeeres, being then (by great likelihood) cut off by untimely death in the warres of the *Danes*, raging then most extremely, which was the thirtie third of his Fathers raigne, and of Christs Nativitie, 1011.

Egbert the second sonne.

(43) *Egbert*, the second sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, seemeth to have beene borne two yeeres after his brother *Ethelstan*, in the tenth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of our Lord, 688. and to have deceased in the very prime of his youth before the death of his father, or of his elder brother, and before hee had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

Edmund the third sonne.

(44) *Edmund*, the third sonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, was borne in the eleventh yeere, of his fathers raigne, and of Grace 989. and of all his fathers Children prooved to be the only man that set his helping hand to the redresse of the estate of his Country, distressed by the miserable oppressions of the *Danes*: which hee pursued with such exceeding toile, and restlesse hazards of his body, as he was therefore surnamed *Iron-side*; and when hee had followed those warres with great courage the space of seventeene yeeres under his Father, being come to twentie seven of his owne age, he succeeded him in his kingdome, and troubles, as presently shall be shewed.

Edred the fourth sonne.

(45) *Edred*, the fourth sonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, was borne about the fourteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of Grace 992. His name is continually set downe, as a witnesse in the Testees of his fathers Charters, untill the thirtie fift yeere of his raigne, by which it appeareth that hee lived unto the two and twentieth yeere of his owne age, although I finde no mention of him, nor of any thing done by him in any of our histories; and it seemeth hee dyed at that time, becaufe his name is left out of the Charters after that yeere.

Edwy the fifth sonne.

(46) *Edwy*, the fifth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, survived his father and all his brethren, and lived in the raigne of *Canute* the *Dane*, who being jealous of his new gotten estate, and fearefull of the dangers that might accrew unto him by this *Edwy*, and such others of the English blood royall, practised to have him murthered, and was accordingly done by them, whom hee most favoured, and least suspected, the yeere of our salvation, 1017.

Edgar the fixth sonne.

(47) *Edgar*, the fixt sonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiva*, his first wife, was borne about the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord God nine hundred ninety and eight. He seemeth by the Testees of his fathers Charters, to have beene living in the one and twentieth of his raigne, but being no more found in any of them after, may be supposed by all conjectures, to have died in, or about the same yeere, being but the eleventh after his owne birth, and the seventh before his fathers death.

The eldest daughter.

(48) The eldest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, although her name be not to be found in any writer of those times, appeareth notwithstanding, to be married to one *Ethelstan*, a Noble man of *England*, who was the principall Commander of *Cambridge-shire*-men at the great battell fought betweene them and the *Danes*, wherein the *English-men* had the overthrow; and this sonne in law of King *Ethelred*, with the reft of the chiefe Leaders, were slaine in the yeere of Christs Nativitie 1010, being the two and thirtieth of his father in Lawes raigne.

Edgith the second daughter.

(49) *Edgith*, the second daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, was married to *Edrik* Duke of *Mercia*, who for his covetousnesse in getting

ing was surnamed *Streatone:* This *Edrike* was the sonne of one *Egelrik* surnamed *Leofwin*, an elder brother to *Egelmere* the grandfather of *Godwin* Duke of the *West-Saxons*; and beeing but meanely borne, was thus highly advanced by this King; notwithstanding he was ever a traitor to his Country, and a favourer of the *Danes*, betraying both him, and King *Edmund* his sonne to King *Canute*, that he thereby might get new preferments by him, who worthily rewarded him as a traitor and put him to death.

Elfgiue the third daughter.

(50) *Elfgine*, the third daughter of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, was the second Wife of *Vtred* surnamed the *Bold*, sonne of Earle *Waldefe* the elder, Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom shee had one onely childe, a daughter named *Aldgith*, married to a Noble man called *Maldred*, the sonne of *Crinan*; shee was mother of *Cospatricke*, who was Earle of *Northumberland* in the time of *William* the Conquerour, and forced by his displeasure to flie into *Scotland*, where hee abode, and was ancestor to the Earles of *Dunbar* and of *March* in that Country.

Gode the fourth daughter.

(51) *Gode*, the fourth and youngest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgiva* his first wife, was first married to one *Walter de Maigne* a Noble man of *Normandie*, greatly favoured by King *Edward her* brother; who lived not long after the marriage, and left issue by her a sonne named *Rodulfe*, whom King *Edward* his uncle created Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Rodulfe*, died the one and twentieth of December, in the thirteenth yeere of his uncles raigne, and was buried at *Peterborough*; leaving issue a young sonne named *Harrald*, created afterwards by King *William* the Conqueror, Baron of *Sudeley* in the Countie of *Gloucester*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chaudois* of *Sudeley* now being. This Ladie *Gode*, after the decease of the said *Walter de Maigne*, was married to *Eustace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne* in *Picardy*, a man of great valour in those parts of *France*, and a most faithfull friend to King *Edward* her brother; which Earle was grandfather to *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, King of *Ierusalem*, albeit it seemeth he had no issue by this Lady.

Edmund the seventh sonne.

(52) *Edward*, the seventh sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his first by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was borne at *Islipe* in the County of *Oxford*, and brought up in *France* all the time of his youth, with his uncle *Richard* the third of that name, Duke of *Normandy*, mistrusting his safetie in *England* under King *Canute* the *Dane*, although hee had married his mother; but hee found the time more dangerous by the usage of his brother *Elfred*, at his being heere in the raigne of king *Harrald* sonne of the *Dane*. Notwithstanding he returned home, when *Hardiknut* the other sonne (being his halfe brother) was King, and was honourably received and entertained by him, and after his death succeeded him in the Kingdome of *England*.

Elfred the eight sonne.

(53) *Elfred*, the eight sonne of King *Ethelred* and his second by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was conveied into *Normandie* for feare of King *Canute*, with his eldest brother *Edward*, and with him returned into *England* to see his mother, then beeing at *Winchester*, in the second yeere of King *Harrald* surnamed *Harefoote*; by whose practice hee was trained towards *London*, apprehended by the way at *Guildford* in *Surrey*, deprived of his eye-sight, and committed prisoner to the Monastery of *Elie*: his *Normans* that came with him most cruelly murthered, and hee himselfe soone after deceasing, was buried in the Church of the said Monasterie.

EDMVND

Edmund.

EDMVND SVRNAMED IRONSIDE, THE THIRTY THRID MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS WARRES, ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 33.



CHAPTER XLV.

An. Dom. 1016.

EDmund, the third sonne of King *Ethelred*, and the eldest living at his Fathers death, succeeded him both in his Dominions, and in his troubled estate against the *Danes*; entring his government in the moneth *April*, and Crowned at *Kingston* upon *Thamise*, by *Livingus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the yeare of mans salvation 1016. Notwithstanding, a great part of the *English*, considering the puissance of the *Danes*, both feared and favoured *Canute*, especially a great part of the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, swearing to him the fealty of true subjection; but the *Londoners* stood most firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were principall Actors for his Election.

Hist. Haut. Simeon Dun.

Proffer of single combat.

Polyd. l.6. f.117.

(2) In revenge whereof, *Canutus* who had besieged the Citie before the death of King *Ethelred*, caused his ships now to be towed, and drawne up the *Thamise*, unto the West side of the Bridge, and from the River with a deepe and large Trench encompassed the City, shutting up all entrance or regresse of any. But the Citizens manfully stood in resistance, whereto the comming of their new King for their succour, did not a little encourage them, and daunted the *Danes*, who now thought it best to breake up their siege and bee gone: and the rather (saith the Author of *Encomium Emmæ*) for that King *Edmund* sent *Canute* a peremptory challenge of single combat, which he neither accepted, nor yet stalled the siege to trie his chance; but waying his anchors sailed along the Coast to the ile of *Sheepie*, where hee wintred with his Navie and men.

(3) But loath to lose opportunity, when time served for warre; on the sodaine he assailed the west of *England*, and brought much of those parts under his command: to meete whom, the restlesse *Iron-*

An. Dom. 1016. In the Rogation weeke.

side prepared, and with such small power as his leasure would admit to leavy, hee hasted into *Dorsetshire*, where *Canute* was forwarding his owne fortunes, and at *Penhem* neere *Gillingham*, each met other in the field, wherein a sore battaile was fought and bloudy to the *Danes*, where many of them were put to the sword, and the rest to flight.

Polydor.

(4) *Canute* immediately tooke into *Winchester* to secure himselfe from danger, and the rest escaped towards *Salisbury*, and there begirt the City with a strait siege. King *Edmund* as ready to save, as they to destroy, made presently thitherward with his small and over-tired company; whom *Canute*, waiting for advantage, followed with a great hoast, and in *Worcestershire*, at a place called *Sherestan*, in the sight of his enemy pitched his battaile. To the aide of *Edmund* came many of the *English*, so that his Army was greatly encreased, and their courages inhaunsed, which made the *Danish* souldiers somwhat to droope.

Simon Dun. Matth. West.

(5) Notwithstanding, upon the twentieth of *June*, 1016. their battailes joyned, and with equall fortune continued all the day, untill the night constrained them to part.

will Malmesb. Edrike treason.

(6) But their bloud not cold, the next day they buckled together againe with no lesse courage then before, till at length the *Danes* were going downe, and the *English* in great forwardnes of victory: which when the Traitour *Edrik* perceived, he cut off the head of a souldier, whose name was *Osmearus*, like head unto king *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and shaking his bloudy sword with the halfe-gasping head, cried unto the hoast of the English: *Flie yee wretches, flie, and get away, for your King is slaine, behold here is his head, therefore seeke now to save your owne lives.*

(7) But *Edmund* having present notice of this treacherous stratageme, and seeing his men ready to give over the fight, hasted himselfe where he might be best seene, encouraging his Army to stand to it like true Englishmen, and posting from ranke to ranke both performed the parts of a wise Generall, and underwent the dangers of the meanest souldier: his men seeing his presence, and the apparent treachery of Duke *Edrick*, bent their bowes against the traitour, and had shot him to death, had hee not presently avoided to the enemy: but the night approching, parted againe the battaile of this second day: *Duke Edricke* excusing his fact, as being meerely mistaken in the countenance of the man, and thirsting to save the blood of the *English*, was taken againe into favour, and bare himselfe outwardly faire for his Country.

Edrike excuseth.

(8) The third day appearing, both the Armies prepared for battaile, but yet stood still without any attempt, onely refreshing their wearied, and almost tired bodies, and burying the dead slaine in the two dayes fights before.

Canut marcheth to London.

(9) The night following, *Canutus* in great silence brake up his campe, and marched very fast towards *London*, against whose Citizens he carried great spleene, and most earnestly desired the conquest of the City, which ina sort was still besieged by the *Danish* ships.

Dislodged by Edmund.

(10) The Sentinels the next morning certified King *Edmund* (who was addressing himselfe for the battaile) of the suddaine departure of his enemies, whereupon hee as ready to prevent their designes, followed them by tract even unto *London*: where with small adoe, hee removed their siege, and entred the City in manner of triumph. The *Danes* thus discomfited, great hope was conceived, that these faire proceedings would have a prosperous end.

(11) *Edmund*, therefore following the advantage of their discouragements, two dayes after at *Brentford* bad them battaile, and that with their great overthrow; notwithstanding, in passing the *Thames* at the same place, he lost many of his men, who were drowned before they could recover the shore: upon which losse the Traitour *Edrike* plaied, who earst had much feared the downfall of the *Danes*. For hereupon hee perswaded his Brother in law King *Edmund* to come to truce with *Canute*, which as hee confidently affirmed, should bee to the great benefite and contentment of *Edmund*: *Canute* himselfe so plotting it, that by his meanes hee might continue his hopes, and bring his enemy into his danger.

Edrike wicked counsell.

Henry Hunt.

(12) The affaires thus standing, King *Edmund* returned into the West, and *Canute* with spoiles unto his shippes that were in *Medway*, not farre from *Rochester*, where hee a while lay still to learne what *Edmund* meant to doe; who contrariewise loving nothing lesse then to linger his businesses, made preparation against those truce-breakers that had wasted the Country in their returne, and with a great Army entred *Kent*, where he pitched down his tents neere unto *Otesford*.

Edmund prepareth.

Canute, who had prepared himselfe in most warlike array to meete his approach, beganne the battaile in a furious manner, which continued very bloudy for foure houres space, untill the foote of his vaward beganne to shrinke, which when hee perceived, he drew his horesmen for their aide; but whileste the one gave hastily back, and the other made as slowly forward, the array of the whole Army was broken, and the *Danes* slaine on all hands: for it is reported that *Canute* lost foure thousand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* onely six hundred; the rest of these *Danes* trusting to their legs: whom if *Edmund* had pursued in chase, it is thought, that day had ended the warres betwixt those two Nations for ever. But Destiny, that would have the *Saxons* downe, who had raised themselves by the fals of the *Britaines*; made *Edrike* her instrument, and maull of the English, who kept King *Edmunds* hasty foot from following his enemies, by guilefull urging the danger of ambush, and the over-wearied bodies of his souldiers, so that *Canute* thereby had leasure in safety to passe over into Essex.

Polydor. Fabian. Rond. Higden. Matth. West. Hen. Huntingt. will. Malmsb.

(13) Where beginning againe, with the increase of his power to despoile all the Country before him, brought feare to the Inhabitants, and to himselfe submission of many *English*. King *Edmund* therefore made preparation thitherward, and at *Ashdone* three miles from *Saffron-Walden*, gave battaile to *Canute*, wherein a bloody slaughter ensued, though a while with equall chance of foile or of victory, untill lastly the *Danes* beganne to give backe; which when the ever-traiterous *Edrick* perceived, he went with his strength, unto their side, and maintained their battaile, which otherwise was at point to bee lost, whereby the *Danes* regained the day, and the betraied *English*, the overthrow. There dyed of *Edmunds* Nobility, *Duke Alfred*, *Duke Goodwin*, *Duke Athelward*, *Duke Athelwin*, and *Earle Prchell*, with *Cadnoth*, bishop of *Lincolne*, and *Wolsey* Abbot of *Ramsey*, besides other of the Clergy that were come thither to pray for the preservation of the King and his Army. The remembrance of which field is retained unto this day, by certaine small hils there remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, Armour, and the water-chaines of horses bridles.

Edmund with. Simon Dunel. Ran. Higden.

A battaile between Edmud and Canute.

(14) King *Edmund* thus traiterously forced to retire from the field, on foot marched unto *Glocester* with a very small Armie, leaving *Canute* overswollen in conceit for this his great Victory, unto whom then the *Londoners* submitted, and so did many other great Townes of Name; after which hee followed *Edmund* into the West, who now like a Tyger robbed of her Whelpes, seeking the revenge of this lost day, gathered a most puissant Army, meaning to try the uttermost chance of Fate, or battaile. Their hoasts meete at *Dearehurst* neere unto the River *Severne*, where they were resolvedly bent to establish the ones Title with the

Edmund with. Matth. West. Polydor.

the others downefall; and now being ready to joyne, a certaine Captaine of uncertaine name, stept forth (as is reported) betwixt the two Armies, and uttered in effect this speech.

The advice of a Captaine for single combat.

"(15) Many Battels have beene fought, and "too much blood already spilt for the Soveraignty "of this Land, betwixt these two fierce Nations, "and the valours of the Generals, Captaines and "Souldiers sufficiently tried; wherein even fortune "her self seemeth to have beene conquered; for "if one battaile were wonne, it was not long kept, "neither the loser so weakened, but that hee had "both courage and power to winne the next. What "is the marke then that you aime at? is it honour "and fame? Titles indeed which accompany warre; "but neither long enjoyed, nor much attained un"to by the common Souldiers, by whose valours "and blood it is for the most parr wonne. Let "him therefore that would weare the Diademe, "beare the hazard himselfe, without the confusi"on of many men, and either trie the fortune "of a single combat, who shall command, and "who obey; or divide betwixt them the Kingdome, "which may suffice two, that hath maintained "seven.

Edrike wicked counsell.

(16) Some affirme that this speech was Duke *Edricks*; But I hardly beleeve so good a motion should proceed from so bad a man. By whom so ever uttered, it was acceptably received by *Edmund* and *Canute*, who thereupon in sight of their Armies, entred into a small Iland, embraced about with the armes of *Severn*, called *Alney*, adjoyning unto the City *Glocester*, where those Princes in complete Armour at first assailed each other most dangerously on horseback, and after as valiantly on foot. The *Iron-side* was strong, and fought for his Kingdome; the *Dane* not so tall, but every way as stout, fought for his honour, and so the combate continued with an absolute resolution, till at length *Canute* having received a dangerous wound and seeing himselfe overmatched in strength, wished a comprimise, and thus spake to *Edmund* with a loud voyce.

Edmund and Canute at single fight.

"*What necessity should thus move us, most valiant* "*Prince, that for the obtaining of a Title, wee should thus* "*endanger our lives? Better it were to lay malice and ar*""*mour aside, and to condescend to a loving agreement:* "*let us therefore now become sworne brothers, and divide* "*the Kingdome betwixt us, and in such league of amity,* "*that each of us may use the others part as his owne; so* "*shall this land be peaceably governed, and wee joyntly* "*assist each others necessitie.*

Matth. West.

Whereupon they both cast downe their swords, imbracing as friends with the great joy and shouting of both their Armies, who stood before doubtfully wavering betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortunes, according to the successe of their Champions.

Canute to Edmund.

Thus was the Kingdome divided betwixt those two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part that lay coasted upon *France*, and *Canute* entring upon the rest.

The kingdome parted betwixt them.

(17) Thus then the *Saxon* Monarchy spent to the last period, and their tottering Crowne fast grasped with a hard *Danish* hand, was suddenly torne from the *Ironsides* helmet, by his complotted and hastened death. For Duke *Edricke* a very compound of treasons, glutted with the favours of both these Kings, to scrue himselfe deeper into *Canute* his conceit, contrived the end of renowned *Edmund*: who being retired to a place for Natures necessity, was thrust from under the draught into his body with a sharpe speare; which done, the treacherous *Edricke* cutting off his Soveraignes head, presented it to *Canute* with these fawning salutations: *All haile, thou now sole Monarch of England; for, here beholdthe head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off.*

Will. Malmsb. Simon Dunel. Ran. Higden.

Edmund retireth.

Canute, though ambitious inough of soveraigne-

Edrike murthereth.

A Sun faith Higden.

London yeeldeth to Canute.

Canute punisheth the Traitor.

(18) The traiterous death of this worthy Prince, as some affirme, was acted at *Oxford*; yet the Authour that writ *Eucomium Emmæ*, and learned the same time, blancheth the matter, saying, that hee died a naturall death in *London*: *God minding his own Doctrine, that a Kingdome divided in it selfe, cannot long stand, and pitying the* English, *tooke away Edmund, lest if the Kings had continued long together, they should both have lived in danger, and the Realme in continuall trouble.*

Will. Malmsb. Old Manuscript. Fabian. Rand. Higden.

That he dyed in *London*, *Simon* the Monke of *Durham* agreeth, and saith further, it chanced about the Feast of Saint *Andrew*: and *Marianus* is of the same opinion, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand and sixeteene. Whensoever, or howsoever, his Raigne was but seven moneths, and his body buried at *Glastenbury* neere to his Grand-father King *Edgar*.

Simon Dunel. Marian. Scotus. Edmund craigh Polydor.

(19) He was of personage tall, for courage hardy, strong of limmes, and well could endure the travels of warre, in so much that some deeme the surname *Ironside*, given him onely upon that occasion. With him fell the glory of the *English*, and the aged body of their sore bruised Monarchy seemed to be buried with him in the same Sepulchre.

The feature of Edmund.

His Wife.

(20) *Algith*, the wife of King *Edmund*, was the widow of *Segeferth*, the sonne of *Engrin* a *Danish* Nobleman of *Northumberland*, which *Segeferth*, with his brother *Morcar*, was murthered at *Oxford* by the treason of the never-faithfull *Edrick*: and this Lady being of great beauty, and noble parentage, after the death of her husband, and the seisure of his lands, was by King *Ethelred* commited in charge to the Monastery at *Malmesbury*, where *Edmund* seeing her, grew in great love, and there married her against the liking of his father, in *Anno* 1015.

Algith.

His Issue.

(21) *Edward* the eldest son of King *Edmund*, and Queene *Algith* his wife, was surnamed the *Outlaw*, because he lived out of *England* in *Hungary*, as a banished man, through the raigne of *Canute*, and of his sonnes the *Danes*. But when his Vncle King *Edward* the *Confessor*, had obtained the *English* Crowne, hee was by him recalled, and most honourably in his Court entertained, till lastly, hee was taken away by death in the City of *London*, the yeare of Christ, one thousand fifty seven. He married *Agatha* sister to Queene *Sophia*, wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second; by whom he had *Edgar*, surnamed *Etheling*, confirmed heire apparant by *Edward Confessor*, his great Vncle; which title notwithstanding, proceeded no further, for that he was deprived thereof by *Harold* his Prorector.

Edward the Outlaw.

His Wife.

The daughters of this *Edward*, as after shall be said, were *Margaret* and *Christian*, the younger of which became a vailed Nun at *Ramsey* in *Hampshire*, where shee in that devotion spent her life, and was there interred.

His daughters.

Margaret the elder, and afterward sole heire unto the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third of that name, King of *Scotland*, and commonly called *Canmore*: from which Princely bed in a li-

neall

neall descent, our high and mighty Monarch, King IAMES the first, doth in his most roiall person unite the *Britaines*, *Saxons*, *English*, *Normans*, and *Scottish* imperiall Crownes in one.

Edmund. (22) *Edmund*, the second and yongest sonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queene *Algith* his wife, after his fathers decease being a Child, was with his brother *Edward* sent by *Canute* to *Olave* King of *Sweden* his halfe brother, to the intent, that hee by murther should make them both away: but this King taking pity on the innocent Childrens estate, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungarie*, to the intent to have them saved, where they were received with great favour and honour: and *Mathew* of *Westminster* reporteth that this Prince married the daughter of the same King; and other Writers of these times, that he died in the same Country without any issue of his body.

(23) These two sonnes of the *Iron-side* thus posted away, and the Crowne already set upon the *Danes* head, had not the meanes of themselves to displace it, nor the English, hearts to assist them to their right: so that they rather secured themselves from violent deaths in this their exile, then made claime to that which was unrecoverable; and left the *Danes* quietly to possesse the land, which so long they had molested with their sturdy Armes.

Stowth. in 8.

The end of the seventh Booke.

THE

THE ORIGINALL OF THE DANES, THEIR MANNERS, RELIGION, AND INVASIONS OF ENGLAND,

THE RAIGNES OF THEIR KINGS HEERE, VNTILL THE CROWNE REVERTED AGAINE TO THE SAXONS; WORNE BY KING *EDWARD* THE CONFESSOR, AND AFTER HIM BY *HAROLD* THE LAST KING OF THEIR RACE.

THE EIGHT BOOKE.

CHAPTER. I.

THE Spirit of God, in his sacred writings, to shew his all-commanding power over Kingdomes and Nations, compareth the transmigrations of people from Country to Country, unto the transfusion of Wine from vessell to vessell: and those that are at rest with sinne, to bee setled upon their lees, as *Moab* was, against whom hee cursed that hand that negligently did his worke of revenge, and the sword that was not sheathed in their blood. Even so the sinnes of the *Saxons* growne now to the full, and their dregs as it were suncke unto the bottome, they were emptied by the *Danes* from their owne vessels, and their bottles broken that had vented their red and bloody wines: in lieu whereof, the Lord then gave them the Cup of his wrath, whose dregs hee had formerly (by their owne hands) wrung out upon other nations.

Iere. 48.11.

(2) For these *Saxons* that had enlarged their Kingdomes by the bloud of the *Britaines*, and built their Nests high upon the Cedars of others, (as the Prophet speaketh) committed an evill covetousnesse unto their owne habitations, and were stricken by the same measure that they had measured unto others. When as the *Danes* often attempting the lands invasion, and the subversion of the *English* estate, made way with their swords through all the Provinces in the realme; and lastly advanced the Crowne upon their owne helmets; which whiles it so stood, was worne with great honour, especially of *Canutus* the first and their greatest.

Habac. 2.

(3) As touching this Nations originall, and first place of residing, seeing themselves know nothing at all, wee cannot determine, but supposing them, with *Franciscus Irenicus*, to be a branch of the ancient *Germans*, and knowing them by the testimonies of all others, to inhabite in the same Country among them; we need not to doubt, but that their conditions and customes were much alike. Of the former, what we have observed, is already set downe, where wee spake of our *Saxons*; and now of these latter, what is supposed for truth shall be produced.

(4) These *Danes* so often mentioned by our historians, for the great afflicters of the English state and peace, were a people descended from the *Scythians*, as *Andrew Velley* a learned *Danish* Writer reporteth: but *Dudo* of Saint *Quintin* (an ancient Author) will have them to come from *Scandia*, an Iland situated North-ward, not farre from the continent of *Denmarke*: which his opinion seemeth unto some to bee strengthned by *Ptolemy* the *Alexandrian*, who in his Geography placeth the people *Dauciones* (the supposed Ancestors of those *Danes*) in this Iland *Scandia*, at such time as himselfe wrote, which was in the raigne of *Hadrian* the Emperour, and about the yeere of Christs Nativity one hundred thirty three. But whersoever the roote had beginning, the branches did farre spread themselves into the upper *Germany*, and parts of *Norway*, and *Sweyden*, whose faire fruit more particularly filled that promontory, which tongue-like lyeth into the Ocean on the North, being anciently called of the learned, *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, where, (as *Tacitus* saith) was the *uttermost end of Nature, and of the world*; a strange conceit indeed; and yet more strange was their opinion, who were perswaded that the sound and noise of the Sunne was there heard at his daily rising and setting in those Seas. But from more warrantable witnesses it is reported, that this was the very place which the *Iutes* and *Angles* abandoned, when they removed their Colonies for *Britaine*.

Aud. Vellein. Dudo. Saint Quint.

Ptol. Geograp. where some read Dacie. cap. 1.

Tacit. Discr. Germ.

(5) In this place then the *Danes* laid first the foundation of their Kingdome; which, from the word *Marc* (signifying not a limit, but a region,) was named *Den-marc*. But touching the former part of that compounded name, the truth and originall occasion is not so soone found out: for the searching eye of Truth hath long since seene into the received fable of *Danus* their first King, and Giant-like sonne of *Humblus*; though *Verstegan*, of late, holds it more certaine in the search of originals, to follow the grounded opinion that ancient Tradition hath held, then at random to seeke them else-where: as these *Danes* (saith hee) from *Dan*, and the *Britaines* from *Brute* which truely for truth I hold much alike, and will heerein make doubt, as many more of riper judgement before me have done.

Andrew Velley.

Verstegan. Antiq. cap. 6.

(6) For *Goropius Becanus* deducteth the name *Dane* from *Da-hen*, signifying a Henne, or rather (as some will) a fighting Cocke; *Iunius*, from *Den*, signifying Firre-trees, which doe there abound. *Andrew Velley*

Iosephus Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.

from a people in *Scythia* named *Dahæ*, of whom *Iosephus* maketh mention in his eighteenth booke, and placeth them by the *Sacæ*.

Tonas Iacob.

Ethelward our English historian will have them named from the faire City *Dania*. And *Tonas Iacobus Pontanus*, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, out of *Pomponius Mela*, findeth the names of certaine *Bays*, opening into those parts, which now the *Danes* inhabite, to have beene anciently written CDAN and CDANONVM, which Orthography and Pronunciation to the Latines was both harsh and hard, and therefore they added a vowell, and wrote it CODANVM and CODANONIA, whereof (it may bee thought) these people given much to piracies, were knowne and called by that name, as breaking out of those *Gothanian* Seas. Some others, from *Ptolemy*, have thought, that from his *Dauciones* placed in *Scandia*, and corruptly so written for *Danciones*; the name of these *Danes* hath beene derived; whereto the neerenesse of the place induceth much.

Cambd. Brit.

(7) For Nations Originals may well be compared unto a Spring, whose current surcharged with continuall supply of more, first filleth the neere Chanels; which done, they passe further, and at length are (oftentimes) divided into many and great streames: and even so these *Danes*, (saith *Dudo* of S. *Quintins*) "after they had in heat, and lascivious lust ingendred "an innumerable off-spring, swarmed out of *Scandia*, like Bees out of their Hives, and that both on "divers occasions, and in very barbarous manner; "for growne to ripenesse of yeeres, and falling at "strife with their Fathers and Grand-fires, yea, and "most commonly among themselves for lands and "lively-hood, necessity compelled them to disburden "the land thus overflowed, for the better maintenance of the residue, and to banish by lot (after "their ancient custome) a multitude of their youth, "that might conquer by their swords, in forraine "Realmes, places to live in.

Dudo.

These then thrust out of their owne, fell upon other lands with no lesse danger then the falling of a sword out of the sheath, or rather, as the breaking in of a tempestuous Sea upon the neighboring grounds, fore distressing their neighbour Nations, and among them *England* not the least, as shall be said.

Cambd. Brit.

(8) And yet their name was not much notified to the world before the raigne of *Iustinian* the Emperor, about the yeere of mans salvation, five hundred and seventy, but then roving upon the coasts of *England*, and *France*; in exercising Piracies, were noted by writers by the name *Wiccingi*, for that *Wiccing* in the *Saxon* tongue, as *Alfricus* witnesseth, doth signifie a Pirate; they were also called *Pagani*, for that they were not Christians; but by the *English Denisean*, and also *Heathon-mon*, as being *Ethnickes*.

The Religion of the Danes.

(9) The manner of their *Religion*, or rather superstition and Idolatry, was much like unto the other *Germans* and *Saxons*, whose principall God and Nationall reputed-Patron, was THVR, unto whom the fourth day of the weeke, for his service, was assigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name *Thurſday*; who in his robes was set upon a sumptuous bed, the Canopy whereof was bespangled with starres of gold; unto him they performed their chiefe devotions, and ascribed all their fortunes in their affaires; as the foresaid *Dudo* doth more particularly relate. *They* (saith hee) *sacrificed unto Thur, whom they worshipped in old time as their Lord, for whom they killed not many Sheepe, Oxen, or other cattell, but offered unto him mens blood, thinking that to be the most precious oblation of all others; whom, when the Priest by casting of lots had destinated to death, they were all at once deadly smitten upon the head with oxe yokes; and every one thus chosen by lot, having at one stroke his braines dashed out, was laid along on the ground, and there with a narrow prying was sought out the Fibra, or veine of the heart on the left side, whence drawing the blood, as their custome was, and therewith besmearing the heads of their dearest friends, forthwith they hoise sailes, thinking their Gods well pleased with such sacrifices, and fore-deeming happy successe to their intended voyage*

Verſtig. ex.

Dudo.

Camd. Brit.

(10) *Dimarus* the Bishop (somewhat ancienter then *Dudo*) recordeth another detestable superstition used by the *Danes*, to purchase the favour of their Gods. *Because* (saith he) *I have heard wonderfull reports of the ancient sacrifices which the Danes and Normans vse, I will not let them passe untouched. In those parts there is a place, and the chiefe it is of that Kingdome, called* Lederum, *in a Province named* Selon, *where every ninth yeare, in the moneth of Ianuary, after the time in which we celebrate the Nativity of our* LORD, *they all assemble together, and there they kill and sacrifice unto their Gods ninety and nine Men, and as many Horses, with Dogs, and also Cockes, in stead of Hawkes, assuring themselves that hereby their Gods are fully pleased and pacified.* And thus much may serve for a taste and view of their Customes, Names and Originals.

THE DANES FIRST ATTEMPTS AGAINST ENGLAND.

CHAPTER. II.

An. Dom. 787.

THough many were the Piracies of the *Danes* on the coasts of *France* and this our Iland in former times; yet their arrivall heere, which gave first breath to their ensuing conquests, was not till the wane of the *Saxon* Monarchy, about the yeere of Christs Incarnation seven hundred eighty seven, in the raigne of *Brightricke* King of the *West-Saxons*: in whose dominions (after some proffer at *Portland*) they first came to land at *Teigne-mouth* in *Devonshire*; being sent then with three Ships onely, to espye the wealth of this Country, the forces of the Inhabitants, the commodities of the Havens, and advantage of arrivall for a greater power, which was to follow them. The Kings Lieutenant and Prefect for that place, understanding of their landing, went himselfe to demand the reason thereof; and attempting to lay hands on some to carry them to the Kings presence, he was there slaine; which they tooke as a fortunate presage of the victories wherewith they afterward over-ranne this Kingdome; though for the present the inhabitants inraged with the losse of their Chiefetaine addressing them in great numbers to revenge, forced some to lose their lives by the sword, the rest to save themselves by flight to their ships.

Camden in Dorsetsh. Polydor. Virgil. Lambert in Perambul. Kent. mentioneth their landing at Tyrmouth in the North, the easternesse of Germany (as Bieres) deceiveth him.

An. Dom. 800. In the seventh booke, Chap. 3.

(2) Nothwithstanding their former preparations, they were contented to deferre their returne till the dayes of King *Egbert*; whose raigne (as elsewhere wee have touched) they disquieted with three severall invasions; the first in the North, the second in *Wales*, the last in *Kent*; in all which, the King though with many losses, and hazards of his owne person, yet with great resolutions persisted, till hee had disburdened his land of so dangerous guests. But those *Flesh-flyes* having once tasted the sweet, though often beaten off, would not long be kept away, but could easily take, or make occasions of fresh attempts; insomuch that after their first footing they continued heere their cruelties, rapine, and spoile, the space of two hundred and eighteene yeeres, never intermitting, till they had got the Garland upon their owne heads. The way whereunto was made upon this ensuing occasion.

Hoved. lib. 5. ann.

Malm. cap. 3. gest.

(3) *Osbright* a *Northumbrian* Viceroy, deputed by the *West-Saxons*, by chance, as hee followed his disport in Hunting, came to the house of a Noble man, named *Beorn-Bocador*, whose Lady of passing feature (in his absence) gave him honourable entertainement, and intreated both himselfe and traine, to repose themselves there a while, after their wearisome delights. The *Vice-roy* already ensnared with her beauty, accepted her courteous offer, nor so much to taste her meates, as to surfeit his eyes with her rare beauty, and lasciviously to dote in his owne affections. The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, (as though some weighty matters were to be handled) hee commanded an avoydance from the Presence, and taking the Lady into a withdrawing Chamber, under pretence of secret conference, greatly tending to the advancement of her Lord and selfe, most unnobly, being not able to prevaile by smooth perswasions, did by force violate her constant chastity. Which dishonour thus received, and her minde distracted like to *Thamars*, at her husbands returne, all ashamed to behold his face whose bed had so beene wronged, with flouds of teares she thus set open the sluces of her passions. 2 Sam. 13. 19.

"(4) Had thy fortunes accorded to thine owne "desert, or thy choice proceeded as by vow was "obliged, then had no staine of blemish touched "thine honour, nor cause of suspition once approached thy thought: or had my selfe beene my selfe, "these blushing cheekes had not invited thy sharpe "piercing eye to looke into my guilty and defiled "breast, which now thou mayst see disfurnished "of honour, and the closer of pure chastity broken "up; onely the heart and soule is cleane, yet feares "the taincture of this polluted caske, and would "have passage (by thy revenging hand) from this "loathsome prison and filthy truncke. I must confesse our sexe is weake, and accompanyed with "many faults, yet none excusable, how small "soever; much lesse the greatest, which shame doth "follow, and inward guilt continually attend; "yours, is created more inviolable and firme, by "whose constancy, as our flexible weakenesse is "guarded, so our true honours by your just Armes "should be protected. O *Beorn, Beorn*, (for husband "I dare not call thee) revenge therefore my "wrongs, that am now made thy shame, and scandall of my sexe, upon that monster, nay Divell, "*Osbright*, (O that very name corrupts my breath, "and I want words to deplore my griefe) who "hath no law but his lust, nor measure of his acti-"ons but his power, nor priviledge for his loath-"some life, but his greatnesse, whiles we with a selfe-"feare, and servile flattery maske our basenesse with "crouching obedience, and beare the wrongs of "his most vile adulteries. Thou yet art free from "such dejected and degenerate thoughts, nor hast "thou smoothed him in his wicked and ever-wor-"king vices: bee still thy selfe then, and truely No-"bleas thou art. It may be for his place thou owest "him respect; but what? therewith the losse of ho-"nour? thine affection, but not thy bed; thy Love "but not thy beloved, yet hast thou lost at once all "these, and he thy onely bereaver: thou wast my stay "whilest I stayed by thee; and now being downe,

"revenge my fall: the instinct of Nature doth pitty "our weakenesse; the law of Nations doth maintaine "our honour; and the sword of Knighthood is "sworne-by, to be unsheathed for our just defence; "much more the lincke of wedlocke claimes it, which "hath locket two hearts in one; but alas, that ward "is broken, and I am thy shame, who might have "been thine honour. Revenge thy selfe therefore both "on him and me, else shall this hand let out the "Ghoft that shall still attend thee with acclamations, "till thou revenge my stained blood.

(5) *Beorn* unwonted thus to bee welcommed, much amazed at his wives maladies, with gentle words drew from her the particulars of her inward griefe, who revealed (as well as shame, teares, and sobs, would suffer) the manner of the deed, still urging revenge for the wrong. *Beorn* touched thus to the quicke (to pacifie his distressed wife) did not a little dissemble his wrath, and excusing the fact, with the power of a Prince, that might command, and her owne weaknesse, unable to resist the strength of a man, commended much her love and constancy; and alleaging his wrongs to be equall with hers (if not greater) in regard of their sexe, willed her to set her string to his tune, till fit opportunity would serve to strike: But shee disdaining that sweet consort, wrested her passion into so high a straine, that nothing could be heard but revenge and blood.

(6) *Beorn* thus instigated by the continuall cryes of his wife, whose rape already of it selfe had given sufficient cause of wrath: first consulting with his neereft friends, was offered their assistance against that wicked and libidinous Prince, and then repayring to his Court, in presence of them all, made knowne his unsufferable wrongs, and with utter defiance departed, threatning his death.

This Nobleman in his youth had beene brought up in *Denmarke*, and is reported to have beene allianced into the *Danish* royall bloud: Hee therefore accounted this Nation the surest unto himselfe, and the fittest in will and power to enter his quarrell. So comming to *Godericke* King of that Country, made his case knowne, instantly desiring his ayde against the villany of *Osbright*.

Godericke glad to have some quarrell to enter *Britaine*, levyed an Army with all speed, and preparation made for all things necessary, sendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba* two brethren, to command in chiefe, over an innumerable multitude of his *Danes*: which two hee thought at this time the fittest for the attempt, not onely for their well approoved resolution and valour, but also for that hee knew them to bee, on particular motives (which usually more affect then doth a common cause) implacably enraged against the *English*, on an occasion unfortunately happing, but most lamentably pursued, which it will not beamisse here to annexe.

(7) A certaine *Danish* Nobleman of the Royall lineage, named * *Lothbroke*, Father to this *Inguar* and *Hubba*, being upon the shoare, his Hawke in flying the game, fell into the Sea, which to recover, hee entred a little Schiffe or Cocke-boat, nothing foreseeing the danger that immediately did ensue: for a sodaine tempest arising, carried the boat into the deepe, and drove him upon the coast of *Norfolke*, where hee came to land at the Port called *Rodham*, and no sooner was seene, but was taken for a Spye; and presently sent to *Edmund*, King then of that Province; But in his answers hee sufficiently cleared that suspition, and also declaring his Birth and misfortune, was honourably entertained in the Court of that *East-Angles* King; whom King *Edmund* much esteemed for his other good parts; but for his dexterity and expertnesse in hawking, held him in a speciall regard; insomuch that his Falconer named *Bericke*, conceived such secret envy and deadly hatred thereat, as having him alone in a Wood, hee cowardly murthered him, and hid his dead body in a Bush.

Flores Historiarum.
* That is, *Leathebricke.*

(8) *Lothbroke*, in the Kings presence and Court, was soone mist, and diligent inquisition made, could not be found; untill his Spaniell, which would not forsake his dead Masters corps, came fawningly unto the King, as seeming to begge revenge on so bloody an act; which hee did more then once, and at length being observed, and followed by the trace, the dead body was found; and *Bericke* convicted for the murther; his judgement was to bee put into *Lothbrokes* boat, and that without either tackle or Oare, as hee therein arrived, and so left to the Seas mercy to bee saved by destiny, or swallowed up by just desert.

Murther will out.

But behold the event; the boate returned to the same place; and upon the same coast arrived, from whence it had beene driven, even in *Denmarke*, where *Bericke* being knowne, and hands laid on him, to free himselfe from the punishment of his butcherly fact, he added Treason to Murther, laying it to the charge of innocent King *Edmund*.

(9) In revenge whereof, and likewise in *Godericks* quarrell, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, sonnes to the murthered Prince, being now made Generals of the Army of the *Danes*; first arriving at *Holdernesse*, burnt up the Country, and without mercy massacred all before them, sparing neither sexe, nor calling, nor age; and surprizing *Torke*, which *Osbright* had taken for his refuge, there slew that lustfull Prince, with all his forces, and possessed that City, and afterwards bursting into *Norfolke*, sent this message unto King *Edmund*: *That* Inguar, *the most victorious Prince, dread both by Sea and Land, having subdued divers Countries unto his subjection, and now arrived in those parts, where hee meant to Winter, charged* Edmund *to divide with him his riches and to become his vassaile and servant.*

The King astonyed at this strange and unexpected Ambassage, consulted with his Councell, where one of his Bishops (then his Secretary, and a principall man) used perswasions to him to yeeld, for preventing greater mischiefe; who notwithstanding returned this Answer: *Goe tell thy Lord, that* Edmund *the Christian King, for the love of this temporall life, will not subject himselfe to a Heathen and Pagan Duke.* Whereupon *Inguar* and *Hubba*, with the furious troupes of their *Danes*, pursued the King to *Thetford*, and (as *Fabian* saith) to *Framingham*, others to *Halesdone*; where hee pittying the terrible slaughter of his people, yeelded himselfe to their persecutions; and for that hee would not deny CHRIST, and his Christian faith, was bound to a Tree or Stake, and with their Arrowes so shotte to death: whose body was afterward there buried, and thereupon tooke the name of Saint *Edmunds-bury*, as wee have formerly touched in his Raigne, *Liber.* 7. *Cap.* 11.

Rob. Fabian. Cap. 169. Polydor. lib. 5. cap. 11. Abbat. Floriacensis.

(10) Whether these were the very true causes, or some other, which drew these *Danes* hither, most certaine it is, and too lamentable experience shewed, that hither they came (by Writers account) about the yeere of Christ eight hundred, and in the dayes of King *Brightricke*. Neither want there Authors who ascribe certaine predictions to have forerunne the yeere eight hundred, made unfortunate by their first attempts, fore-shewed seven yeares before, by showers of bloud falling from heaven, and bloudy Crosses markt therewith upon the Garments of men, reported by the learned *Alcuinus*, who was instructor to *Charles* the *Great*, and borne in the County of *Torke*, where this wonder happened: which himselfe saw and testified unto *Ethelbert* King of that Province, as *Malmesbury* hath written, and was thought by *Hoveden*, *Higden*, *Fabian* and others, to have beene sent for signes before their bloudy assaults, which began at the day-spring of the *Saxons* Monarchy, when it promised a most faire ascent to their heires succeeding; but mounted to the highest, againe declined as the setting Sunne, and fell under the cloudes of their owne ruines, so carried by the just revenging hand of God: For those *Saxons* having by bloud and warre unseated the *Britaines*

Alcuinus.

Will. Malmesb. Roger Hoved. Matth. Higden. Rob. Fabian.

Britaines of their land and right, by bloud and warre, were by these Pagan *Danes* so unceasantly molested, that no place was freed from their tyranny, nor any state sure, long to hold that which they enioyed, nor their lives secured from a daily expectation of their savage swords.

Blood revenged with blood.

(11) Whose many invasions and cruell proceedings against this land and nation, are already shewed in theraignes of these *Saxon* Kings, who then felt their heavy strokes inwarre, having nothing almost memorable otherwise, to enlarge their fames and stories with, besides these their valours in resisting so mighty and almost unrepugnable an enemie. Therefore omitting to repeat such things as in their successions are handled, we will fall neerer the time of the wished harvest of their full Conquests; somewhat remembring the Reader here, of those bloodie affaires, which the *English* at severall times felt and endured.

Hen. Hunt. Hist. Angl. lib. 5. Rand. Higd.

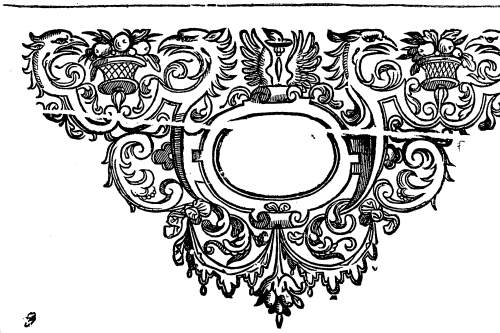
(12) Such was the murther of holy *Edmund*, King of the *East-Angles*, with *Danish* arrowes martyred to death as hee stood bound unto a stake, ever calling on the name of IESVS: Of *Ella* and *Osbright* Governours of *Northumberland* by them slaine, and that Province for a long time after by them enjoyed, and made subject to their furies: Of *Burdred* King of *Mercia*, by them expulsed, who with his QVEENE *Ethelswith*, were forced to abandon their Kingdome, leaving it to the possession of these *Pagan* intruders, and to seeke their securities in forreine Countries, where at *Rome* in *Italy* hee dyed, and at *Padua* his Wife, as hath beene said: Of *Ethelred* King of the *West-Saxons*, that in one yeeres continuance fought nine bloody battels against them, in the last whereof at *Merton*, hee received his deaths wound, and this Kingdome an uncurable blow: Of *Elfred* that most famous and learned King of the *West-Saxons* also, driven by them to such distresse, that hee was forced to leave his Princely Court, and to remaine secret in a poore Cow-heards house unknowne and disguised, in the Isle of *Ethlingsey* in the County of *Sommerset*, and thence to adventure himselfe among the *Danish* hoft, as a base Minstrell and contemptible Make-sport, till he had perfectly learned their secrets, and after with his sword, thorow the thicke st of those Enemies, made a way to his owne most glorious Monarchy.

John Stow. Flores historiarum.

(13) To speake nothing of the desolations left in every Province, Towne, and Place, where they came, laying all levell with the ground, as prints of their foote-steps where they had troden: Their cruell and mercilesse dealings towards holy and religious persons, with the ruination of Churches, and other places for Oratorie, is most lamentable to bee rehearsed or remembred: and among many others, the faire and beautifull Monasteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborow*, *Ely*, and *Coldingham*, were made subject to their desolations: In the last whereof, Lady *Ebbe* with her chast *Nunnes*, to avoid their savage and filthy pollutions, cut off their owne noses and upper-lips, least the baite of their beauties should proove the bane of their honours and honestie.

Some by fortie eight thousand. Langues saith fiftie.

The most grievous Tribute and exactions layed upon the poore Inhabitants in generall, and great summes of money, payed in such afflicted and unseasonable times, imposed by the name of *Dane-gylt*, did from ten thousand, arise to forty thousand pounds, yeerely gathered for them in *England*. Their sturdy behaviour, and Lord-like carriage against the *English*, in all places where ever they sojourned, was with such subjection of the poore Owners, that they abused both Wife, Daughter, and Maide, and were of all called the *Lord-Dane*, till lastly they were Lords indeede of the Land, and swayed the Scepter at their owne pleasures, which how it was attained unto, wee have before declared, and how it was worne and continued, wee are now presently to speake.



CANV-

CANVTVS THE FIRST DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND AND THE THIRTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE WIVES AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER III.

An. Dom. 1017.

THe Sailes of the *Danes* thus overfilled with the gales of their swelling fortunes, and themselves arrived at the Port of their long sought soveraigntie, cast anker as it were at the Haven of their wished desire, and prepared themselves to a settled rest: for *Canutus* posseſt of halfe the Kingdome by compoſition with *Edmund*, now after his death seazed upon the whole; and that all things (as was pretended) might proceed with justice, and concord, hee called a Councell of the *English* Nobilitie at *London*; wherein was propounded, whether, in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of title to the Crowne had beene referred for King *Edmunds* brethren or sonnes. The *English*, that had paid a very deere rate for their overbold resistance before, not daring now to buy, with too late repentance, the wrath of this *Dane*, absolutely answered, No; and having learned to appeaſe Princes with flattery, offered their swords against any such claimes, and tooke themselves the Oath of alleagiance unto *Canutus*; who being a very wise and politike Prince, thought never the better of them for such their doings; whose truths thus failing towards their naturall Princes, could never (he well knew) stand firme for him or his forreine posteritie.

Polichid. 6. c. 18.

Forreinalies flatterers.

(2) But being thus cleered of all opposites, he prepared with great royaltie for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Lyvingus* surnamed *Elſtane*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 1017. being the second King of *Denmarke* of that Name, the first of *England*, and the thirtie fourth Monarch of this Land. His first deſignes for the eſtabliſhment of the Crowne to himselfe and *Daniſh* issue, was a care to prevent others neere unto the claime, and therefore, taking counsell with *Edrike*, baniſhed *Edwin*, who for his melancholy and regardleſse deportment, was commonly called, the *King of Churles*, sonne of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*; notwithſtanding, he was guilefully recalled, and treacherously murthered by his owne men, whoſe body they buried at *Tavesſtocke* in *Devonſhire*.

Canutus his care and policies to ſettle his Crowne.

(3) One cloud thus overblowne, two others appeared, far more dangerous in *Canutus* ſight; namely *Edward* and *Edmund* the sonnes of the *Iron-ſide*, whom albeit their young yeeres might have freed from ſuſpition of conſpiracies, and their gentle diſpoſitions from envying his glory, yet the bright rayes of a *Diadem* so dazled his jealous eye, that ever he saw (to his owne seeming) the reflection thereof shine from their faces: but aſhamed (faith *Higden*) to lay hand on them himſelfe, ſent them to his halfe brother of *Sweden*, to be made away, as we have said. In the doubtfull times betweene *Edmund* and *Canute*, when the scale of warre was held of either hands alike, Queene *Emma* had ſent *Edward*, and *Alfred* (her sonnes by King *Ethelred*) unto her brother Duke *Richard* of *Normandy*; whereby (we see) the Land was emptied of the *Engliſh* blood Royall, and the Crown left for the *Dane* without competition.

Roger. Hoveden. Matth. Weſtm. Hiſtor. Malmſb. Henry. Huntingd. Contin. Fabian.

(4) Who now seeking to hold faſt the Scepter thus graſped, ſought the alliance of the *Norman* Duke by the eſpouſing of his ſiſter, faire *Emma*; a suite sounding but harſhly in the eares of the *Engliſh*, yea and moſt of all unto her ſelfe, as deeming the linke of love very ſlender, that might be broken by the same hand, which was the death of her Husband: Notwithſtanding, after good deliberation knowing him childleſſe of any lawfull ſucceſſor, upon covenants agreed, that the iſſue of her body by him, ſhould inherite the Engliſh Crowne, the suit was granted hoping alſo, if that failed betwixt them, to eſtabliſh her other sonnes by King *Ethelred*.

Canutus marrieth Queene *Emma*.

Emma a very prudent Lady.

This provident reſpect ſo pleaſed the ſubjects, that it both drew the hearts of the *Engliſh* unto *Canutus*, and their love unto *Emma* in a ſurpaſſing measure, as the booke penned to her praiſe, and written in that age, intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, ſufficiently doth shew.

Matth. weſtm.

(5) Neither was her loving care limitted onely to her ſonnes, but further extended towards the Common-wealth, being much peſtred then with his *Danes*, that lay lazie and idle, as drones in the hive, who at her inſtigations were ſent into *Denmarke*; and leſt they ſhould through diſcontents make any ſtirres either here or there, had a largeſſe (to buy their contentment) of foureſcore and two thouſand pounds.

(6) *Canutus* his next care for the maintenance of his owne safety, and the continuance of his new got Empire, was the eſtabliſhment of good lawes (which if duly executed, are the very ſinewes and ſtrongeſt guards of all States) to bee adminiſtred and practiſed both on the *Engliſh* and *Dane* alike: wherefore he calling a *Parliament* of his Peeres unto *Oxford*, there eſtabliſhed many wholſome Acts both for the Clergy and Laitie to obſerve: ſome of which were divulged by the praiſe-worthy care of a ſtudious Antiquarie, and a few, as touching Religion, as a reliſh of the reſt, we thinke it nor amiſſe to give the Reader a taſte of.

A Parliament at *Oxford*.

Will. Lambert.

(7) And firſt, for the celebration of Gods moſt Divine Service, it was ordained, that all decent ceremonies tending to the encreaſe of reverence and devotion, ſhould be uſed, as need required.

That upon the Lords Sabbath, publike Faires, Markets, Synods, Conventicles, Huntings, and all ſecular actions ſhould not bee exerciſed, unleſſe ſome weightie and urgent neceſſitie required it.

Canutus his godly Lawes.

That every Chriſtian ſhould thrice in the yeere addreſſe himſelfe to the receiving of the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

That if a Miniſter of the Altar killed a man, or elſe committed any notorious crime, hee ſhould be depriued both from his order and dignitie.

That the married woman convicted for adulterie ſhould have her noſe and eares cut off.

That a widow marrying within the ſpace of twelve moneths after her husbands deceaſe ſhould loſe her joynter.

(8) Theſe and many other were made, whereby ſinne was much reſtrained, and this realme peaceably and juſtly governed. As likewiſe ſundry other countries were by his godly and royall care; as in eſpeciall is recorded of a young Gentleman of the *Daniſh* royall bloud, named *Odin*, whom King *Canute* brought over with him into *England*, to be here trayned up in learning, where he profited ſo well, as alſo by his travell thorow *France* (whereby hee much encreaſed both his knowledge and experience) that he attained the ſurname of SAPIENT, and the *Philoſopher*, and therefore was called *Odin-chur*, for the deere eſteeme wherein all men held him. This man by preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia*, and *Sweyland*, converted great multitudes to the Faith of CHRIST.

Hoveden.

Roger. Hoveden. Will. Malmſb. Henry. Huntingd. Contin. Fabian.

An. Dom. 1019.

Will. Malmſb.

(9) But in *Denmarke* things proceeded not ſo well; for in the abſence of *Canutus*, and yeere of Chriſts humanitie 1019. the *Vandals* ſore annoyed his ſubjects: He therefore, in the third of his raigne, with a great Hoſt of the Engliſh, paſſed over the Seas, and bad his enemies battell, which, as *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* writeth, went ſore againſt him the firſt day; and preparing againe for the next, Earle *Goodwine*, who was Generall of the *Engliſh*, attempted a great enterprize: for in the dead of the night, he with his ſouldiers, ſet upon the Campe of the *Vandals* and with a great ſlaughter of their ſouldiers, made the two Princes *Vlfus* and *Anlafe* to flie the Field.

Matth. weſtm.

Earle *Goodwine* good ſervice to *Canutus*.

Canute ignorant of this acted enterpriſe, had notice in the morning that the *Engliſh* were fled, for that their ſtation was left, and not a man found: wherefore following the track, even to the enemies Campe, by ſtreames of bloud, and dead bodies of the *Vandals*; he ſaw the great overthrow that the *Engliſh* had given them, for which he ever after held them in great eſtimation.

Hen. Hunting. Polydor. Fabian.

(10) *Albertus Krantius*, the *Daniſh* hiſtorian, reporteth that *Olanus* King of *Sweyden*, having aſſiſted *Canute* againſt *Edmund* the *Ironſide*, and ſeeing himſelfe to bee neglected in the compoſition betwixt them, mooved ſuch ſtirres in *Denmarke*, that *Canutus* was forced thither againe; where by the proweſſe of his *Engliſh* hee repulſed *Olanus*, who laſtly was ſlaine by his owne ſubjects.

Alb. Krantius.

(11) *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* record, that in the yeere 1032. hee undertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, with proſperous ſucceſſe againſt *Malcolme* the King thereof, with two other Princes called *Melbeath* and *Iechmare*. But being at length overburdened as it were with his owne greatneſſe, and ſurfeited with glory, which ſometimes he had ſo greedily deſired (as even the greateſt earthly delights have their fulneſſe) hee reſolved on a more placable courſe of life, and to affect a higher and heavenly glory, which hath never ſatietie or end. And therefore his devotion being great unto Godward, on a zealous intent, (ſuch as S. *Paul* commended in the devout Iſraelites) hee tooke a journey to *Rome*, to viſite the ſepulchers of Saint *Peter* and *Paul* in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne; and thence ſent his letters to his *Engliſh* Biſhops and Nobilitie, beginning thus.

An. Dom. 1028.

Will. Malmes. Matth. weſt.

Rom. 10. 2.

(12) *Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmarke*, *Norway* and *Sweyden*, to *Altpothus* Metropolitan, &c. Wherein having firſt ſet downe the reaſon of his Pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was eſpecially to honour *S. Peter as hee had beene taught by Wiſemen*, that S. *Peter* had received from Chriſt the great power of binding and looſing, and was alſo the *key-bearer* of heaven-gates, for which cauſe (leſt S. *Peter* ſhould not open the ſame unto him when hee ſhould come thither) hee held it moſt behovefull for him to procure his Patronage more then all the reſt of Saints; then making relation of his honourable entertainement with the Emperour, Pope, and other forreine Princes, ſheweth what complaint hee had made againſt the exceſſive exactions and huge ſummes of money extorted by the Pope from the *Engliſh Arch-Biſhops*, at ſuch time as they received their *Palles* from *Rome*; for redreſſe whereof, and of other abuſes, the *Pope* in a ſolemne aſſembly of foure *Arch-Biſhops*, twenty *Biſhops*, and an innumerable multitude of *Princes* and *Nobles* obliged himſelfe; And thence proceeded in vowing the whole remainder of his life and reigne, to the onely ſervice of God, and due adminiſtration of *Juſtice* to his people; to which end, hee firſt gives commaund to his Counſellours, that thence forward they dare not, for whatſoever reſpect, to give way or connivence to any the leaſt injuſtice in his Kingdome, and next to his Officers of Juſtice, that as they tender his royall favor and their owne lives, they ſwerve not from Equity in execution of their places, in reſpect of any man whoſoever, no not, for the enriching of the Kings owne Coffers, becauſe (ſaith hee) *I hold it not needfull, that treaſure ſhould bee heaped together for mee, by any unjuſt exactions:* and ſo concludeth with a ſtrict charge to all his *Biſhops* and Iuſtices, upon their allegiance both to God and himſelfe, to take order in his abſence, that Gods Church, and his Miniſters, bee not defrauded of their *Tithes* and rights, whereof hee vowes at his returne to take a moſt ſevere account.

Will. Malmeſb.

(13) By this his great care of his owne ſalvation and his peoples tranquillity, we may ſee the zeale of thoſe darke dayes, to have beene accompanyed with the

Cenutus complaineth of the Popes extortions in *England*.

His godly reſolution touching his owne actions.

Touching his Counſellours.

Touching his Iudges and miniſtiaries.

Touching his Treaſure.

Touching gods Church.

the workes of true pietie; whose carnall applications of the spirituall texts, may well condemne these cleerer times, and dayes of more brightnesse, wherein wee know, that this *Key-keeper of heaven*, is no other but the very *Christ*, who hath the *Key of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth.* And that this Kings zeale might be further seene, by his magnificke workes, he beganne to manifeste it even at *Rome*, where giving many large gifts unto S. *Peters* Church, hee also made free the *Saxons* Schoole from all tributes.

Apocal. 3. 7.

His Munificence.

(14) In *Essex* hee built the Church of *Alsdon*, where he had the victory against King *Edmund*. In *Norfolke* the *Abbey* of S. *Benets*, which *Saint* he greatly reverenced; and in *Suffolke*, with an especiall devotion, built and endowed the Monastery of S. *Edmund*, which Saint hee most dreadly feared: for it is reported, that the seeming-ghost of *Edmund* often affrighted him; for which cause, as also to expiate the sinnes of his Father, who had done great damage to his possession, hee inverged the same with a deepe ditch, and offered up his Crowne upon the Martyrs Tombe. Most rich and royall Iewels hee gave the Church of *Winchester*, whereof one is recorded to bee a *Crosse*, worth as much as the whole revenew of *England* amounted to in one yeare: unto *Coventry* hee gave the Arme of S. *Augustine* the great Doctor, which he bought at *Papia* in his returne from Rome, and for which hee paid an hundred talents of silver, and one of gold.

His Magnificent buildings, &c.

Iosselin. de Brakelond.

S. *Augustines* arme bought at a high rate.

(15) The magnificent greatnes of this glorious King so overflowed in the mouthes of his flatterers, that they extolled him, with *Alexander*, *Cyrus*, and *Cæsar*, and to be possessed with power more then humane: To convict these his fawning overprizers, being then at *Southampton*, he commanded (saith *Henry* of *Huntington*) that his chaire shomld be set on the shore, when the sea beganne to flow, and then in the presence of his many attendants; spake thus to that Element. "Thou art part of my dominion, and the "ground whereon I sit is mine, neither was there "ever any that durst disobey my commaund, or "breaking it, escaped unpunished; I charge thee "therefore presume not into my land, neither wet "thou these robes of thy Lord: but the Sea (which obeyeth onely one Lord) giving no heede to his threats, kept on the usuall course of tide, first wetting his skirts, and after his thighes; when suddenly rising to give way for the still-approaching waves, hee thus spake in the hearing of all: Let the worlds inhabitants know, that vaine and weake is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy the name of King, but hee that keepes both heaven, earth, and sea in obedience, and bindeth them in the everlasting law of subjection. After which time he would never suffer the Crowne to bee set upon his head, but presently crowned therewith the picture of our Saviour on the Crosse at *Winchester*: unto such strong illusions were those godly Princes led, by the guides that ever made gaine of their devotions.

Canutus his flatterers.

Hen. Huntiorg.

Matth. 8. 26, 27. Exod. 14. 21.

His humility.

(16) From the Example of this *Canutus* (saith *Peter Pictauiensis* Chancellor of *Paris*) arose the custom to hang up the Armor of worthy men in Churches, as offerings confecrated unto Him in whose battailes they had purchased renowne, either by victory and life, or in their Countries service attained to an honourable death. And surely, howsoever this King is taxed of ambition, pride and vaine glory, for which some have not stucke to say, that hee made his journey to *Rome*, rather to shew his pompe and riches, then for any humble devotion or religious intent, yet by many his intercurrent actions and lawes of piety enacted, he may justly be cleared of that imputation; as also by the testimony of *Simon* Monk of *Durham*, who reporteth his humility to bee such that with his owne hands hee did helpe to remove the body of S. *Aelphegue* at the translation of it from *London* unto *Canterbury*, whom the *Danes* (notwithstanding his Archiepiscopall and sacred calling) before had martyred at *Greenwich*: and by the testimony of *Guido*, *Polidore*, *Lanquet*, and others, he was a Prince of such temperance and justice, that no other in this West of the World was so highly renowned or might be compared unto him in heroicall vertues, or true humility.

Peter Pictau.

John Coster.

Simon Dun.

Polydor. hist. Angl. lib. 7. Lanquet.

(17) *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Albertus Krantius*, the Writers of the *Danish* historics, deduce *Canutus* by a lineall succession through the line of their Kings in this manner: Hee was (say they) the sonne of King *Swaine*, (surnamed *Tiugf-keg*) by *Sigret* his wife, the widow of *Erick*, by whom she had *Olafe Scottonning*, King of *Sweyden*: unto which *Swaine* shee bare also *Ostrida* daughter, the mother of *Thira*, the mother of King *Swaine* the yonger. The elder *Swaine* was the sonne of *King Harold*, surnamed *Blaatand*, by *Gonhild* his Queene, who bare him also *Iring* King of *Northumberland*, and *Gonhild* Queene of *North-Wales*. The father of *Harold* was King *Gormond*, whose Queene was *Thira* the daughter of King *Ethelred*, the twentie third Monarch of *England*, who bare unto him the said *Harold*, and another *Canute*, both most valiant Princes; which two Gallants invading this land, were (for their brave resolutions) by their Grand-father proclaimed heires apparant to all his dominions: the credite of which relations I leave to my forenamed Authors; but *Canute* (the elder brother) died very soone after, being deadly wounded in the siege of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; where perceiving death at hand, he gave strict charge to his attendants, to keepe the same very secret till the Citie were taken, that so neither his owne Army should bee daunted, nor the enemy encouraged by the losse of the Generall. *Gurmo*, his aged Father, (to digresse but in a word) so incredibly loved him, that hee had vowed to kill with his owne hands any person whosoever that should tell him the newes of his sonnes death: which when *Thira* his mother now heard of, shee used this policie to make it knowne to the King her husband. Shee prepared mourning apparell for him, and all other things fitting for funerall exequies, laying aside all Regall robes, and ceremonies of Princely State, without intimating any cause of this sad solemnitie; which the old King no sooner perceived, but he lamentably cryed out, woe is me, I know my sonne is dead; and with excessive griefe hee presently died. But to returne from that *Canutus*, to close up the raigne of this our *Monarch* in hand.

Saxo Grammaticus. Aller-Krantius.

Aimundus. Brentius.

Hollingsh. histor. on Ireland.

Aller-Krantius

(18) In whom the *Danish* glories having ascended to the highest, began now againe to decline towards their wane by the death of this great King; who, after hee had in great glory raigned above nineteene yeeres, deceased at *Shaftesbury* in the Countie of *Dorset*, the twelfth of *November*, the yeere of Christs his Incarnation, one thousand thirtie and five, and was buried in the Church of the old *Monastery* at *Winchester*, which being after new built, his bones with many other English Saxon Kings were taken up, and are preserved in guilt Coffers fixed upon the walles of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church.

His Wives.

Albert Krantius.

(19) *Alfgive*, by most Writers, a Concubine to King *Canutus*, was the daughter of a *Mercian* Duke named *Elfhelme*, who is said to have beene Earle of *Northampton*; and her Mothers name was *Ulfrune*, Inheritrix of the Towne *Hampton* in *Staffordshire*, from her called *Ulfrun-Hampton*, now *Woller-Hampton*: This Lady *Alfgive* to make *Canutus* more firme to her love, her selfe being barren, is reported to have fained Child-birth, and to have laid in her bed the sonne of a Priest, whom *Canute* tooke to bee his owne, and named him *Swaine*; him afterwards hee created King of *Norway*, which lately hee had conquered from *Olasse* called the *Martyr*. The like policie, saith *Higden* and others,

others, shee used in bringing forth *Harold* her second Sonne, who was (say they) the sonne of a Sowter; notwithstanding I thinke the condition of the Mother, who lived in disdaine, and dyed in disgrace, rather caused this report to be blazed, then any such basenesse of birth in the sonnes.

Polydor. Virg.

(20) *Emma*, the second wife of King *Canute*, was the widow of King *Ethelred* the *Unready*; and from the time of her first marriage was called in *England*, *Alfgive*, after the name of most of the former Queens which had succeeded *Saint Alfgive*. She was married unto him in the moneth of *July*, and yeare of Christ Iesus one thousand and seventeene, being the first yeare of his raigne: whose wife she was eighteene yeares, and surviving, kept still at *Winchester*, unto which Church she gave nine Manors, according to the number of those fiery Plow-shares that she was forced to goe upon, for her purgation, in the raigne of *Edward* her sonne, as shall be said. This Church she adorned with many goodly vestures, and very rich Iewels: and deceasing in this City the first of *March*, the yeare of Grace one thousand fifty and two, and ninth of her sonne King *Edwards* raigne, was buried in the Church of S. *Swithine* neere unto *Canutus* her husband.

Lud. Higd. lib. cap. 23. Wil. Malmes.

His Issue.

Aller-Krantius

(21) *Sweyn*, the eldest sonne of *Canute* by Lady *Alfgive*, was borne before his father was King of *England*, and before his fathers death, was constituted King of *Norway*, lately conquered from King *Olasse* the Martyr; where hee began his raigne in the yeare of mans salvation one thousand thirty and five, being the eighteenth of his fathers Raigne in *England*; and after he had with dislikes ruled that Realme, the space of five yeares, hee was rejected of the *Norwegians* his subjects, and deceasing without heire of his body, left the Kingdome to the native heire, *Magnus*, the sonne of *Olasse*, who had beene wrongfully dispossessed by *Canute*.

(22) *Harold* the second sonne of King *Canute* and of Lady *Alfgive*, was also borne before his father obtained the *English* Crowne, and for his exceeding swiftnesse was surnamed *Hare-foote*: Hee remained with his father in *England*, after he had dispossed of *Denmarke* to *Hardi-canute*, and *Norway* to *Sweyn*, his brethren, expecting something in reversion. But perceiving at his fathers death, that *England* was also appointed to his brother *Hardi-Canute*, he tooke the advantage of his absence, and assumed the Soveraignty of this Kingdome to himselfe.

(23) *Hardi-Canute*, the third sonne of King *Canute*, and his first by Queene *Emma* his wife, was borne about the beginning of his fathers raigne, and towards the end of the same, was constituted King of the *Danes*, and designed to succeed him after his death in the Kingdome of *England*: But being absent then in *Denmarke*, was dissappointed by his brother *Harold*, who succeeded his father, after whose death he also succeeded him.

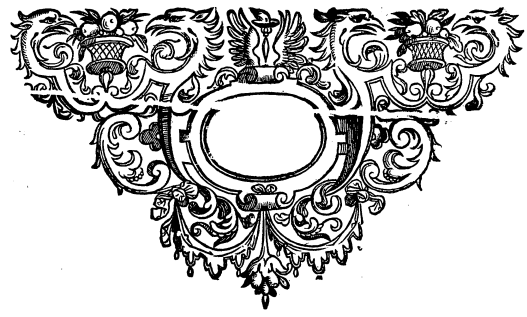
(24) *Gunhilda*, the daughter of King *Canute*, and of *Emma* his Queene, was the first wife of *Henry* the Third *Romane* Emperour, sonne of the Emperour *Conrad*, the second of that name, surnamed *Salike*: Shee was a Lady of a surpassing beauty, which either mooved her husbands minde unto jealousie, or the over-lavish report thereof to breed surmize of incontinency; for accused she was of adultery, and to defend her cause by combat, none could be found, till lastly her Page, brought with her from *England*, seeing no other would adventure for her innocency, entred the list, himselfe but a youth, in regard of the other Combatant being a Giant-like man: yet in fight at one blow, cutting the sinewes of his enemies legge, with another he feld him to the ground, where presently with his sword, he rooke his head from the shoulders, and so redeemed his Ladies life. After which hard usage, the Empresse *Cunhilda* forsooke her husbands bed, and by no meanes could bee brought againe unto the same, but tooke the holy vaile of a Nunne in the Towne of *Burges* in *Flanders*; where shee spent the rest of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of Saint *Donation*, being the principall of that Towne, where her Monument remaineth besides the North doore of the same Church unto this day.

Wil. Malmes. de gest. rerum Ang. lib. 2. p. 2.

Rand. Higden. in Polych. lib. 6. cap. 21.

Henry Hunt. lib. 6. Marian. Scot. Robert Fabian.

(25) Another Lady of the like sanctity, is reported to be the daughter of king *Canute*, and the second wife of *Godescalke* Prince of the *Vandals*, by whom he had *Henry* King of that Nation. They both are said to have suffered Martyrdome for the faith of Christ, he first at the City of *Lenzim*, and she after at *Michelenburg*, being most cruelly tortured to death with whips. This Lady upon sundry strong inducements cannot be reputed legitimate, which mooved *Andrew Velley* a *Danish* writer in our time, to be therein of a divers opinion from *Adam of Breme*, and *Helmoldus*, who lived five hundred yeares before him.



HAROLD THE SECOND DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE FIFTH MONARCH OF THE LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.



CHAPTER. IIII.

An. Dom. 1036.

Canutus being dead, and *Hardi-Canute* his sonne by Queene *Emma*, then in *Denmarke*; *Harold* his elder(but base-brother) foreslowed not the opportunity offered; for seeing himselfe in his fathers life time neglected, and by Will at his death, *England* with that of *Denmarke* heaped upon *Hardi-Canute*: as quicke in apprehension,as he was of footmanship (whereof arose the surname *Harefoot*,) made strong his side by the *Londoners*,and *Danes*, *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* very many, yea, and some great Personages amongst them, affecting his claime: but *Goodwin* of *Kent*,who had the Queen and her treasure in keeping, stood in his way, pretending himselfe *Guardian* of her Children,and the Will of *Canutus*, who appointed his sonne by her to succeed.

Matth. West. Will. Malmsb. Peter de Iohan.

(2) The opposition grew strong, and the factions ripened, even ready to seede, onely the lingering of *Hardi-Canute* gave leave unto *Harold* to better his side by daily supplies, and the feares of civill sedition moved the Nobility to argue with words and not weapons, the title depending betwixt these two brethren. At *Oxford* they met, where the presence of the one,downe-pieced the absence of the other, so that their voyces went onely with *Harold*, and presently proclaimed and consecrated him King.

Henry Hunt.

(3) Hee began his raigne the yeare of Christs humanity,1036. and was very solemnely crowned at *Oxford* by *Elnothus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though for a time hee was very unwilling to performe that service; for it is reported, that he having the regall Scepter and Crowne in his custody, with an oath refused to consecrate any other for King, so long as the Queenes children were living; *For* (said he) *Canutus committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I give my faith and allegiance. This Scepter and Crowne therefore I heere lay downe upon this Altar; neither doe I denie,nor deliver them to you; but I require by the Apostolicke Authoritie, all Bishops,that none of them presume to take the same away,neither therewith that they consecrate you for King: as for your selfe if you dare, you may usurpe that which I have committed to God on this his Table.*

Florilegus.

Notwithstanding,that great thunderclap was allayed with the showres of golden promises, of his just and religious government intended, though present experience manifested the contrary.

Encom. Emm.

(4) For saith the ancient Writer of the Booke called *Encomium Emmæ*: *Harold no sooner was established King,but that he sought meanes how to rid Queen Emma out of the way, and that secretly, for openly hee durst not attempt any thing against her: Shee in silence kept her selfe quiet,looking for the issue of his designes. But Harold maliciously purposing, tooke counsell how hee might traine into his Haye the sonnes of Queene Emma, that so all occasion of dangers against him might at once for all be cut off. Many projects propounded, this lastly tooke effect; that a letter should be counterfeited in Queen Emma's name, unto her sonnes Edward and Alfred, to instigate them to attempt the crowne usurped by Harold against their right*, the tenure whereof wee have thought good here to insert.

"(5) *Emma*, Queene onely in name, to *Edward* "and *Alfred* her sonnes, sendeth motherly gree- "tings. Whilest severally we bewaile the death "of our Soveraigne,my Lord and your Father, and "your selves (deare sonnes) still more and more dis- "possessed from the Kingdome, your lawfull inhe- "ritance; I greatly marvaile what you determine to doe,

"doe, sith you know, that the delay of attempts "gives the usurper more leasure to lay his foun- "dation, and more safely to set thereon his in- "tended buildings; for incessantly hee posteth "from Towne to Towne, and from City to City, "to make the Lords and Rulers thereof his, either "by threates, prayers, or present rewards. But "this in private they signifie, that they had rather "one of you their Natives should raigne over them; "then this Usurper and *Danish* stranger. Where- "fore my desireis, that either of you secretly, and "with all speed come unto mee, whereby wee may "advise together what is to be done in this so great "an enterprise: then whose good successe, I desire "nothing more. Faile not therefore to send word by "this my messenger, how you meane to proceed: "and so fare ye well, my deerest bowels,and very in- "wards of my heart.

Ex Emma.

(6) These letters thus carried and cunningly delivered, were digested as favouring of no falshood; and by the bringers, others returned, that *Alfred* should come shortly over to attend his mothers designes: these newes brought unto *Harold*, the coasts were fore-laid, and longing expectation attended the prey. *Alfred* as forward to set on his voyage, made *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* his; and some few *Bullogners* increasing his Fleet, hee tooke the seas for *England*: where comming to shore, Earle *Goodwin* met him, and binding his assurance with his corporall oath, became his liege-man, and guide to Queene *Emma*; but being wrought firme for *Harold*, trecherously led these strangers a contrary way, and at *Guilford* lodged them in severall companies, making known to the King what hee had done: who forthwith apprehended them, even in their beds, and in the morning as chained prisoners, committing them to slaughter, (contrary to the wonted manner of military decimation,) did spare and exempt onely every tenth man for service or sale: Prince *Alfred* himselfe was sent prisoner to the Isle of *Ely*, where having his eyes inhumanely put out, lived not long after in torment and griefe.

Ran Higd. lib. Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 11.

(7) Some adde unto the former, an other, much more horrible kinde of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawne out, and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with sharpe needles, or poinards, was forced about till all his entrails were extracted, to which most savage torture hee ended his innocent life.

Will. Canten.

Henry. Hunt.

(8) *Harold* thus freed from one, the other hee thought would no further attempt; and therefore the more boldly see himselfe against their mother Queene *Emma*, whose goods he confiscated, and banished her out of the Realme: who thus distressed, was honourably received, and for three yeeres space maintained by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*.

(9) The *Dane* then seeing his hazards thus prevented, sought so to secure himselfe, and with sixeteene shippes of the *Danish* Fleete kept the seas, which continued ever in a readinesse, and wasted from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, hee charged the *English* with great payments, to their no little grudge and repining; whereby he lost the love of his subjects before it had well taken roor in their hearts.

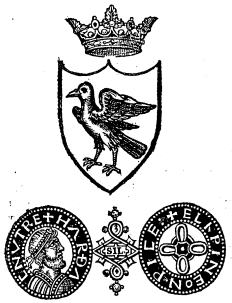
Malmsbur. Hen. Huntting. Stow.

(10) Neither yet held hee on long in these disroyall courses, for that his speedy death did cut off the infirmy of a longer life; and is said to have died at *Oxford* in the moneth of *April*, the yeere of Christ Iesus 1040. after hee had raigned foure yeeres and some moneths: whose body was at first interred at *Westminster*, having beene neither in warres so hardy, nor in government so prosperous, as his Father *Canute*, before him had beene, nor left behind him either wife or children, to survive his person, or revive his name.

Hardi-Caunt.

HARDI-CANVTE, THE THIRD
DANISH KING THAT RAIGNED IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTY SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE AND DEATH.

Monarch 36.



CHAPTER. V.

An. Dom. 1040.

Simon Dun. Matth. Weſt.

THE States of the Land, as well *Engliſh* as *Danes*, that had ſtood for *Harold*, both in obtaining and keeping the Crowne, now ſeeing him fallen, thought it beſt to make way for their peace, before *Hardi-Canute* by his ſword ſhould purchaſe their ſubjection; therefore with all haſte they ſent into *Denmarke*, with proffers of the Scepter, and their forward allegiance only unto him. Thoſe parts beyond ſeas, were not then ſo ſubjective, as to build his hopes there, upon any ſure ground; for the *Norwegians* had thruſt out his halfe-brother *Sweyne*, and had elected *Magnus* the ſon of *Olaffe* for their King; ſo that ſmall aſſurance could he perceive of any quiet Common-weale among them: and therefore fore-flowing not the offer, immediately imbarked his men of warre, and with ſo favourable a wind tooke Seas, that he arrived upon the Coaſt of *Kent*, the ſixth day after he had ſet ſaile out of *Denmarke*; and with great pompe conveyed to *London*, was there proclaimed *Englands* King.

(2) He began his raigne in the yeare of grace one thouſand and forty, and was crowned in *London* by *Elnothus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, being the thirty ſixth Monarch of the *Engliſhmen*: his raigne was ſpent in doing nothing, vnleſſe you will ſay, in doing evill, he did ſomething.

(3) For no ſooner had he a power to command, but he forthwith commanded the body of his halfe-brother the deceaſed King, to be digged up, & with ſpitefull diſgrace to be throwne into *Thamiſis*, where it remained untill a Fiſherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of S. *Clement* without Temple-Bar, commonly called S. *Clement-Danes*: for that (ſaith *Stow*) it was the burying place of the *Danes*: this cruelty ſhewed, was pretended for the hard uſage of Queene *Emma* his mother, though partly ſpiced with revenge for his uſurpation of the Crown againſt him.

John Stowis his Survey of London.

(4) Yet worthily is he to be commended, for the reverent regard hee bare to his *Mother*, and loving affection to his brother; for no ſooner was he riſen out of the throne of his Coronation, but that hee ſent honorable Embaſſage unto Earle *Baldwine*, with many thankes to him for her princely uſage, and for her to returne into *England* to her former eſtate, and place of Queene. His brother Prince *Edward* comming over to viſite them both, was moſt honourably received, retained, and diſmiſſed; and theſe are the vertues regardable in this King.

Henry Hunt.

(5) But his vices were more, and concerned more perſons; for a great Epicure hee was, and given much unto Cuppes, whereby hee trained the body to belly-cheere, and ſenſe to be ſubject to ſloath and drunkenneſſe; foure times every day were his tables ſpred, and plenteouſly with all Cates furniſhed, ever commanding that his Courtiers, gueſts, and ſervants, ſhould rather leave, for ſuperfluity, then call, for lack: which howſoever it was in him accounted for Royall bounty, yet it cauſed in the people (who uſe to praiſe the Soveraignes vertues, but imitate his vices) a riotous looſeneſſe, and the Common-weale to lie ſicke of Conſumptions, bred by ſuch exceſſe of thoſe groſſe humours in her body.

Will. Malmesb.

(6) This wrought in him a careleſſe neglect of government in State, ſo that the whole managing thereof was committed to his mother Queene *Emma*, a woman extreamely coverous, and to *Goodwin*, the rich and politicke Earle of *Kent*; who ſeeing the preſent ſtate carried wholly away with preſent pleaſures

Conſpiracies & Engliſh policy.

ſures, thought that a fitte ſubject for him to worke upon; for the King not married (unleſſe it were to his lewd will) and *Edward* likely to ſucceede, of an over-ſoft temperature; he thought theſe both might prove advantageous to his ambition, and therefore bethought him, how the Crowne might be worne by him or his.

Hunt. Hunt. will. Malmesb. Matth. weſt. Simon Dun.

(7) Therefore, to ſeparate the hearts of the ſubjects from the Prince (then which, there can be no greater a wound unto both,) hee cauſed the King to impoſe heavy tributes upon the *Engliſh*, onely to pay the *Danes* in his Fleete, appointing every common Souldier and Mariner, to receive eight markes in mony, and every officer and Maſter twelve; which amounted to the ſumme of thirty two thouſand, one hundred forty ſeaven-pounds: for the payment whereof, there was ſo great a grudge, that two of the Collectors, *Thurſtane* and *Feader* were ſlaine by the Citizens of *Worceſter*; which cauſed their City to be burnt, and part of the country ſpoiled by the Kings command, and their Biſhop *Alfred* expulſed the See, till with money he had purchaſed his peace. This Biſhops hands (as was ſaid) were deep in the murther of Prince *Alfred*, the Kings halfe brother, whom wee ſpake of; yea, and *Goodwin* himſelfe was put to his purgation by oath, for the clearing of his ſuſpitions in that treacherous and brutiſh fact: which oath was the lighter urged, and the eaſier received for his rich and bounteous gifts, immediately before preſented to the King, and that was a Shippe, whoſe ſterne was of gold, with fourefcore Souldiers therein placed, all vniformely and richly ſuited: On their heads they all wore guilt Burgeners, and on their bodies a triple gilt habergion, a Sword with gilt hilts girded to their waſtes, a Battaile-axe (after the manner of the *Danes*) on their left ſhoulders, a Target with guilt boſſes borne in their left hands, a Dart in the right, their armes bound about with two bracelets of gold containing ſixteene ounces in weight.

Gualterus gilta.

Annedus Rumsey, M.S. apud eund.

(8) *Aimundus Bremenſis* writing the Stories of thoſe times; ſheweth, that the three ſonnes of *Canute* were poſſeſſed of the three Kingdomes, *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, though the father by Will, had diſpoſed of the firſt otherwiſe; which moved *Hardi-Canute* much to maligne the roialty of *Harold*, whoſe Crowne by birth and covenant belonged to him; and therefore with great preparation, intending to recover his right, hee entred the Sea, and came into *Flanders*, where having notice of the uſurpers death, his rage was ſtaied, and hee peaceably came in, and received the Crowne.

Ibm. cap. 109.

(9) And that *Sweine* (called the *Younger*) King of *Denmarke*, to aſſiſt his Vncle *Hardi-Canute* againſt *Harold* the uſurper of *Englands* Crowne, with a great Armie prepared thitherward; and taking the Seas, were by tempeſts driven upon the coaſts of *Hadeloe*, where his Armie doing ſome hurt, was ſet upon and diſcomfited by the ſouldiers of the Arch-biſhoppe: himſelfe amongſt them being taken priſoner, and brought into the preſence of the Arch-biſhop, was by him moſt honourably received, and conveied unto *Breme*, who there entered a league with him, and with gifts and other complements, after a few dayes' ſuffered him to depart; who likewiſe hearing of the death of King *Harold*, returned backe to his owne Country, where ſhortly after he was much moleſted by *Magnus*, the ſonne of *Olaf*, then raigning King over the *Norwegians*.

Idem. M. S. c. 122.

(10) *Hardi-Canute* in *England*, hearing of thoſe ſtirres, thought it his part to aid his Nephew King *Sweyn*, againſt the invaſions of *Magnus*: and therefore hee ſent one *Sueno* his kinſeman, with an Armie of the *Engliſh*, to re-eſtabliſh King *Sweyn* in his Throne. Theſe entred *Norway*, and the Field againſt the *Norwegians*, but by them were ſo over-laid, that hee left *Magnus* the vanquiſher, and returned againe for *England*; but before he could arrive at the Shore, King *Hardi-Canute* was dead, with whom dyed the iſſue of that warre; whoſe death was ſuddaine, and after this manner.

Simon Dunel. Matth. weſt.

(11) At the celebration of a great marriage, contracted betwixt a *Daniſh* Lord, called *Canut-Prudan*, and Lady *Githa*, the daughter of a Noble-man, whoſe name was *Oſgot Clappa*, in a ſolemne aſſembly, and banquet at *Lambeth* the eighth of *June*, revelling and carouſing amidſt his cups, he ſodainly fell downe without ſpeech or breath: whoſe loſſe was the leſſe lamented for his exceſſe, riotouſneſſe, and unwonted exactions: but chiefly becauſe a much better was then to ſucceede him; having himſelfe had neither wife nor childe that is read of. Yea, ſo farre were all ſorts from bewailing him, that in regard of the freedome from the *Daniſh* yoke, which they attained by his deceaſe, ever ſince among the common people; the day of his death is annually celebrated with open paſtimes in the ſtreetes (as the old *Romanes* kept their *fugalia*, for chaſing out of their Kings,) which time is now called *Hoctide* or *Hucxtide*, ſignifying *a time of ſcorning* or contempt; which fell upon the *Danes* by his death.

Lamb. Peramb. in Sandwich.

His body with all due obſequies was interred at *Wincheſter* by his fathers, after hee had voluptuouſly raigned two yeeres lacking ten dayes, and departed his life and kingdome the yeere of Chriſt Ieſus, 1042.

(12) With the death of this King died all rule of the *Danes* in this land, and the ſacred ſparke of the *Saxons* fire (through three of their ſucceſſions) buried in their owne aſhes, beganne now to take flame and to burne moſt bright, which was Prince *Edward* (now commonly called the *Confeſſor*) the ſonne of King *Ethelred*; and albeit there were others betwixt him and the Crowne, as namely, *Edward* and *Edmund* the ſonnes of the *Iron-ſide*, yet the one dying in *Hungarie* without iſſue of body, the other there living as a baniſhed man (by ſurname the *Out-law*) was neither ſo well regarded, nor thought ſo worthy of government, as this other *Edward* was, whom therefore they ſent for, and with ſo great applauſe and acclamations proclaimed, that the preſent joy ſeemed to prognoſticate a perpetuall happineſſe to the *Engliſh*, who had beene moſt miſerably afflicted by the *Danes*, for the ſpace of two hundred forty two yeeres; though this line againe failed, before it was well begunne.

See book 7. cap. 14 fol. 9.

EDWARD

EDVVARD THE CONFESSOR,
SONNE OF KING ETHELRED, THE THIRTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN; HIS RAIGNE, VERTVES, AND MARRIAGE.



CHAPTER VI.

An. Dom. 1042. Hen. Hunting.

EDward, the third of that Name before the Conquest, halfe-brother to the deceased *Hardi-Canute*, and sonne to King *Ethelred* by Queene *Emma* his Wife, was by the provident care of a Mothers affection, (when the variable succesſe of Warre, doubtfully depended betwixt *Edmund* the *Engliſh*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*) ſent into *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* her Brother, there to be ſecured from all domeſticall ſtirres: and now, before the dead Corpes could be interred, with a generall Conſent of the Nobles was elected their King.

Folyder.

Ran. Higden.

Legend. Aur. in vit. S. Edward.

(2) I know well that in the Legend of this holy mans life, more things are recorded, then with ſafety of truth may be either beleeved, or delivered; as that he was choſen King by conſent of Parliament, when as yet he was in his mothers wombe, *Ethelred* his Father at the ſame time having many other ſons alive; as alſo when the deſtroying *Danes* had extinguiſhed by their warres almoſt the whole Royall iſſue of the *Engliſh*, the holy Monk *Brightwold* of *Glaſtenbury* deploring their loſſe, and the lands miſerable eſtate, had in viſion this *Edward*, then an Exile, preſented unto him by the Apoſtle S. *Peter* himſelfe, who then annointing him King in his ſight, telling him that his Raigne ſhould be peaceable, and twenty three yeares for continuance; *Brightwold* yet unſatisfied who ſhould next ſucceed, demanded the reſolution, and was anſwered by *Peter*, that the kingdome of *England was Gods owne Kingdome*; for whoſe ſucceſſors himſelfe would provide. With ſuch vaine predictions our otherwiſe true Stories are over-charged; which moved *Comineus* the worthy *French* Hiſtorian, to taxe the *Engliſh* with over-much credulity that way.

will. Malmesb. Henry Hunt. Higden. Polyd. lib. 6.

(3) But

(3) But moſt true it is, that the *Engliſh* Nobility diſclaiming all *Daniſh* ſubjection, preſently upon the death of King *Harold*, enacted, That none of their blood ſhould any more raigne over them: putting this their Decree in execution by caſhiering all *Danes* from the Caſtles, Forts, and Garriſon Townes throughout all the Land, whence ſome even of their Blood Royall were forced to depart. Then ſending ſecuritie into *Normandy*, with proffer of the Crowne unto Prince *Edward* had his conſent, and aſſiſtance of Duke *William* his Coſen German.

(4) This *Edward* (as elſewhere hath been ſaid) was borne at *Iſlip* neere unto *Oxford*, and tenderly educated by Queene *Emma* his Mother; and after his Fathers death, for ſafety ſent into *France*; where by his ſweet converſation he gained the love of all, and as much himſelfe affected thoſe ſtrangers, which was ſome blemiſh of policy in the face of his government, when he hadgot the Diademe, as being of diſpoſition over-ſoft, & ever too pliant (an imperfection in a Soveraigne) to take the impreſſe of any ſtampe. In which mould, the aſpiring *Goodwin*, Earle of *Kent*, did caſt the fabricke of his owne deſignes; who had made away *Alfred*, his younger, but of a more reſolute ſpirit, that ſo the baſis of his owne piller (whoſe top in time he hoped to crowne) might be ſet, if not upon, yet with the neereſt to the Throne.

Ran. Higden. Ingulf. Stratus.

(5) Hee therefore, the formoſt both in will and power, uſed both to eſtabliſh Prince *Edward* in his right, being ſeconded by *Leofricke* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Livinus* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and indeed with the generall aſſiſtance of all the *Engliſh*; who now were ſo jealous of all forraine powers, that they forbad an over-great traine of *Normans*, (though comming for his aid) to attend their new-choſen King.

Alfred Beverel. Hen. Hunt.

(6) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, with great concourſe of people, and the celebration performed by *Eſtſine*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upon the very day of Chriſt his reſurrection, being alſo a new-riſing day to the *Engliſh* Nation) the yeare of grace 1042. himſelfe being aged then towards fourty, and was in number the thirty ſeventh Monarch of *England*, where he raigned with ſuch Juſtice and Piety, that he obtained the venerable name of *Saint*, and unto poſterities is diſtinguiſhed from the other *Edwards*, by the adjunct *Confeſſor*.

Ran. Higd. in Polyc. lib. 6. cap. 24.

(7) In the entrance of his government to witneſſe his love to his people, he fought every way the furtherance of their wealth, and afterwards remitted the moſt heavy tribute of fourty thouſand pounds yearly, gathered by the name of *Dane-gile*, which had bin impoſed by his Father, and payed for fourty yeeres continuance, out of the lands of all, except onely the *Clergie*, becauſe (ſay our ancient lawes) *the King repoſed more confidence in the prayers of holy Church, then in the power of Armies*. Then, from the divers *Lawes* of the *Mercians*, *VVeſt-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he ſelected the beſt, and made of them one body certaine, and written in Latine, (that all men of any learning might know whereon to relye, to be the touch of his Common-wealths Pleas, and the ſquire by which he would have every right to be meaſured, being (in a ſort) the fountaine of thoſe, which at this day wee terme the Common-Lawes, though the formes of pleading and proceſſe therein, were afterward brought in by the Conqueſt.

Gerald. Britan. de Dimis.

(8) The raigne of this King, by moſt writers records, was more ſpent in peace and works of true Piety, then in wars and blood, though ſome diſſentions hapned both domeſticall and forreine: for about the yeere one thouſand forty five, and third of his raigne, a royall Navie was rigged in *Sandwich* haven, againſt *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who then intended to invade *England*, and indeed had ſo done, if the wars of *Sweyn* king of *Denmark* had not diverted his purpoſe.

will. Malmesb. Henry Hunt. Higden. Polyd. lib. 6.

Alber. Reſtatius Aimoricus. Bremenſis.

(9) This *Sweyn* was the ſonne of Duke *Wolfe*, by *Olryd* his *Ducheſſe*, ſiſter to *Hardi-Canute*, who as I find written in the Manuſcript of *Aimundus Bremenſis*, being in poſſeſſion of two kingdomes, prepared his Navie for the conqueſt of *England* alſo: But, (ſaith he) *King Edward governing that kingdome with great Juſtice and love, choſe rather his peace with proffers of Tribute, and promiſes that after his death the Crowne ſhould be his, yea, though himſelfe ſhould have children*: howbeit this ſeemeth not to found for truth; for *Sweyn* ſending his Ambaſſadours unto *Edward* to crave aide againſt *Magnus* (his grievous and mortall enemy) could obtaine none, and *Harold Harfagar*, the ſucceſſor of *Magnus*, and enemy to *Sweyn*, preſently thereupon ſent unto *Edward* for a league of amity, which was ratified firmely betwixt them.

Polidor. Virgil. lib. 11.

(10) Neither may we think that ever he meant his Crowne that way; for that beſides the decree enacted againſt all *Daniſh* claimes, his deſire to eſtabliſh it in the *Engliſh* blood is moſt manifeſt, by ſending for *Edward* his Nephew, the ſonne of *Edmund Ironſide*, remaining in *Hungary*, and that ſo long out of *England*, that he was called the *Outlaw*; who coming over, brought with him his wife *Agatha*, and children, *Edgar* a ſonne, and *Margaret* and *Chriſtian* his daughters; him *Edward* meant to have made heire to the Crowne, had he not beene prevented by haſty death, whereupon the King deſigned young *Edgar*, his ſonne, the heire apparent, and gave him the ſurname of *Adeling*, a name of great honour appropriated to the Princes of the blood, and men capable of the Crowne.

Matth. Weſt.

King *Edward* deſigneth the Crowne to an *Engliſhman*.

(11) Beſides theſe former attempts, certaine *Daniſh Pirates* entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoiled, and in *Flanders* made Merchandize of their prey. The *Iriſh* likewiſe with thirty ſixe ſhips entred *Severn*, and with the aſſiſtance of *Griffith* King of *South-Wales* burnt or ſlew all that they found; againſt whom *Alfred* Biſhop of *Worceſter* went and fought, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, that many of his Souldiers were ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight; which made the *Welſhmen* far more bold, and *Reſe* the brother of *Griffith*, make many incurſions to fetch preyes out of *England*, till at length he was ſlaine at *Bulenden*, and his head preſented to King *Edward* at *Glouceſter*.

In the ſixt yeere of his raigne. Henry Hunt.

An. Dom. 1053. Geſt. anvell. Chron. of Wales

(12) His domeſticall moleſtations, were chiefly by Earle *Goodwin* and his ſonnes; and thoſe firſt ſpringing upon this following occaſion. *Euſtace* the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne*, who had married *Goda*, ſiſter by the fathers ſide to King *Edward*, came into *England* to viſite him then lying at *Glouceſter*, and returning homeward, at *Canterbury* his Herbinger dealing roughly with a Burgeſſe for lodgings, cauſed his owne death; which when his Lord heard of, thirſting for reuenge, he ſlew eighteene Citizens in the heat of his furie: The *Canterburians* in as great rage got them to armour, and ſlew twenty of his retinew, wounding many more, and made the Earle to recoile; whoſe grievous complaint comming to the King, hee commanded *Goodwin* to ſee execution done upon the offenders. Earle *Goodwin* not haſty to follow his commiſſion, adviſed the King to examine the cauſe before he maſſacred his true ſubjects at the inſtigation of Strangers; whereat King *Edward* was highly offended, and *Goodwin* thereby gained great love of the Commons. This occaſioned *Robert Gemeticenſis* a *Norman*, firſt made Biſhop of *London*, and after Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to ſpread the Curtain of diſfavour betwixt *Goodwin* and the King, urging his refuſall as an Act of Contempt, wherein more dangers might lie hid then were to be ſuffered; whereupon *Edward* called an aſſembly of Eſtates, appointing a day of meeting at *Glouceſter*.

will. Malmes.

Ran. Higd.

(13) The Commons (whoſe common guiſe is, deadly to hate all ſtrangers, though many times well deſerving) now ſeeing Earle *Goodwin* in danger for their good, were eaſily drawne to aſſiſt him and his cauſe, and in warlike manner guarded his perſon, at *Beverſtane* not farre from the King. The Eſtates aſſembled, and *Goodwin* ſent for, hee refuſed to come, pretending ſervice againſt the *Welſh*; then ready to make inroades, and that his preſence was more needfull

Malmesbury.

full there, then at Court; albeit the *Welsh-men* cleared themselves by sending their Ambassadors unto the King. The suspicions increasing, great preparation on both sides was made; to assist the King came *Leofricke* the worthy Earle of *Chester*, *Sinard* the stout Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Rodulfe* Earle of *Hereford* his sister *Godas* sonne, by her first husband *Walter de Maigne*.

Ran. Higd. Matth. Westm. Simon Dunel.

(14) To *Goodwin* repaired his people of *Southerrie* and *Kent*, and to him were brought by *Swaine* his sonne, the men of *Oxford*, *Sommerset*, *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and *Berkshires*; unto whom, *Harold* his other sonne, joyned those of *Essex*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdonshires*, so that his host was exceedingly great, and his minde thereby so inflated, that from *Langton*, where hee lay, hee sent a bold and Traiterous demand to the King, to have Earle *Eustace* of *Bulloigne* with all his *French* and *Normans* (that kept then in the Castle of *Dover*) to be delivered unto him, and his sonnes: which beeing (as good reason was) refused, the Battaile was prepared, and brought to the very point of hazard and ruine of all: For in that quarrell were assembled the greatest Peeres, and Lords of the Land; the Kings love swaying very much with many, but yet the hatred towards Strangers possessing the hearts of more. The beginning thus doubtfull, and the end like to prove dangerous; the matter both with great foresight and providence was referred unto Parliament, to be holden at *London* with all convenient hast, whereunto pledges were both given and received on either parts.

(15) King *Edward* strongly guarded with an Army of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, entred *London*, and *Goodwin* with his sonnes in war-like manner came into *Southmarke* to his owne house. But his Army wavering, and (as bad causes & consciences make men doe) suspecting the worst, by little and little shrunke away from him; which knowne to the King, he presently pronounced sentence of banishment unto *Goodwin* and his five sonnes, without further proceeding by way of Parliament, as was determined. *Goodwin* therefore with great riches and his three sonnes, *Swaine*, *Tostie*, and *Girth*, sailed into *Flanders*, and *Harold* with his brother *Leofwine*, from *Bristow* passed into *Ireland*; who were no sooner gone, but the King proclaimed them Out-lawes, and gave the Earldome of *Harold* unto *Algar*, the son of *Leofricke*, Earle of *Chester*. This *Leofricke* is he, which at his Countesses request freed the Citie *Coventrie* of their importable tribute imposed, as we have elsewhere said.

Book 1. chap. 27. Henry Hunt.

(16) In the second yeere of *Goodwins* banishment, both himselfe and those his sonnes with him, having gotten ships convenient for warre, in manner of Pirats came upon the coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*, doing much harme, and returning with spoiles the like did *Harold* and *Leofwin* from *Scotland*, upon the westerne coasts of *Sommerset*, and *Devonshires*, who thence coasting about the point of *Cornwall*, joyned their Fleet with their Fathers, in the *Ile of Wight*.

Simon Dun.

(17) Against them King *Edward* prepared, & himselfe, though aged, with a Navie of sixtie ships well furnished for warre, meant to have made an end of that businesse, by the destruction of his adversaries: but the Navies ready to joyne battell, God tooke the cause into his owne hand, and with a thicke fogge so over-spread the seas, that one Fleet could not thereby see another; in which, *Goodwin* and his complices by contrary windes were driven to the place from whence they came. King *Edward* still in iealousie of *Goodwins* returne, rigged forth forty tall shippes, to secure the seas, which kept not so strong a watch, but that *Goodwin* got by them, solliciting the people of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surrey* unto his aid, and entring *Thames*, did the like unto them in *London*, who accepted of his arrivage, though king *Edward* lay there: so that without disturbance his Navie fell up with the tide, through the fouth Arch of the Bridge, & a mighty army to his aid mustred upon the same side of the river.

(18) The Nobilitie then seeing side against side, and all of them meere *English*, ready to hazard their bloud in the quarrels of strangers, wrought so with *Edward* and *Goodwin*, that they came unto peace, and pledges were againe delivered for the performance, whereof *Wilmot* the sonne of Earle *Goodwin*, and *Hacun* the sonne of *Swaine* his eldest, were sent to Duke *William* of *Normandy*, so greate a truste he ever reposed in strangers. This *Swaine*, upon a remorse of conscience for the bloud he had spilt, and especially for the slaughter of *Beorne* his cosen & interressor, who sued to the King for his peace, undertooke a pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and in his returne died in *Licia*, whether through an extremity of cold, or by the hands of *Saracens*, that spoiled all they met, it is uncertaine.

will. Malmsb. Rand. Higd. Otot. vell. Simon Dunel.

(19) *Goodwin* now restored, and in great credit with the king, cast the eye of disdain upon the Archbishop *Robert* (as commonly Favorites emulate each others) and himselfe being a man eloquent and politicke, so possessed the King both against him and his *Normans*, that he requited his owne banishment, with all theirs out of *England*, some few excepted, that were favoured by the *English*: and now promising himselfe much honour and authority, was sodainly cut off by the stroake of death, surprizing him as he sate at Table with the King upon Munday in the Easter weeke, but died not till the Thursday following, which happened at *Winchester*, where he was buried.

Polyd. l. 6. c. 24. Stad. chron.

(20) Besides these former forraine and civill molestations, other calamities happened to the land; for in the yeare of Grace 1047. and moneth of *Ianuary*, there fell so great a Snow, which covered the ground unto the middle of *March*, that Cattell and Fowles perished abundantly: and on the first of that month the yeare following, a strange and terrible *Earthquake* happened, which seemed to rent the ground asunder, and withall such *Lightnings*, as burnt up the Corne growing in the fields; whereby an excessive *Dearth* followed: so that his raigne was neither so peaceable nor prosperous, as *Brightwold* the Monke dreamed it should be. But as all these were scourges sent from God upon the land for sin, so both Prince, Pastors, and people, had all severally their part thereof, as being joyntly the causers of the same.

will. Malmsb.

Rand. Higden.

(21) For the King in case of these strangers, put the Land more then once in danger to be lost: and himselfe refraining the bed of his vertuous wife, committed thereby the offence forbidden by the Apostle, and caused her his Queene, either to commit or be accused to have committed adultery. The Clergie likewise altogether unlearned, wanton and vicious: for the Prelates neglecting the offices of Episcopall function, which was to tender the affaires of the Church, and to feed the flocke of Christ, lived themselves idle and covetous, addicted wholly to the pomp of the world, and voluptuous life, little caring for the Churches and soules committed to their charge: and if any told them (saith *Higden*) that their lives ought to be holy, and their conversation without covetousnesse, according to the sacred prescripe, and vertuous examples of their Elders, they would scoffingly put them off with, *Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores; Times have mutations, so must mens fashions*: and thus (saith he) they plained the roughnes of their doings with smoothnesse of their answers. Briefly, the whole people were so loose and riotous, that as *Gervasius Dorobornensis* recordeth, they fell so fast to commit wickednesse, *as to be ignorant of sinfull crimes, was then held to be a great crime it selfe*. And by the testimony of *Malmsbury*, the sinnes of those times evidently foreshewed a generall destruction: *for the Englishmen* (saith he) *transformed themselves into the strange maners of the French, and that not onely in speech and behaviour, but in their deeds and Charters: their use was then to go fantastically appointed, their garments reaching but to the mid knee, their heads shorne, and their beards shaven all but the upper lip, which grew with long mustaches; continually wearing massie bracelets of gold about*

1 Cor. 5.

Will. Malmsb. Pits Edmerdi. Matth. Westm. Sconus. Otter. Aethe some add Hist.

Hollinsh. Ran. Higden Polyer. lib. 6. cap. 24.

Chron. varies.

Gervasius of Canterbury.

Ingulphus in hist.

will. Malmsb.

about their armes, carrying markes upon their skin pounced in of sundry colours; and the Clergy contenting themselves with triviall literature, could scarcely backe and bow out the words of the Sacrament. These then were *Englands* dolorous times both of blindnesse and lewdnes, drawing downe Gods wrath for their destruction.

(22) But howsoever this King is reported to bee loving and facile towards strangers, (which in it selfe is a princely vertue if it bee opportunely and warily used:) yet to his owne *Mother*, and *Wife*, unnaturally over-rigorous, imprisoning and bereaving them both of all Prince-like honour. Against Queene *Emma*, his Mother, were instigators *Robert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Earle *Goodwin* of *Kent*, the two greatest favorites of the King. The causes objected were, her marriage with *Canute* the Capitall enemy of *England*; her regardlessnesse of succouring himselfe and his brother in their exiles, whom (as was alleaged) she contrived to have made away; and that under colour of private devotions, shee had used the company of *Alwine* Bishop of *Winchester* over-familiarly, to her great dishonour and the Kings disgrace: for these and the like, hee tooke away all her Jewels, and other substance, and committed her to safe custody in the Abbey of *Werwell*.

will. Malmsb.

(23) Indeed *Malmesbury* doth taxe her to have beene infinitely covetous, and that shee was more tenderly affectionate to her *Danish*, then *English* children, whereby her love was measured to their fathers. But for the imputation of her incontinency, she washed it off with as sharpe a tryall as any that is recorded for truth, by undergoing that over-hard law *Ordalium*, when in presence of the King her Sonne, and many of his Peeres, shee passed over betweene nine plough-shares glowing red hot, barefooted and blind folded, without any hurt; using this speech to her leaders, as not knowing shee was past all danger, *O Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation?* but having her eyes uncovered, and seeing her selfe cleerely escaped, fell upon her knees, and with teares gave thankes to her deliverer, whereby she recovered, both the love and her former estate of the King, with the good esteeme and applause of the people: in memory whereof she gave nine Mannors (according to the number of plough-shares) to the Minster of *Winchester*, (wherein she had that tryall,) and adorned the same, with many rich ornaments; as likewise the King repenting the wrong hee did her, bestowed on the same place the Iland (so then it was) called *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, being about seven miles in compasse: for so the chance, in those dayes was set, that whosoever lost, the monkes ever wanne.

Ordalium, a tryall of offendors by fire.

Rand. Higden.

(24) Neither were this Kings proceedings better with his owne Wife, how soever some have cloaked that *Fraud*, (so the Apostle termes it) under the faire robe of Chastity. For he marrying *Editha*, a Lady incomparable both for beauty and vertues, in whose breft (saith *Malmesbury*) *there was a Schoole of all Liberall Sciences*, refused her bed: but whether it were for his debility, or hatred to *Goodwin* her father, or love of Virginity, I determine not; but am fully perswaded, that the accusation of Adultery wherewith *Robert* the Arch-bishop did charge her, was more upon envy to her father, then truth of so foule a fact in her, whose vertues were so many, and so memorable, by report of Authors, that were eye-witnesses themselves; for *Ingulphus* that had oftentimes conference with her, doth thus of her relate.

Will. Malmsb. Pits Edmerdi. Matth. Westm. Sconus. Otter. Aethe some add Hist.

Ingulphus in hist.

There was given (saith he) *unto King* Edward, *for his Queene and Wife, the daughter of Goodwine, a most beautifull Damosell,* EDITHA *by name, excellent well learned in her demeanure, and whole course of life a Virgin most chast, humble, and unfainedly holy, no way favouring of her Fathers or Brethrens barbarousnesse, but mild, modest, faithfull, and innocent, nor ever hurtfull to any: insomuch, that this verse was applyed to her:*

Stirps Spitha Regum, genuit Godwinus Egitham;
From prickled stalke as sweetest Rose:
So Egith faire, from Goodwin growes.

All these notwithstanding, the King expulsed her his Court and Bed, and that with no little disgrace; for taking all her goods from her, even to the uttermost farthing, committed her prisoner to the Monastery of *Wilton*, attended onely with one maid, where she, for a whole yeeres space almost, in teares and prayers expected the day of her release and comfort: All which unprincely, and un-Spouslike usage, as the King pretended, and said, was, *because she onely should not live in comfort, when as her Parents and Brethren were banished the Realme*: an unjust sentence surely, and unbefitting a Saint, thus to punish the sinnes of the fathers upon their children, contrary to the prescript rule of God, who by his Prophet complaineth against such injustice, and regulateth it with this just verdict, *That soule that sinneth shall dye*: and for her pure and unviolated chastity, himselfe on his death-bed spake, saying, *That openly she was his wife, but in secret imbracings as his owne sister*.

will. Malmsb.

Exod. 18. 4.

Ezek. 18. 4.

(25) Yet behold the blindnesse, and partiality of those times, wherein for this his onely refusall of nuptiall duties, the pencils of those that should have shewed his true face to posterities, have so embellished his portraiture and lineaments, that unto the beholder hee seemeth now no mortall creature; his miracles and fore-sayings answerable to most of the Prophets; which here to insert, in so worthy a subject and holy Kings life, were both to fill up with a needlesse surcharge, whole leaves of Times waste abuses, and to breed a suspition of those other things in him, which we know for found truth; as was his gift from God, through his holy invocations, and touch of the place affected, to cure the disease called *Strume*, now the *Kings-Evill*, which unto this day in his successors, hath been experienced upon many such healings, by the touch of those gracious hands who have held the Scepter, as Gods Vicegerents of this most blessed and happy Kingdome. That he had the spirit of Prophecie, many have thought, as also the notice of his owne death, some constantly affirme; by a Ring sent him from *Ierusalem*, the same that he long time before had given to a Pilgrime: but these with his other miraculous cures, his fight of the *Danes* destruction, and the *Seven-Sleepers* in the *Mount Cellion* besides *Ephesus*, with infinite others, I leave to his Legend-writers, and *Aluredus Rivallensis* to relate, who have written his many miracles with no sparing pen. Most true it is that of a little Monastery dedicated to Saint *Peter* in the West of *London*, by the river of *Thames*, hee made a most beautifull and faire Church, where he likewise provided for his owne Sepulcher, and another dedicated to S. *Margaret*, standing without the Abbey: This of *Westminster* he endowed with very rich revenewes, and confirmed their Charters under his Broad Seale, being the first of the Kings of *England*, who used that large and stately impression in their Royall Charters and Parents: the very true forme whereof, according to the rude sculpture of those elder times, we have portrayted in the front of this Chapter, as we intend likewise to doe in the rest succeeding; whereof this use at least, (if no other) may be made, that by benefit of those paterns, men may know from what Princes they first received the Charters of their ancient possessions, and Patents of their honours, which the Princes stile (many being of one name) cannot sufficiently make knowne.

Edmerdi legend. Aluredus vita. lib. 2.

S. Peter himself is came downe from heaven to the first dedication of that place, if the forefaid story be true. Vide Chron.

Simon Dunel.

King Edward the Confessor founded the Abbey Church and Colledge of Westminster.

The said Church of *Westminster* he built for the discharge of his vowed pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and that in such sumptuous manner, that it was in those dayes the paterne of all other stately buildings. He founded also the Colledge of S. *Mary Otery* in the County of *Devon*, and gave unto it the Village of *Otereg*, and removed the Bishops See from *Cridington* to *Excester*, as a place of farre more dignity; where the King taking the right hand, and the Queene the left, led *Leofricke* from the high Altar, and installed him the first Bishop of that See: Finally, when he had raigned the space of twenty yeeres, five moneths, and twenty seven dayes; hee dyed the fourth of Ianuary, the yeere of

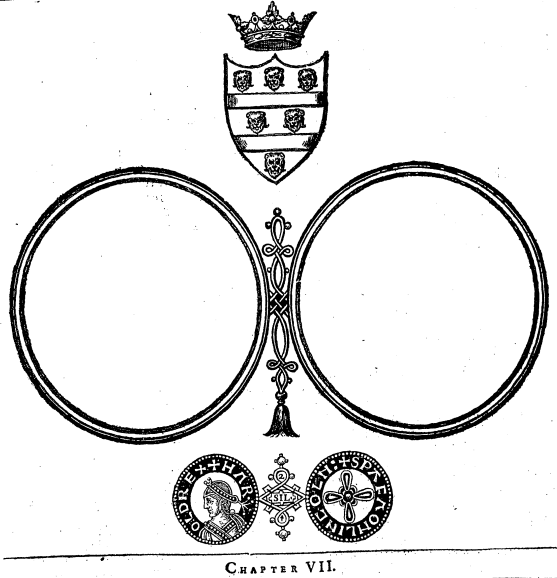
Christ Iesus one thousand sixty sixe, and was with great lamentations and solemnity buried in his Church at *Westminster*, the morrow after the feast of the *Epiphany*.

Hee was of person well proportioned, of Countenance sober, and of complexion faire; naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to suggestions) loving to his subjects, and over-loving unto Strangers. A Prince of much vertue and integrity of life, notwithstanding which, had it not beene vailed under the faire shew of Chastity, he had not so easily beene canonized for a Saint; wherein yet the seeming wisest taxed his wisdome, whilest under a godly pretext of Religion and vowed Virginity, hee cast off all care of having issue, and exposed the Kingdome for a prey to the greedy desires of ambitious humours.

His Wife.

Editha, the wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of *Goodwin*, Duke of the *West-Saxons*, and Earle of *Kent*: her mother was *Gith* the sister of *Sweyne* the younger, King of *Denmarke*; she was married unto him the yeere of Christs humanity, **1045.** and fourth of his raigne. Shee was his wife eighteene yeeres and surviving him lived a widdow eight more, and in the eight yeere of King *William* the Conquerours raigne, dyed in *December*, the yeere of Christs birth, 1074. and was buried by her husband in Saint *Peters* Church at *Westminster*.

HAROLD THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, THE SONNE OF EARLE GOODWINE, AND THIRTY EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



Chapter VII.

THe people sorrowing for the death of their King, and the Stated-men perplexed for choise of a new; *Edgar Athelings* title was worthy of more unpartiall respect then it found: for him they held too young for governement: besides, a stranger borne, scarce speaking *English*: and withall, the prophecies of *Edward* touching the alienation of the Crowne; the Interest of the *Danes*; and the claime that Duke *William* made, (both by gift and consanguinity,) bred great distraction of desires, and opinions; but nothing concluded for setling the State; no man either assuming or proffering the Diademe, because none had the power, or right, to adorne therewith his owne head. In this Calme conference a sodaine gale arose, which blew all the sailes spread for that winde into one Port. And that was *Harold* Sonne to Earle *Goodwine*, a man (duly prizing his many worthy parts) not unmeete for a Kingdome: who

Matth. Weſtm. Polydor.

Will. Malmesb. Matth. Weſtm.

Alured. Beverl. Hiſtor.

vit. S. Edward.

who first succeeding his father in his Dukedome; and next *Edward* (his brother in Law) in his Kingdome, in patience, clemencie, and affabilitie bare himselfe most approovedly towards the vertuous, but with a Lyons courage, and fierce countenance chastised the disordered, and indeed became another *Maccabeus* unto the distressed Land. Whose kingly state before wee touch, it shall not bee amisse to lengthen his short raigne with his Acts and Life, as he was a Subject, both with, and against his Lord and Predecessor.

(2) That hee tooke part with his Father against *Eustace* of *Bulloigne*, and King *Edwards* hasty Commission, we have shewed; himselfe then enjoying the Earledome of *Oxford*, and so affected by those of *Essex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingtonshires*, that they sided in his cause against the King; But these designes failing, (as commonly it is seene all attempts of Subjects against their Soveraigns doe) hee learned by banishment, what was the losse of true honour, and by forbearance of battaile (when halfe the Kingdome stood for him) his duety obliged unto the Common-wealth. And growne againe into favour with the King, carried himselfe answerably unto both.

An. Dom. 1055. *Matth. Weſt. Simeo Dun.*

(3) Some jealousie conceived; *Edward* without any cause, banished *Algar* the son of *Leofrike* Earle of *Chester*, who with the help of the *Irish* and *Welshmen*, under the conduct of *Gruffith ap Llewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* (who had married his daughter,) did much hurt to the English, putting *Radulph* Earle of *Hereford* to flight, with the slaughter of five hundred men, spoiled the Citie, burnt the Minster and became Masters of mis-rule in those parts. Against these was *Harold* sent, and with such manhood pursued his flying enemies, that passing thorow *North-Wales*, upon the *Snow-downes* hee pitched his Field: The Earle, and Prince *Gruffith*, not daring to abide his presence, fled thence unto *South-Wales*, and againe tooke into *Hereford*; whereof *Harold* having intelligence hasted thither-ward (leaving sufficient in the *Snow-downes* to mate the *Welsh*,) and recovering the Citie, with a deepe trench and high rampire fortified it about, where for the saving of more bloud (and not ungratefull to *Algar*, who without grudge had resigned to him his Earldome, and whole Revenewes at his returne from exile) a Peace was concluded, and at *Harolds* request, Earle *Algar* and Prince *Gruffith* were pardoned.

An. Dom. 1058. *Simeo Dun.*

(4) But *Algar* being againe accused, and again aided by his old associate *Gruffith*, recovered his Earledome by force, whereat King *Edward* was highly displeased, but most against *Gruffith*, who ever was ready to assist any against him: whereupon *Harold*, the second time appointed Generall, with a great host entered *North-Wales*, without sight of enemy, where he onely burnt downe the stately Palace of Prince *Gruffith*, and so returned to the King. But long the *Welsh* were not quiet, nor the Prince pleased of the harmes to him done. Wherefore making his forces very strong hee againe molested the English.

An. Dom. 1063. *Matth. Weſtm.*

(5) To restraine whom once more was *Harold* sent forth, who with such terrour burst into *Wales*, that Prince *Gruffith*, in secret stole from his Campe, leaving his Souldiers, (if they would) to fight for themselves, whereupon his whole army yeelded themselves to *Harolds* mercy, and having Prince *Gruffith* in their hands, cut off his head, and sent it to *Harold*, giving him pledges for assurance of peace, and the payment of the ancient tribute which for a time had beene retained: yet ever after he carryed so heavy a hand on the *Welsh*, that as *Iohn* of *Salisbury* in his Prolicraticon writeth, he ordained a law, that what *Welsh-man* soever, should with weapon passe over *Offaes* ditch, should have his right hand cut off by the Kings officer.

Chron. Wallen.

(6) All now in quiet, and *Harold* withdrawne to his Mannor of *Bosham*, upon the rivage of the Sea in the confines of *Sussex*; there for his recreation, one day hee tooke into a Fishers boate with small attendants, neither those very Skilfull Mariners; when no sooner were they lanched into the deepe, but a contrary winde came about, and drove the boat upon the coast of *Ponthieu* in *France*, where hee was taken by the Country people, and presented to *Guido* their Earle, who a while retained him his prisoner, in hope of gaine by his ransom, but Duke *William* requiring it hee was conveyed into *Normandy*, where he cunningly perswaded the Duke, that his secret coming our of *England*, was purposely to enter a league of amity with him. The Duke then having present wars with the *Britaines* in *France*, tooke this his new friend and guest with him for his companion at Armes; whose ready polices followed with forward practise, wan him great estimation with the Duke; whereupon betwixt them a covenant was made for the reservation of the *English* Crowne to the *Norman*, if it chanced King *Edward* to dye without children; and the same ratified by *Harolds* corporall oath, with the affiancing of Lady *Adeliza*, the Dukes fift daughter, then a childe, and *Harold* a widdower; which afterwards fell to his owne destruction, and the lands subversion, as shall bee said.

Matthew Paris in vita Henry. Hunt.

Rosd Hig.

Gemeticenſis.

(7) His last imploiment by holy King *Edward*, was against the tumultuous *Northumbrians*, which had expulsed *Tosto* their Earle, and *Harolds* owne brother, where a peace was concluded without shedding blood, but with condition that *Tosto* should lose his Earledome: whereupon in great displeasure, he with his wife and children fled into *Flanders*, and ever after hated the person, and emulated the glory of *Harold*. The originall of these two brethrens quarrels beganne at *Windsor*, where in the presence of the King they fell from words unto blowes, and that in such manner, as if refcue had not come, *Tosto* had died; for which disgrace; hee secretly hyed him into the Marches of wales, and neere the City *Hereford* at *Portaſlyth*, where *Harold* had a house then in preparing to entertaine the King; he slew all his brothers servants, and them cutting peece-meale into gobbets, salted some of their limmes, and cast the rest into vessels of the meath and wines, sending his brother word, that hee had furnished him with poudred meats against the Kings comming thither; which barbarous act caused deservedly his name to bee odious unto his *Northumbrians*, and was lastly repayed with his owne death.

Will. Malmes.

Matth. Weſt.

Marian. Scotus. Matth. Weſt.

(8) Now albeit some Heralds make *Harold* by birth but a Gentleman of one, and the first descent, which, were it so, should no whitblemish him who was more truely enobled with princely vertues; yet therein also it may seeme hee is mis-esteemed, seeing his Father was *Goodwin* a Duke by degree, the son of *Wolnoth*, and hee the sonne of *Egelmar*, who was the sonne of *Egelricke*, surnamed *Leofwine*, and brother of *Edricke* Duke of *Mercia*, that married the daughter of King *Ethelred* of *England*, of whom wee have spoken.

Master Thomas Milles in Herald.

The mother of *Harold* was *Githa* the daughter of Duke *Wolfe*, and sister to *Sweyne* the yonger, King of *Denmarke*, by *Estrich* his Wife, who was sister to *Canute* the great King of *England*; and himselfe the second sonne of her borne; whose elder brother was *Sweyne*, that dyed on pilgrimage in his returne from *Ierusalem*, and his younger were *Tosto*, *Wilnod*, *Girth*, and *Leofricke*.

Will Malmesb.

(9) A former wife Earle *Goodwin* had, whose name was *Thira*, the sister of *Canute*, a woman solde unto wickednesse, for making merchandize of *Englands* beauteous virgins into *Denmarke*; thee solde them there at deere rates, to satisfie her owne unsatiate avarice, and the lusts of the lascivious *Dane*, till a just reward of Gods wrath fell on her by a thunderbolt falling from heaven, wherewith thee was slaine, to the great terrour of the beholders. One sonne by her Earle *Goodwin* had, who when hee was past childes age, riding upon a horse (the gift of his Grandfather the King,) proudly giving him the reine

Rosd. Higd. in Polycht. l. 25.

reine and spurre, was violently borne into the River *Thames*, and so suddenly drowned. Thus much being premised of *Harold* before hee was King; his raigne, life and death, wee will now addresse to declare.

Asser Rerum.

(10) *Edwards* life ended, and nothing determined touching his successour, *Harold* the second day after, beeing the day of his buriall, made himselfe King, none of the Nobilitie disliking what he had done; for courteous hee was of speech and behaviour, and in Martiall prowesse the onely man, as *Wales* well witnessed more then once; friended by affinitie with many of the Nobles, and by his new marriage with *Edgitha* the daughter of *Algar* (sister of the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and late Wife to *Gruffith ap Llewelyn* Prince of *Wales*) he expected to be both sided and assisted, if his cause came either to triall or voyce.

Ran. Higden. Polyc. l. 6. c. 29.

(11) And the time hee well saw, fitted his entrance; for *Sweyne* King of *Denmarke* (most dread by the *English*,) was intangled with the *Swedeu* wars; and *William* the *Norman* (that made claime from King *Edward*) at variance with *Philip* the *French* King; the friends of *Edgar* in *Hungary*, and himselfe a stranger, over-young for rule: all which concurrents made *Harold* without deliberation, or order from the State, to set the Crowne on his owne head, regardlesse of all ceremony and solemne celebration; for which his act, as a violator of holy rites, he too too much offended the Clergy.

Matth. Weſt.

(12) The day of his Coronation was upon Friday, the fifth of *Ianuary*, being the feast of the *Epiphany*, and yeere of Salvation 1066. none either greatly applauding, or disapprooving his presumption, except onely for the omission of manner and forme; to redeeme which, and to re-gaine the good will of all; no sooner attained he the seate royall, but he remitted or diminished the grievous customes and tributes which his predecessours had raised, a course ever powerfull to winne the hearts of the Commons; to Church-men hee was very munificent and carefull of their advancements; and to grow more deepely into their venerable esteeme, hee repaired their Monasteries; but most especially that at *Waltham* in *Essex*, which hee most sumptuously new built, and richly endowed, giving it the name of *Holy Crosse*; upon occasion that such a Crosse found farre Westward, was brought thither by miracle, *ut tradunt*: and therefore hee chose out this place to poure forth his supplications, before hee marched to meet Duke *William* in the Field. Moreover, to satisfie such Nobles as affected young *Edgars* juster title, hee created him Earle of *Oxford*, and held him in speciall favour: in briefe, unto the poore, his hand was ever open, unto the oppressed he ministred justice, and unto all men was affable, and meeke: and all to hold that upright which on his head he had set with an uneven hand; and deprived him of, unto whom hee was Protector.

Simeon Dunc. Hoveden.

Cambd. Brit.

(13) Three severall reports are affirmed of *Edwards* disposse of the Crowne: the first was to the *Norman* Duke, who made that the anker-hold of his claime; the second was to young *Edgar*, unto whom hee was great Vncle; and the last unto this *Harold* himselfe: for so saith *Edmerus*, and also *Marianus*, who lived at the very same time, and writeth that *Harold* thereupon was sacred and crowned by *Aldredus* Archbishop of *Yorke*; so that hereby hee is freed by some from the imputation of intrusion and wrong.

Alfred Beverley. Speculum Hiſt. Rich. Circeſt. Flores Hiſtor.

Edmerus. Marianus. Polyer. l. 6. c. 28.

(14) His State thus standing, and his subjects contentment daily increasing, presently it was somewhat perplexed by an Ambassage sent from the *Norman*, putting him in minde of his covenant, and oath, as well for the custody of the Crowne to his behoofe, as for the solemnization of the marriage contracted betwixt his daughter and him.

(15) *Harold*, who thought himselfe now surely seated in the hearts of his Subjects, and therefore also sure in his Kingdome, answered the Ambassadors, *that hee held their Masters demaund unjuſt, for that an oath extorted in time of extremity, cannot binde the maker in conſcience to performe it, for that were to ioyne one ſinne with another; and, that this oath was taken for feare of death or impriſonment, the Duke himſelfe well knew: but admit it was voluntarily, and without feare; could I* (ſaid he) *then a ſubject, without the allowance of the* King *and the whole State, give away the Crownes ſucceſſion, to the prejudice of both? ſurely a Kingdome is of abetter account then to bee ſo determined in private onely betwixt two.* With which kinde of answeres hee sent the messengers away.

Subjects love the Soveraigns ſtrength.

(16) The *Norman*, who till then thought *England* sure to bee his, and had devoted his hopes from a Duke to a King, stormed to see himselfe thus frustrated on the sodaine, and in stead of a Crowne to have scornes heaped on his head; therefore nothing contented with this sleight answere, returned his Ambassadors againe unto *Harold*, by whom hee laid his claime more at large; as that King *Edward in the Court of* France *had faithfully promiſed the ſucceſſion unto him, and againe afterwards ratified the ſame to him at his being in* England, *and that not done without conſent of the State, but confirmed by* Stigandus *Archbiſhoppe of* Canterbury, *the Earles* Goodwin *and* Syward, *yea, and by* Harold *himſelfe, and ſo firmely aſſured that his Brother and Nephew were delivered for pledges, and to that end ſent unto him into* Normandy; *that hee had no way beene conſtrayned, hee appealed to* Harolds *owne conſcience, who deſides his voluntary offer to ſweare, contracted himſelfe to* Adeliza *his daughter (then but young, and now departed life) upon which foundation the oath was willingly taken.*

Rand. Higden in Polyc. l. 6. c. 29.

Gemeticenſis.

(17) But *Harold* who thought his owne head as fit for a crowne as any others, meant nothing lesse then to lay it downe upon parley; and therefore told them flatly, that *howſoever* Edward *and hee had tampered for the Kingdome*, yet Edward *himſelfe coming in by election, and not by any title of inheritance, his promiſe was of no validitie; for how could hee give that whereof hee was not intereſſed, nor in the Danes time was ever like to be? And tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that our Kingdome is now brought to a ſetled eſtate, and with ſuch love and liking of the* Engliſh, *as that they will never admit any more a ſtranger to rule over them. And as touching the contract with his younger daughter, he well ſeeth, that God hath taken away that occaſion of alienating the Crowne; and ſurely his Law hath likewiſe provided remedy againſt ſuch raſh vowes; whoſe precepts I meane to follow*: and therefore (ſaid he) *will your Duke to weigh my eſtate with his owne, both his and mine now in quiet, and ſufficient for two, and either of them employment enough for one mans Government, and therefore both of them too much to be well governed by one, ſeeing that God himſelfe had ſet a Sea betwixt them.* With these and the like speeches hee shifted off the Dukes Ambassadors; without all princely entertainments, or courteous regard.

(18) The Messengers returned, and *Harolds* answeres declared, *William* Lion-like enraged, casteth his thoughts about plotting revenge, and making some oddes eeven that might impeach his desiignes, prepared all things for open warre. *Harold* likewise not sleeping his businesse, made ready his Fleete, mustered his souldiers, and planted his Garrisons along the Sea-coast. But in these his proceedings, behold a great and fearefull Comete appeared (seldome a signe to Princes of fortunate successe) upon the twentie fourth of *Aprill*, and lasted onely seven dayes, which drew the minds of the *Engliſh*, into great suspense, now ready to enter into a double warre.

(19) For as *William* the *Norman* for his part claymed *England* by gift; so *Harfager* the *Dane* did by succession; the rumors of both which, greatly terrified the hearts of the inhabitants: and yet behold, a third terrour unexpected, contrary to nature, and most mens opinions, suddenly arose: for *Toſto*

Toſto the cruell Earle of *Northumberland*, and brother to *Harold*, expulsed by his people, and prescribed by King *Edward*, fled into *France*, where by the instigations of *William*, whose wives sister he had married (both of them the daughters of *Balwine* Earle of *Flanders*,) hee got for his revenge a Fleet furnished with men at Armes; and thus prepared, his first fury was shewed in spoiling the *Ile of Wight*; then coasting the shoare, shrewdly endammaged *Kent*, whence hoysing saile, fell foule upon *Lincolneſhire*; where *Morcar* and *Edwine* Earles of *Chester* and *Yorkeſhire*, ayded with the Kings Navy, drove him from thence, though with some losse of their men.

Matth. Weſt.

Rand. Hig.

Will. Malmes.

(20) *Toſto* for more succour fled into *Scotland*, where of King *Malcolme* he had but cold comfort, himselfe being busied with civill broiles; but howsoever his expectation there failed, yet his purposes were continued with the affisstance of *Harold Harfager* (that is, the *Faire-lockes*) King of *Denmarke*, who with three hundred ships had entred the River *Tyne* for *Englands* invasion, after his conquest of the Iles of *Orknes*. *Toſto* therefore joyning his Fleete to these *Danes*, in warlike bravery, both of them enter the mouth of *Humber*, and drawing up the river *Ouſe*, at *Rich-hall* landed their men, making spoile of the Country whereſoever they came. To meet with these, the foresaid Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, in a tumultuous haste raised their powers, but were so overlaid by the *Norwegians*, that many were slaine, and more drowned, in passing over that river.

Matth. weſt. Simeo Dunel.

(21) The enemy growne proud by this late victory, hasted towards *Yorke*, the chiefe City of the North; where planting his siege, it was presently yeelded up, and hostages delivered upon both parts for the performance of covenants. The *Danes* thus prospering, had most strongly encamped themselves; for backed they were with the Germane Ocean, flanked on the left hand with the river *Humber*, wherein also their Fleet rid at Anker, and had on their right hand and afront the river *Derwent*; so that it seemed impossible to raise this siege.

(22) But *Harold* thinking the coasts cleere from all danger, the Equinoctiall at hand, and Navigation now past, the victuals in his Fleet spent, and notice from Earle *Balwin* of *Flanders*, that Duke *William* meant not his voyage that yeare, was about to disband his Army. When this sodaine newes from the North pierced his eare, no need it was then to bid him make haste thither, the case standing so neere him as it did. Therefore recalling his Army, posted to *Yorke*, and from thence marched against the *Norwegians*, who lay secured with such advantage, as wee have said. Notwithstanding *Harold* couragiously ordered his battell, and assayed to passe the Bridge called *Stamford*, built over *Derwent*, which one onely *Dane* made good for a time against his whole host, and with his Axe slew forty of his men, till lastly this *Dane* was slaine with a dart.

Will. Malmesb. Hunt. Matth. weſt.

(23) The Bridge gotten, and the *English* reduced into their rankes, *Harold* most boldly set upon his enemies even in their Campe; where the Battaile with equall valour and fortune, was maintained a time, till lastly the *Norwegians* disarrayed and scattered, were slaine out-right; and among them the two Chiefetaines, *Harfager* and *Toſto*, with many others of worth and account, lost their lives. *Olave* the sonne of this *Harfager*, and *Paul* Earle of *Orkeney*, who kept their Fleet and Seas, whilest his Father and followers fought upon land, were brought to King *Harold*, who to have their lives spared, abjured the Land, thenceforth to attempt no hostility against the English peace; and with twenty small vessels to carry away their slaine and hurt, were suffered to depart, bringing heavy newes into *Denmarke* of the losse of their King, and overthrow of his Army.

(24) By this victory thus happily obtained, fell unto *Harold* an exceeding rich booty, both of gold and silver, besides the great Armado of *Toſto* and *Harfager*; whereby his mind was soone set aloft, and hee began to grow both proud, and odious unto his Army, the rather, for that he divided not the spoiles unto them that had deserved it; a wrong that the common Souldier doth continually murmure at, and commonly endure.

Simeon Dun.

Matth. weſtm.

Bishop of Bennet. Roger Hoved. Simeon Mon. Dunhem. Gualter. Guis.

(25) Now in this current of King *Harolds* fortunes, *William* the *Norman* had the more leisure to strengthen his owne, and often conferring with his Captaines about *Englands* invasions, found them ever resolute and cheerefull that way; the difficulty onely rested, how to provide money enough, the very sinewes whereby the vast body of an Army must bee knit, and strengthened: for a subsidy being propounded unto the assembly of the *Norman States*, it was answered; that a former Warre against the *French* had empoverished much of their wealth, that if new Warres were now raised, and therein their substance spent to gaine other parts, it would bee thereby so wasted, as that hardly it would be sufficient to defend their owne; that they thought it more safety to hold what he had, then on hazard of their owne to invade the territories of others; and that this warre intended, just though it were, yet seemed not necessary, but exceeding dangerous; besides (say they) the *Normans* were not by their allegiance bound to Military services in forreine parts, and therefore such payments could not be assessed upon them. And although *William Fitz-Osborne*, a man in high favour with the Duke, and as gratious among the people, endeavoured by all meanes to effect it, yea, and (to draw on others by his example) proffered to set out forty tall Ships upon his owne charges towards this warre; yet would it not be: therefore Duke *William* bethought him on another way.

Camd. Brit.

(26) The wealthiest men among all his People he sent for, and severally one by one conferred with, shewing them his right and hopes of *England*, wherein preferment lay even to the meaneſt amongst them, onely money was the want, which they might spare; neither should that be given, nor lent without a plentifull increase: with such faire words he drew them so on, that they strove who should give most, and by this policy he gathered such a masse of money, as was sufficient to defray the warre. Then went hee to his neighbour Princes, namely to the Earles of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*, and *Bullogne*, promising them faire possessions in *England*; yea and unto *Philip* the *French* King, in case he would ayde him, he voluntarily offered to become his vassall and Leige-man, and to hold *England* by oath and fealty under him. But it being thought nothing good for the State of *France*, that the Duke of *Normandy*, who already was not so pliable to the *French* King as was wished, should bee bettered in his estate by the addition of so mighty a Kingdome (the power of Neighbour Potentates being ever suspected of princes) so far was the King from yeelding any help, that he secretly maligned, & openly disswaded this his attempt of invading *England*. This *French* jealousie, the *Norman* soone perceived, which made him to cast about yet another way.

Hen. Hunting.

(27) For making his claime knowne unto *Alexander* the second, then Pope of *Rome*, with the wrongs done unto *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by *Harold* and his Father, (a text that might not bee read without a glosse,) he was so favoured of his holinesse (whose See was ever glad to interest it selfe in disposing of Crownes) that hee both allowed well of his enterprize, and sent him a consecrated *Banner*, (Saint *Peter* himselfe had none such in his Boate) to be borne in the Ship, wherein himselfe in that expedition should take saile for *England*: an *Agnus Dei*, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*, that blessed Apostle, in whose vertue was no little trust and accursed all them that should oppose themselves against him: for even then the Popes had began to usurpe authority over Princes, and with their leaden blades to hacke into the steely swords of Emperours.

Fox, Acts and Monuments.

(28) Thus furnished on all sides, he assembled his forces, and with a mighty Navy came to the Towne

of *Saint Valeries*; which ſtandeth upon the mouth of the River *Some*: where a long time he lay wind-bound to his great diſcontentment, and with many vowes importunating the favour of that locall Saint, heaped daily a number of gifts and oblations upon his Altar; till laſtly his deſire was obtained, and then with three hundred Ships fraught full of his *Normans*, *Flemings*, *Frenchmen*, and *Britaines*, waighed Anchor, and with a gentle gale of wind arrived at *Pevenſey* in *Suſſex*, upon the twenty eight day of *September*, where Landing his men, to cut off all occaſion or hope of returne, hee fired his owne fleete, and upon the Shore erected a Fortreſſe to bee if neede were, a retiring place for his Souldiers.

Rand. Higden.

(29) At his arrivage from Sea, as our Hiſtorians report, his foot chanced to ſlip, ſo that not able to recover himſelfe, hee fell into the mud, and all to bemired his hands; which accident was preſently conſtrued for a lucky preſage; for *now* (ſaid a Captaine) *O Duke, thou haſt taken poſſeſſion, and holdeſt that land in thy hand, whereof ſhortly thou ſhalt become King*: As *Ceſar* is ſaid to have done, when he entred into *Africa*, who from ſhip-board at his landing fell into the ſands, and merily ſaid, *I doe now take poſſeſſion of thee, O Africa.*

Rand. Higden. in Polychr. lib. 6. cap. 29.

Suetonius in vita Ceſar.

(30) From *Pevenſey* Duke *William* departed towards *Haſting*, where raiſing another fortification, divulged to all, the cauſes of his comming, as pretending to revenge both the death of his *Normans*, ſlaine by the treachery of *Goodwin* and *Harold*, and the wrongs and baniſhment of *Robert Cemeticus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, pretences very ſlender, and enforced out of ſeaſon: but ſurely had not a third fate neerer his heart, the two former would have paſſed without the ſpleene of revenge; namely, the donation of King *Edward* deceaſed, whereon hee built his claime to the *Engliſh* Crowne. And there alſo by his Edict, he ſtraitly charged his ſouldiers not in hoſtile manner, to wrong any of their perſons, who ſhortly were to become his Subjects.

(31) *Harold* in the North hearing of theſe newes, haſted with his Armie (whoſe Armour yet reaked with the bloud of the *Norwegians*) towards the South and with ſuch power as poſſibly he could make, entreth *London*, where immediately a meſſenger from Duke *William* was preſented unto him, demanding no leſſe then the Kingdome, and *Harolds* vaſſallage; urging the ſame with ſuch inſtant boldneſſe, that *Harolds* furious indignation could hardly forbeare, againſt the law of Armes, to lay violent hands upon the Ambaſſadour; ſo great a pride and confident hope had entred the heart of this late Victor: to ſhew both, with very great boldneſſe, hee diſpatcheth his Ambaſſadors to *William*, and by way of ireſull checkes menaceth him, unleſſe forthwith hee departed backe into *Normandy*, when preſently muſtering his men at *London*, hee found them much leſſened by his battaile againſt the *Norwegians*: notwithſtanding, many Nobles, Gentlemen, and others, whom the love of their native Country inflamed, did ingage themſelves for the field, againſt his common and dangerous enemy. He therefore with an undaunted courage, led forth his Army into *Suſſex* (againſt the importunate ſuite of his mother, who ſought by all meanes to ſtay him) where, on a large and faire plaine, ſcarce ſeven miles from the enemy, he pitched downe his battailes, and ſent forth his Eſpials to deſcry his power.

Will. Malmſb.

(32) Theſe comming into danger, were caught by the *Normans*, and preſented to their Duke, who commanded them forthwith to bee led from Tent to Tent, to be feaſted, and diſmiſſed, without any harme or diſhonour done. Theſe returning to *Harold* told what they had ſeene, commending the Duke in his Martiall Proviſions, and his clemency to themward, onely ſaid they, his ſoldiers ſeeme to be Prieſts, for their faces were all ſhaven, whereas the uſe of the Engliſh was then to reſerve onely the upper lip uncut, retaining or renewing the old manner of the ancient *Britaines*, ſo deſcribed by *Ceſar*: but King *Harold*, who had beene in that Country, well knowing their errour, replyed that they were men of great valour and ſtout Souldiers in fight. Vpon which ſpeech, *Gyrth*, his younger brother, a man much renowned for martiall exploits, tooke occaſion to adviſe the King from being preſent at the danger of the field: for (ſaid he) it ſtands not with the rule of policy, to hazard "all in the tryall of one battell, nor to depend upon "the event of warre, which ever is doubtfull, victory "being as often gotten by fortune, as valour, mature "deliberation doth often produce the ſafeſt iſſues, "and a provident delay is held to be the greateſt fur- "therer of martiall projects; neither will any thing "ſtrike greater terrour into the *Normans*, then thou "to be levying, and enrolling a new Army, whereby "they may ever expect, and feare ſucceeding battailes. "Againe (ſaid he) thou beſt knoweſt what oath thine "owne mouth hath made unto *William*; if lawfull, "and willingly, then withdraw thy ſelfe from field, "leſt for that thy ſinne the whole Hoſt periſh; for "there can be no power againſt God. I am free from "ſuch guilt, and therefore may the bolder fight, and "either defeate this dangerous enemy, or more "cheerefully dye in the defence of my Country; and "if thou wilt commit the fortune of *Battaile* into my "Governance, aſſure thy ſelfe I will performe to "thee the part of a loving Brother, and to my Coun- "trymen of a valiant Captaine.

Caeſar in Comment.

(33) This wiſe advice notwithſtanding, deſtiny ſo driving him, he gaine-ſtood, imputing it a part of diſhonour, and not befitting a Souldier, (as he alwayes had beene,) to leave the field Coward-like, when greateſt glory was to be won, or in caſe of fortunate ſucceſſe, to be deprived of a part, and therefore reprooved his brother for making this motion, and with diſdainefull ſpeeches, under-valued and embaſed the worth of the *Normans*.

(34) Duke *William* now entred the field, and both the hoſts ſtanding ready for fight, the *Norman*, to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, upon a pious affection, ſent a *Monke* as a Mediator for peace, with offers to *Harold* of theſe conditions, either wholly to reſigne the Kingdome unto him, and from thence forth to acknowledge the Duke for his Soveraigne: or elſe in ſingle combate to try the quarrell with him, in ſight of the Armies; or laſtly, to ſtand to the arbitriment of the Pope, touching the poſſeſſion and wearing of the *Engliſh* Crowne. But *Harold*, as one whom the heavens would depreſſe, accepting neither domeſticke counſell, nor the *Normans* offers, referred the deciding of the matter unto the Tribunall of God, and anſwered, that it ſhould bee tryed the next day with more ſwords then one.

(35) The next day was the foureteenth of *October*, which upon a credulous errour, hee held ever to bee fortunate, becauſe it was the day of his Nativity, and with hopefull aſſurance, deſired greatly the approach of the ſame: His Souldiers likewiſe as men whoſe heads were to be crowned with the Laurels of victory, gave themſelves to licentious revels, and in riotous banquets, with clamour, and noiſes, ſpent the night; whereas contrariwiſe, the *Normans*, more wiſely, and ſeriouſly weighing the buſineſſe in hand, beſtowed the time in Prayers and Vowes, for the ſafety of their Army, and victorious ſucceſſe: neither had the morning ſooner ſpread it ſelfe but their battell was ordered, and prepared for fight.

Guil. de bello Hal. Gramt.

Ponth. regi.

(36) *Harold* alſo with the like forwardneſſe, marſhalled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the *Kentiſhmen* (who by an ancient cuſtome had the front of the battell belonging to them) with their heavy axes, or halberts. The *Middleſex-men* and the *Londoners* were in that ſquadron, whereof himſelfe with his brother had the leading.

Girald. Cambd.

Thomas Wallſ.

(37) His enemies *Vanward* was led by *Roger* of *Mountgomery*, & *William Fitz-Oſborn*; the ſame conſiſting of horſmen out of *Anion*, *Perch*, and little *Britaine*. Their

Their Maine-Battaile conſiſted of *Poictovins* and *Germanes*, *Geffrey Martell*, and a *Germane* Penſioner commanding them: In the *Rere-guard* was the Duke himſelfe, with the whole manhood of *Normans*, and the flower of his Nobility and Gentry; all which battallions were intermingled with companies of Archers.

W. Malmſb. Henr. Hunt.

(38) The *Normans* without any confuſed, or diſorderly ſhout, ſounded the battell, and advanced forward, diſcharging a fierce valley of arrowes like a tempeſtuous haile, a kinde of fight both ſtrange, and terrible unto the *Engliſh*, who ſuppoſed their enemy had beene already even in the middeſt amongſt them; when preſently a furious charge was given to the Va-ward of the *Engliſh*, who reſolutely had determined to cover the place with their bodies rather then to give one foot of ground, and bending all their forces, kept themſelves cloſe together, wherby they valiantly, and with the ſlaughter of many, put backe the enemy: which was ſo farre from daunting the *Normans*, that by it they were more wherted to re-enforce themſelves upon them: when with an horrible noiſe, the battailes of both ſides gave the ſtroke; and now come foote to foote, and man to man, coped together in a moſt cruell fight. The *Engliſh* ſtanding thicke, and cloſe, as if they had beene ſtucke one to another, abode the brunt and charge of the *Normans*, and with ſuch welcomes, that after many a bloody wound received, they were at point to recoile, had not Duke *William*, whoſe crowne lay now at ſtake, both bravely performed the part of a Leader, and with his preſence, and authoritie reſtrained them. The fight thus continuing, the *Normans* ſomehow brake into the troupes of the *Engliſh* and ſore diſtreſſed the Souldiers on foote, yet notwithſtanding they ſtill held out, and kept their Array unbroken: for *Harold* (no leſſe carefull to keepe, then the other to gaine a Diadem,) as a moſt valiant Captaine bare himſelfe worthily every where. The Duke well perceiving that with fine force, and true valour, no good end could be got, betooke himſelfe to a ſtratageme, and commanded his men to ſound the retreat, but kept them ſtill in ſuch order of array, that they gave backe in as good diſciplineas they came on.

(39) The *Engliſh* ſuppoſing the *Normans* to have fled, and themſelves the Maſters of the Field, began in eager purſuit carelеſly to unewſit, and diſplay their rancks; when on the ſudden, the *Normans* having their wiſhed opportunity, and winding about, charged the enemy a freſh; who now being ſcatteringly diſranked, and out of all order, were ſlaine down on all ſides not able to recover their battaile: many thus borne downe, and ſlaine, none by flight fought to eſcape the field, but rather to maintaine their honour in Armes, caſt themſelves into a round, chooſing there to die in the cauſe of their Country, then cowardly to forſake the Standard of their King: and therefore with bold reſolutions encouraging one another, they turne head and reſiſt a long time: but ſhowers of arrowes like a ſtormy tempeſt falling thicke among them, one, moſt fatall, and unlucky for the *Engliſh*, wounded *Harold* into the braines thorow the left eye; ſo that falling from his horſe to the ground, was under his owne ſtandard ſlaine.

Iohn Rouſe.

(40) And yet *Giraldus Cambrenſis* (I know not by what inducement,) relates the iſſue of this Battaile ſomewhat otherwiſe, affirming, that *Harold* with loſſe of his Eye, but not of his life, from the field fled to the City of *Weſtcheſter*; and there long after led a holy life, and made a godly end, as an Anchoret in the Cell of Saint *Iames*, ſaſt by the church of S. *Iohn*. With *Harold* dyed his Brethren *Gwirth*, and *Leofwine*, with moſt of the Engliſh Nobility, beſides the ſlaughter of ſixty ſeaven thouſand, nine hundred ſeventy foure of their Souldiers: *Bremenſis* faith an hundred thouſand.

Ingulf. Tolleur in his hiſtory of Normandy.

Arnold. Bremenſis cap. 169.

Matth. Paris.

(41) Duke *William* in this Battell had three horſes ſlain vnder him; God (ſaith *Marianus*) ſo defending his perſon, that though multitude of darts were throwne againſt him, yet not a drop of his bloud was ſpilt by the Enemy, and this Battaile wonne with the loſſe onely of ſixe thouſand, and thirteene of his men. Whoſe wodden bowes (as *Iohn Rouſe* is of opinion) gained the *Normans* that great victory; for the Arrowes ſhot levell, or directly forward, wounded the Engliſh that ſtood in the front, and upright; the other ſhot on high, galled at the fall, thoſe that were more remote, and the backes of ſuch as ſtooped to ſhunne the danger.

Matth. Weſtm. Rond. Higden.

(42) This battaile was fought in *Suſſex*, 7. miles from *Haſtinges*, upon *Saturday* the fourteenth of *October*, and yeere of Grace 1066. Wherein the dolefull deſtruction of the Engliſh fell, and the glorious Sun of the *Normans*, even in the ſhutting of the day did ariſe; when periſhed the Royall blood of the *Saxons*, whoſe Kings firſt had made this Kingdome into *Seven*, and afterward of them ſo glorious a *Monarchy* that it was not inferiour to any in Europe, and her Monarchs ſo renowned for princely magnanimity, as that many of them were ranked with the beſt in the world: But now the all-ordering hand of God (unto whoſe becke not onely this Ball of the Earth, and the Rulers thereof, but even the Heavens themſelves, and all the powers thereof muſt bow) either for the ſinnes of the Engliſh, which were many, and great, or to graffe one more faire and longer-continuing bud upon this dryed, and decayed ſtock, brought that forreine of-ſprings into this his nurſery of *Britain*; whoſe branches, as the vine, have ſpread both fruitfull and farre; and whoſe rootes are *faſtened as the trees of Libanon*: the Kings therof, even from the loynes of this *Great Conqueror*, holding on a roiall ſucceſſion for the ſpace of theſe five hundred forty five yeares, their iſſues topped with the higheſt Cedars of the world, and their branches ſpread thorowout all Chriſtendome; which wee pray may ſtill proceede and continue, whileſt the Sun and Moone have their being.

Hoſ. 14.6.

(43) This victory thus obtained, Duke *William* wholly aſcribed unto God, and by way of a ſolemne ſupplication or proceſſion gave him the thankes: and pitching for that night his Pavilion among the bodyes of the dead, the next day returned to *Haſtings*, there to conſult upon his great, and moſt proſperouſly begun enterpriſe, giving firſt commandement for the buriall of his ſlaine Souldiers.

(44) But *Morcar*, and *Edwin*, the unfortunate Queenes Brethren, by night eſcaping the battell, came unto *London*, where with the reſt of the Peeres, they began to lay the foundation of ſome freſh hopes, poſting thence their meſſengers to raiſe a new ſupply, & to comfort the *Engliſh* (who through all the Land were ſtricken into a fearefull aſtoniſhment with this unexpected newes) from a deſpairing feare, ſhewing the chance of warre to be mutable, their number many, and Captaines ſufficient to trye another Field. *Alfred*, Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, there preſent, and Preſident of the Aſſembly, ſtoutly, and prudently gave his counſell forthwith to conſecrate, and crowne young *Edgar Atheling* (the true heire) for their King; to whom conſented likewiſe both the Sea-Captaines, and the Londoners. But the Earles of *Yorkeſhire* and *Cheſhire Edwin* and *Morcar* whom this fearefull ſtate of their conntry could not diſſwade from diſloyaltie and ambition) plotting ſecretly to get the Crowne to themſelves, hindred that wiſe and noble deſigne. In which while, the forrowfull Queene their ſiſter was conveyed to *Weſtcheſter*. Where, without ſtate or title of a Queene, ſhee led a ſolitary and quiet life.

Matth. Paris.

(45) The Mother of the ſlaine King did not ſo well moderate her womanly paſſions, as to receive either comfort, or counſell of her friends: the dead body of her ſonne ſhee greatly deſired, and to that end ſent to the *Conqueror* two ſage Brethren of his Abbey at *Waltham*, who had accompanied him in his unfortunate expedition: Their names (as I finde them recorded in an olde Manuſcript) were *Oſgood* and *Alric*, whoſe meſſage to the *Conqueror* not without abundance of teares, and feare, is there ſet downe in the tenor as followeth.

In the Library of the learned Knight, Sir Robert Cotton.

"(46) Noble

" (45 *Noble Duke, and ere long to be a moſt great and*
" *mighty King; wee thy moſt humble ſervants, deſtitute*
" *of all comfort, (as we would we were alſo of life) are*
" *come to thee as ſent from our brethren, whom this dead*
" *King hath placed in the Monaſterie of* Waltham, *to at-*
" *tend the iſſue of this late dreadfull battaile, wherein (God*
" *favouring thy quarrell) hee is now taken away, and dead,*
" *which was our greateſt Comforter, and by whoſe onely*
" *bountifull goodneſſe, wee were relieved and maintai-*
" *ned, whom hee had placed to ſerve God in that Church.*
" *Wherefore we moſt humbly requeſt thee (now our dread*
" *Lord) by that gracious favour which the Lord of Lords*
" *hath ſhewed unto thee, and for the reliefe of all their*
" *ſoules, who in this quarrell have ended their dayes, that*
" *it may be lawfull for us, by thy good leave, ſafely to take*
" *and carry away with us the dead body of the King, the*
" *Founder and bnilder of our Church and Monaſterie: as*
" *alſo the bodyes of ſuch others, as who, for the reverence*
" *of him, and for his ſake, deſired alſo to be buried with us;*
" *that the ſtate of our Church, by their helpe ſtrengthened,*
" *may be the ſtronger, and indure the firmer.* With whoſe ſo humble a requeſt, and abundant teares, the victorious and worthy Duke moved, anſwered.

" (47) *Your King (ſaid he) unmindfull of his faith,*
" *although hee have for the preſent endured the worthy*
" *puniſhment of his fault, yet hath he not therfore deſerved*
" *to want the honour of a Sepulcher, or to lye unburied:*
" *were it but that hee dyed a King, howſoever he came by*
" *the Kingdome, my purpoſe is for the reverence of him,*
" *and for the health of them, who having left their wives,*
" *and poſſeſſions, have here in my quarrell loſt their lives,*
" *to build here a Church and a Monaſtery, with an hun-*
" *dred Monkes in it to pray for them for ever; and in the*
" *ſame Church to bury your King above the reſt, with all*
" *honour unto ſo great a Prince, and for his ſake to endow*
" *the ſame with great revenewes.*

(48) With which his courteous ſpeech and promiſes, the two religious Fathers comforted, and encouraged, againe replyed.

" (49) *Not ſo, noble Duke, but grant this thy ſervants*
" *moſt humble requeſt, that we may, for God, by thy leave*
" *receive the dead body of our Founder, and to bury it in*
" *the place which himſelfe in his life time appointed; that*
" *wee cheered with the preſence of his body, may thereof*
" *take comfort, and that his Tombe may be unto our Suc-*
" *ceſſors, a perpetuall Monument of his remembrance.*

(50) The *Duke*, as he was of diſpoſition gratious, and inclined to mercy, forthwith granted their deſires: whereupon they drew our ſtore of gold to preſent him in way of gratulation; which he not onely utterly refuſed, but alſo offered them plenty to ſupply whatſoever ſhould be needfull for the pompe of his funerall, as alſo for their coſts in travaile to and fro; giving ſtrait commandement that none of his Souldiers ſhould preſume to moleſt them in this their buſineſſe, or in their returne. Then went they in haſte to the quarry of the dead, but by no meanes could finde the body of the King, for that the countenances of all men greatly alter by death, but being maimed and imbrued with blood, they are not knowne to be the men they were. As for his other regall Ornaments, which might have ſhewed him for their King, his dead corps was diſpoyled of them, either through the greedy deſire of prey, (as the manner of the Field is) or to be the firſt bringer of ſuch happy newes, in hope of a Princely reward; upon which purpoſe many times the body is both mangled and diſmembred, and ſo was this King after his death by a baſe Souldier, gaſht and hackt into the legge, whom Duke *William* rewarded for ſo unſouldier-like a deed, caſtrieing him for ever out of his wages and warres. So that *Harold* lying ſtript, wounded, bemangled, and goared in his blood, could not be found or knowne, till they ſent for a woman named *Editha* (for her paſſing beauty ſurnamed *Swan-ſhals*, that is, *Swanſ-necke*) whom hee entertained in ſecret love before hee was King; who by ſome ſecret markes of his body to her well knowne, found him out; and then put into a coffin, was by divers of the *Norman* Nobility honourably brought unto the place, afterward called *Battle-Bridge*, where it was met by the Nobles of *England*, and ſo, conveyed to *Waltham*, was there ſolemnly, and with great lamentation of his mother, royally interred, with this rude Epitaph, well beſeeming the time, though not the perſon.

Heu cadis hoſte fero, Rex à Duce Rege futuro,
Par paris in gladio, milite & valido.
Firmini juſti lux eſt tibi, luce Calixti;
Pronior hinc ſuper as, hinc ſuperatus eras.
Ergo tibi requiem depoſcat utrumque perennem:
Sicque precetur eum, quod colis omne Deum.

A fierce foe thee ſlew, thou a King, he King in view;
Both peeres, both peereleſſe, both feard, and both feareleſſe;
That ſad day was mixt, by Firmin and Calixt,
T'one helpt thee to vanquiſh, th'other made thee languiſh,
Both now for thee pray, and thy Requiem ſay;
So let good men all, to God for thee call.

Sigebertus. Will. Gemiticus. Guall. Creon. Ed. Woodſtocke.

(51) This Kings raigne was not ſo full of dayes as of great troubles: being but the ſpace of nine moneths and nine dayes, in whom was completed the Period of the Saxons Empire in *Britaine*, after they had continued from their firſt erected kingdome by *Hengiſt* in *Kent*, the ſpace of ſixe hundred and tenne yeeres, without any reverſement or interruption ſaving the ſmall Inter-raignes of theſe three *Daniſh* Kings, of whom wee have ſpoken. And although *Aimund* of *Breme*, in the favour of his *Danes*, ſharpely taxeth this *Harold* as being an impious man, and that by uſurpation hee aſpired to the Crowne, yet doth *Eadred* the Abbot of *Rivauxe*, (the Legender of S. *Edwards* life) much commend him for his courteous *affabilitie, gentle deportment, and Juſtice*, and for his *warlike proweſſe* none matchable unto him; *and was reputed* (ſaith he) *verily a man paſſing well furniſhed with all vertues beſitting a Soveraigne Commander, and borne even to repaire the decayed ſtate of England*; had he not, in the haughtineſſe and opinion of his owne valour and prudence, ſo much addicted himſelfe to his owne reſolutions, and too much neglected the wiſe deliberations of his beſt friends and Counſellers.

Harolds Lawes in Suſſex.

Aimund. Brem. cap. 169.

Alured. Rivall. Ieruſa.

His Wives.

(52) The firſt wife of *Harold*, whom he had married and buried before he was King, I finde not named by any of our Writers; but that he had ſuch a one, appeareth, where it is recorded that he was a *Widower*, what time he contracted the Conquerours daughter; and that alſo he had children of ſuch age, that they made warres againſt King *William* in the ſecond of his Raigne; which it is probable, he had not by *Editha*, his *Swanſ-necke*, but were legitimate, and by this lawfull, though nameleſſe Mother.

(53) *Algith*, the ſecond wife to King *Harold*, was the widow of *Griffith ap Llewelyn* King of *North-Wales*, the ſiſter of *Edwine* and *Morcar*, Earles of *Torkeſhire*, and *Cheſter*, and daughter of *Algar* ſonne of *Leofricke*, ſonne of *Leofwine*, all Earles of *Cheſter*, *Leiceſter* and *Lincolne*: Shee was married unto him being then but Duke, in the laſt yeere of *Edward* Confeſſors raign, and of Grace 1065. neither did ſhe long enjoy him, or her Queenely title, after his aſpiring to the Crowne; for being reſident in London when he was ſlaine, from thence ſhee was conveyed by her brethren to *Weſtchester*, where ſhe remained in meane eſtate, and in good quiet (which uſually moſt attends the meaneſt) without any princely ſhew or name, during the reſt of her life, which laſted a great part of the Conquerours raigne.

His Iſſue.

(54) *Goodwine* the eldeſt ſonne of King *Harold*, being growne to ſome ripeneſſe of yeeres in the life of his Father; after his death and overthrow by the *Conquerour*

Conquerour, tooke his brother with him, and fled over into *Ireland*: from whence he returned, and landed in *Somerſetſhire*, ſlew *Ednoth* (a Baron ſometime of his Fathers) that encountred him, and taking great preyes in *Devonſhire* and *Cornewall*, departed till the next yeare. When comming againe, he fought with *Beorn* an Earle of *Cornwall*, and after retyred into *Ireland*, and thence went into *Denmarke*, to King *Swayn* his Cozen-German, where he ſpent the reſt of his life.

(55) *Edmund*, the ſecond ſonne to King *Harold*, went with his Brother into *Ireland*; returned with him into *England*, and was at the ſlaughter and overthrow of *Ednoth* and his power in *Somerſetſhire*; at the ſpoiles committed in *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*; at the conflict with the *Cornish* Earle *Beorn*; paſſed and repaſſed with him in all his Voyages, Invaſions and Warres, by Sea and by land, in *England* and *Ireland*; and at the laſt departed with him from *Ireland* to *Denmarke*; tooke part with him of all pleaſure and calamity whatſoever, and attending and depending wholly upon him, lived and dyed with him in that Countrey.

(56) *Magnus*, the third ſon of King *Harold*, went with his brothers into *Ireland*; and returned with them the firſt time into *England*, and is never after that mentioned among them, nor elſewhere, unleſſe, (as ſome doe conjecture) hee be that *Magnus* who ſeeing the mutability of humane affaires, became an Anchoret, whoſe Epitaph pointing to his *Daniſh* Originall, the Learned *Clarenciaux* diſcovered in a little deſolate Church at *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, where in the gaping chinkes of an Arch in the wall, in a rude and overworne Character, certaine old imperfect Verſes were found, which hee ſuppoſeth ſhould be thus read:

Clauditur hic Miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus nomen ei, magna nota Progeniei.
Deponens Magnum, prudentior induit agnum,
Prepete provita, fit parvulus Anchorita.

Here lies a Knight of Daniſh regall race,
He Magnus high, great name, note of great place,*
But Magnus left, an Agnus milde he prov'd,*
From world bereft, an Anchorite below'd.

* Great.

* A Lambe.

(57) *Wolfe* the fourth ſon of King *Harold*, ſeemeth to be borne of Queene *Algith* his ſecond Wife, for that hee was never mentioned among his other brethren; and having better friends by his mothers ſide, was left in *England*, whereas they were forced thence; neither is he ſpoken of, during all the raigne of the Conquerour, and therefore at his entrance may probably be thought to have been but an Infant: yet after his death he is named among his priſoners with Earle *Morcar* (his Vncle, if Queene *Algith* were his mother) and was by King *William Rufus* releaſed, and honoured by him with the Order of Knighthood.

(58) *Gunhild* a daughter of King *Harold* is mentioned by *John Capgrave* (the Writer of the *Engliſh* Saints) in the life of *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, reporting her to have beene a Nunne in a Monaſtery of *England*; who, among the many miracles done by the ſaid *Wolſtan*, (which he numbreth by tale, according to the ſuperſtitious manner of the time wherein hee lived) declareth, how he reſtored this Lady to her perfect eye-ſight, whereof by a dangerous infirmity, ſhee was almoſt wholly, and in moſt mens opinions, uncurably deprived.

John Capgrave.

(59) Another daughter of King *Harold* not named by any Story-writer of our owne Nation, is mentioned by *Saxo Gramaticus*, in his *Daniſh* hiſtory, to have come into *Denmarke* with her two brethren; to have been very honorably entertained by King *Swayn* the yonger, her kinſman: and afterwards to have been as honorably placed in marriage with *Gereſlef*, called in Latine *Iarilaves*, and of the *Danes Waldemar*, King of the *Ruſſians*: and by him to have had a daughter, that was the mother of *Waldemar*, the firſt of that name King of *Denmarke*, from whom all the *Daniſh* Kings for many ages after ſucceeded.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 14.

The end of the eighth Booke.

A CATALOGUE OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHS FROM WILLIAM THE CONQVEROVR, VNTO KING *IAMES*, NOW SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE, WHOSE ACTS ARE ENTREATED OF, IN THIS ENSVING HISTORY.

KINGS.	BEGINNINGS.	RAIGNE.	DEATH.	BURIALL.
	Yeares Months Daies.	*yeers months daies*	*Yeares Months Dayes.*	
WILLIAM I	1066 *Oct. 14. Sat.*	20 10 26	1087 *Sept.9. Thurs.*	*Cane.*
WILLIAM II	1087 *Sept. 9. Thur.*	12 10 22	1100 *Aug.1.Wedn.*	*VVinchester.*
HENRY I	1100 *Aug.1. Wed.*	35 3 1	1135 *Decem.2. Mon.*	*Reading.*
STEPHEN.	1135 *Dec. 2. Mond.*	18 9 17	1154 *Octob.25.Mon.*	*Feversham.*
HENRY II	1154 *Oct.25. Mon.*	34 8 12	1189 *July 6. Thursd.*	*Fonteverard.*
RICHARD I	1189 *July 6. Thurs.*	9 9 0	1199 *Apr. 6. Tues.*	*Fonteverard.*
IOHN.	1199 *Apr. 6. Tuesd.*	17 7 13	1216 *Octob.19.Wed.*	*VVorcester.*
HENRY III	1216 *Oct. 19. Wed.*	56 0 27	1272 *Nov.16.VVed.*	*VVestminster.*
EDWARD I	1272 *Nov.16. Wed.*	34 7 21	1307 *July 7. Friday,*	*VVestminster.*
EDWARD II	1307 *July 7. Friday.*	19 6 15	1326 *depo. Ia.22.Sa.*	*Glocester.*
EDWARD III	1326 *Ian. 25. Satur.*	50 4 27	1377 *Iune 21. Sund.*	*VVestminster.*
RICHARD II	1377 *Iune 21. Sun.*	22 2 7	1399 *dep.Sep.29 mu.*	*VVestminster.*
HENRY IV	1399 *Sept. 29. Mon.*	13 5 21	1412 *Mar.20.Sun.*	*Canterbury.*
HENRY V	1412 *Mar.20. Sun.*	9 4 11	1422 *Aug. 31. Mon.*	*VVestminster.*
HENRY VI	1422 *Aug.31.Mon.*	38 6 4	1460 *depo. Mar.4.*	*VVindsore.*
EDWARD IV	1460 *Mar.4.*	22 1 5	1483 *April 9.*	*VVindsore.*
EDWARD V	1483 *April 9.*	0 1 12	1483 *murthered.*	*Tower of London.*
RICHARD III	1483 *Iune 22.*	2 1 0	1485 *slai. Au.29 Mo.*	*Leicester.*
HENRY VII	1485 *Aug. 22. Mon.*	23 7 0	1509 *April 22. Sun.*	*VVestminster.*
HENRY VIII	1509 *Apr. 22. Sun.*	37 9 5	1546 *Ian. 28. Thurs.*	*VVindsore.*
EDWARD VI	1546 *Ian.28.Thurs.*	6 5 9	1553 *July 6. Thursd.*	*VVestminster.*
MARY.	1553 *July 6. Thursd.*	5 4 11	1558 *Nov.17.Thurs.*	*VVestminster.*
ELIZABETH.	1558 *Nov.17. Thur.*	44 4 6	1602 *Mar.24.Thur.*	*Westminster.*
IAMES.	1602 *Mar.24.Thurs.*	*NOS,TE FLORENTE, BEATI.*		

THE

THE SUCCESSION OF ENGLANDS MONARCHS, FROM THE ENTRANCE OF THE NORMANS, VNDER *WILLIAM* THE CONQVEROR: VNTILL THE REGALL RIGHTS OF THE WHOLE ILAND WERE BY GODS PROVIDENCE VNITED VNDER ONE IMPERIALL DIADEME, IN THE PERSON OF OVR PRESENT SOVERAIGNE KING IAMES, SOLE MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAINE: THEIR SEVERALL ACTS, ISSVES, RAIGNES, ARMES, SEALES, AND COINES.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

CHAPTER. I.

VVHat hath beene spoken touching the Originals, Lawes, and Customes of the *Saxons*, and *Danes*, the ancient conquerors, and possessors of this our Iland, may in like fort be said of the *Normans* (being a branch from the same root) of whom wee are now to write, saving only that the name is not so ancient, and therefore their Manners may be thought more civill. Through the misty-darke times of which Stories, together with that of the *Romans*, and of our *Britaines*, (wherein no brighter Sun did shine unto us) by the assistance of the *all-seeing power which bringeth light out of darkenesse*, I am lastly approached to theſe times of more light, and unto affairs of more certaine truth: whose Current, to my seeming, is made now Navigable, by the many writers that have emptied their full channels into this Sea, wherein, though in respect of my owne defects, and that so many Master-Pilots have sailed before me, it may seeme but presumption to direct another course, with a purpose to better what they have so well performed; yet to make a compleate History from the first to the last: give me leave to continue, as I have begunne.

(2) Theſe *Normans* then, being anciently a mixt Nation with the warlike *Norwegians*, *Swedens*, and *Danes*, tooke their Name of that Northerne Climate from whence they came first, which was that Coast of *Germany*, anciently called *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, and *Norway*, for that it tendeth in respect of situation so farre Northward; and from hence, and the parts adjacent, the *Saxons*, *Iutes*, *Angles*, and lastly the *Danes*, made their incursions into this Land.

(3) This Tract therefore, as the womb of conception, by the disposse of the Omnipotent, after it had produced those Nations which formerly made Conquests of *Britain*, now again brought forth (as it were) her last-borne *Benjamin*, who *devouring the prey in the morning, hath divided the spoile in the Even*, and hitherto continued their glorious fame atchieved; which I pray, may extend to the last period of Times being: For theſe *Normans*, first by force got footing in *France*, with the Dominion and Stile of a *Duke*, and next the Diadem of this faire *Empire*, the last and most famous Monarches of the same.

(4) Theſe, formerly practizing Piracies upon the Coasts of *Belgia*, *Frizia*, *England*, *Ireland*, and *France*, proceeded in their hardy courses even to the *Mediterranean Sea*: insomuch that *Charles* the Great, seeing their roaving tall Ships, and considering the bold attempts they undertooke, with a deepe sigh, and abundance of teares, is reported to have said: *Heavie am I at the very heart, that in my owne life time, theſe Pirates dare to come upon my Coasts, whereby I foresee what mischiefe they will worke upon my Posteritie.* Which indeede proved so great, that in their publike Processions, and Letanies of the Church, this Petition was added, *From the rage of the Normans, good Lord deliver us.* This feare, and praier notwithstanding, they drave the *French* to such extremitie, that King *Charles the Bald* was forced to give unto *Hasting* a *Norman* Arch-pirate, the Earledome of *Chartres*, for to asswage his furie exercised upon his People; and again, King *Charles the Grosse*, granted unto *Godfrey* the *Norman*, part of *Neustria*, with his Daughter in mariage: Yet all this sufficed not, but that the *Normans* by force of Armes seated themselves neere unto the mouth of *Sein*, taking all for their owne that lay comprised betwixt that River and the River *Loyre*: which * Countrey afterwards tooke the name of *Nor-mannie* from theſe Northern Guests, at what time King *Charls the Simple*, confirmed it unto *Rollo* their Captaine.

(5) This *Rollo*, as say the Danish Historians, was the son of *Guion*, a great Lord in *Denmark*, who with his brother *Gourin* were appointed to depart the Country (according to the Danish customes) to seeke their adventures abroad, and leave more roome for the rest at home; but theſe refusing the order, made warre upon the King, in which, both *Guion* the Father and *Gourin* the sonne, were slaine, and *Rollo* forced to flye for safeguard of his life, with whom went a number of Gallants to seek *Fortunes Court*, and not a few misdoers or out-lawed-men: whose *Acts* in *England* registred by *Albertus Krantius*, seeing they vary from our owne historians in circumstances of times, and names, I have chosen in this place to insert, leaving the credit thereof to him the Reporter.

(6) *Rollo*, a Noble-man of *Denmarke* (saith he) and too powerfull in his Kings eye, was forced with a Navy to adventure his Fortunes into forreine parts, whose first arrivage, as he saith, was in *England*, where many of the Danish nobility had formerly tried their valours, and some of them attained to the Scepter, if not of the whole, yet of a great part of that kingdom. *Indeed*, (saith hee) *England from the beginning was not*

governed

governed by one King, as now it is, for the Angle-Saxons had their province, and the Mercians theirs, both governed by Provinciall Deputies, *but the Northumbrians had a* King; *as the Scots and Picts also, in the same Iland had kept their owne limits under the like Government. Amongst these Northumbrians the Danes had their chiefest abiding, and in this Province Rollo the Dane brought first his men on Land, where making warre upon that Nation, he built both Castles and Fortresses to fortifie himselfe, his Navie lying upon the Seas: and proceeding forward into the Continent, tooke great booties both of Men, Cattle, and other spoyles, lading their ships as they lay at Anchor: the Incabitants of the Countrey making head against him, had still the worst.*

(7) *Rollo* yet doubtfull and in suspence what to do, desired indeed to returne to his Countrey, but that the Kings indignation was an obstacle that way; next he affected to try his Fortunes in *France*, yet feared the issue would be dangerous, the People being exasperated against him, for the harms he had done them: but chiefely the *Diademe of England* ran most in his minde, though hee knew the hazard was great, to match his small Forces with an host of a King: in which perplexed thoughts, *it chanced* him (saith my Author) *to fall into a sweet slumber, and in his sleepe hee seemed to sit in the kingdome of France, upon a high Hill, bending his head forward to a River which issued from the top of a Mountaine, at the foot whereof beneath him, he saw many kinds of Birds, which washed their ruddy left wings in the same water, where they all fed together, flew about, built, their nests, and at times appointed, brought forth their yong.*

Allectt K. ann. Rollo his dreame.

(8) *Rollo* awaking from his pleasing dream, imparted the same unto his consorts, desiring their judgements for interpretation; which no way satisfying him, hee called a *Christian* of his *English* Captives, a man industrious, and of great capacity, and of whose deepe understanding he had a great opinion: this Captive then boldened, and willing (in likelihood) to divert *Rollo* from infesting *England*, told him that his dreame was significant and good, and did prognisticate the happy successe of himselfe and whole Nation: for by this he saw that he was shortly to receive a quiet possession, and a land of great renowne in the Continent of *France*, and that himselfe should be cleansed in the Laver of Baptisme, wherein also the ruddy sins of his People should be washed away, as the water had done the wings of the Birds.

The dreame expounded by an English Christian captive.

(9) This interpretation pleased *Rollo*, well, and hee easily beleeved that which he most affected, as in the like kinde dreamers commonly doe: therefore providing all things for *France*, he set his countenance only that way, yet because he had already performed great matters in *England*, he thought to follow Fortune for his best Leader, and before he departed from so fair a land, intended to sound the King by an Ambassage, that so, if he might find him inclinable to a league, he might have a refuge against future chances; if not, then was he resolute to goe forward with his journey: therefore making choice of certaine active persons, sent them to the *English* king *Alstan*, a Prince of a speciall religion and holinesse of life, these having audience, uttered their message as followeth.

Rollo sendeth to sound King Alstan.

(10) *We being men distressed, and driven from our Country, sought out in banishment an habitation to rest in, and going forth, very many followed us, who incouraged us to seeke and win a land by Conquest, supplying us with strength, and giving us great hope of victory: which thing when we resolved to take in hand, a Tempest of weather drave us (O King) in these English Ports, where staying a fit season to put again forth, the Winter withheld us, and our wants made us to seeke further into the Land: whereupon our men, evermore brought up to the warre, being evill intreated of those inhabitants, were moved by such injuries to provide for their own defence, wherein some small skirmishes have passed betwixt them. Our Prince therefore and Generall* Rollo, *doth humbly require peace of thee, & to be permitted to sojourne in thy Land for a time, and to relieve his company with things necessary, wee paying sufficiently for it: these things when thou shalt grant, he shall rest content and pacified, untill the next spring, at which time he meanes to take his intended voyage.*

(11) *Alstenus*, not ignorant of the *Danish* cruelty, and with how great Armies they might oppresse the *English* shoares, did readily grant what they required: And also added a further courtesie, saying withall, *I doe greatly desire to see your Duke himselfe: and let him not thinke much to repaire to our Mansions, for he shall find none amongst us but his most loving friends.* When this was signified to *Rollo*, choosing out the tallest and goodliest persons of his company, and such as were of greatest wisedome, with them he very joyfully meeteth the King, is entertained, presents him with great gifts, but receiveth greater: Then sitting downe to talke and commune:

Rollo commeth to Alstans Court.

(12) *I am* (saith King *Alstenus*) *right glad most worthy Duke* Rollo, *to see you in this my Court. The renowme of your Nation hath beene related to me, a Martiall kinde of people ye are, and in fight unconquerable. And you your selfe also for your prowesse, are not unnoted among the rest of your famous Worthies: your valiant exploits are well knowne unto us: It is right pleasing unto us to enter with such men into amitie. Behold our whole Kingdome is before you, chuse out a seat for your selfe, and your people wher soever you best like, for we will have an everlasting league betweene us.*

Will. Gemmit. lib. 2. c. 26. Alstans bounty to Rollo.

(13) *Rollo* glad of so faire promises, replyed: *Most worthy and renowned King, I highly esteeme of your bountifull and most liberall proffers: God grant a happy successe of our affaires. I do thinke my selfe most bounden and devoted to your worthinesse; and if destiny ever answer to our desires, we will not be unthankfull for this your so great benignity. To seat our selves in your kingdome, though indeed, we are very willing, and your Royall proffers do much more incite us, yet Fate doth not permit it. I have determined (and will certainly performe) to go into France. For your gifts bestowed upon me, I esteeme them in the highest degree: and right well content I am to have a perpetuall League with you, that the like fortune may betide us both, the one to be a safeguard to the other. This I both offer, and accept of. This League God grant may to us both prove happy and fortunate.*

Rollo the first Duke of Normandy.

(14) With such like interchanges, the time much spent, and night drawing on, they were brought to banquet: And early the next morning, comming forth of their lodgings, most lovingly embraced each other, when each gave and received presents best suting with their estates and occasions. Neither doth *Krantius* stay his pen there, but proceedeth to particular affaires betwixt these two Princes, without the concurrence of any of our owne Writers.

Angiers Records pa. 2.

(15) As how the *English* rose in Armes against *Alstenus* their King, taking opportunity of the time, for that *Rollo* (whom they knew to be joyned in a most strait confederacy with their Soveraigne) being then imployed in the warres of *France*, could not come or send to his aide: *Alstenus* therefore oppressed with a tumultuous kingdome, remembred *Rollo* his faithfull friend, and sending Ambassadours declared unto him what distresse he was in, who not unmindfull of the firme league betwixt them, left his *French* wars, and prepared for *England* with all his Forces; where entring the Iland, hee easily quieted the tumultuous rebels, ransacking their Cities, curbing their wildnesse, and so reducing them at last to an orderly subjection. For which his great love, care and pains, the King not unthankfull, resolved to requite him with the halfe of his kingdome, appointing the Cities, and limiting the bounds, which each of them should rule and governe as their owne possessions.

Rad. Hegd. lib. 6. cap. 21.

William Longespee, second Duke of Normandy.

(16) *Rollo* in the meane time, as carefull of the peaces continuance, as regardlesse of so great remunerations taketh pledges of the rebels for securing their loialtie to the King, and peaceable bearing towards himselfe, upon accomplishment whereof, repairing to *Alstenus* he thus bespake him.

Polyd.

(17) *Seeing* (*King Alstenus*) *you have so highly rewarded me, both with Princely entertainment, and bountifull*

Alstans fidelity to his friend.

Richard 1. the third Duke of Normandy.

Emma. Sim. of Dunelm. Ingulf. Hoved.

Or, Rodo. prud. lib. Or, Rodo. lib.

tifull presents, I can doe no lesse, then willingly bestow upon you these my paines for your safetie: it is no more then your deserts doe challenge; neither will I accept, or seeme so uncourteous as to expect, for my paines, any part of your dominion. Your selfe now may well governe it; for France calls for my presence: keepe therefore those your Pledges, brought to you by your Subjects, and there is no doubt but you shall hence-forward governe your Kingdome in a setled and contentfull quietnesse.

(18) The King could not containe those his eyes, which now beheld in a stranger so strange and unexempled kindnes, from resolving into teares; giving him both hearty thankes, and rich gifts, seeing hee could not fasten on him any portion of his Kingdome: of whom, all that *Rollo* desired was this, that hee would give licence to such voluntary Souldiers as would goe with him into *France:* whereto *Alsten*, ready in all things to gratifie his desire, gladly condescended, and furnished him with arrendants:

(19) But leaving *Krantius* the *Dane*, as likewise *Gemeticensis* the *Norman*, to favour their Country, and these their reports to the best liking of the iudicious; most certaine it is, that the *French* King *Charles*, commonly called the *Simple*, gave the Dutchie of *Normandy* with his daughter *Gilla* (whose mother was *Aeguena*, the daughter of *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*) unto *Rollo* the *Dane*, as is recorded in an old manuscript belonging to the Monastery of *Angiers*. And when *Rollo* was baptized, *Charles* receiving him for his God-sonne at the Font, he was there required to doe homage for his Dukedome received, and injoyned therein to kisse the Kings foot, which hee did, but with some disgrace to King *Charles*, and bound it with an oath that hee did not receive it upon courtesie.

(20) This *Rollo* by his second wife *Popee*, (for *Gilla* died childlesse) daughter to the Earle of *Bessin* and *Baileulx*, had a sonne named *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, and a daughter called *Girlota*, who was afterwards married to the Duke of *Guyan*.

(21) *William Long-espee* (so called of the *Long Sword* he usually wore) the second *Danish* Duke of *Normandy*, took unto wife, *Sporta* the daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Sentlis*, by whom he had onely *Richard* his sonne: this *William* receiving baptisme, received therewith a new name, and was thenceforth called *Robert*, who having governed his Dukedome with great moderation the space of twenty yeeres, was guilefully murthered by the working of *Lewes* King of *France*, to the great griefe of his people, who so far followed the revenge, that they intercepted *Lewes* in the Citie *Rothomage*, and detained him their prisoner, till he agreed to these Articles: That young *Richard* should succeed his slaine Father in the foresaid Dukedome; and that thenceforth when the *King* and *Duke* should conferre togethet, the *Duke* should be girt with his Sword, and the *King* disabled either of Sword or Knife: to which *Lewes* yeelded upon his corporall oath.

(22) *Richard* thus established, governed his Dukedome the space of fifty two yeeres. He was a man of an admirable fortitude, and therefore was called *Richard the Hardy*. His first wife was * *Agnes*, daughter to *Hugh le Grand*, Earle of *Paris*, Lord Abbot of *Germans*, and Father to *Hugh Capet* of *France*; but the dying issueless, he secondly married *Gunnor*, a Gentlewoman of the *Danish* bloud, (whom he had kept his Concubine before) by whom hee had three sonnes and three daughters: the first was *Richard* that succeeded in his dominions; the second was *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Roan*; and the third was called *Maliger*: his daughters were *Hawisa*, the wife of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and mother to *Alane* and * *Guye* his sonnes. *Maud* espoused * *Eudes* Earle of *Chartiers* and *Blais*: and *Emma*, called the *Flower of Normandy*, was Queene of *England*, both by the *English* King *Ethelred*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, to both which shee was married.

(23) *Richard* the second, surnamed the *Good*, was the fourth Duke of *Normandy*, and ruled the same for twenty foure yeeres: In whose time the *Normans* began to be great, and gracious in *England*, the marriage of his Sister making their way: His first wife was *Iudith* the Sister of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, by whom he had issue, *Richard*, the fifth Duke of *Normandy*, and *Robert* the first, *William* a Monke, and *Nicholas* Abbot of S. *Andrewes*: his daughters by her were, *Alice*, that died yong, and another of the same name married to *Reinold*, Earle of *Burgoine*, and *Eleanor* espoused to *Baldwin* the fourth Earle of *Flanders*, who bare unto him *Baldwin* the fifth, father of *Maud* that was Queene of *England*, and wife to the *Conqueror*.

Richard 2. the fourth Duke of Normandy. Sym. of Dunelm. calleth him Richard the third.

(24) The second wife to Duke *Richard* the second, was *Estrike*, Sister to *Canute* King of *England*, from whom he purchased a Divorce, without any issue begotten on her body; and then taking for his third wife a faire Gentlewoman named *Pavia*, had issue by her *William* Earle of *Arques*, and *Mauger* Archbishop of *Roan*.

(25) *Richard* the third of that name, and fifth Duke of *Normandy*, in the second yeere of his Dukedome died an untimely death, not without suspition of Poyson, minister'd by *Robert* his yonger brother, who presently was invested in the *Dutchie*, for that he left no issue of his body to succeed.

Richard 3. the fifth Duke of Normandy.

(26) This *Robert* (*Duke Richards Brother*) was a man of a magnanimous spirit, and of such bounteous liberality as is uncredible. Hee comming to the City *Phalesia* in *Normandy*, chanced to see a most goodly and beautifull Damosell, dancing among others of her familiar consorts; her name was *Arlet*, of meane parentage (the daughter of a Skinner, saith *Higden*) whose pleasing feature and comely grace so pleased the Duke, that taking her to his bed, he begot on her, *William* his onely sonne, (who proved the onely man of the *Normans* bloud) and after upon a remorse of conscience, undertooke a pilgrimage unto *Ierusalem*, from whence hee never againe returned. *Arlet* in *Roberts* life time was married to *Herlaine* a *Norman* Gentleman, but of meane substance; to whom she bare *Odo* Bishop of *Baion*, by his halfe-brother *William* created Earle of Kent; and *Robert* created Earle of *Mortaigne*, a man of a dull and grosse wit; and a daughter named *Emma*, wife to *Richard* Count of *Auranches*, (a Province in *Normandy*,) the mother of *Hugh Lupus* Earle Palatine of *Chester*. And thus farre briefly I have thought good to prosecute the Line of the *Normans*, for the better illustration of our *English* Stories.

Robert the sixth Duke of Normandy.

Rand. Higden in Polycr. l. 6. c. 19.

Will. Malmes. l. 3. cap. 1.

(27) Duke *Robert* intending his pious pilgrimage unto the holy land, assembled all his Nobility unto the City *Fiscan*, where he caused them to sweare fealty unto his sonne *William*, being then but seaven yeares old, committing him to the Governance of one *Gilbert*, an Earle of much integrity and prudence, and the defence of that Governement unto *Henry* the *French* King, and so in the eight yeare of his Dukedome, set on his voyage for *Ierusalem*; who entring *Iury*, and not able to travaile, was boren in a litter upon the *Saracens* shoulders, and neere unto the Citie, meeting a returning Pilgrime, desired him to report in his Country what he there saw, which is, (said he) that I am carried to Heaven upon the Divels backe: but so farre was hee boren that he never returned, being prevented by death: which the *Norman Peeres* hearing, made use thereof for their owne ambitious ends, without any regard of young *William* their Pupill and Soveraigne, and growne into factions, greatly troubled the Peace of their Country, wherein Earle *Gilbert* the Protector was slaine, by *Randulphus* the yong Dukes Cosen-Germaine.

Rand. Higden. in Polycr. l. 6. c. 19.

will. Malmes. lib. 3.

(28) The beginner of these stirres was another of his kinsmen, even *Guy* of *Burgoine*, the sonne of Duke *Richards* daughter, brought up with *William* in his youth, and ever in his most especiall esteeme, who, upon a vaine hope to aspire to an *Earldome*, got the aide of the Vicounts, *Nigill*, and *Randulph*, but took such a fall

a fall before he could ascend the highest step, that in losing his footing, he lost therewith his head.

(29) Strife also arose betwixt young *William*, and his Vncle *William* the base-borne Earle of *Archis*. Whereupon King *Henry* of *France*, who till then had held this *Wolfe* by the eare, fearing some hazzard to himselfe, if he should now let him go, thought it best to aide the Earle in his cause, and therefore sent him supply under the leading of some men of note; but *William* so begirt his Castle with strait siege, that hee caused the Earle by famishment to yeeld up his Fort, and drove the *French* with disgrace out of the field: where, with such successe he still prospered, that *Henry* now, to secure his owne Confines, sent *Odo* his brother for prefect, into those parts that lay betwixt the Rivers *Rein* and the *Seyn*.

(30) *William*, as watchfull as the *French* King was jealous, sent against *Odo*, *Robert Count Aucensis*, *Hugh Gornacensis*, *Hugh Mountfort*, and *William Crispine*, all of them stout Souldiers, which so bravely bare themselves, that *Odo* was the first man that made away, and the rest of the *French* saved themselves by flight.

(31) *William* that had sworne a league with King *Henry*, and in his Minority had ever found him his gracious Guardian, was loth to endanger the breach of his Oath, or the duty that love and deserts had obliged him unto; and therefore by this Stratagem hee fought to dislodge the *French*. In the silence of night when in the Kings Campe all were at rest, he caused to be cryed aloud, the flight of *Odo*, and his discomfiture, with no lesse terrour then it was; which rang so shrill in the eares of the *French*, that *Henry* thought best to be gone: leaving *William* the absolute Lord of *Normandie*.

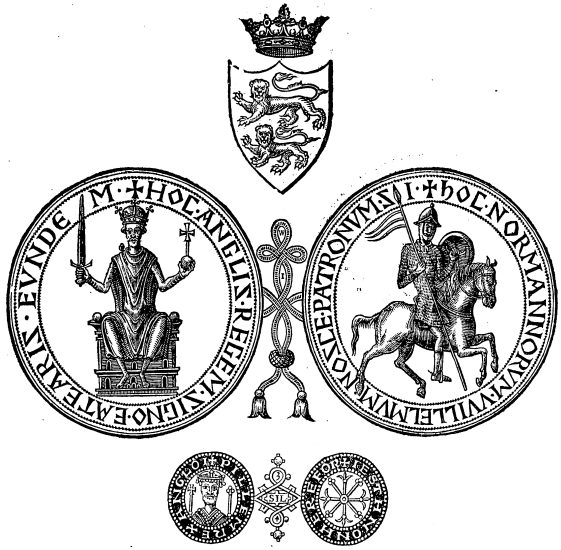
(32) Which he valiantly defended, and uprightly governed all the dayes of King *Henry*: whose death presently caused an alteration of State; for he leaving *Baldwine*, surnamed the *Gentile*, and the fift Earle of *Flanders*, Tutor to his young sonne *Philip*, the quarrell betwixt those two Princes had an end; *Baldwine* on the one side so working his Pupill, and on the other the *Norman*, (who was his sonne in Law) that a most firme League was ratified betwixt them, and kept unviolated so long as *William* was a Duke: where wee will leave him in prosperity and peace, and proceed in our intendment, as hee did in his Conquest here in *England*.

VVILLIAM

William the Conquerour.

VVILLIAM, SVRNAMED THE CONQVEROVR, THE THIRTY NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISMEN: AND FIRST OF THE NORMANS: HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 39.



CHAPTER. II.

an. Dom. 1066.

BAttle-Field wonne with the losse of little lesse then sixty eight thousand men, and *Harold* in Souldier-like exequies boren unto *Waltham* in *Essex*, and there honourably enterred, as we have said: *William the Conquerour*, (for so now may wee stile him) returned to *Hasting*, and thence set forward with spoile of the Country, over *Thamesis*, towards *London*.

Flor. Dun.

(2) Where *Edwine* and *Morcar*, the Brethren of the Queene, were in working the *English*, that one of them should be King, or rather, saith *Simon* of *Durham*, to crowne *Edgar Etheling*, the rightfull heire, in such esteeme with the People, that he was commonly called *Englands Darling*; unto whose side most of the Nobles adhered, with the Citizens of *London*, and the Navall forces; to which part also joyned *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*, though presently he fell off and stuck to the stronger; for the Prelates, though secretly affecting the right claime, yet terrified with the flashing thunderbolts of the Papal curse (who had sent *William* a consecrated Banner, an *Agnus Dei*, and one of Saint *Peters* Haires, in way of his good speed) durst not goe forward with their purpose (so powerfull was the Pope in blessings and cursings, to defeat the rightfull heires of Kingdomes) but refused to side with the Lords, whereupon all their designments were suddainely quashed.

The Pope powerfull to depose Princes.

Will. Malmsb.

(3) For *William* having wasted through *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, came unto *Wallingford*, and crossing there the *Thamesis*, passed through the Counties of *Oxford*, *Buckingham* and *Hertford*, where staying at *Berkhamsted*, *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, *Wolstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, with the Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, yea, and *Edgar* himselfe, yeelded their allegiance unto the Duke: This curse so prevailing, farre

Flor. S. Albin.

Will. Gemmet.

Trees cut downe to hinder Williams passage.

John Stow.

King Williams Coronation.

William fortifieth against invasions.

Polyd.

Matth. Paris.

Iohn Stow.

Archbishop Stigands perfwasion of the Kentish.

Them. Spret.

The Kentish police against king William.

farre engaged *William* to the Pope.

(4) *William* intending for *London*, being on his way, found the passage stopt up with multitudes of great trees, which by the policy of *Fredericke* Abbot of S. *Albanes*, (a man descended from the *Saxons* noble bloud, as likewise from *Canutus* the *Dane*) to secure his Monastery from the destruction of the *Normans*, were so cut downe: whereat the Duke both wondring and fretting, sent for the Abbot, under his assurance of safe returne, and demanding the cause why his woods were so cut; *Frederick* answered very stoutly, *I have done* (said he) *the duety both of my birth and profession; and if others of my ranke had performed the like (as they well might and ought) it had not beene in thy power to have pierced the Land thus farre.*

(5) *William* hearing the bold answere of this Prelate, and knowing it was now a time fitter to pacifie, then exulcerate the *English* spirits, gave way to the present necessitie, and withall hastned (as good policy required) his Coronation, which at Westminster was solemnized upon Monday, being the day of *Christs Nativity*, and yeere of salvation, 1066. where he received the Crown at the hands of *Aldred* Archbishop of *Yorke*; causing the Bishops and Barons to take the oath of allegiance unto him; and himselfe likewise at the Altar of St. *Peters*, tooke a solemne oath to defend the rights of the Church, to establish good lawes, and to see justice uprightly administred, as became a good King; and thereupon chose for his Councell, such Men as hee knew to be of great wisedome and experience: next, applying his thoughts for the securitie of his new gotten Empire; fortified such places as lay open to danger, bestowed strong Garrisons upon the Coasts, and Ships to ride in those Harbours which were most exposed to invasion.

(6) And the better to assure the South of the Land (best serving his purpose, if any new troubles should arise) hee tooke his way towards *Dover*, the *locke and key of the Kingdome*, as *Matthew Paris* termes it; that so hee might command the Seas from his enemies arrivage, and over-awe the *Kentish*, a most strong and populous Province. When *Stigand* therefore Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Egelsine* the Politique Abbot of Saint *Augustines*, (being the chiefest Lords and Governours of *Kent*) understood of his approch, they assembled the Commons at *Canterbury*, laying forth the perils of the Province, the miseries of their neighbours, the pride of the *Normans*, and the wrongs of the Church; all which now were too apparantly seene: the *English* till then, (they sayd) were borne free, and the name of Bond-men not heard of among them; but now servitude onely attends us, if wee yeeld (said they) to the insolency of this griping enemy: These two Prelates therefore, after the example of the undaunted *Machabees*, offered themselves to die in the defence of their Country; whose forwardnesse drew the people unto the like resolution, which by their advertisements were affigned to meete at a day, the place was *Swanscombe*, two miles West from *Gravesend*.

(7) Where accordingly convening, and keeping secret in the woods, they waited the comming of the Conquerour, all ioyntly agreeing, for that no way lay open save onely a front, to carry in their hands great branches of trees, wherewith they might both keepe themselves from discovery, and (if neede were) impeach the passage of the *Normans*: which device tooke so strange an effect, that it daunted the Duke, even with the sight, at his approach; who being as he thought free from the enemy, was now suddainly beset on all sides with woods, whereof seeing some before him to move, he knew not but that all the other vast woods were of like nature, neither had hee leasure to avoide the daunger. The *Kentish* inclosing his Army about, displayed their Banners, cast downe their boughes, and with bowes bent prepared for battle; so that hee which even now had the Realme to his seeming in his fist, stood in despaire of his owne life; of which his sodaine amazement, the reverend Prelates *Stigand* and *Egelsine* taking notice, and also advantage, presented themselves before him, and in the behalfe of the *Kentish* thus spake.

Stigands Oration.

"(8) *Most noble Duke, behold heere the Commons "of* Kent *are come forth to meet and receive you as their "Soveraigne, requiring your Peace, their owne free con-"dition of estate, and their ancient lawes formerly used: "if these be denied, they are heere presently to abide the "verdite of battaile, fully resolved rather to die, then to "depart with their Lawes, or to live servile in bondage; "which name and nature is, and ever shall be, strange un-"to us, and not to be endured.

The Conquerour driven into this strait, and loath to hazard all on so nice a poynt, their demands being not unreasonable, more wisely then willingly granted their desires; and pledges on both parts given for performance, *Kent* yeeldeth her Earledome, and Castle of *Dover* to their new King *William*.

(9) All things established for *Englands* securitie, and subjection now to the *Normans*; hee ordained his halfe brother by the furer side, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, (whom he created Earle of *Kent*) and his cosen *William Fitz-Osburne* (by him made Earle of *Hereford*) to be Governors in his absence over the Realme; and in the *Lent* following sayled into *Normandy*, leading with him many pledges for their fidelity, besides other Nobles, especially such as he feared to be too potent; amongst whom, *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Edgar* surnamed *Etheling*, *Frethericke* Abbot of S. *Albans*, *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, *Walteof* the sonne of the warlike *Siward* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, *Rainulph* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Gospatricke* Earle of *Cumberland*, were the men of greatest note; yet was hee no sooner gone, but that *Edricke*, surnamed *Sylvaticus* (sonne to *Alfrick*, the brother of *Edrick Streona*, the treacherous Earle of *Mercia*,) a man of great spirit, and of no little power, aided by the *Welshmen*, tooke up Armes and denyed subjection to the *Normans*, so that by either party (as in Civill discords it ever falleth out) great spoyles were made in many places; but most of all in *Herefordshire*, where *Robert Fitz-Scroope*, left to man the Castle, did much hurt upon the Tenants of *Edricke*, and he to requite him with the like, calling to his aide *Blethyn* and *Symalhon* Kings of *Wales*, wasted all to the mouth of *Wye*.

Many Nobles flie out of England. Matth. Paris. Stowth. west.

William Thorn.

Simon Dun.

Odo Bishop of Bayeux made Earle and governour of Kent.

Hen. Hunting. Polyer.

Ypodigm. Neust.

Mariana.

The rebellion tooke meete against William.

Stowth. west. Ibid.

(10) These stirres in *England* called *William* out of *Normandy*, and were so distastfull to his great, but ill digesting stomacke, that hee began to hold the reine straiter, and harder to curbe the head-strong *English*, giving the possessions of their Nobles unto his *Normans*, and laying unwonted taxes and heavie Subsidies upon the Commons, than which nothing bred him more hatred, in so much, that many of them, to enjoy a barren liberty, forsooke their fruitfull inheritance, and with their Wives and Children, as Out-lawes, lived in the Woods, preferring that naked name of freedome, before a sufficient maintenance possest under the thraldome, & tyranny of their Conquerours: but in short time, to sustaine their wants, (easily conceived, but hardly endured,) they so fell to spoile and robbe, that the high-wayes lay untrod from Towne to Towne, yea, and private houses every where so guarded with Bowes, Billes, Polaxes, Swords, and Clubs, as if they had beene not harbours of Peace, but Fortresses of Warre; when preyes were made at the shutting in, and opening of their doores, as in time of open hostilitie. On the other side, such as preferred vassalage with some hope of tollerable, (yea, or untollerable) usage, they to curry favour with the *Normans*, seeming to forget who they were, became as strangers themselves, and did shave their beards, round their haire, and in garment, behaviour, and dyet, altogether unfathioned

An honourable saying.

The love of alliance.

An. Dom. 1067.

The lands of the English given to strangers.

Fire and candle lighted at certaine houres into the English.

Stowth. west.

Goodwine and Edmund out of Ireland invade England.

Matth. Paris

The English became strangers.

ned themselves to imitate them: it being a shame in those dayes, even amongst *Englishmen*, to bee an *Englishman*.

(11) Vnto these Male-contents, and voluntary *Out-lawes*, joyned *Morcar* and *Edwine*, the stout Earles of *Chester* and *Yorkeshire*, setting up againe for their Captaine *Edgar Atheling* (which if in due time at first they had done, might have prooved successefull) who with their complices right valiantly for a time resisted the *Normans*, and in their proceedings put many of them to the sword. King *William* as carefull and sedulous to prevent further mischiefe; collecting his forces, and not without danger of his life, dissolved their power, so that every man sought how to save himselfe by escape: among whom *Edwine* and *Morcar*, *Welthesus* and *Merther*, with some of the Bishops and Clergy, went into *Scotland*: *Marleswin*, and *Gospatricke*, Noble men of *Northumberland* went into *Denmarke*: *Edgar Atheling*, with his mother *Agatha*, and his sisters *Christian* and *Margaret*, tooke the Seas for *Hungary*; but by contrary winds were driven into *Scotland*, where they were most courteously entertained by *Malcolme* (surnamed *Cammor*) King of that Country, who so affected the person and qualities of Lady *Margaret*, that hee entred with her a Nuptiall contract, and the rather in respect of her possibility and neerenesse to the *English* crowne; whose marriage was solemnized about the feast of *Easter*, in the second of King *Williams* raigne, whereby *Scotland* became a Sanctuary to the *English*, which dayly fled thither from the pressures of the *Normans*.

King Malcolme marieth Lady Margaret.

(12) The Conquerour now perceiving the occasion of new stirres, sent unto King *Malcolme* for the delivery of *Edgar* his enemy; which if hee refused, hee threatened to denounce open warre against *Scotland*. But *Malcolme* minding more his owne honour, then King *Williams* threates, returned this answer, That hee held it an unjust thing, yea and (in a Prince) a wicked part, to betray him to his enemy, that came unto his Court for protection, as Prince *Edgar* was forced for feare of his life; whose innocency and demeanour toward *William*, his greatest adversary could not touch with the least suspect: alleadging further (besides the respect of ordinary humanity, in this case ever religiously to bee observed) the straight bands of their neere alliance, which required him to render the afflicted estate of his most loving wives, most loved brother, comming under his Canopy, as it were for defence.

King William forceth for Edgar out of Scotland.

(13) *William* thus frustrate of all hope from King *Malcolme*, and daily perplexed at the flight of the *English* unto his Kingdome, feared a revolt and dangerous rebellion; to prevent which, he caused foure strong castles to be built, one at *Hasting*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Nottingham*, and the fourth at *Yorke*, wherein he bestowed strong garisons: and disarming the *English* of armour, commanded every house holder to put out both fire; and candle at eight of the clocke at night, at which houre, in every City, Towne, and Village, hee caused a bell to be rung, of the *French* then called *Coverfew* (that is, *Cover-fire*) partly yet in practise, and in name very neere, commonly called *Curfue*: to prevent nightly tumults that might haply be done.

Warres ceased peace.

(14) All this his circumspection notwithstanding, could not prevent the troubles that presently arose; for *Goodwine* and *Edmund*, the sonnes of the late King *Harold*, comming with some forces out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Sommersetshire*, fought with *Adnothus*, (sometime master of their fathers horse, but now a *Normanist*) whom they slew with many others, and taking great booties both in *Cornewall* and *Devonshire*, departed againe for *Ireland*.

Exceter likewise, seeking to shake off the fetters of the *Normans* bondage, as also *Northamberland*, to recover their former liberties, tooke Armes: against whom, King *William* in all haste possible, sent *Robert Cumin*, and went himselfe strongly prepared against *Exceter*, which he most straitly beleagured; at which time the Citizens thought it not enough to shutte their gates against him, but contemptuously taunted and flouted him, untill a great peece of the wall falling downe by the especiall hand of God, (as the Historians of that age report) they immediately set open their gates; and submitted themselves to his mercy. The chiefe instigator to their disloyalty was *Githa* the mother of King *Harold*, and sister to *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, with others siding against the *Normans*, who now seeing the yeelding up of that City, shifted themselves out of danger, and got over unto *Flanders*.

Camd. Dunon. Exceter yeelded to King William.

(15) But fortune to *Cumin* was not so favourable in the North, nor himselfe so circumspect as valiant; for lying securely, as hee thought in the City *Durham*, hee was on the sodaine surprised in the night by *Edgar Asheling* and his followers, where *Robert* and seven hundred of his *Normans* were slaine, one onely escaping, who brought the bloody newes thereof to King *William*, which happened in the third of his raigne, the twenty eight of *Ianuary*, and yeere of Christ 1068. The depth of Winter notwithstanding, he posted into the North; whose onely terror daunted all further attempts, so that taking some of the Authors of this rebellion, he cut off their hands, and some of their heads, conceiving hereupon more hatred against the *English*, and in that spleene of displeasure returned to *London*.

An. Dom. 1068.

The Normans slaine in the North. Ingulphus.

(16) Whiles these insurrections were on foote in *England*, the fugitive *English* in *Denmarke*, so far prevailed with King *Swaine*, that they procured his ayde to recover their rights, and the rather, as they alleadged, for that the Crowne of *England* was his, descending from those that had before made conquest thereof: hee therefore sent a puissant Navy of three hundred saile, well fraught with souldiers, under the conduct of *Osburne* his brother, and *Harold* and *Canute* his sonnes: who arriving in *Humber*, landed their men for *Yorke*, and wasted the Country all the way as they went, unto whom shortly joyned *Edgar* and his associates out of *Scotland*, so that their Army was exceedingly strong. Whose approach so terrified the *Yorkers*, that for very griefe thereof their Archbishop *Aldred*, (who was wholly become the *Normans* favorite) dyed, and the *Normans* Garrisons that there kept, left the enemy should have any shelter or succour, fet their suburbs on fire; the flame whereof carried with an over-high wind, soone consumed a great part of the City it selfe, and therein, the faire Cathedrall Church of Saint *Peters*, with a famous Library thereto adjoyning.

An. Dom. 1069.

Matth. Paris. Marian. Ingulph.

The Danes with English fugitives invade England.

Lib. Elien. MS.

Yorke burnt on fire by the Danish souldiers.

(17) The Citizens, and Souldiers thus beset with sodaine flames, thinking to secure their lives from the fire, did enhazard them on the fury of the sword; for comming unawares upon these hardy and well-appointed *Danes*, were forced to come to a disordered fight, wherein though for a time they behaved themselves most valiantly, yet being overlaid were discomfited, with the slaughter of three thousand of their men. The *Danes*, swelling with this prosperous successe tooke into *Northumberland*, bringing all to their obeisance where they came; and the two yong gallants were thereby so fleshed, and incouraged, that they intended to have marched to *London*, had not the extremity of Winter (enemy to all warlike enterprises) hindred them; yea and *William* as willingly would have beene doing, if the same cause had not kept him backe: but when the time of the yeare was fit for warre, hee gathered a great hast, whereof the *English* were chiefe, this being his policy, to use their weapons each against others, whereby their strengths might be lessened, that so whosoever lost, his *Normans* might winne: these joyning battaile with the enemy, fought it out manfully; and lastly, making a breach into a wing of the

Danish army therewith so daunted the rest, that all of them gave backe and fled; *Harold* and *Canute* to their ships, and *Edgar Atheling* by swift horse into *Scotland*. Earle *Waltheof*, who with his owne hands had slaine many a *Norman* that day, was reconciled to King *William*, now left Conquerour of the field; whose wrath was so kindled against these *Northerne* disturbers, that he wasted all the faire Country betwixt *Yorke* and *Durham*, leaving all desolate for threescore miles space, which nine yeares after lay untilled and without any inhabitant; when grew so great a famine, that these *Northerns* were forced to eate the flesh of men.

The North miserably wasted.

An. Dom. 1070. *Polydor.*

(18) The Conquerour after these troubles bare more hatred unto the *English*, whose inconstancy (so hee accounted their unquenched desire of liberty) hee daily dreaded, especially the Nobles, and men of power; whereupon hee began to deale yet more roughly, for light causes thrusting our some of them into exile, and depriving more of their lands and goods, seizing most part of every mans revenewes into his owne possession, as gained by a lawfull conquest, causing them to redeeme them againe at his hands, and yet retained a propriety thereof unto himselfe, by receiving an annuall rent, and other provisions and services, whereof if they failed; their lands were utterly excheated to the crowne; neither spared hee the Corporations of Cities, Townes, Monasteries, or Episcopall Sees; but tooke from them their ancient liberties and priviledges, whose redemptions set at what rate it pleased himselfe, soone weakened their estates, which was the onely thing he aymed at, and therefore often blamed *Canutus* for his over-much gentlenesse extended towards those, whom hee had conquered, whose steps therein hee ment not to tread.

The English hated and banished.

Matth. Paris.

(19) Hee charged the Clergy with armour, horse and money, for the maintenance of his warres, wherein the Bishops and Abbots were taxed at very great summes; which hee caused to bee registred and laid up in his treasury: so that hee did not onely bereave their Abbies and Monasteries of all their gold and silver, but, by the report of *Roger Windover*, laid hands upon their Chalices and rich shrines, and for their further undoing established by decree, that no *English* Scholler should come to promotion. In which respect also; whereas King *Alfred had, for the maintenance of many learned Divines, (which might instruct his people in the Faith, in their owne vulgar tong) founded a goodly Colledge in Oxford, to bee maintained wholly at the Kings charges, which was accordingly performed, and royally continued in all his successors raignes:* King William, *desiring utterly to destroy the English tongue, and preaching therein; decreed, that the said annuall expence should never after bee allowed out of the Kings Exchequer*, to the great impairing both of learning and religion. To further all which proceedings, his holy Father Pope *Alexander* the second, sent in a foote, sending two Cardinals, and a Bishop from the See Apostolike, who in a Councell degraded *Stigand* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Egelwine* Bishop of the *East-Angles*, besides divers other Bishops and Abbots of the *English* nation, deprived for no evident cause, but onely to give place to the *Normans*, in favour of the King.

Roger Wend.

Will. Malmsb.

Ex Archiv. Collег. Univer. Oxon.

Tho. Aquel. l. 2.

Will. Thorne.

Marianus Gerron. Dorobern.

M. Milt. in Will. Conq.

(20) The ancient lawes of the land hee abrogated for the most part, ordaining new, nothing so equall nor so easie to bee kept; which his lawes although they neerely concerned the *English*, and therefore ought of them to have been familiarly knowne, were notwithstanding written in the harsh *Norman* tongue, which they understood not; so that many persons, partly by the iniquity of the law it selfe, partly by ignorance in mis-construction, and often also by the sleights of Pleaders and Iudges, who might pretend for law what they list, were wrongfully condemned, in forfeiture of goods, lands, yea and also of life, and generally so intangled with their unknowne interpretation, and tortured with their delayes, turmoiles and traverses, that they rather chose to give over their suites, then to follow them with their endlesse vexations.

Hard lawes imposed upon the *English*.

He caused likewise his Broad-Seale, wherewith he confirmed his Deeds and Charters, to bee inscribed on the one side, to acknowledge him for the *Normans Patrone*, and on the other, for the *English King*, as in the sculpture thereof, at the entrance of his history is seene, which beareth this sence;

King William his Seale.

This Signe doth William, Normans Patron show:
By this the English him their King doe know.

An. Dom. 1072. *Will. Malmsb.*

(21) These snares of his lawes, accounted the fetters of the Natives, were by the Nobility sought to bee cast off: for *Edwine* and *Morcar*, (the two stout Earles so often mentioned) fainedly reconciled to the King not long before, combining with *Fretherike*, the bold and rich Abbot of S. *Albanes*, set up *Edgar Atheling* their Generall once againe, and fell into a new conspiracy: *William*, Lion-like, storming at the loose and regardlesse allegiance of these unsufferable subjects, daily with fresh attempts so disturbing his peace, with a mighty power hastened against them, and armed as well with the spirituall sword of *Lanfrancke*, (then advanced to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*) as with maile of Iron, or coats of steele, laid all barren where-soever hee came: his opposites for their parts knowing his purpose, as desperately maintained what they had begun, and fully were resolved to make the sword their Iudge.

The Kingdome fights against William.

(22) The King by his Spials hearing the encrease of their power, and knowing to his restlesse trouble, the unwilling subjection of the *English*, entred consultation with his Archbishops, who as *Rehoboams* Sages, gave him counsell somewhat to beare with their abuses, rather then to hazard the ruine of all in fight; and so farre prevailed in this his advice, that an assembly was appointed to meete at *Berkhamsted* in the County of *Hereford*, where the King entring parley with the *English* Nobility, so farre did winde himselfe into their good opinions, (being a very politicke, and faire-spoken Prince) that they all forthwith laid downe their weapons.

Rand. Hgd. Hen. Hunting. Matth. Paris.

The Ile of *Ely* fortified against William.

2 Kings 12.6.

(23) And hee for his part fearing to lose the crowne with shame, which he had gotten by the effusion of so much blood, gave his oath upon the holy Evangelists, and the reliques of Saint *Albane* the Martyr, (the same being ministred unto him by Abbot *Fretherike*) swearing to observe, and inviolably to keepe the ancient lawes of this land; and most especially those compiled by King *Edward* the Confessor, though (as the event soone shewed) hee little meant to doe as hee pretended.

Polyd.

King William sworne unto King Edwards lawes.

(24) Peace thus established, among other conferences beseeming such estates, it chaunced King *William* to demand the reason how it came to passe, that his fortune should bee in one dayes battaile to subdue the *English*, which the *Danes* before him could not doe in many; to which question whileft each stood looking on others, expecting what to answere, the stout Abbot *Fretherick* stept forth and said:

Roger Wend.

The Scots invade Cumberland.

(25) *The reason thereof may easily be given, if the occasion bee well weighed; for womtedly the land was defended by dint of Swords, untill that their warlike wearers upon their godly devotions, laid them from their sides upon the Altars of Orisons, which through over-long rest are growne very rusty, and their edges too dull now for the field: for, (said hee) the maintenance of martiall men, with a great part of this lands revenewes, are daily converted to pious imployments, to maintaine and defend these holy votaries, whose prayers pierce more deeper then the sword: and therefore thou art obliged O King to maintaine their peace, that have beene the cause of thy so easie purchase.*

Lib. S. Alban. M. S. in vita Fretherici.

The Abbot would hold his Bow lower the stiffer it is.

A good speech ill taken.

(26) But *William* before the words were well out of his mouth, replyed and said, *Is the Clergy so rich and so strengthned, that the land thereby lyeth weakened of her men*

King Williams angry answer.

men at Armes, and to keepe onely the religious in safety shall the Laity lye exposed to the invasions of the Danes, and other forreine Enemies? surely out of your owne mouthes I will judge you, and for redresse will first begin with thee: whereupon hee tooke from the Abbey of Saint *Albanes* all the lands and revenewes that lay betwixt *Barnet* and *London-Stone*. Abbot *Fredericke*, whose overbold answers had now offended the King, without delay called a chapter of his brethren, shewing them their approaching dangers, and to avoyde the present storme, went himselfe to *Ely*, where hee desisted not from his wonted machinations against the Conquerour.

Lib. S. Alban.

(26) This conference ended, and the Kings oath received, the *English* Armies disband themselves, as dreaming they had now good Fortune by the foot, and hoping the greateft stormes of their dangers were past; which presently prooved but a Vaine surmise: for King *William* having compounded with the *Danes* that lay all this last winter in *Northumberland*, and payed them a great summe for their departure, began extreamely to hate the Rebels, and with full resolution of their destruction, suddainely set upon them apart, which he durst not attempt, when they were united, so that slaying many, imprisoning others, and prosecuting all of them with fire and sword, well was he that could be first gone.

Simon Dunel. Matth. Paris.

(27) *Edgar Atheling* got againe into *Scotland*, and *Edwine* Earle of *Yorkeshire* following with the like intent, was slaine in the way by his owne Souldiers; *Egelwine* Bishop of *Durham*, *Morcar* Earle of *Chester*, *Siward* surnamed *Bran*, and *Hereward* (a very valiant Knight) got into the Ile of *Ely*, relying wholly on the advantage of the place.

King William wrasteth upon advantage.

This *Hereward* had received a hallowed Sword, and benediction, of his Vncle the Abbot of *Peterborow*, and had most valiantly defended his owne inheritance against the *Normans*, and with no lesse courage withstood the Conquerour, being made Captaine of those now assembled.

Rand. Hgd. Hen. Hunting. Matth. Paris.

(28) But the King, left delay should give them advantage, and the Ile harbor more of such his unbridled subjects, with a great power hasted thitherward, and stopping up the East-passage from all flight, or reliefe, drew a causey on the West through the deepe Fennes, even two miles of length, where likewise hee then built the Castle of *Wisbech*: against which, they in the Ile raised another of timber and turffes, and called it according to the name of their Captaine *Hereward*: at which place, many assaults and bickerings being made, but yet no entrance gotten, *Morcar* by boat escaped out of the Ile, and in *Scotland* obtained by price, what these distressed could not by prayer; so that *Malcolme* the King, in rescue and revenge of them, invaded *Camberland*, and foraged all *Theisdale*: *Hereward* also went out of the Ile, and got a gallant crew of choise and youthfull souldiers, which stood most stoutly for the defence of their liberties.

The Ile of *Ely* fortified against William.

Ingulphus.

(29) In the meane while, the Monkes, oppressed with miseries, sued for mercy unto the King, and *Thurstan* the Abbot repairing to *Warwicke*, where *William* then lay, offered him entrance unto the Ile, if he would restore to their Abbey the ancient possessions: the King then rejoycing to obtaine that by wit, which *Canutus* could not doe by maine strength, accorded to the requeft, and in great haft, but no little difficulty, got into the Ile, where slaying a thousand of the Common-sort, he used great cruelty against the better, imprisoning many, and dismembring others, some of their hands, some of their eyes, and some of their feete. *Egelwine* Bishop of *Durham* he imprisoned, first at *Abington*, then at *Westminster*, whose dyet was either so sparing, or stomacke so great in forbearance, or both (for both are reported) that ere long he dyed of hunger.

King William sworne unto King Edwards lawes.

Roger Wend.

(30) Howsoever the Monkes of *Ely* kept their promise with *William* for betraying of the Ile; hee contrary wise brake his for their preservation and peace; for by no meanes their prayers would enter his eares, till the sound of seven hundred markes had opened the way; to collect which, they were forced to sell both the jewels and ornaments of their church; which being brought to his receivers, there wanted (whether by errour or deceit) a groat in weight, (for in those dayes greater summes passed by weight, not by tale,) whereof when the King understood, hee in great (but captious) rage, denyed them all composition for peace, whereupon with much suite hee was entreated to accept of a thousand Markes more, to raise which, they disfurnished their Monastery even of things of necessary use.

The Abbot would hold his Bow lower the stiffer it is.

(31) But the *English Fugitives*, who had gotten the *Scots* to sticke to them, were not yet pacified, but entring into *Cumberland*, they wasted the Country before them, unto the Territories of Saint *Cuthbert*, and City of *Durham*; to meete whom, King *William* sent *Gospatricke*, who lately reconciled to his favour, and created Earle of *Northumberland*, shewed the like measure of cruelty upon the *Scottish* Abetters, as they had done against the *English*. The Conquerer therefore not a little mooved against King *Malcolme*, for that his Country was a receptacle of his Rebellious Subjects, and himselfe now the chiefe Leader of the Male-contents into his Kingdome, hasted into *Scotland*, with a desire and purpose to have done much more then hee was able to accomplish: for entring *Galloway*, hee more wearied his Souldiers in passing the Marish grounds and mountaines, then with encounter or pursuite of the Enemy, so that hee was forced to give over his enterprise, and then drew his forces towards *Lothian*, where King *Malcolme* and his *English* lay, being fully resolved, there to end by battaile, either his troubles, or his life.

The English exterior into extremities that with small successe.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

(32) But *Malcolme* wisely considering the event of warre, and that the occasion thereof was not for his owne subjects, but for a sort of forraine fugitives, began to thinke, that the wrongs therein done to another hee could hardly brooke himselfe, and sent therefore to *William* proffers of peace; whereunto lastly the *English* King inclined, and hostages delivered upon further Conferences, what time (as I take it) upon Stane-more, not far from an homely hostilery called the *Spittle*, a Stone-Crosse (on the one side of whose shaft stood the picture, and armes of the King of *England*, and on the other the Image or armes of the King and Kingdome of *Scotland*, upon that occasion called the * Roi-crosse) was erected, to shew the limits of either Kingdome; some ruines of which Meere-marke are yet appearing; for King *William*, granting *Cumberland* unto *Malcolme*, to hold the same from him, conditionally that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing prejudiciall to the Crowne of *England*, (for which King *Malcolme* did him homage, saith *Hector Boetius* the *Scottish* writer) and the *English* being reconciled to his favour, after hee had built the Castle of *Durham*, returned as cleared from all Northerne troubles.

Henry. Hunt. Gem. Historiar.

A Stone-Crosse erected for a Meere-marke between the Kingdomes.

Hector Boetius.

* Thatis, Kings Crosse.

Cambd. Brit.

Hector. Boet. lib. 12. fol. 190.

(33) But his *Norman* Dukedome, stirred somewhat unto rebellion, called King *William* into those parts, where, by the prowesse of the *English*, hee soone brought all things to peace, and returned for *England*, better conceiting of that Nation, especially of *Edgar Atheling*, whom he courteously received and honourably maintained in his Court, allowing him a pound waight of Silver every day to spend; a rare example of a victorious Conquerour, shewed upon a man so unconstant, (who twice had broken his oath of fidelity) and dangerous to bee so neere unto his person, being, as he was, a Competitor of his Crowne.

An. Dom. 1074.

Will. Malmsb. Matth. Paris.

(34) Whiles the King was in *Normandy*, *Ralph de Ware* Earle of *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, tooke to wife *Emma*, the daughter of *William Fitz-Osborne*, and sister to *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, cosen to King *William*, and that without his consent; by whose affinity he conceived no small pride, and even on the wedding day, when Wine had well intoxicated the braine, with a long circumstance perswaded his Guests unto a Re-

The bounty of King William towards his Enemy Atheling.

John Stow.

A conspiracy intended and revealed.

bellion; unto whom yeelded *Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, his Brides brother, and *Waltheof* Earle of *Northampton*, with many other *Barons*, *Abbats*, and *Bishops*: But the next morning, when Earle *Waltheof* had consulted with his Pillow, and awaked his wits to perceive the danger whereunto he was drawne, repaired straightwayes to Archbishop *Lanfranke*, who was left Governour of the Land in King *Williams* absence, revealing unto him their Conference and Treasons intended, by whose advice he went over into *Normandy*, and there with submissive repentance, shewed the King what these Lords and himselfe had intended.

Matth. Paris. Hen. Huntingt. Simon Dun.

(35) The Earles therefore of *Norfolke*, and *Hereford*, whose state now lay open to chance, as desperate men tooke themselves to Armes, and fought how to unite their two powers into one. This sound of warre soone rouzed the Subjects, so that *Wolstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Egelwine* Abbat of *Euesham*, having called to their ayde *Walter Lacy*, and *Vrse* the Sheriffes of *Worcester*, so manfully withstood Earle *Roger*, that hee with his Army could not passe over Severne to joyne with his brother *Norfolke*. And he againe was so fore laid at, by *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Geffrey* Bishop of *Constance*, (who had assembled a mighty Army both of *English*, and *Normans*) that they constrained him first to *Norwich*, where, in the Castle hee bestowed his Countesse, and thence fled himselfe into *Little Britaine*, whither shortly shee followed.

John Pilg.

An. Dom. 1075. *William* returning useth severity against the *English*.

(36) *William* now returned from *Normandy*, and some reliques of rebellion remaining in the West, he hasted thitherward, where, with small adoe, he got Earle *Roger* into his hands, and condemned him to perpetuall prison; the *Welsh* his ayders (of whom also were many at the said Marriage) hee used with great severity; for of some he put out the eyes, of others he cut off the hands, hanged some upon gibbets, and hee that escaped best, went into banishment; neither Earle *Waltheof*, notwithstanding he revealed the conspiracy, escaped unpunished; for after that the King had taxed him with ingratitude (he having formerly restored the Earledome unto him) he caused his head to be chopt off at *Winchester*, (although he had before promised his pardon and life) his great possessions being his greatest Enemies; for hee is reported to have beene Earle of *Northampton*, *Northumberland*, and *Huntington*, thought by the King to be fitter dignities for the *Normans* his followers; and the desire of a new Marriage, mooved *Iudith* his Wife not a little to set forward and hasten his death.

Will. Malmesb.

Hen. Hunting.

A kind-hearted Wife.

An. Dom. 1076. Matth. Paris. Hunth. Westm.

(37) These beginnings against the *Welsh*, King *William* prosecuted farther, entering into *Wales* with a strong Army, as purposing a finall end of those Domesticall warres, having to replenished *England* with his *Normans*, that hee now promised himselfe security and happinesse of State: To him therefore the Princes of *Wales* unable to resist, performed their Homages at Saint *Davids*, and with their Hostages he returned as a victorious Conquerour.

The Princes of Wales doe homage to William.

But the Seas of these troubles now growne quiet and calme, and he at some leasure to thinke on future succesfe, all on the sudden a cloud arose in the North, which hastily came on and threatned a storme.

Matth. Paris. Ingulf. Hunt. Simon Dun.

(38) For *Swaine* King of *Denmarke*, whose title (to his seeming) stood firme for the Crowne, manned forth two hundred tall Ships, whereof his sonne *Canute*, and Earle *Hacon*, were Generals; for his brother *Osborne* he had banished *Denmarke*, that basely tooke money to depart *England* some few yeeres before, notwithstanding his claime he made still, though for money, still stopped by his *Danes*: For so saith their owne writer *Adam Bremensis*, that *continuall contention was betwixt Swaine and the bastard, although* (saith he) *our Bishops by bribes would have perswaded peace betwixt the two Kings*: Yea, and *Malmsbury*, our Writer, affirmeth, that *William* gave bribes to Earle *Hacon* to be gone; though *Paris* and *Polydor* report, that when these *Danes* heard that their favourites heere were vanquished, they turned their Sailes for *Flanders*, and durst not fight with King *William*.

Will. Malmsb. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

An. Dom. 1077. *Robert* watcheth for *Normandy*.

(39) But now a lesse suspected, but much more unnaturall war arose; for *Robert*, his eldest son, (set on by *Philip* King of *France*, who did greatly dread this so hasty growth of the Conquerour) claimed *Normandy* by gift of his father, promised to him immediately after his Conquest of *England*; a Noble Gentleman surely, but of an ambitious and hasty nature, prodigally spending and maintaining his followers above the compasse of his private estate; him *Philip*, and his owne ill-nurtured Ambition, thrust forward, and Qu. *Maud* his mother supplyed under hand, out of her owne Coffers, and King *Williams* Revenewes, so that with Banners displayed, he entred *Normandy* in hostile manner, and there by force seized upon divers places to his owne use, and so without respect of dutifull patience, gained by force the freegift of his father.

Ingulfus.

Will. Malmsb.

(40) King *William* hearing of his sonne *Roberts* proceedings, was not (as great cause there was) a little offended thereat, and with a powerfull Army hasted to *Normandy*: where neere unto the Castle of *Gerbory*, at a place called *Archenbraye*, hee joyned battell with his sonne; where the fight was sore and dangerous on both sides, the Generalls being such men as they were: but in the heat of the foot battels that fought it out resolutely, *Robert* commanded a power of Horse to breake in upon the Rereward of his enemies, and himselfe valiantly following, chanced to light against his owne Father, and with his Lance thrust him through the Arme, bearing him off his Horse to the ground. King *William* thus wounded and falne, called for helpe to be remounted, storming to see his bloud spilt in his owne Land, and against his owne sonne, which never had beene in battailes of other Countries, nor drawne by the weapons of forraigne enemies, and in great rage threatned the reyenge: *Robert*, that knew his Father by his voyce, hastily alighted, and in his Armes tooke him from the earth, humbly desiring his pardon for this unknowne fact, and forgiveneſſe of his over-hasty attempt; then mounting him upon his owne Horse, brought him in safety out of the presse; who having escaped so great a danger, and seeing himselfe for the present too weake to withstand the enemy, left the honour of the field unto *Robert*, with the losse of many his souldiers, slaine there both in the battaile and chase, besides a great number that were hurt and wounded; among whom, *William Rufus* his second sonne was one, a man of a better temper, and more filiall regard to his parents, and therefore more deservedly and tenderly beloved then *Robert*; for which dishonour now done to his Father, and disloyalty for his unnaturall Armes, hee bitterly cursed him, and execrated the time wherein hee begat him: howbeit, others doe write, that for his most undaunted courage at that time, issuing and ending in such dutifull and tender care of his fathers safety, he presently forgave his former offences, and ever after had him in better respect.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

King William wounded and unhorsed.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

Ingulfus.

Gervas. Tilburiens. Robert Gloucester.

(41) These stirres thus qualified, and King *William* returned, hee went forward with his former determination, for setling a further assurance to himselfe, and successours, of the *English* crowne; to which end, first on the East-side of *London* (the mother City of the Land) hee laid the foundation of a stately and strongly fenced Castle, or Magazine of warlike munitions; intrenched with a large and deepe Ditch, now called the Tower of *London*; the surveyor of which worke, was *Gundulphus* Bishop of *Rochester*; about the twelfth yeare of the Conquerours raigne; so much is lessened the antiquity of that Citadell, and credite of such as would have it founded by *Iulius Cæsar*; unlesse (perhaps) we would thinke that King *William* did onely adde some new fort to the former; being built (saith *Fitz-Stephen*) with morter tempered with the bloud of beasts.

Matth. Paris. Polydor. Simon Dun. Robert Gloucester. Fabian. Ingulfus. Fitz-Stephen. Stow. Annals.

He bandeth his sonne.

Will. Malmsb.

(42) Then to enrich his owne Coffers (for hee is taxed by *Malmesbury* to bee exceeding covetous) hee laid

Iohn Caster. Iohn Rouse. Englishmen reproach. Rich. Wace in Guil. Conq.

Simon Dunel. Malcolme invadeth England.

The Tower of London built. John Stow. Regist. Eccles. Roff.

An. Dom. 1078.

Stephanides.

Florent. Wigorn. Englands Saints and good generall judgement.

Ingulfus.

Will. Malmsb.

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

Ingulfus.

Gervas. Tilburiens. Robert Gloucester.

King William wounded and unhorsed.

Will. Malmsb.

England, extortion.

He bandeth his sonne.

Iohn Caster. Iohn Rouse. Englishmens reproach. Rich. Wace in Guil. Conq.

Simon Dunel. Malcolme invadeth England.

The Tower of London built. John Stow. Regist. Eccles. Roff.

An. Dom. 1078.

Stephanides.

Lambd. in Ottobon.

Simon Dun. Danes prepare against William.

Will. Malmsb.

laid great subsidies upon the land: and that the same might amount to his great benefit, (though with the greatest grievance of the people) hee caused an exact survey to be taken of the whole kingdome, yea and of every particular part and commoditie thereof, so that there was not an hide of land, lake, water, or waste, but he knew the valuation, the owners, and possessors, together with the rents, and profits thereof, as also of all Cities, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, Monasteries, and Religious houses; causing also all the people in *England* to be numbred, their names to bee taken, with notice, what every one might dispend by yeere; their substance, money, and bond-men recorded: how many yoke of oxen, and plough-lands were in the Realme, and what services they owed, who held of him in Fee; all which was certified upon the oathes of Commissioners. This done, he exacted five shillings to be paied him for every hide of land, which amounted to an huge masse of money. The Booke thus made of every severall survey, was commonly called the rowle of *Winchester*, (as being there at first kept) but for the generality, and inevitable censure therof, is by Authors named *Liber Iudiciarius*, by the *English*, *Domesday Booke*, kept to this day in the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster*: of which collection *Robert*, a Poet at *Gloucester* in ancient time, and ryme, wrote thus:

The King William, wor to wite the worth of his lond,
Let enqueri stretlich thorn all Engelond,
Hou moni Plou-lond, and hou moni Hiden also,
Were in everich fire, and wat hij were wurth yere to:
And the rents of each toun, and of the waters echone
The wurth, and of woods eke; that there ne lived none,
But that he wist wat hij were wurth of all Engelond,
And wite all clene, that wurth thereof ich understond,
And let it write clene inou, and that scrit dude iwis;
In the Treforie at Westminster, there it yut is,
So that wre Kings suth, when his ransome toke,
Trede wat folc might yive, hij fund there in yor boke.

(43) This exaction was gathered with such extremity, and paid with such impoverishing of the *English*, that they greeviously groned under their miserable estate, whereby more hatred grew daily to the King, and his Normans; whose love againe to themward was so little, that hee sought by all meanes to bring the *English* name, and Nation to ruine: for it is noted by *Caster*, and *Rouse*, *that no English man was permitted to beare any office of Credit, or Countenance in this Conquerours dayes*, and accounted it was a great shame to bee called an *Englishman*, or to marry into their blood.

(44) These greevances seeming unsufferable, the *English* incited *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* once more to enter King *Williams* confines, wasting all before him unto the River *Tyne*; against whom the *Conqueror* sent *Robert* his sonne, surnamed *Courtoise*, who marching with a mighty Army, made shew of doing much more then he did; this onely being memorable, that neere to the mouth of *Tyne* he laid the foundation of a Castle, whereof the towne of *New-castle* did afterward take both her beginning, and Name; though long before that time there was a place called *Monkchester*, because (as it should seeme) it had beene either the habitation, or possession of some Religious Order.

(45) Neither was *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, so quailed by his former expeditions, but that hee had a minde once more to grasp at the *English* Crowne, preparing a mighty *Armado* that way, as was constantly reported and beeleeved; King *William* therfore received a great power of French Souldiers with others, which hee had lately brought with him from *Normandy*, to disburden himselfe of whose Charges, hee appointed them to bee maintained at the costs of the *English*, both for their wages, and other provisions, which was another great burden unto the *English*, though it long lasted not; for that the *Danish* King better advising himselfe, gave over the enterprise, and thereupon these Souldiers were dischaged.

Matth. Westm. The English chinged with the maintenance of forraine souldiers.

(46) Another griefe and offence hee ministred against both God and man, for the fruitfull Countrey lying South from *Sarisbury* unto the Sea, hee dispeopled, pulling downe Townes and Villages, with 36. Mother-churches, from mans use, and Gods divine service; and for 30. miles, laid open the country, some say out of policie, to have safe arivage from *Normandy* in time of need: others say, for beasts, and for his owne game in hunting, or to use the words of *Gualter Mapes*, who lived immediately after, *to dedicate the same unto wilde Beasts and Dogs-game*; which place, called anciently *Tyene*, was ever since named the *New-Forrest*; imposing great penalties both pecuniary, and corporall on all such as offended in hunting his Game: in so much that he was then called the *Father of wilde beasts*, more favouring them then the people his Subjects. But Gods just judgement not long after followed this so unreasonable, and cruell act: for in this Forrest *Richard* his second sonne being goared by a Deere, (others say, blasted with a pestilent Ayre) was untimely slaine: And *Rufus* his other sonne mistaken for a Deere was by chaunce shot thorow with an Arrow, by *Walter Tirell*. *Henry* likewise his Grand-child by *Robert Courtoise*, whilst he hotly pursued the chase, was strucken by a bough into the jawes, and as *Absolon*, left hanging untill he died.

King Williams depopulations.

Camd. in Hantshire.

Gualter Mapes.

King William the father of wilde Beasts.

Thus, no doubt, God punished his sinnes, (even on his children, and childrens children) who had both taken away the places, and use of his service, and also disherited multitudes of Christian people to their extreme poverty, for his unstatiat and superfluous pleasure: so that (as some then thought) the Earth it selfe also seemed to cry Revenge, when as upon the sixt of *Aprill*, and fifteenth of King *Williams* Raigne, a most fearefull Earthquake, with a warring noise, did shake the ground.

Matth. Paris.

(47) Other great calamities are noted to have hapned upon his people, as burning fevers strangely consuming the people: Murrens devouring infinite numbers of Cattle; abundance of raine, and concourse of water-floods beyond credit, whereby the Hilles were so softned to the very foundations, that some of them fell, and overwhelmed the Villages which were in their way: most of the principall Cities of *England* much endammaged by fire, and *London* especially, where the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul* (as much as was combustible) was consumed to ashes; and if that may also be noted (which caused not the least wonder) tame, and domesticke fowles, as Hennes, Geese, Peacockes, and the like fled into the Forrests, and Woods, and became very wilde, in imitation of men, degenerating then into savages: for in those times even the Church-men (and therefore lesse marvaile if others) became unlike themselves: *Walter* Bishop of *Durham*, bought of King *William* the Earledome of *Northumberland*, maintained Murtherers, and was murthered himselfe. *Odo* another Bishop, and Earle also, to revenge his death, made *Northumberland* desolate, beheading and dismembring the poorer sort, and at great ransoms fining the rich. And Pope *Gregory* for his part played *Rex* in this Land, sending hither his Buls with damning Curses against the married Clergie: commanding that none should heare their Masses: which how it was digested, either by God, or manlet us heare *Paris* an ancient Monke (and therefore herein no partiall man) speake his minde.

Calamities following on the Land.

All things degenerate.

Roger Hoveden. Matt. Paris.

Pope Gregories Buls against married Priests.

Matth. Paris. in Guil. Conq.

"(48) Pope

Inhibiting of married Priests a new device, and incendiarie.

Popish Continency hypocritical.

Gregory 7.

Odo, King William brother, affecteth the Papacy.

King William condemneth his brothers Ambitions.

His sacriledges.

" (48) Pope *Gregory* in a generall Synode excluded " the married Priests from execution of their holy " offices, and forbad the Lay-men to heare their " Masses; a prefident new, and proceeding (as it " seemed to many) out of inconsiderate judgement, " contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers: which " have written, that the Sacraments of the Church, " by the invisible operation of the holy Ghost, haue " their due effect, whether they are dispensed by " men good or bad, &c. By which fact so grieuous " a scandall is arisen, that holy Church was never " rent with a greater schisme in the time of any he- " resie whatsoever; whiles some stand for the right, " and others strive against it. Moreover, whereas " few observe this chastitie enioyned (for that " though some for gaine, or vaine glory, doe hypo- " critically pretend it; yet many doe heape up in- " continency with perjury, and manifold adulteries) " by this occasion the Lay-men shake off all due re- " spect to sacred orders, and ecclesiasticall governe- " ment; they prophane the holy mysteries, they " baptize Infants, annointing them with the fordid " humor of their ears in stead of holy oyle, they burn " the tithes due to the Priests; our Lords body con- " secrated by a married priest they tread under their " feet, and often doe wilfully cast forth the blood of " our Lord upon the ground.

(49) This *Gregory* (before called *Hildebrand*) sate in *Peters chaire* with such pranks of impietie, that his governement was odious to the *Romans*, who wi- shed an end of his raigne and life, so that certaine Southfaiers imploied in that busines gave forth, that after *Gregory*, *Odo* should bee Pope. *Odo*, our said Earle, the Conquerours brother, fed with full hope that hee was the man, sendeth to *Rome* to buy him a Pallace, adorning it with stately and over-lavish trimmings; salutes the Senators with great giftes and complements, stuffeth bagges with money, and let- ters to such as might doe much in the election, and provides honourable personages to attend him to *Rome*. Among the which for chiefe, was *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, with many great men and Knights of the Land: for the *Normans*, variable, and desirous to see forraine Countries, were contented to forsake their faire lands in the West Climate, to accompany this proud Prelate over the River *Poo*.

This jolly traine was set forward into the Isle of *Wight*, and there in great pompe ready to set saile into *Normandy*, when on the sudden King *William* un- looked for, was even among them, and in his great Hall, in presence of his Nobles, thus spake:

" (50) Excellent Peeres, I beseech you hearken " to my words, and give me your counsell: at my sai- " ling into *Normandy*, I commended *England* to " the government of *Odo* my brother, Bishop. In " *Normandy* many forraine foes have risen up a- " gainst mee, yea and inward friends I may say, have " invaded mee: for *Robert* my sonne, and other " younglings whom I have brought up, and given " Armes, have rebelled; unto whom my false " Clients, and other bordering enemies have given " their assistance: but they have not prospered, " God (whose servant I am) ever defending mee: " neither have they gotten any thing of mine, be- " sides Iron in their wounds: They of *Anion* pre- " pared against mee, whom with the onely feare of " warre I have pacified. These businesses you know " have drawn me into *Normandy*, where I have stayed " long, and imploied my painfull endevours on pub- " like behoofs. But in the meane time, my brother " hath greatly oppressed *England*, spoiling the Chur- " ches of Lands and Rents, hath made them naked " of Ornaments given by our Predecessors, and hath " seduced my Knights, with purpose to traine " them over the Alpes, who ought to defend the " Land against the invasions of the *Danes*, *Irish*, and " other Enemies over strong for me; but my greatest " dolour is for the Church of God, which he hath af- " flicted, and unto which the Christian Kings that " raigned before me, have given many gifts, and with " their loves honored, for which now (as we beleeve) " they rest, rejoycing with a happy retribution in a " pleasant State: *Ethelbert*, *Edward*, *Saint Oswald*, *Al- " thulph*, *Aefred*, *Edward the Elder*, *Edgar*, and my co- " sen and most deare Lord *Edward*, have given Riches " to the Church, the Spouse of God: But my Bro- " ther to whom I committed the whole Kingdome, " violently plucketh away their goods, cruelly grind- " eth the poore, and with a vaine hope stealeth away " my Knights from mee, and by oppression hath exa- " sperated the whole Land with unjust taxations; con- " sider thereof, most Noble Lords, and give mee (I " pray you) your advice, what is herein to be done.

His Oppressions.

(51) At which pause, when all stood mute, as fearing to give their opinions in so weighty a point, concerning so great a Person, the King thus continued his speech.

His last Speech at point of death.

" Hurtfull rashnesse is ever unsufferable, and must " at length bee repressed. This man hath oftentimes " banded himself se against his owne father, and up- " on a stomack, blowne up with pride and folly, hath " fallen off to the King of *France*: therefore left with " overmuch lenity, we buy too larea repentance, he " shall remaine Prisoner, yet not as a *Bishop*, whose " name I both honour and reverence, but as an Earle, " subject to the Lawes and Censure of his King.

His Treacheries.

Which accordingly was done; upon seizure of whose estate, this Prelate was found so well lined in purse, that the heapes of yellow mettle did move ad- miration to the beholders, and many of his bags were taken up out of the bottome of Rivers, where they were hidden full of gold ground into powder.

His imprisonment.

(52) Soone after, some displeasure having arisen betwixt King *William*, and *Philip* King of *France*, hee having first generally caused to be taken the Oath of *English* Alleageance to himself e and successors, with a mightie masse of money (fitted for some great at- tempts) departed to *Normandy*; where falling sicke, and keeping his Bed more then his wont, the *French* King hearing that his disease was in his belly, gave him this frumpe; *Our Cosen William* (said he) *is laid now in Child-bed: Oh what anumber of Candels must I offer at his going to Church? surely I thinke a hundred thousand will not suffice.*

His Avarice.

King *William* hearing thereof, is said to make this answer; *Well, our Cosen of France I trust shall be at no such cost; but after this my Child-birth, at my going to Church* (swearing by the resurrection and brightnesse of God) *I will* (said he) *find him one thousand candles, and light them my selfe.* And accordingly towards *August* following, when both the Trees, Fruits, Corne, and Ground, was most flourishing, he en- tred *France* with a mighty Army, spoyling all the West parts thereof before him; and lastly, set the Citie *Meux* or *Mauntz* on fire, wherein hee consu- med the faire Church of our Lady, in the walles whereof was enclosed an *Anchoret*, who might, but would not escape, holding it a breach of his Religi- ous Vow to forsake his Cell in that distresse. The King busied in these attempts, cheered his men to feed the fire, and came himself e so neere the flames, that with the heat of his harnesse, hee got a sickness, and the same encreased by the leape of his Horse, that burst the inward rimme of his belly, and cost him his life.

Of his Normane troubles.

Of his Normane qualities.

Will. Malmsb. Matth. Paris.

Some write King William tooke Physicke to take downe his great fat belly. Higden.

Of his friends and kindreds unkindenesse.

Of his English Conquest.

Will. Malmsb. King William's Oath.

Onward trifling to leave towards Innocents.

Stow saith two Anchorites.

His workes of devotion.

(53) At which time feeling death to approach, he deferred not to addresse his last *Will*, wherein hee commanded all his *Treasure* to bee distributed to *Churches*, *Gods Ministers*, and the *Poore*, limiting to each their severall portion and quantitie, which hee caused to be ingrossed in writing by Notaries before him: Amongst which, he bequeathed to the Church and Monks of Saint *Stephens* at *Caen* in *Normandy*, two Mannors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Devon- shire*, another in *Essex*, much lands in *Barke-shire*, some in *Norfolke*, a Mansion house in *Woodstreet* of *London*, with many Advowsions of Churches; yea, which is to be wondred at, hee gave his *Crowne*, and Regall Or-

King William's last Will and Testament.

Ex libro Coenobii Sancti Stephani.

Ornaments thereto belonging, to the said Church, being of his owne foundation; for the redemption whereof, King *Henry* his sonne, gave the Mannour of *Bridzton* in *Dorsetshire*, to prevent any danger that thereof might arise; and unto the Churches by fire destroyed in *Meuxe*, he gave great summes of money to repaire them: and so preparing himself e for God, briefly ranne over the carriage of his former life; the summe whereof, (as much as best fitteth this place) wee will declare as hee spake it to them that were present.

His Counsell to his Children.

(54) Being laden with many and grievous sinnes, " (*O Christ*) I now tremble, who am ready to be " taken hence, and to be tried by the severe, but just " examination of God. I that have always beene " brought up in wars, & am polluted with the effusi- " on of blood, and now utterly ignorant what to do; " for I cannot number my offences, they are so in- " finite, and have beene committed by me now these " sixty foure yeeres: for which, without any delay " I must render an account to that most upright " Iudge. From my tender infancy and age of eight " yeeres, I have hitherto sustained the weight and " charge of Armes to defend my Dukedome, go- " verned by mee now almost fiftie five, both in pre- " venting those snares that have beene laid for my " life, and in vanquishing those Conspirers which " would have usurped my right: a stiffe-nec- " ked people I may say, my Armie hath still ma- " naged, I meane the *Normans*, who with an hard " hand, if they bee curbed, are most valiant, and " in hazardous attempts invincible: for, as they ex- " cell all men in strength, so doe they contend to " overcome all men by valour. But if the reine bee " once let loose, and laid in their neckes, they will " teare and consume one another; for they are ever " seditious, and desirous of new stirrings; experi- " ence whereof sufficiently I have had, not only of " my confederates and allies; but even of mine owne " kindred, denouncing me to bee a Bastard, degene- " rate, and unworthy of government: against whom, " I have beene forced to put on Armour, before I " was by age ripe to weild it: all which I have van- " quished, and some of them captivated, God so " preserving mee, that they never had their desires. " A Royall Diadem, which none of my Predecessors " ever ware, I have gotten, not by right of inheri- " tance, but by heavenly grace. What labours and " conflicts I have sustained against those of *Excester*, " *Chester*, *Northumberland*, *Scots*, *Gauls*, *Norwegi- " ans*, *Danes*, and others, who have endeavoured to " take the Crowne from mee, is hard to declare; " in all which the lot of victory fell ever on my side: " which worldly triumphes, how soever they may " please the sense and outward man, yet they leave an " inward horrour, and fearefull care which pricketh " mee; when I consider, that cruell rashnesse, was " as much followed, as was the just prosecution of " the cause. Wherefore I most humbly beseech " you, O yee Priests and Ministers of Christ, that " you in your prayers will commend mee to God, " that he would mitigate my heavy sinnes, under " whose burden I lie pressed, and by his unspeake- " able mercy make mee safe among his Elect. Nine " Abbeyes of Monks, and one of Nunnes, which my " Ancesters founded in *Normandy*, I have enrich- " ed and augmented; and in the time of my govern- " ment, seaventeene Monasteries of Monks, and " sixe of holy Nunnes, have beene founded by my " selfe and my Nobilitie; whose Charters I have free- " ly confirmed, and doe by princely authoritie con- " firme against all emulations and troubles; in them " God is served, and for his sake many poore peo- " ple releeved; with such Camps both *England* and " *Normandy* is defended, and in these Forts let all " younglings learne to fight against the Divell and " vices of the flesh. These were the studies that I " followed from my first yeeres, and these I leave " unto my heires, to be preserved and kept. In this " then (my children) follow mee, that heere and for " ever you may be honoured before God and men: " And chiefly, O you my very bowels, I warne " you to frequent and follow the company and coun- " sell of good and wise men, and governe your " selves accordingly, so shall yee long and happi- " ly prosper. Doe justice to all, without partiall af- " fection; for it is a true wisedome indeede that can " discerne betwixt good and evill, right and wrong. " Shunne wickednesse, relieve the poore, succour " the weake, but suppresse the proud, and bridle the " troublesome. Frequent the Church, honour the " religious, and without wearinesse bee obedient " unto the Law of God. The Dukedome of *Nor- " mandy*, before I fought against *Harold* in the Vale " *Semlac*, I granted unto my sonne *Robert*, for that he " is my first begotten, and hath already received ho- " mage of all the Barons almost of his Country: that " honour given cannot againe be undone; but yet " without doubt, I know it will be a miserable Regi- " on, which is subject to the rule of his government; " for hee is a foolish proud knave, and is to bee puni- " shed with cruell fortune. I constitute no Heire to " the Realme of *England*, but doe commend it to the " everlasting Creator, whose I am; for I possesse not " that honour by any title of inheritance, but by the " instinct of God, the effusion of blood, and the per- " jury of *Harold*; whose life bereaved, and his fa- " vourers vanquished, I made it subject to my Do- " minion. The Natives of the Realme I hated, the " Nobles I dishonoured, the vulgar I cruelly vexed; " and many unjustly I disherited, in the Countie " of *Yorke*, and sundry other places, an innumerable " sort with hunger and sword I slew: and thus " that beautifull Land, and noble Nation, I made de- " solate, with the deaths of many thousands, (woe " worth the griefe.) These then my sinnes, being " so great, I dare not give the offices of that " Land to any other then to God, lest after my death " they yet bee made worse by my occasion. Yet *Wil- " liam* my sonne, whose love and obedience from his " youth I have seene, I wish (if so bee the will of God) " may flourish in the Throne of that Kingdome, with " a long life and happy raigne.

The dispose of his States.

Of his Sonnes.

Of England.

(55) *Henry* his youngest sonne surnamed *Beau- clerke*, hearing himself e utterly neglected in his Fa- thers distribution, with teares said to the King: *And what Father doe you give mee?* to whom he answered, *Five thousand pounds of silver out of my Treasurie I give thee. But what shall I doe with Treasure*, said *Henry*, *if I shall have no dwelling place or habitation?* His father re- plied, *Bee patient my sonne, and comfort thy self e in God, suffer quietly thy elder brother to goe before thee: Robert shall have Normandy, and William England: but thou in time shalt intirely have all the honour that I have gotten, and shalt excell thy Brethren in riches and power.*

King William's Legacie to his sonne Henry.

After which speeches, hee presently called his son *William*, to whom hee delivered a letter signed with his owne Seale, written unto *Lanfranck* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and commanded him therewith to hast for *England*, lest in that spatious Kingdome some suddaine troubles should arise; and so with a kisse blessed him in Christ. His prisoners hee command- ed to bee set at liberty, affirming that hee had done Earle *Morcar* much wrong, whom as hee then con- fessed, hee had imprisoned more for feare then for fault, onely his half e brother *Odo* he would have had to remaine a perpetuall prisoner, but that by the im- portunate intercession of friends hee was released.

He willeth him to hast into England.

(59) The period of this Great Conquerour now come neere to his last, when this Sunne so gloriously raised to the height of his course, must now of force set in the West, the dying King (for Kings must die) having raised his weake body upon the Pillowes, heard the sound of the great Bell in the Metropoli- tan Church of Saint *Gervis* neere *Roan*, and deman- ding the cause, one replied that it did then ring prime to our Lady; whereupon with great devotion lifting his eyes towards heaven, and spreading abroad his hands;

King William's death.

With such devotion was good devotion abused, contrary to the precepte of God, *Isai. cha.* 33.16.

hands, *I commend my selfe (said he) to that blessed Ladie*, Mary, *Mother of God, that shee by her holy prayers may reconcile mee to her most deare Sonne, our Lord Iesus Christ*, and with these words yeelded up his ghost, upon Thursday the ninth of September, the fifty sixth of his Dutchie, the twenty one of his Kingdome, the sixtie foure of his age, and yeere of Christ Iesus 1087.

Princes friends.

(57) Wherein; as we see the instability, both of Mans life, and Glory, (a point fitting for great Princes ever to thinke on;) so by the sequell we shall perceive, how ill-rooted and ungrounded the friendship is, which attends the greatnesse of soveraignes, whose Favourites chiefe or onely ends are their owne Ambition and Gaine, the fewell whereof once beginning to decay, the fire of their seeming-devotion will bee quickly colde. For no sooner had this late glorious Princes Soule bidden farewell to his Body, but his dead Corps was presently abandoned by his followers of neerest place, and best meanes, who posted homewards apace to defend their owne; and by the meaner and his inferiour servants, hee was dispoyled of Armour, Vessels, Apparell, and all Princely furniture, even so farre from all wonted and due respect, as that they left his dead Body naked upon the floore; like true Kites, preying whilest any thing was to be had.

His Corps forsaken of all sorts.

The qualities of Court-Kites.

The sudden fame of his death stroke such feare into the Commons hearts as was admirable, every man shifting for one, but all neglecting the funerall rites of their King, untill that one *Harluins* a poore Country Knight, undertooke the Carriage of his Corpes unto *Cane*, and at his owne coft, both by Sea and Land, unto *Saint Stephens* Church, which this dead King had formerly founded.

His Herse also abandoned of all.

At his entrance into *Cane*, the Covent of Monkes came foorth to meete him, and to celebrate the buriall with all Ceremonies beseeming; but behold even at that instant, a fudden chance of fire happened, which presently invaded a great part of the Towne, that, as his Corps before, so now his Hearse was of all forsaken, whiles they addressed themselves to represse that furious Element: which done, and the Funerall Sermon ended, the Stone-Coffin set in the earth, the Chancell betwixt the Chorale and the Altar, and the body ready to bee layd therein, one *Asselinus Fitz-Arthur*, a man of some Note, stood up and forbad the buriall: *This very place* (said he) *was the floore of my Fathers house, which this dead Duke violently tooke from him, and here upon part of my inheritance founded this Church: This ground therefore I challenge, and in Gods behalfe, forbid that the body of my dispoiler, be covered in my Earth, neither shall it be interred in the precincts of my right.* Whereupon they were enforced to compound with him for a present sum of money then delivered, and with consent of his sonne *Henry*, for a hundred pound weight of silver after to be paid, and so the Exequies went forward; when, behold againe the Corps laid into the Tombe was with the largest, when being pressed, the belly (not bowelled) brake, and with an intollerable stench so annoyed the by-standers, that neither Gummes, nor Spices, fuming from the Censures, could bee any whit sensible to relieve them, insomuch that all with great amazement hasting away, they left the Monks to shuffle up the buriall, and they were soone glad to get them to their cels.

His buriall place denied him.

Annciance at his funerall.

Hence Stow notes their report for falsitie, who wrote that his Body was found uncorrupt 500. yeeres after his death.

(58) This then was the life and death of this great Monarch, the Conquerour of men, but not of Death, nor surviving Envie; a bright example of the dimme glory of Man, who in life had the possessions of Kingdomes and Dukedomes, men at Armes, riches, and honour, and all things thereto adhering; but after his death, neither Ornaments, nor Attendants, nor place of buriall, till it were bought; all which, private men seldome want: so vaine is the pompe of this world, and so uncertaine the state of her darlings.

(59) Hee was for stature indifferent, of countenance sterne, his fore-head high, and haire very thin, fat and corpulent of body, with his belly bearing out, so strong of joynts and armes, that few could bend his Bow; of wit ready, and very politique, in speech eloquent, resolute in attempts, in hazards valiant, a great Souldier, and as great in successe; rough and covetous towards the *English*, in his taxes, lawes, and in giving to his *Normans* their lands; whose Charters were of a farre other tenour, forme, and brevitie, then those tedious and perplexed conveyances, since in use, as by these few inserted may appeare:

His deformities for limnaments and qualities. Will. Malmsb.

Rend. Hig. Polycr. l. 7. c. 6.

I William King, the third yeere of my raigne,

Give to thee Norman Hunter, to mee that art both leese and Deere,

Matth. Paris in vita Conq.

The Hop and the Hopton, and all the bounds up and downe,

Vnder the Earth to Hell, above the Earth to Heaven,

Stow in Gen. Richmond. King *William's* Charter to Hunters.

From me and mine to thee and to thine,

As good and as faire, as ever they mine were,

To witnesse that this is sooth, I bite the white waxe with my tooth,

Chart. de Battle.

Before Iugge, Maude, and Margery, and my youngest sonne Herry:

For a bow and a broad arrow, when I come to hunt upon yarrow.

(60) At the suite of *William* Bishop of *London*, he granted the Citie (whose chiefe Magistrate was then called the Portreve) their first Charter written in the Saxon tongue, confirmed with greene waxe, whereas the Saxons before used only to signe with guilt crosses, and such like marks: the Copy thereof is this:

Lond. Records.

" *William Cyng greit William Biscop. & Godfregef*
" *Portgerefan & ealle tha Burhwaren the on Lunden be-*
" *on, &c. William* King, greeteth *William* Bishop, and
" *Godfrey Portreue*, and all the Burgesses that in *Lon-*
" *don* be *French*, and *English*, friendly. And I doe you
" to wit, that I will, that you enjoy all the Law which
" you did in the dayes of *Edward* King. And I will
" that each Child be his Fathers inheritour after his
" Fathers dayes. And I will not suffer that any Man
" you any wrong offer. God you keepe.

Selby Abbey. Excester Priorie. John Stow. Ingulfus. Hollinsh. Lamb. Peram.

(61) In the like Charter, granted to his Nephew *Alane* Earle of *Britaine* for Lands in *Yorkeshire*, he writeth himselfe *William* surnamed *Bastard*; and yet it seemeth, hee was offended at *Guy* of *Burgundy* for tearming him *Nothus*; perhaps, because that word signifieth such a one, whose Father is unknowne, whereas King *Williams* was not only knowne, but renowned also.

Saint Stephens in Caine. John Leland.

(62) Howsoever hee was sterne and hard to the *English*, yet to his *Normans* he was facile and too indulgent, much devoted to Religion and frequenting the Church, both morning and evening; The Clergie that lived according to their rule and profession, he both honoured and richly endowed; but to the licentious was very rough and hard handed: his Vncle *Malgerius* Archbishop of * *Rotomage*: for his dissolute life hee disgraded: his brother *Odo* Bishop of *Baieux*, he imprisoned, and many of the *English* deprived, as we have heard.

Vnto p. 194. Will. Malm. * Rouen.

(63) Besides his many other stately buildings, both for fortification and devotion, three Abbeyes of chiefe note he is said to have raised, and endowed with large priviledges and rich possessions. The first was at *Battell* in *Sussex*, where hee wonne the Diadem of *England*, in the valley of *Sangue-lac*, so called in *French*, for the streames of bloud therein spilt: but *William of Newberie* deceived in the soile it selfe, which after raine sheweth to bee red, affirmeth

Battle-Abbey so called of a battell there fought 'twixt Harold. Will. Newbrig.

firmeth, that after any small showre of raine, the earth sweateth forth very fresh bloud, as by the evident sight thereof (faith hee) doth as yet plainly declare, that the voyce of so much Christian bloud there shed, doth still cry from the earth to the Lord.

(64) But most certaine it is, that in the very same place where King *Harolds* Standard was pitched, and under which he himselfe was slain, there *William* the Conquerour laid that Foundation, dedicating it to the *Holy Trinity*, and to *Saint Martine, that there the Monkes might pray for the soules of Harold and the rest that were slaine in that place*: whose Priviledges were so large, that they, and others of the like condition, were afterward dissolved by Act of Parliament, when it was found by experience, that the feare of punishment being once taken away, desperate boldnesse, and a daring will to commit wickednesse, grew still to a greater head: for it was enfranchised with many freedomes, and among others, to use the words of the Charter, were these: *If any Theefe, Murtherer, or Felon, for feare of death, flie and come to this Church, let him have no harme, but let him be dismissed, and sent away free from all punishment. Be it lawfull also for the Abbot of the same Church to deliver from the Gallowes any theefe or robber whersoever, if he chance to come by, where any such execution is in hand.*

The Standard it selfe curiously wrought all of gold and precious stones, made in forme like an armed man, Duke *William* presently upon his victory with great complements of curtesie, sent to Pope *Alexander* the second, as good reason it was, the Popes transcendent pleasure and power being the strongest part of the Dukes Title to the Crowne, and his cursing thunderbolts the best weapons whereby he attained to weare it.

(65) At *Selby* also in *Yorkeshire*, where his youngest sonne *Henry* was borne, hee founded the Abbey of Saint *Germans*: at *Excester*, the Priorie of Saint *Nicholas*; and to the Church and Colledge of Saint *Martin le grand in London*, hee gave both large priviledges, and much land, extending from the corner of the Citie wall, by *Saint Giles* Church without *Cripplegate*, unto the Common Sewer, receiving the waters, running then from the *More*, and now *More-fields*.

(66) At *Cane* in *Normandy*, hee founded the *Monastery* of Saint *Stephen* the first Christian *Martyr*, adorning it with most sumptuous buildings, and endowing it with rich revenewes; where his Queene *Maud* had erected a Nunnerie for the society of Vailed Virgins; unto the honour of the blessed Virgin *Marie*. In which Monastery Queene *Maud* his wife, was buried before him, and lastly himselfe after a most glorious and victorious raigne. In whose tomb (opened by the Bishop of *Bayeux*, in *Anno* 1542.) was found a guilt plate of brasse, wherein was ingraven this Epitaph:

Hollinsh. Lamb. Peram.

Qui rexit rigidos Northmanos atque Britannos,
Audacter victi, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Canomenses virtute coercuit enses,
Imperijq; sui legibus applicuit,
Rex magnus parva jacet hac Gulielmus in urna:
Sufficit & magno parva domus domino.
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus,
Virginis in gremio Phabus, & hic obiit.

In English.

He that the sturdy *Normans* rul'd, and over *English* raign'd,
And stoutly won, and strongly kept, what he so had obtain'd,
And did the swords of those of *Maine*, by force bring under awe,
And made them under his command, live subject to his law,
This great King *William* lieth here, entomb'd in little grave.
So great a Lord, so small a house, sufficeth him to have.
When *Phabus* in the Virgins lap, his circled course apply'd,
And twenty three degrees had past, even at that time he died.

His Wife.

(67) *Maud* the wife of King *William*, was the daughter of *Baldwine* the fifth, surnamed the *Gentle*, Earle of *Flaunders*; her mother was *Alice*, daughter of *Robert* King of *France*, the sonne of *Hugh Capet*: Shee was married unto him when hee was a Duke, at the Castle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, and in the second yeare of his raigne over *England*, she was crowned Queene upon *Whit-Sunday*, the yeare of Grace, 1068. And although she maintained *Robert* in his quarrell for *Normandy*, and out of her owne coffers paid the charges of warre against his Father, and her owne Husband; yet, because it did proceed but from a motherly indulgence for advancing her sonne, it was taken as a cause rather of displeasure, then of hatred by King *William*, as himselfe would often avouch, holding it an insufficient cause to diminish the love, that was linked with the sacred band of a marrimoniall knot. Shee departed this life the second day of *November*, the sixteenth yeare of his raigne, and of Christs humanity, 1083. for whom he often lamented with teares, and most honourably enterred her at *Cane* in *Normandy*, in the Church of Saint *Maries*, within the Monastery of Nunnes, which she had there founded.

Will. Malmes.

King *William* regardfull of matrimoniall agreement.

His Issue.

(68) *Robert*, the eldest sonne of King *William*, and of Queene *Maude* his wife, was surnamed *Curtuoise*, signifying in the old *Norman French*, short Boots: hee succeeded his Father onely in the *Duchie* of *Normandy*, and that also he lost afterwards to his brother *Henry* King of *England*, at the battell of *Edwardsbray*, (in that Dukedome) the yeare of our Lord 1106. where he was taken prisoner, and having his eyes put out (an unbrotherly punishment) was committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe* in *South-Wales*; and after twenty eight yeares imprisonment, there deceased, the yeare before the death of his said brother, *An.* 1134. and was buried at *Glouceiter*, in the midst of the Quier of *Saint Peters* Church; where remaineth a Tombe with his Carved Image at this day. Hee had two wives, the first, *Margaret* daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Maygne*, both married in their Child-hood, and shee died before they came to yeares of consent: The other was *Sibyll*, daughter of *Geffrey*, and sister to *William*, Earles of *Conversana* in *Italy*, and Neece of *Robert Guiscard*, Duke of *Apulia*: By her he had two sonnes, *William* and *Henry*; this *Henry* was he that was slaine by mischance, as he was hunting in the *New-Forrest* in *Hampshire*.

Robert.

A cruell revenge of one brother on another.

William the Elder, surnamed in Latine *Misor*, was Earle of *Flanders*, in right of Queene *Maude* his *Grand-mother*, succeeding *Charles* of *Denmarke* in that Earledome; hee also had two wives, the first *Sibyll*, (whose mother, called also *Sibyll*, was the daughter of *Fowlke* Earle of *Anjou*) after divorced from him, and remarried to *Terry* of *Alsas*, his Successour; the second was *Ioan*, the daughter of *Humbert* Earle of *Mories*, now called *Savoy*, sister of Queene *Alice* of *France*, wife of King *Lewis* the *Gr osse*: hee died sixe yeares before his father, of a wound received at the siege of the Castle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, the 27 of *July*, in the 28 yeare of the Raign of King *Henry* his Vncle, and of our Lord, 1128. he was buried at *Saint Omers* in the Monastery of *Sain & Bartin*, and left no issue behinde him.

Henry slaine in his Grandfathers Newforrest

William.

...ard, the second sonne of King *William* and ...Maud, was borne in *Normandy*, and after his ...had attained the Crowne came into *England*, ...ere, being then very young, as he was hunting in the *New-Forrest* of *Hampshire*, he came to a violent and sudden death, by the goring of a Stagge; (others say, by a pestilent aire,) and is noted to be the first man that dyed in that place, the justice of God punishing on him his Fathers dis-peopling of that Country: his body was thence conveighed to *Winchester*, and there buried on the Southside of the Quire of the *Cathedrall Church*, where there remaineth a Monument of him with an Inscription entituling him a *Duke*, and some suppose of *Bologne*.

Will. Rufus, or the Redde.

(70) *William*, the third sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the twenty one yeare of his Fathers Dukedome, ten yeares before he was King, 1059. he was surnamed of the *Red* colour of his haire, in *French Rows*, in *Latine Rufus*; hee was brought up under *Lanfranke*, the learned *Lumbard*, who was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom he received both instructions of knowledge, and the order of Knight-hood; hee served under his Father at the battell of *Gerberoth*, in *Normandy*, 1079. wherein he was wounded: and he always framed his actions so pleasing to his Fathers humour, as that he thought him much worthier then his elder brother to succeed in his Kingdome.

Henry Beauclerke.

(71) *Henry* the fourth, and yongest sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selby* in *Yorkeshire*, the third yeare of his Fathers raigne, and our Lord God, 1070. his childhood was trained up in learning, at *Cambridge*, saith *Caius*; but the ancient Annales of Saint *Austins* in *Canterbury*, say, he was *Philosophiâ peregrè informatus, instructed beyond Sea in Philosophy*; where for his notable knowledge in the Liberall Sciences, he was surnamed by the *French*, *Beau-clerke*, that is, the fine *Scholler*. Vpon his returne he was made Knight, being 16. yeares old, by his father at *Westminster*, in *Whitsontide* the nineteenth yeare of his Raigne, *Anno* 1086. and, though at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but Treasure, yet afterward he succeeded his brothers, both in the Kingdome of *England* and *Dutchie* of *Normandy*.

John Caius Cantabrig. Annales S. Augustini. Cantuar. M.S.

Cicelie.

(72) *Cicelie*, the eldest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *Normandy*, brought up in *England*, and carried againe into *Normandy*, where in the ninth yeare of the Kings Raigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1075. she was by her Father on *Easter-day*, with great solemnity offered up in the Church of *Foscampe*, and vailed to be a Nun in the Monastery there; but was afterward elected by the Nunnes of our *Lady* at *Cane*, to be *Abbesse* of their *Monasterie*, founded by her Mother, which she governed, and where she dyed and was interred.

She is vailed a Nunne.

Constance.

(73) *Constance*, the second daughter of King *William*, and Queene *Maud*, was the first wife of *Allayne*, Earle of little *Britaigne*, surnamed in the *British*, *Fergent*; in *English Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his service done at the Conquest of *England*, his Father in law gave him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Castle, and wherof he made the Earledome of *Richmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Successors; although he had his children by another wife; for she died very young and without issue; and was buried in the Abbey of Saint *Edmondsbury* in *Suffolke*.

The Earledome of Richmond erected.

Alice.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was married to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* in *France*, and had issue by him *William* an Innocent, *Thibaud* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Blois* and *Champain*, *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Boloine*, (who was King of *England*) *Henry* a Monke of *Clugny*, after Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester*, *Mary* married to *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbart*, an Earle of *France*, and mother of Saint *William* Archbishop of *Yorke*: Shee survived Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her widowhood tooke upon her the profession of Religion in the Priorie of Nunnes at *Marcigny* in *France*, where she ended her life.

Saint William Archbishop of Yorke.

Gundred.

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King *William*, and of Queene *Maud*, was married to *William* of *Warren*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the first Earle of *Surrey* in *England*; by whom shee had issue *William* the second Earle, Progenitor of the Earles that followed; and *Reinold* of *Warren*, her second sonne, who had also issue. Shee died in Childbed, three yeares before her husband, at *Castleaker* in *Norfolke* the 27 of May, in the 20 yeare of her Fathers reigne, being in the yeare of our Lord, 1085. and is buried in the Chapter-house of Saint *Pancrase* Church within the Priory, at the towne of *Lewes*, in the County of *Sussex*.

Ela.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King *William*, and his Queene *Maud*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harold*, when hee was in *Normandy*, being then a young Widower. Notwithstanding, hee refusing her, tooke another wife, and usurped the Kingdome of *England*, after the death of king *Edward*, whereby he occasioned his owne ruine, and Conquest of his Country, which afterward ensued when her Father sought revenge, so much (as some write) to the discontentment of this Lady, that for griefe of these mischances, she ever after refused marriage, and led a single and solitary life; though others upon better warrant collect, that she dyed young, and before *William* her father set forth for *England*; *Harold* himselfe pleading, that he was free from all covenants and promises to Duke *William*, by reason of the death of this his daughter.

Margaret.

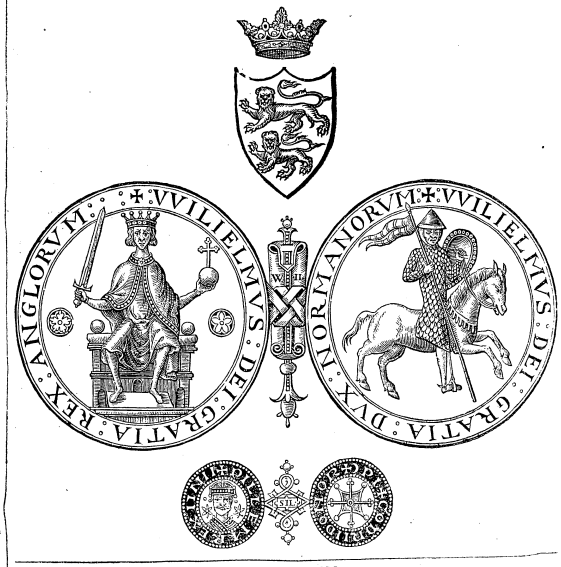
(77) *Margaret*, the sixth and youngest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was in her childhood given in marriage to *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia* in *Spaine*, that afterward was so renowned for the Conquest of the Citie *Lysbon*, for his victories against the *Moores*, and for the slaughter of the five Kings, and was the Founder of the Kingdom of *Portugall*, the first King thereof, and the first bearer of the five Shields of the said five Kings, which are to this day the Armes of the same. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceased before those things happened, and before she came to yeares of lawfull consent to the marriage.

WILLIAM

William Rufus.

VVILLIAM THE SECOND, SVRNAMED RVFVS, THE FOVRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND VNTIMELY DEATH.

Monarch. 40.



CHAPTER. III.

An. Dom. 1087. William Rufus enters into England.

VV*illiam* posting for *England*, and Archbishop *Lanfrank*, his earnest soliciter by liberall gifts given, and promises made to abrogate the over-hard lawes of his Father, had the readier passage into the opinions of them that could doe most: and the more to notifie his intended milde government, with other his noble inclinations to princely vertues, as eye-witnesses of his favours towards the *English*, he brought with him from *Normandy*, *Morcar*, the stout Earle of *Chester*, and *Wilnoth* the sonne of King *Harold*, both of them released out of prison, and then held in especiall favour with him. But most of the States standing for *Robert Curtoise* his elder brother (a man deemed of a more liberall dispostition, and better temperature towards the Subjects) their titles had beene tried by swords, had not *Lanfranke* and *Wulstan*, both wise and reverend Prelates, by their Counsels & Mediations stayed their hands.

Lanfranke and ... other wise fine Fathers her Rufus.

Will. Gem. Anglo Norm. His Coronation.

(2) Consent thus gotten, and all voyces given for *William*, he was crowned their King at Westminster, upon Sunday the twenty sixt day of *September*, and yeare of Salvation 1087. by the hands of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; under whom he had beene educated even from his Childe-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Government, had not the variable inclination of his owne minde carried his actions past the limits of any stayed compasse.

His dispositi...

An. Dom. 1088.

(3) *Robert* upon discontents that *Normandy* was still detained, before his fathers sickeneſſe, was gone into *Germany*, to solicite their assistance for his right to that *Duchie*: but hearing of his death, hasteth into the Province, and was there peaceably received, and

Robert.

(69) *Richard*, the second sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, and after his Father had attained the Crowne came into *England*, where, being then very young, as he was hunting in the *New-Forrest* of *Hampshire*, he came to a violent and sudden death, by the goring of a Stagge; (others say, by a pestilent aire,) and is noted to be the first man that dyed in that place, the justice of God punishing on him his Fathers dis-peopling of that Country: his body was thence conveighed to *Winchester*, and there buried on the Southside of the Quire of the *Cathedrall Church*, where there remaineth a Monument of him with an Inscription entituling him a *Duke*, and some suppose of *Bologne*.

Richard slaine in his Fathers New-Forrest.

Will. Rufus, or the Redde.

(70) *William*, the third sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the twenty one yeare of his Fathers Dukedome, ten yeares before he was King, 1059. he was surnamed of the *Red* colour of his haire, in *French Rows*, in *Latine Rufus*; hee was brought up under *Lanfranke*, the learned *Lumbard*, who was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of whom he received both instructions of knowledge, and the order of Knight-hood; hee served under his Father at the battell of *Gerberoth*, in *Normandy*, 1079. wherein he was wounded: and he alwayes framed his actions so pleasing to his Fathers humour, as that he thought him much worthier then his elder brother to succeed in his Kingdome.

Henry Beauclerke.

(71) *Henry* the fourth, and yongest sonne of King *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selby* in *Yorkeshire*, the third yeare of his Fathers raigne, and our Lord God, 1070. his childhood was trained up in learning, at *Cambridge*, saith *Caius*: but the ancient Annales of Saint *Austins* in *Canterbury*, say, he was *Philosophiâ peregrè informatus, instructed beyond Sea in Philosophy*; where for his notable knowledge in the Liberall Sciences, he was surnamed by the *French*, *Beau-clerke*, that is, the fine *Scholler*. Vpon his returne he was made Knight, being 16. yeares old, by his father at *Westminster*, in *Whitsontide* the nineteenth yeare of his Raigne, *Anno* 1086. and, though at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but Treasure, yet afterward he succeeded his brothers, both in the Kingdome of *England* and *Dutchie* of *Normandy*.

John Caius Cantabrig. Annales S. Augustin. Cantuar. M.S.

Cicelie.

(72) *Cicelie*, the eldest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *Normandy*, brought up in *England*, and carried againe into *Normandy*, where in the ninth yeare of the Kings Raigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1075. she was by her Father on *Easter-day*, with great solemnity offered up in the Church of *Fescampe*, and vailed to be a Nun in the Monastery there; but was afterward elected by the Nunnes of our *Lady* at *Cane*, to be *Abbesse* of their *Monasterie*, founded by her Mother, which she governed, and where she dyed and was interred.

She is vailed a Nunne.

Constance.

(73) *Constance*, the second daughter of King *William*, and Queene *Maud*, was the first wife of *Allayne*, Earle of little *Britaigne*, surnamed in the *British*, *Fergent*; in *English Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his service done at the Conquest of *England*, his Father in law gave him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Castle, and wherof he made the Earledome of *Richmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Successors; although he had his children by another wife; for she died very young and without issue; and was buried in the Abbey of Saint *Edmondsbury* in *Suffolke*.

The Earledome of Richmond erected.

Alice.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was married to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* in *France*, and had issue by him *William* an Innocent, *Thibaud* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Blois* and *Champain*, *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Boloine*, (who was King of *England*) *Henry* a Monke of *Clumy*, after Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester*, *Mary* married to *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbart*, an Earle of *France*, and mother of Saint *William* Archbishop of *Yorke*: Shee survived Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her widowhood tooke upon her the profession of Religion in the Priorie of Nuns at *Marcigny* in *France*, where she ended her life.

William Rufus.

Saint William Archbishop of Yorke.

Gundred.

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King *William*, and of Queene *Maud*, was married to *William* of *Warren*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, who was the first Earle of *Surrey* in *England*; by whom shee had issue *William* the second Earle, Progenitor of the Earles that followed; and *Reinold* of *Warren*, her second sonne, who had also issue. Shee died in Childbed, three yeares before her husband, at *Castleaker* in *Norfolke* the 27 of May, in the 20 yeare of her Fathers reigne, being in the yeare of our Lord, 1085. and is buried in the Chapter-house of Saint *Pancrase* Church within the Priory, at the towne of *Lewes*, in the County of *Sussex*.

Ela.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King *William*, and his Queene *Maud*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harold*, when hee was in *Normandy*, being then a young Widower. Notwithstanding, hee refusing her, tooke another wife, and usurped the Kingdome of *England*, after the death of king *Edward*, whereby he occasioned his owne ruine, and Conquest of his Country, which afterward ensued when her Father sought revenge, so much (as some write) to the discontentment of this Lady, that for griefe of these mischances, she ever after refused marriage, and led a single and solitary life; though others upon better warrant collect, that she dyed young, and before *William* her father set forth for *England*; *Harold* himselfe pleading, that he was free from all covenants and promises to Duke *William*, by reason of the death of this his daughter.

Margaret.

(77) *Margaret*, the sixth and youngest daughter of King *William* and Queene *Maud*, was in her childhood given in marriage to *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia* in *Spaine*, that afterward was so renowned for the Conquest of the Citie *Lysbon*, for his victories against the *Mores*, and for the slaughter of the five Kings, and was the Founder of the Kingdom of *Portugall*, the first King thereof, and the first bearer of the five Shields of the said five Kings, which are to this day the Armes of the same. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceased before those things happened, and before she came to yeares of lawfull consent to the marriage.

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Lanfranke and Wulfan wife & holy the Peeres for Rufus.

Ingulph. Hist. Croyland. Matth. Paris. His Coronation.

(2) Consent thus gotten, and all voyces given for *William*, he was crowned their King at Westminster, upon Sunday the twenty sixt day of *September*, and yeare of Salvation 1087. by the hands of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; under whom he had beene educated even from his Childe-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Government, had not the variable inclination of his owne minde carried his actions past the limits of any stayed compasse.

His disposition.

Ingulph. Hoveden. Simon Dun. The Peeres with well to build the Abbey of Westminster. Matth. Paris. Polydor.

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(3) *Robert* upon discontents that *Normandy* was still detained, before his fathers sickenesse, was gone into *Germany*, to solicite their assistance for his right to that *Duchie*: but hearing of his death, hasteth into the Province, and was there peaceably received,

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His disposition

and made their Duke: which title notwithstanding seemed to him dishonourable; his younger brother being invested to a Kingdome, and himselfe disinherited; no other cause moving, but his overmuch gentlenesse, being by nature composed nothing so rough, as was *Rufus*.

Odoes emulation against Lanfrankes.

(4) The like emulation incited *Odo*, Bishop of *Baieux* (his Uncle) against *Lanfranke* the Archbishop, who now ruled all, and had worn him out of favour with the Conqueror his halfe-brother, whom hee taught the distinction of imprisoning *Odo*, as an Earle, not as a Bishop: now therefore seemed the time most fitting for a just revenge: and albeit that *Rufus* brought him from *Normandy*, where hee had beene captivated, and restored him his honours and dignities in *England*; yet he, ungratefull man, envying that *Lanfrank* should goe before him, complotted the downfall as well of the one, as of the other. And drawing into this conspiracy, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*, and *Hereford* his brother, with many other of the *English* Nobility, wrote his letters into *Normandy* unto his Nephew, hasting him to repaire into *England*, and recover his right, which by his meanes hee promised should soone be effected.

Polyd. l. 7. c. 5.

He conspireth against the King.

Inviteth Robert to try for the Crowne.

(5) The businesse thus wrought to Duke *Roberts* hand, and the *English* resorting daily into *Normandy*, assured his hopes of a happy successe; onely the hinderance was want of money, and that very much as the world then went with him, having ever borne himselfe no lesse then his birth, nor ever had made his bags his *summum bonum*. In these extreames, he well saw the lesse was to bee followed, and to set a Dukedome at stake to cast at a Kingdome, he thought it ods sufficient, though the chance were doubtfull: Therefore to his yonger brother *Henry*, who had store of Gold, and wanted Land, hee morgaged the Countie of *Constantine*, a Province in *Normandy*, and then sent to *Odo*, that he should expect his landing on the West-coast of *England* by a day prefixed.

Duke Roberts hopes for England.

His wants.

His supply by morgage of his Land.

Odo the Ringleader for Duke Robert.

(6) The Bishop now growne bold upon Duke *Roberts* great power, shewed himselfe the first in the Action; and fortifying *Rochester*, beganne to molest the peace of *Kent*, sending to his complices abroad to doe the like, which was not long in performing: for in the West, *Robert de Mowbray*, Earle of *Northumberland*, assisted by *Geffrey*, Bishop of *Constance*, sacked *Bath*, and *Berkley*, with a great part of *Wiltshire*, and strongly fortified the Castle of *Bristow* against King *VVilliam*: In *Norfolke*, *Roger Bystow* against King *VVilliam*: In *Norfolke*, *Roger Bystow* against King *VVilliam*: In *Norfolke*, *Roger Byst

making many promises to amend his life, if God would be pleased to give him longer life: the hard Lawes against the *English*, he vowed to reforme, as also his owne vices, and to settle peace and good order in the Church, then farre out of frame, for almost all the Monks in *England*, lived rather like Consuls, being Hunters, Hawkers, Dicers, and great Drinkers (saith *Higden*) little regarding the rules of their profession. Those Bishopricks and Monasteries that were vacant, and in his owne hand, hee forthwith, and (much against his will wont) freely bestowed: the Archbishopricke of *Canterbury* upon *Anselme* a learned *Norman* Abbot: the See of *Lincolne* hee gave to *Robert Bluet* his Chancellour, a man of meane learning, and some other touches, but otherwise of many singular parts.

(20) But the danger past, and health recovered, he beganne to be more ficke in minde, soone repenting him of his too-soone Repentance: for as in spending his owne wealth, he was very prodigall, so was he very diligent to enter into other mens estates, and to gaine from them what hee could, and therefore tampereth with *Anselme*, perswading him, that the trouble of the Archbishops place was very burthenous, especially for a man wholly brought up within the walles of a Monastery, devoted to contemplation, and unexperienced in the mannage of great affaires of State. But all this Art could not induce him to let goe his hold-fast of the Kings absolutely passed promise, nor yet to satisfie his great desire with money, and therefore the King paid himselfe out of his lands. Likewise from *Roger* of *Lincoln* he exacted five thousand pounds; and the Commons he fined for transgression of his penall Lawes; and in truth molested all for money: None were rich but Treasurers and Collectors, none in favour but unconscionable Lawyers, and none rewarded but Promoters: So that his over-haled Subjects fled daily out of the Realme; against whom he published Proclamations, with an inhibition that none should depart without his safe Conduct.

(21) Soone after this, *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* came unto *Glouceſter*, to conferre with King *William* touching the Peace of both the Realmes; but conceiving a grudge, for that hee was not entertained according to the Majestie of his estate, departed in displeasure without speech with the King, and immediately raising a power against *England*, destroyed the Countrey unto *Alnewicke* Castle.

Robert Mowbray then Earle of *Northumberland*, a most valiant Souldier, seeing his Countrey thus over-runne, made head against him, not staying for directions from his King; and lying in Ambush for his returne, so fore and sodainly distressed his forces, that both King *Malcolme* himselfe and his sonne Prince *Edward* were there slaine.

(22) Hereupon Earle *Mowbray* growing proud, and greatly suspected by King *William*, beganne to fortifie the Kings Castles, with Munition and Armes against the like invasion, indeed against the Kings will; who sent him word somewhat roughly, to desist from his doings, and presently to repaire to his Presence; which whilest he lingered and neglected to doe, King *William* sent his brother *Henry* to spoile *Northumberland*, and immediately followed after himselfe, where without much adoe, hee tooke the Earle, and committed him prisoner to *Windsor* Castle.

(23) These stirres in the North are diverſly reported: for *Walsingham* in his *Ypodigma Neustria*, saith, that *Robert Mowbray* and *William* of *Anco* with others, conspired to deprive the King both of crowne and life, and to have set up *Stephen de Albemarle*, his Aunts sonne: the issue of which treason was prevented by surprizing *Mowbray*, who dyed a Prisoner. *William* of *Anco* was punished with losse both of his eyes and his virility; and *William Alverie* (the Kings Godfather, Kinsman and Sewer) cruelly whipped, and all naked goared in bloud, though guiltlesse, was hanged. *Hector Boetius*, the *Scottish* Historian, relates somewhat otherwise of the death of King *Malcolme*; as that the *English* having gotten the Castle of *Anwick*, King *Malcolme* with a strong siege invironed it about; when, the *English* distressed, and ready to surrender, a certaine Knight amongst them attempted a very desperate enterprize; for mounted upon a swift horse, unarmed, excepting onely a light Speare in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keyes of the Castle, he rode directly to the *Scottish* Campe, and was with great applause brought unto their King, where couching his staffe, as though he meant with submission to deliver him the keyes, sodainely ranne him into the left eye, and through swiftnesse of his horse escaped, leaving the king there dead: for which act King *William* (saith he, though erroneously) changed the Knights name into *Perceeye*, whence that Noble Familie is descended.

Guilielmus Gemeticenſis saith indeed, that it was reported that King *Malcolme* was slaine by a guile, declaring not the manner, but by the hands of *Morell*, Nephew to Earle *Mowbray*, where likewise died Prince *Edward* his sonne, and the greateſt part of his Armie, with which dolefull newes (saith *Hector*) his Queene *Margaret* (called the Saint) within three dayes after died of griefe. But *Paris* hath set it downe, as is said; and in the same yeare makes *William* the Conquerour of *Wales*; since which time the *English* Monarchs have beene accounted their chiefe Governours.

(24) Grudges now grown betwixt *King William* and Duke *Robert* his brother, each accusing other of breach of oath and of Covenants, *William* from *Hastings* ſet faile into *Normandy*, where some bickering fell betwixt the two brethren, but by the mediating of certaine grave persons, their quarrels were compromised, and Princes chosen to be their Arbitrators; which hearing indifferently all allegations, adjudged King *Rufus* in the fault, who thereupon (as thinking nothing right, but what went with him) was so farre from following their award, that being offended with their censure, he presently affaulted, and tooke the Castle of *Burren*; neither did *Robert* for his part sleepe the whiles, but surprized the Castle of *Argenton*, which was by former Covenants given to King *William*, drawing likewise *Philip* the *French* King to his side, who with his Army entred *Normandy* for his assistance.

(25) King *William* then waying into what danger he had brought himselfe, (all approoving Duke *Robert*, and disallowing his Acts,) he sought to doe that by money, which he could not by sword. Therefore to those souldiers, which in heat of his furie, hee had commanded to bee sent him into *Normandy*, (even twenty thousand, now in readinesse, and at *Haſtings* staying for a wind) he sent a countermand, exacting of every common souldier tenne shillings in money for the release, and so without further trouble to returne to their homes; with which summe he so pacified the *French* King, that he now left *Robert* to looke to himselfe, who thus forsaken, was constrained to come to an unreasonable peace.

(26) And the more willingly, for that the holy wars for *Ieruſalem*, celebrated of five yeares before, were now hotly pursued by Pope *Vrbane* the second, (whom *Bibliander* blameth to be the causer of much Christian bloud-shed) onely to set up that, which Christ by prophesie had laid in desolation. Among these Christian valiant Captains, Duke *Robert* would be one, but wanting money, (no newes at all to his coffers) he sent to his brother King *William* to bee supplied, and for the summe of five thousand, five hundred, sixty six pound of silver, (*Paulus Aemilius* saith, five thousand foure hundred thirty foure more) mortgaged his *Dutchy* unto him, giving him the possession thereof before his departure.

(27) To make up which summe, he did not onely oppresse and fleece his poore Subjects, but rather (to use the words of *Paris*) with importunate exaxions did

did as it were flea off their skins; for the Churches and Monasteries, having sold away their Iewels and Chalices to satisfie his apperite, and answering they could make no more; the King replyed, with some scorne; And have you not, I beseech you, Coffins of Gold and Silver for dead mens bones? Accounting the money laid out upon this holy Expedition, to be better imployed then to garnish the reliques of the dead.

(28) The King thus finding his fortune in all things pliable to his wilhes, and his heart therewith greatly puffed up, his purpose was now at his returne from *Normandy*, to make a full conqueſt of *Wales*; therefore redoubling his forces hee drew into the Marches, where pitching his Tents, hee consulted with his Captaines what was best to bee done. The *Welſhmen* finding themselves over-weake, fled according to their accustomed manner, into the Woods and Mountaines, taking thereby such advantage against their pursuers, that the King returned without any notable deede done, and with the like succesſe hee undertooke another Expedition against them the yeere following.

(29) But bearing a minde still to subdue all *Wales*, he had first in his eie the Iland *Angleſey* against which he sent *Hugh Mountgomery* Earle of *Shrewesbury*, and *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Chester*, who there executed their Conquests with very great cruelties, cutting off the Noses, Hands, and Armes of their resisters, without regard of age, or sexe, nor sparing either places or persons, sacred or prophane. At which very time it chanced *Magnus* King of *Norway*, the sonne of *Olavus*, (the sonne of *Harold Harfager*) to have made his Conquest of the *Iles* of *Orkeney*, and then wafting along the Seas, fought to come on Land in *Angleſey*, whom to impeach, these Earles made all their powers: where *Hugh Mountgomery* armed at all parts, but onely the sight of his Bever, was shot into his right eye, whereof hee died eight dayes after.

(30) The holy voyage now set forward, (unto which Pope *Vrbane* was a chiefe instigator) thirty thousand Christians tooke the Signe of the Crosse, wearing it on their garments as the cognizance of their devoted warfare: The chiefeſt Captaine of which Princely army, was *Peter* a poore Hermit, who returning from *Ieruſalem*, certified the Pope of the Christians great misery under those mercileſſe Infidels: but the good man more exercised in prayers (the weapons of Votaries) then expert to guide an Army, was soone entrapped among the *Bulgares*, and slaine, with most of his Souldiers. But yet the businesse still prosecuted, the number of all degrees and ages flocking to the service, is reported to have amounted (a thing almost incredible) unto seaven hundred thousand. In chiefe command of which huge Armie, were imployed many brave Princes of Christendome; as *Godfrey* the famous Duke of *Loraine*, with his brethren *Euſtace* and *Baldwin*: *Bohemund* Duke of *Naples*, and his Nephew *Tancredus*: *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*: *Hugh le grand*, brother to *Philip* the *French* King; *Raymund*, Earle of *S. Egidius*; and besides many other great Princes, the foresaid *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, not the last in esteeme for his renowned service; as his memorable prowesse in that imployment did afterwards make apparent unto the World. All these meeting at *Conſtantinople* (where *Alexius* was *Emperour*) passed over *Helleſpont*, and proceeded with better succesſe then the *Hermit* had done, subduing Cities and Countries before them, with the slaughter of an hundred thousand Infidels, and purchase of great spoyles: and lastly, tooke *Ieruſalem* the holy Citie, in the thirtie ninth day after the Siege thereof. But let us from *Iewrie* returne into *England*.

(31) King *William* at rest whilest his Brother and the rest were in warres, thinking now both of fortifying and beautifying his Kingdome, caused new walles to be built about the Tower of *London*, and at *Weſtminſter*, (* where before was the ancient Palace of Saint *Edward* and his Ancestours) laid new foundations of a most large and Princely Palace, the Hall whereof, by the testimony of *Paris*, should have extended (if he had lived to finish it) from the River *Thames* ſis even unto the common high way, as might appeare by the first ground-works, at the time when in *Paris* wrote: but that stately Building, which now we call the *Great Hall*, he finished as it now standeth, containing in length two hundred and seventy foote, in breadth seventy foure: yet (when some praised the largeneſſe thereof) hee found fault that it was not made bigger, accounting it scarse worthy the name of a Bed-Chamber, in respect of that which he intended to build.

And certes, of a right magnanimous disposition was this *Rufus*, as appeared at such time, when sitting at dinner, purposing forthwith to take his pleasure in hunting, a messenger brought him sudden newes of the Siege of *Mayne*, a Citie in *Normandy*: whereto when the King answered, *He would take advice what to doe: But thy Subjects* (replyed the party) *are in distreſſe, and cannot be delayed*; whereat the King swore his wonted Oath, that *if they could not, they ſhould not, and that hee would not turne his backe till he were with them*; and thereupon commanded to breake downe the wall that he might goe forth the next way to the Sea, leaving straight Commission for his Nobles to follow him with all celerity.

(32) But the winds being contrary, and thereby both the Sea and the King in a great rage; his Pilote misdoubting hazard of Shipwrack, desired him humbly to expect a while, till those boysterous Elements were calmer, and passage more safe. Whereunto he answered, as no whit daunted: *Haſt thou ever heard that any * King hath beene drowned? therefore hoyſe up the Sailes, I charge thee, and be gone.* The City upon this unexpected speede of the King, was soone released, and *Helias*, Consull of *Cinomannia*, who did beleaguer it, being taken by a traine, was by King *William* jested at to his face, as a man neither of Martiall prowesse nor policie: at which indignitie the Noble *Helias* disdainingly storming, with great boldnesse said unto *Rufus*: *I am now thy Priſoner, not by thy prowesſe, but by chance of warre, and my owne misfortune: but were I at libertie, thou ſhouldeſt well know, I am not the man thus to be laughed at.* The King well-liking the confidence of his spirit: *Well then* (said he) *I give thee full liberty, goe thy wayes, doe what in thee lieth; I am the man that ever will mate thee.*

(33) And surely, how soever he might be blemished with many staines of bad Government, yet for his valour and resolutions in wars he is greatly commended; and so much by some, that, if it were not against the faith of Christianity, it might be thought (saith *Malmesbury*) that the soule of *Cæsar* had entred into the body of this *Rufus*, as that of *Euphorbius* is said to have done into *Pythagoras*: yea, and those staines (wee may well thinke) were no whit lessened by his story-writers, who were dependants of the Romish See: for that he little favoured their Holy Father, or any such as adhered unto the See of *Rome*, against the Prerogative of his Crowne; as especially appeared in his Offence conceived against *Anſelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for his too *Romiſh* humor. There was at that time a Schisme in the *Roman* Church, which Monster-like, had then two heads on one Body; the Emperor (who claimed that as his right) placing one, and the *Roman* Clergy aberting another, *Vrbanus* by name, with whom conforted *Anſelme*, against the Kings command.

The King alledged, that no Archbishop or Bishop of the kingdome should (or ought) be subject to the *Pope* or Court of *Rome*, with whom they had nought to doe: that he and his Realme had as large franchesies, ever since the receiving of the Christian faith, as the Emperour had in his Empire; and that therefore none ought in his Realme to be received for *Pope*, whom himselfe and his State should not first approve:

Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt.

Polyd. lib. 7. cap. 6.

Ger. Dorab. Godwin in his Catalogue of Bishops. Hist. Roffensis, diverses: (res nimirum) potens, pius, victor, Conquisitores, mitis, cum parcere victis, crat. Tyrrel. Neull. King William regaineth his health, and loseth his good purpo. ses. Godwin in the life of Anſelme.

Polydor. lib. 7. cap. 7.

Rand. Higd.

King Malcolme commeth to Glouceſter. Will. Gemet.

Departeth discontent. Will. Malmes. Eadmer. Rasseth a power.

Will. Gemetic. as Hunter, with him for the Prince, Simeon Dunel.

Earle Mowbrayes greatneſſe suspected by the King.

Matth. Paris.

Is taken and imprisoned.

Tyrrel. Neull.

Matthew Paris under the seal of submission.

The names of Peticioners themselves, being of noble Norman race. Vide: Comitis Northum. Gemeticenſis. Saint Augustine (Edgar Atheling) (the) distributor given of her husbands death, few such Saints like wives. Heller Boetius. Matth. Paris. Two English Monarches of wales.

An. Dom. 1094. Will. Malmsb. Rand. Higden. Simon Dun. A breach is given between the two Brethren, hands up for a time. King William refuseth the censure of his Arbitrators.

Both parts against Iames.

King William prevailes by money.

Matt. Paris.

The French King leaves his friend for money.

Matth. Paris.

The warres for the Holy-land.

Tyrrel Willian.

Duke Robert giving in pawne Iame to engage his Dukedome. Henry Hunt. Will. Thom. Paul. Aemil. Will. Gemet.

King William exerciseth afflictions. Matth. Paris.

Hoyle Boetius. lib. 12. cap. 12.

Malcolme slain.

Malcolme.

Edward.

An. Dom. 1095.

An expedition for wales.

The Welsh flye to their mountaines.

An. Dom. 1096. Anglesey invaded. Matth. Paris.

An. Dom. 1097. Conchy there slaine. Girald Cambr.

Mountgomery slaine in Anglesey.

An. Dom. 1098.

Mountgomery kild in the eye.

An. Dom. 1099. Spiritual Armes taken. The holy voyage.

Peter, an Hermite, the Captaine.

The number of the Army. Matth. Paris. The Generals of the Army. Bon. Huttingius.

The Leaders. Tancredus taken by Christians.

An. Dom. 1099.

Iogelybus.

Matth. Paris. Stowes Survay.

Westmin. Hall built.

The length and breadth thereof.

Rand. Higden.

Malme in Normandy besieged. Hen. Hunt.

The Kings readinesse to relieve them.

Will. Malmes.

* Yet, King Pharao was drowned, if the Pilot durst have so replied Will. Gemet.

The courage of Helias a Prisoner.

King William releaseth him.

His great valour.

Will. Gemet. lib. 6. His praises much unpaired by partiall Writers.

His opposition to the Romish Church.

Two Popes of Rome. Matth. Paris.

No English B. subject to the Pope. Eremus. Hunt.

The King of England hath as great privileges as the Emperour.

approve: that without his licence none ſhould goe or appeale to *Rome* in any cauſe: that *Anſelme* could not keepe his Allegeance to his Soveraigne, and alſo to the *Pope*. Vpon all which points the Prelates of *England*, excepting onely *Gundulphus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, aſſented to the King againſt *Anſelmus*, that he was guilty of High-Treaſon, for attempting to deprive the Crowne of theſe prerogatives.

Matth. Paris. alibi, except alſo Ranulphus Cestrensis ſayes.

(34) And becauſe the King then urged, that herein hee did no more then his father had done before him, it ſhall not be impeinent to obſerve heere, how that, as *Vrbane* uſed *Anſelmus* for his inſtrument to draw the King to his becke; who performed that truſt with ſuch thankes of the *Pope*, that he gave him and his ſucceſſours the honour to ſit at his right foote in any open Synod, in theſe words; *Includamus hunc in orbe noſtro, tanquam alterius orbis Papam:* So Pope *Gregory* before him uſed Archbiſhop *Lanfranks* help for undermining of *William* the Conquerour, and to ſubject him and his State to the Papacie; which that it may appeare the better, I will here inſert the Conquerours owne Letter to the *Pope*.

Pope Gregory was juſtly by all mens judgements (ſaith *Paris*) deroſed for Treaſon againſt the Emperour.

To Gregory the moſt Excellent Paſtour of Holy Church, William *by the Grace of God, King of* England *and Duke of* Normandy, *wiſheth health and friendſhip: Your Legat* Hubert; *Religious Father, came vnto me, exhorting me, in your name, to make Allegeance to you, and your Succeſſours, and to take better order for the money which my Predeceſſors were wont to ſend to the Church of* Rome. *The one I have granted, of the other I have not admitted. Fealty to you, I neither would, nor will make; for I neither promiſed you ſo much, neither found I that ever my Anteceſſors did performe it to yours. The * money hath beene negligently gathered, my ſelfe almoſt theſe three yeares being in* France, *but being by Gods mercy returned into my Kingdome, as much as is collected is now ſent by the ſaid Legate: the reſt ſhall be ſent when it may conveniently, by the meſſengers of* Lanfranke *our faithfull ſervant. Pray for us, and for the good eſtate of our Kingdome; for I have loved your Predeceſſors, and my deſire is above all others ſincerely to love you, and to heare you obediently.*

Amongſt Lanfranks Epiſtles, lib. 3. epiſt.

The Pope would have William Conqueror to ſweare him allegeance.

This money was the Peter-pence or Romefeat, which Edward Confeſſor called th Eleemoſyne, as given of Almes to the Church of Rome.

His Holineſſe was then very wroth, that things did not cotten better to his deſires in *England*. But *Lanfranke* cleared himſelfe of the blame, ſhewing him how diligently, (but indeed traiterouſly) hee had beſtirred himſelfe, in counſelling the King to yeeld to ſweare obedience to the *Pope*: *Suaſi, ſed non perſuaſi*, (ſaid he,) *I have ſo adviſed him, but I could not perſwade him.*

Lanfranke counſelleth the King to ſubject himſelfe to the Pope.

Epiſt. Lanfran. M. S.

(35) By which incredible pride and Popiſh incroachments, attempted by the meanes of theſe chiefeſt Prelates of the Kingdome, King *William Rufus* (no doubt) ſaw it was high time for him to prevent farther miſchiefes to his State, by following his Fathers ſteps in timely repreſſing ſuch Papall intruſions: yea ſo farre was he from yeelding his necke to that yoake, that hee avowed, that the *Popes*, though boaſting of *Peters* Chaire, had not from him any power of binding or looſing, whoſe godly ſteppes they wholly neglected, following onely after Lucre and worldly Honours: that alſo it was but impoſture to teach interceſſion, and bootleſſe to uſe Invocation to Saints, even to Saint *Peter* himſelfe. And as for the reſt of the Romiſh Clergie, who then gave themſelves ſtrangely to worldly and fleſhly pleaſures, wearing their guilt Girdles and Spurres, and trimming their buſhie Locks; their looſe lives the King much deteſted, and ſought to puniſh; which moſt incenſed their Choler: and theſe were the haires no doubt in thoſe Monkiſh writers Pennes, that ever blotted his faire name, under their faſt-running, and uneven hands. For ſo much may we gather from *Gemeticenſis*, the Recorder of his life, who having reported many Acts of this Kings, ſeemeth laſtly to checke himſelfe for going ſo farre: where (he ſaith) *Theſe and many other like things wee could truely report of him, were it not we thinke it not convenient largely to relate his actions, becauſe he perſecuted very many of Gods ſervants, and the holy Church not a little, for which it is thought by the moſt part of wiſemen, that he repented too late and unprofitably.*

Will. Rufus prudently treads his fathers ſteps. *Eadmerus.*

He denieth the Popes power, *Solvendi & Ligandi ſtellas.*

Againſt praying to Saints.

Ranulphus Polychr. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Gemetic. l. 7. c. 8.

A very wiſe reaſon.

(36) And true it is, that ſome of them have taxed him for great *Pride* and *Covetouſneſſe*, whereof yet ſome pregnant examples to the contrary are not wanting; as, (though the inſtance be ſomewhat familiar) when his Chamberlaine bringing him a paire of new hoſe, and he demanding the price, was anſwered that they coſt three ſhillings; *Away baſe fellow* (quoth he) *are thoſe beſeeming a King? bring me of a marke price:* his ſervant went, but brought him another paire of no greater coſt, but told him (as great Mens reckonings uſually are made) that they were of the rate appointed: wherewith the King was very well pleaſed, and disburſed that great Price to fulfill his owne pride.

Rot. de Glous. Chron. S. Albans.

An example of Will. Rufus his wonderfull Pride.

Every baſe knave will now goe coſtlier.

(37) His Covetouſneſſe what it was, may hence appeare, that when two Monkes whoſe Abbot was lately dead, repaired to his Court, and each in large offers out-vied and overbad the other, to ſucceede in the Abbacie; a third Monke very ſober, and poore in ſhew, accompanying them in their buſineſſe, ſtood by; whom the King asked what he would give to be made Abbot? Nothing, ſaid the Monke; for I entred my profeſſion to be poore, and hitherto have beene, little eſteeming the pompe or riches of the World. Then thou art the man, (replied the King) and ſhalt be their Abbot, more worthy in thy poverty, then they for their price; and ſo conferring on him that high honour, checked the others, to their open infamy and reproach.

Matth. Paris. Gemeticenſis.

His ſtature. Polydor. Virg.

Polyd. lib. 24. in fin.

A prittely choice. I would all Simoniacks might ſo be ſerved.

As the like he alſo did to *Hugh* a *Norman* Knight, and Souldier by profeſſion, who of a ſincere devotion had entred the Monkiſh Order in the Monaſterie of S. *Auguſtines* at *Canterbury*, and at the death of *Vido* the Abbot, was but a Probationer; when coming with others to the King for the electing of another, was choſen himſelfe (though ſore againſt his will) without any requeſt or proffer; whoſe penitency and unfained humility ſo moved the King, that in this his Election he burſt forth into teares.

A preferment hollowed unlookedfor.

(38) Other faults I grant hee is charged with, wherein we have not and cannot utterly acquit him: as this beſides others, that his chiefeſt conſorts were Effeminated perſons, Ruffians and the like, and himſelfe ſaid to have delighted continually in adulteries, and the Companie of Concubines, *etiam coram Sole*, ſhameleſſe and in the ſight of the Sunne; though none of them be named, nor any his illegitimate iſſue knowne; and yet onely, or eſpecially for his ſins, many ſtrange ſignes of Gods wrath are reported to have happened in the time of his raigne.

Of King Williams incontinency.

Matth. Paris. No iſſue illegitimate of his, known.

(39) For in his ſecond yeare a terrible and moſt dreadfull Earthquake happened: And in his fourth, a vehement Lightning pierced the Steeple of the Abbey at *Winſcombe*, rent the beames of the roofe, caſt downe the Crucifixe, brake off his right legge, and withall overthrew the Image of our Lady ſtanding hard by, leaving ſuch a ſtench in the Church, that neither incenſe, holy-water, nor the ſinging of the Monkes could allay it. And not long after, ſo great a Tempeſt of wind happened, that in *London* it bare downe ſixe hundred houſes, and blew off the roofe of *Bow-Church*, which with the beames were borne in the ayre a great height; ſixe whereof being twenty ſeven foot long, with their fall, were driven twenty three foot deepe into the ground, the ſtreets of the Citie lying then unpaved.

An. Dom. 1089. Strange accidents of this time, ſtraight-quake.

Lightning

Winds.

John Stow.

In the ninth of his Raigne a blazing-Starre appeared with two buſhes, and other ſtarres ſeemed to ſhoot darts each againſt others, to no little feare and amazement of the beholders. The laſt of his Raigne, the Sea breaking over his limited bankes, drowned an innumerable multitude of people in many Countries, and in *Kent* overwhelmed the Lands, that ſometimes were Earle *Goodwins*, which as yet are called *Goodwins Sands*, lying very dangerous for all Navigators. But moſt fearfull was the Well of bloud, wch for

An. Dom. 1096. Vncouth Starres.

Deluge.

Goodwins Sands. Hector Boëtius

A well of blond.

for fifteene dayes roſe up out of the ground at *Finchamſted* neere *Abington* in *Berkeſhire*. His owne dreame, wherein it ſeemed the veynes of his Armes to be broken, and abundance of his bloud ſtreaming on the floore; as likewiſe that Monkes, who in his ſleepe ſaw the Crucifixe to ſpurne the King to the ground: theſe with many like, were held as preſages of his death, which preſently followed. Of all which, or the moſt part, what better cenſure can wee give, then that which King *William* himſelfe (when this laſt viſion was told him) did deliver; ſaying, *Well, a Monke he is, and can dreame (Monachiliter) as Monkes uſe to doe, onely for to gaine. Give him an hundred ſhillings, leſt he ſhould thinke he had dreamed bootleſſe.*

Preſages of his death.

Matth. Paris. ad An. 1100.

(40) Whatſoever force theſe preſages had, it is true, that upon the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, as he was hunting in the new-Forreſt, and in the place called *Chorengham*, all his Company being ſcattered from him; ſaving onely a *French* Knight, whoſe name was *Walter Tirrell*, the King with his arrow ſtrooke a Stag which yet not greatly hurt ranne away; to marke therefore the courſe that it tooke, he held up his hand betwixt his eye and the Sunne, when unawares alſo *Walter Tirrell* (o ſhot, that his Arrow glancing againſt a tree, ſtrooke the King in his breſt, who haſtily breaking off ſo much as ſtucke out of his body, with one onely groane fell downe and dyed. Of which ſudden chance, his followers ſoone underſtanding, moſt of them made away, but thoſe few which remained, laid his body (baſely God wot, but as neceſſity ſuffered) into a Colliers Cart, which drawne with one ſilly leane Beaſt, through a very foule and filthy way, the Cart broke, and there lay the ſpectacle of worldly

His ſtature. Polydor. Virg.

Matth. Paris. Gemeticenſis.

King William ſlaine with an Arrow in hunting.

Matth Paris.

Yeeres of his age and raigne, *vid. Malmsb.*

His deſcription of minde and body. * ſcetius thence ſurnames him *Rufus*.

His workes of devotion.

Lib. Burmund.

Henry I.

HENRY; THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FORTIETH ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN:

HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER IIII.

An. Dom. 1100. *Will. Malmesb. Iohn Sarisb. Ann. Waverl. Matth. Paris.*

HENRY, the youngest sonne of the Conquerour, and third King of his race, was borne heere in *England*, and brought up in Learning even from his childhood, whereby hee gained to himselfe the high honour very rare in those daies, especially in Princes, to be, and to be stiled the *Beauclerk*: whose portion of Treasure, was not a little, given him by his father, neither any whit spared by himself to purchase friends at the death of his brother; **Henry* of *Newburgh* the right Noble, vertuous, and learned Earle of *Warwicke*, ever making his way both with the Clergy and Nobles, who * refused to admit any King but with capitulation and covenants to their own likings.

* This was the first Example of Monarchie from the Conquest, to be continued only *ad placitum*. *Ex Tho Rudborne.*

* A politicke, but traiterous course of capitulating. *Matth. Paris.*

(2) The steps then by which hee mounted the Throne of Majesty, were the dislikes of *Williams* over-hard curbing of his *Natives*, as hee ever called the *English*; the rash and giddy head of his brother *Robert*; his absence in *Syria*, for whose returne to stay was dangerous, and whose election for King of *Ierusalem*, was likely to employ his person there still: his *English-birth*, having both a King and Queene to his Parents; his faire promises for reformation of bad and rigorous Lawes, imposed by his Father and Brother, the restoring of the Clergy from exile, and to their Church-Livings; remission of Taxes exacted on the Subjects; and due punishments of such persons as were the chiefe Causers thereof; in which behalfe to satisfie the People hee committed *Ralphe* Bishop of *Durham* to the Tower. Then promising by Oath to frame just Lawes grounded on those of *Saint Edward* (then which nothing was more desired) did winde himselfe so farre into the loves of all, that with a generall concurrence hee was saluted King.

Henries help to the Crowne. will. Gemet.

Idem.

Roger Hoved.

Henry. Hunt.

Ralphe Bishop of Durham imprisoned. Matth. Paris.

(3) He

His Coronation. Ger. Dorob.

will. Malmsb. The forraine Princes raigning in his time.

The reformation of his Court. Rand. Higden in Polych. l. 7. c. 12.

* *grandior, ingentiori.* * *Sarisb. lib. 5. de Regibus.* Publikes Liberties by him granted. *gemet. Antiolet.*

Matth. Paris.

By lyne of right bloud, saith Malmsf. Of hand and Gossiah, Gemmet. lib. 7. cap. 13. Of Eyes and Genitals, Horoden. Malmsf. lib. 5. Simon Dunel. viii. Malmsb.

King Edwards Lawes revived againe.

His Charters sent to be kept in Monasteries. Matth. Paris.

(3) He began his raigne the second of *August*, the sacred rites of whose Coronation were celebrated at *Westminster*, by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (in the absence of *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) the fifth day of the same moneth, the yeere of Christ 1100. When *Henry* the fourth possessed the Imperiall Diadem, *Philip* the first swayed the Scepter of *France*, *Edgar* wore the Crowne of *Scotland*, and *Paschall* the second sate in the See of *Rome*.

(4) His first businesse was to put in execution what he had promised; and because he might be thought unfit to guide a large kingdome, who cannot reforme those who are ever at his elbow, began, (as a good Prince ought) with his owne Court and Houshold (as knowing that to bee the patterne and warrant of others enormities) whence hee cashiered all Courtminions and nice or effeminate wantons, and enacting a decree against his Courtiers rapines, Adulteries and Robberies, punished their Thefts with * death, and Lechery with the losse of their Eyes; and other parts peccant.

(5) Then hee restored to the *English* the use of lights, which his father forbad by the ringing of a Bell, and had now continued for the space of thirty three yeeres, ordaining likewise many good Lawes, and common liberties, exemplified at large in *Matthew Paris*, which summarily may be thus abridged.

1. *The Freedome of the Church from oppressions, or reservation of their Possessions upon vacancies.*
2. *That the Heires of his Nobility should possesse the Lands of their Fathers, without redemption from him, which favours the Nobles likewise should afford to their Tenants.*
3. *That the Gentry might give in Marriage their Daughters and Kinswomen without his licence, so it were not to his Enemy.*
4. *That the widow should have her Joynter, and not be compelled to marry against her owne liking.*
5. *That the Mother or next of kindred, shall be Guardian of the Lands of her Children.*
6. *That Coyners of false Money should be * punished; and likewise ordained a measure to the length of his * Arme to be a Standard for Commerce among his People.*
7. *Then did hee forgive all debts to the Crowne before his owne time, and murthers committed before the day of his Coronation: with some other like indulgences: But, to the greatest content of the People, hee gave power and strength unto King* Edwards *Lawes.*

(6) To these his Ordinances he set his Name and Seale, with the subscription of sundry Peeres, commanding as many Copies as there were Counties in *England* to be transcribed and kept in the Monasteries of every Province. Then did hee recall *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury* forced out of the Land by *Rufus*, and bestowed all vacant Church-livings upon the worthiest persons. But to ground his new planted affection more deepe in the hearts of the *English*, hee became a suter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, to have his sister to wife, which was *Maude* the daughter of Queene *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, and Grandchild of *Edmund Ironside*, whereby his issue might meerely be both of the *English* bloud, and of the ancient *English* Kings.

(7) Shee by report of some Writers had vowed Virginity, and was brought up in a house of Religion at *Westminster*, (having entred the profession of a Nunne under her Aunt *Christian*) whose sanctity and knowledge both in matters humane and divine, with her mother *Margarets*, are highly commended (saith *Gemeticensis*) in a booke written of their lives: notwithstanding others hold that she vailed her selfe but for a shift, to put off some unworthy matches, which her father *Malcolme* would have imposed upon her; and indeed this scruple was such a core in *Anselms* mouth, that he would not pronounce the words of Contract untill her selfe had cleared the doubt by her open confession.

His Wife and Issue.

Gemeticens. l. 7.

Eadmerus.

Rand. Higdenus. Polyc. l. 7. c. 16.

Matth. Paris. Duke Robert doth noble service in the holy warrs.

Duke Robert elected King of Ierusalem.

Rand. Higd. in Polyc. lib. 7. cap 12.

Matth. Paris. Hee returnes into Normandy. will. Gemet. l. 8. c. 1.

His attempts for England. Matth. Paris. Roger. Hoved.

will. Malmsb. Henry Hunt.

King Henry strengthneth himself against Duke Robert.

(8) Duke *Robert*, who now had bin five yeeres in the holy warres, and therein borne himselfe with such valour, that hee of all the Christian Princes was thought the worthiest to be annointed King of *Ierusalem*, had their voyce and election, standing in the Temple before the Altar, upon *Easter-Eve*: and that the rather by a miracle of his Taper, which tooke light of it selfe, or from Heaven (if we will be so light to believe it:) but he hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refused that in hope to have *England*; for which his neglect of Divine appointment, it is said God never after prospered him: Then returning from *Syria* into *Normandy*, was there joyfully received, and assumed againe his Dukedome (which he had engaged to his brother *William*) without repayment of any money: where hearing that *Henry* his younger, was stept into his throne of *England*, laid projects in his mind how to defeate him. And to further these his designes, *Ralphe* Bishop of *Durham*, corrupting his keepers, brake out of the Tower of *London*, and gat into *Normandy*, where he instigated Duke *Robert* against his brother of *England*; others also delighting in alterations, solicited *Robert* to make into *England*, with promise of their assistance to recover the Crowne.

(9) King *Henry* for his part resolving to hold what he had got, neglected no meanes to keepe the Diadem as it was set, and therefore rigged forth his Navy to secure the Seas, manned his Fortresses, and with a great Army repaired towards the coast, where neere unto *Hastings* hee lodged his Campe, relying more upon his owne strength and valour of his People, then any just title he had to the Kingdome.

An. Dom. 1101. An. Reg. 2.

(10) Duke *Robert* by this time had taken the Seas, and was upon the Kings Fleet before they were aware, where preparing for Conflict, the most of the *English* fell to the *Normans*, either by the perswasion of the Duke, or in hatred of *Henry*, that then began to tyrannize over them, as they did imagine: By which meanes the Duke, had safe landing at *Portesmouth*, and did not a little rejoyce in this his fortunate beginning; threatning his brother to be revenged for his wrongs and blaming the Nobility for suffering him thus to be abused, whilest he for the common good of Christendome, was imployed in the Holy-Lands warre. King *Henry*, as wise, as the other was valorous, wrought under-hand for an agreement of peace; for hee very well saw, that the event of warre hath commonly issue from the first successe, and at one and the same time doth bolden and weaken the courage of the multitude; therefore certaine Noble-men on both sides so traversed the businesses, that the Brethren in short time became friends, and a composition made to both their contents. The agreement was thus, that, because *Henry* was borne after his fathers Conquest of this Land, and stood now the Crowned King with common consent, hee should during his life, enjoy the same, paying Duke *Robert* in way of fealty three thousand Markes by yeere: and the survivour to be heire to his brother deceased, if hee dyed without a sonne. In which it was also concluded, that all, either *English* or *Normans*, which had taken part with the King or Duke, should bee pardoned of all offences, and their Livings against restored: for the Confirmation whereof, and the performance accordingly, twelve Princes upon either parties tooke their Corporall Oathes; and the Armies presently dissolved.

The Britaigne Tale of Robert Curthose. Matth. Paris. Guil. Malmsb. Hen. Hunt. Rog. Hoved.

King Henry to Robert for a peace.

Mer. Hunting. Agreement made between the Brethren.

The covenant of Peace.

Will. Malmsb. Hen. Hunt. Gemet. lib. 8. c. 1. Matth. Paris.

Duke Robert entertained in King Henries Court. *will. Gemet. cap.13.*

(11) The *Norman* Duke princely entertained the space of sixe moneths in the Court of King *Henry*, shewed himselfe rather open and credulous, then any way suspitious, in all his carriages, and so with much liking, and love to his brother, departed unto his owne Country. But the Sunne-shine of these faire dayes, began forthwith to bee over-cast, by the incitation of such as endeavoured to sow discord betwixt the two Brethren: and not onely those in *Normandy*, which ever buz'd jealousies into Duke *Roberts* eares, but even in *England* also, some fell in dislike of King *Henry*, and affecting alteration, with the malignant eye of envy beheld the glory of his beauteous Crowne.

Robert Beliasme against the King. An. Dom. 1102. *Simon Dun.* An.Reg.3. *Roger Houed. Matth. Paris.*

(12) Amongst whom, *Robert Beliasme* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the eldest sonne of *Roger Mountgomery*, *Shrewsbury*, the eldest sonne of *Roger Mountgomery*, strengthened the Townes and Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tichile*, and *Arundell*, with victuals, munition, and men, against the King; alluring likewise the fickle Welshmen unto his designes. *Henry* therefore in rage and haste, marched thitherward with a great power; against *Arundell-Castle*, hee raised another of wood, and tooke it; besieged *Bridgenorth*; which presently yeelded, and *Shrewsbury* sent him their keyes and pledges of their obeysance: when *Beliasme* with his brother *Arnulfus*, and *Roger de Poytiers*, were constrained to abjure the Land for ever, and thereupon went into *Normandy*, where they ceased not to raise more sparkes from that brand which others before them had blowne.

Hen. Huntiug.

Matth. Paris.

(13) Neither were those men busier to raise stirres abroad, then was Archbishop *Anselmus* to doe it at home; who being a man of a stiffe resolution, in a Councell holden at *London*, drew on him the offence both of the King and Clergy: for therein, first, hee excommunicated all married Priests, * *halfe the Clergy of England at that time, being either married or the sons of married Priests*; next he inhibited all lay-men to heare their masses. But this thing (saith *Paris*) howsoever it seemed good to some, *yet unto others very dangerous, lest while they affected after a purity which was above their strength, they might fall into impurity of a higher quality.* In this Councell also *Anselme*, peremptory upon the Popes assistance, deprived many great Prelates of their promotions, because they had accepted their Investures from the King, which was done by receiving of a Pastorall staffe and a ring, an ancient rite, testifying that their donation was from their Sovereigne, (as Saint *Wulfan* received his Staffe from Saint *Edward*, and therefore professed he would resigne it onely to him,) in which number were the Abbots of *Ely*, of *Ramsey*, of *Persors*, of Saint *Edmunds*, of *Tavestocke*, *Peterborrow*, *Burch*, *Bodiac*, *Middleton*, and *Stoke*: for which his bold parts, and for refusing to consecrate certaine Bishops, advanced by the King, great contention fell betwixt them: and the Archbishop, taking himselfe much wronged by the present over-bearing power, appealed unto his Holy Father, Pope *Paschall*, and soone after went in person to *Rome*.

** Goodwin in vita Anselmi. Eadmerus. Matth Paris.*

Contension about investitures.

Matth. Paris. in Will. Rufus.

The Archbishop goes to Rome. An. Dom. 1103. An.Reg.4. *Will. Thorne. Polyder.* The King sends Ambassadors to Rome.

(14) Whither likewise the King sent his Ambassadors, namely *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, with *Robert* Bishop of *Lichfield*, both of them of his Privy-Councell, and *William Warenast* his procurator, a Clergy-man, of a very bold spirit and speech; who in debating his Soveraignes cause before the *Pope* and *Cardinals* with threatning Language and countenance, avouched, that the King his *Master would not lose his right in the Investitures of the Church, for the losse of his Kingdome:* whereto the Pope, (no Cravant to bee dared on his owne dung-hill) as stoutly answered, *If, as thou sayest, the King will not lose the donation of Churches, for the losse of his Kingdome; know thou for certaine (before God I speake it) that I would not suffer him to enjoy them without punishment, no not for the saving of my head:* notwithstanding which brave words against the King, yet the degraded Abbots were restored through the Clemency of the Papall See, which is never wanting to any, as long as *the white and red*, (to use the very words of a Monke) *make intercession for them.* But from the Church to the State.

The King will not lose his investures for his Kingdome. *Matth. Paris.* The Pope will lose his head, rather then suffer Kings to have investures.

Silver and gold best mediators to the Pope. *Parisiensis.*

(15) *Robert Curtuoise*, either to sound his brothers designes, or to congratulate him in a brotherly love, came into *England*; where he was so royally entertained, that all suspition was quenched, and himselfe so well contented, that at the onely motion and request of *Queene Maud*, he remitted the three thousand Markes, covenanted to bee paide yeerely unto him, though hee were lesse able to forbeare, then King *Henry* to give. But when his wants told him of this his over-lavish releasement, hee openly exclaimed against King *Henry*, that hee had craftily circumvented, and deceitfully cheated him; and now giving open eare and credit to such as fought their dis-union, gave his Brother all occasions of enmity, who was ready enough of himselfe, to make the least very great. For besides this present displeasure conceived against Duke *Robert*, headded others, and this especially, that hee had wilfully wasted the Inheritance which his father had left him, to wit, the Dukedome of *Normandy*, having nothing now almost in that Dominion besides the City of *Roane*, which he would have parted with also, had not the Citizens thereto denyed their consents.

Duke Robert entertained in England. An. Dom. 1104. *Will. Gemet. Hemy. Hunt.*

(16) Neither was it the least motive to King *Henries* displeasure, that his traiterous subjects were so willingly received by his brother; for besides *Robert Beliasme* and others, *William*, Earle of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornewall* in *England*, the sonne of *Robert*, halfe-brother to the Conquerour, because the Earledome of *Kent*, (which he made claime unto, as heire to his unkle *Odo*) was denyed him, in a discontent got him into *Normandy*, where besides his valiant assaults of the Kings Castles, and Souldiers, hee much endangered the possessions of *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, then a child and the Kings *Warde*: so that the flames of warre raised by these seditions, seemedto be blown from *England* unto the parts beyond the Seas, and to fire the territories of the *English* there; neither is it ease to declare (saith *Hoveden*) what misery (the meane while) by exactions, the land felt here at home.

Duke Roberts patrimony wasted. *Will. Gemet.*

William Earle of *Mortaigne* against the King. *Paralipo. Rich.*

Matth Paris. Rand. Higd. lib.7.cap.35. Will. Malmes.

(17) For the King incited into *Normandy* upon these occasions, by large distributions of money carried out of *England*, wonne the *Normane* Nobility to revolt from their Lord, and tooke the Towne and Castle of *Cane* by composition, and burnt *Bayon* with the beautifull Church of Saint *Maries*, whereupon the Priories of *Normandy* yeelded themselves unto his Protection; by whose example the *Britaines* and those of *Anion* did the like; so that their Castles and forts were filled with the Garrisons of King *Henry*, Duke *Robert* in no wise able to resist; which done, *Henry* with triumph returned into *England*.

Matth Paris. King Henry invades Normandy.

King Henries confidence of the English

(18) The *Curtuoise*, by his *Normans* thus uncourteously dealt with, saw it was booteles against so great a streame to strive, and therefore thought best to lay away weapons, and to become himselfe a Mediatour for Peace. With which resolution taking the Seas, hee followed his brother unto *Northampton*; where humbling himselfe in a more dejective manner, then either his birth, or owne nature could well brooke, desired the Kings peace, both in respect of their brotherly union, and the regard of his owne accustomed clemency; willing him to consider, that warre was not only unnaturall betwixt brethren, but that a reproach ever followes the chariot of the Victor, desiring him not to triumph in his overthrow, who was now ready to render all that he had into his hands: but King *Henry* muttering to himselfe, turned away from his brother without any answere.

An. Dom. 1106. Duke Robert leaves over, and submits himselfe unto the King. An.Reg.7. *Matth. Par. Hen. Hunting.* Duke Robert submitteth.

will. Gemetic. Matth. Paris calls it Hereberg.

(19) *For God* (saith *Paris*) *pleased not to give the effect, though the* Beau-clearke *felt a remorse in conscience, for usurping his Kingdome (being indeed very learned, and well understanding the duties both of equity and Law) and thereupon beganne both to feare some violent insurrection of the Subjects, and also the revenging wrath of God upon him, for his trecherous and unjust dealings towards his elder brother, to whom undoubtedly the Kingdome*

A fierce battell betwixt the Brethren and their Forces. *Matth. Paris.* Duke Robert taken prisoner. Eadmerus. *Matth. Paris.* * Yet he allo long after was taken and cast into perpetuall prison. *Will. Malmes.*

King Henry is fpeeds in out.

Matth. Paris

King Henry re-fits the commonwealth of England.

A parliamentary ground to deserve repentance.

King Henry vaint his Nobles with faire words.

Matth. Paris.

Kingdome by all right did appertaine: yet stood hee rather in feare of men then God (whose favors hee cunningly laboured to keepe) whom hee meant to please another time by building of an Abbey for his satisfaction. Duke *Robert* then seeing and detesting the kings swolne pride, posted backe unto *Normandy* to gather his powers. *Henry* also held it good policy, not to give passage unto *Roberts* wrath knowing him a Souldier, and well waying his desperate estate: and therefore calling his Lords unto *London*, in an assembly tickled their eares with these delectable and smooth words.

"(20) My friends, and faithfull Counsellors, and "native Countrimen, you know by true report, "how my Brother *Robert* was elected, and by God "himselfe called to bee the fortunate King of *Ierusa-*"*lem*, and how unfortunately, or rather insolently, he "refused that sacred estate, whereby he is now most "justly reprobated of God; you also know by many "other experiments, his pride and arrogancy; for be-"ing a man of a warring humour, he is not onely im-"patient of any peace, but also wilfully desireth to "trample upon you as men of abject and contemp-"rible disposition, upbraiding you for idle droanes, "for belly-gods, and what not, But I your King, na-"turally inclined to bee both humble and peaceable, "take delight in nothing more then to doe you good, "to maintaine your tranquillity and ancient liber-"ties, (as I have often sworne unto you,) and meeke-"ly and willingly to yeeld my selfe to your advises "whereby I may circumspectly governe you as a "clement Prince: and to that end even now will "I confirme (if your wisedomes so thinke fit) your "over-worne and undermined Charters, and will "roborate them most firmely with a new oath and "ratification. Meane while, all the lawes which the "holy King *Edward* by Gods inspiring did esta-"blish, I doe heere commaund to bee inviolable "observed, heereby to move you to adhere steadfastly "unto mee, in repulsing cheerefully, willingly, and "powerfully, the wrongs offered mee, by my brother "shall I say? nay, by my most deadly enemy & yours, "and of the whole *English* Nation: For if I bee guar-"ded with the valours and affections of *Englishmen*, "I shall scorne the threats of him and his *Normans*, "as forceleslie, and no whit to bee feared. And with "these faire promises (which yet afterwards hee ut-"terly neglected) hee so wonne the hearts of them all, "that they would die with him, or for him, against any "hostility what soever.

Matth Paris. King Henry invades Normandy.

(21) Duke *Robert* gone, and preparing for warre, *Henry* thus setled in his peoples affection, followed him with all expedition, having in his company the choyce Nobility of *England*, *Normandy*, *Gaunt* and *Britaine*, so that hee was exceedingly strong. With *Robert*, for men of chiefe account, were *Robert Beliasme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, in like displeasure with the King, and therefore armed with the like desperate boldnes.

(22) *Henry* with his Army had pierced into *Normandy*, even as farre as * *Tenerchebray*, a Castle of the Earle of *Mortaignes*, using all meanes possible to surprise the same; for whose rescue, the Duke with these his Consorts, made all diligence to dissolve the siege, and after some few skirmishes joyned a bloody battaile, bravely fought on each part, where at the first on-set, the Kings power (though much greater in number) went downe; but by their multitude and manhood (especially through the * Kings example and encouragement) they soone prevailed; where Duke *Robert*, with Earle *William*, and sundry others of good note, manfully fighting in the very presse of their enemies, were taken prisoners; but * *Robert Beliasme* escaped by flight. And thus (as *Mathew Paris* observed) Gods Iustice and Mercy tooke effect; his Iustice upon *Robert*, for his refusall of *Ierusalems* title, and upon *Henry* his favour, according to the prophesie of King *William* his Father. This battaile was fought, and *Normandy* wonne, upon *Saturday*, being the Vigill of S. *Michael*, even the same day forty yeeres that *William* the bastard set foot on *Englands* Shoare for his Conquest; God so disposing (saith *Malmsbury*) that *Normandy* should bee subjected to *England* that very day, wherein *England* was subdued to *Normandy*.

Matth. Paris. faith, it was the 8. Calend. Mati. Not so truly conquered. *Will. Malmes.*

will. Gemet.

(23) *Robert Curtuoise*, that now unfortunate Prince, and *William Mortaigne*, that valiant, but head-strong Earle, were forthwith sent into *England* and imprisoned the Earle in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe* Castle in *Wales*, after hee had governed the Dutchy of *Normandy* nineteene yeeres; and was for esteeme in Chivalry accounted among the best Captaines that the world then afforded, had hee not beene (as commonly martiall spirits use to bee) too rash and unstaied in his other enterprises; which headinesse did now draw upon him a penance of twenty five yeeres continuance, in the afflicted state of a forlorne Captive. And *Henry* now no longer as a brother, receiving the keyes of *Normandy*, as a Conquerour returned into *England*.

Roberts rashnes overthrew him.

An. Dom. 1107. *Matth. Weslm.*

(24) But long it was not ere Duke *Robert*, weary of this unwonted duresse, fought to escape; and having liberty to walke in the Kings Meadowes, Forrests, and Parkes, brake from his keepers without any Assisters, or meanes for fecurity; who beeing mist, was presently pursued, and taken in a quag-mire, wherein his Horse lay fast: whereupon the King hearing of this his attempt, confidering that woods were no walles to restraine the fierce Lyon, and that to play with his claw was to endanger a state, commanded him not only a greater restraint and harder durance; but also (a thing unfit for a brother to suffer, and most unworthy for *Beauclerke* to act) both his eyes to be put out, causing his head to be held in a burning bason (to avoyd the deformity of breaking the eye-balls) untill the glasse tunicles had lost the office of retaining their light.

An. Reg. 8. Matth. Paris.

Duke *Roberts* eyes put out. *Matth. Paris.*

An. Dom. 1108. Flemings placed in Wales.

(25) Having thus quieted all forraine oppositions, King *Henry* set his mind to prevent Domestick; and therefore (about this time) those *Flemings*, whose Lands the Seas had devoured som few yeeres before, and place was granted them in *Cumberland*, first by King *Rufus*, and afterwards by *Henry* 1 were now by the King, upon better advisement removed into *Wales*, both to disburden his In-land of such guests, and that so they might bee a defence betwixt them and those ever-stirring people. Which project nothing deceived his expectation; for by the testimony of *Gyraldus*, *they were a Colony stout and strong, and continually endured the warres of the Welsh; a Nation most accustomed to seeke gaine by cloathing, by trafficque also and Marchandize, by Sea and Land, undertaking any paines, or perils whatsoever. A people of very great power, and as time and place required, ready by turnes to take plough in hand and till the ground, as ready also to goe into the field and fight it out; and that I may adde thus much more* (saith hee) *a Nation most loyally devoted to the Kings of* England, *and as faithfull to the Englishmen.*

Giral. Cambl.

The commendation of the Flemmings.

(26) By the which his policy, hee attained that which his brother *Rufus* could not, who many a time had but small successe in those parts, though otherwise, ever sped most fortunately in all his adventures of warres: But it is thought by some, that as the Mountainous craggineste of the Country; and sharpnesse of the Aire encouraged them in their rebellion; so the same impeached *Rufus* his successe.

The Flemmings great helps in restraining the Welsh.

But King Henrie (saith *Malmesburie, who with many a warlike expedition went about to force the* Welshmen, *ever stirring unto Rebellion, for to yeeld and to submit themselves; in the endresolved upon this wholesome policy, for to take down their pride, he brought thither all the Flemmings that dwelt in* England: *a great number of which Nation in those dates, in regard of his mothers kindred by her Fathers side, flocking hither, were closely shrouded in* England, *insomuch as they for their multitude seemed burdensome unto the Realme: Wherefore he sent them all together with their substance, their wives, and*

King Henry re-buildeth Rugeland the Ely-monigh.

Will. Malmes. lib. 5.

and Children, unto Rosse a Countrey in Wales, as it were into a common avoydance, thereby both to purge his own kingdome, and also to quaile and represse the desperate boldnesse of his Enemies.

The King violates his vow-wife to the Peeres. Matth. Paris.

(27) And now being free from all feare of subverters, King Henry, growing disdainfull (saith Paris) refused to fulfill what he had so often promised to his Nobles, heaping threats upon threats; for God had bestowed on him three bounties, wisedome, victory, and riches, above any of his Predecessors: but for all these he shewed himself to God most unthankefull: And of his Clergy (wee may say) too regardlesse, in suffering Anselme, newly reconciled, to lay heavy punishments upon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denied to put away their lawfull wives, whereof great contention followed, and grievous sinnes in short time committed, both against God and Nature.

Anselm. still molests married Priests.

Eadmerus.

(28) Among these proceedings in England, Philip King of France deceased, and his sonne Lewis, surnamed Crassus, succeeded in his government, which how hee stood affected to Henry was doubted, and therefore to make sure worke, the King sailed into Normandy, furnishing his Townes, Castles, and Fortresses, with all habiliments of warre, with provisions befitting such suspected times; and so returning, he found attending his comming, the Ambassadors of Henry the fourth Emperour, as suters from their Master to obtaine Lady Maud the Kings daughter in Marriage, then not past five yeeres of age, which was willingly granted, and the espousals by way of Proxy solemnized, with great feasts and magnificent triumphes.

King Philip of France dyeth, and Lewis succeedeth. Polydor.

King Henry strengthens Normandy.

An. Dom. 1109. His daughter married to the Emperour. A. Reg. 10.

(29) About which time the death of Archbishop Anselme happening, gave no small hope to the Clergy, as themselves conceited, againe to enioy the liberty of matrimoniall society; wherein they were not a little deceived: for the King seemed willing that the ecclesiasticall Ordinance before made should bee more neerely looked into; whereupon men for feare, and in the sight of men, carried themselves accordingly, but if in secret they did worse (saith Eadmerus) let the charge light on their own heads, sith every man shall beare his owne sinnes: for I know, (saith hee) that if Fornicators and Adulterers God will judge, the abusers of their own Cosens, (I will not say, their owne Sisters and Daughters) shall not surely escape his judgment.

An. Dom. 1110. Archbishop Anselme dieth.

A. Reg. 11. Appearing Chaldine did breed secret impatike.

Eadmerus.

(30) The Kings peace, which seemed to be secured by his new affinity with the Emperour, and his glory raised to the height, began now to bee envied and his brother Duke Roberts extreamities greatly to bee pitied, both by some English and also Normans, For Foulke Earle of Anion both threaned the revenge, and by corrupting the inhabitants wanne the City of Constance, from his obeysance. To stay whose irruptions King Henry passed into Normandy, where hee used great extremity, and put to death Helias Earle of Cenomauna, who held that County against him; for which cause Godfrey Earle of Gaunt tooke such displeasure, that hee entred into that Earledome, and marrying the said Helias his daughter, kept the County perforce against King Henries great power. But Robert de Belisme that had escaped at Duke Roberts overthrow, was then taken and committed prisoner to Warham Castle, too gentle a punishment for so blood-thirstie a man, whose nature was such, that he delighted himselfe onely in cruelty, an example whereof hee shewed upon his own sonne, who being but a childe and playing with him, the father for a pastime, put his thumbs in the boyes eyes, and thrust out the balles thereof.

A. Reg. 12.

King Henry goes into Normandy against Roberts. Matth. Paris.

Robert Belisme an old Traitor taken.

A bloody father and a cruell pastime. Chron. Wallia.

(31) These warres somewhat asswaged, King Henry returned into England, where the people conceived much grudge at his importable taxes, and the Clergy no lesse at his reservation of Church livings in their vacancies, under pretence of keeping them for the worthiest; but how unworthily he oftentimes bestowed them, may be gathered by that pretty reproofe of Guymundus his Chaplaine, who greeving to see unworthy men (for the most part) advanced to Bishoprickes and other dignities; when on the Rogation day hee celebrated divine service in the Kings Chappel, being to read that lesson out of S. * Iames, it rained not on the earth III. yeeres, and VI. moneths hee purposely read it, it rained not, one, one, one, yeeres, and five, one, moneths. All men either laughing or wondering at his reading; the King checket him for it, and aske him the reason; marry (quoth hee) I see you bestow your preferments onely on such, as can reade so: which secret touch the King well weighing, did both presently preferre him to the government of S. Frideswides in the Vniversity of Oxford, and afterward was more carefull in all other his choices.

Regist. Prideaux Oxon. * Iames 5. 17.

An. Dom. 1114. Florent. Wigor. Matth. Paris Mertth. Weston. John Caster. Chron. Wallia.

(32) The King had not beene long in England after his returne from Normandy, before the Welshmen (then a restlesse people) were in Armes against it such English, as had set footing in that Countrie, which were Gilbert Strangbowe Earle of Strygil, and others, whose lands in the south part Owen ap Cadogan sore molested and spoiled; the like did Gruffith ap Conan Prince of North-Wales, upon Hugh Earle of Chesters Countie, and both of them denied King Henry either service or tribute. These Earles so incensed the King, touching these and other outrages of the Wellshmen, that in a rage hee vowed not to leave one alive in all North Wales, nor in Powys-land; and straight repairing thitherward, divided his Armie into three parts, The first was led by Earle Gilbert, against South-Wales, the second band by Alexander King of Scotland, and Hugh Earle of Chester, against North-Wales; and the King himselfe led the third, under whose Standard was the chiefe ftrength of middle England. But the Welsh seeing themselves far unable to withstand this present preparation, took into the Mountaines and Woods, (their surest houlds) where being followed, with great difficultie many of them were slaine, and the rest yeelded to King Henry; who now as a Conquerour, in Triumph, returned to London.

Campaigne.

Hen. Hunting. Offence and end of debate betwixt King Henry and King Lewis of France.

Answers to dissolute King Henry of Normandy.

How giveth to rule Normandy.

Owen. Hunt.

Florent. Wigor.

(33) Whither immediatelie resorted unto him the Ambassadour of his sonne in law the Emperour, to have his wife Lady Maud, now marriage-able, to bee sent unto him; to which request the King most willingly condescended, and to furnish her forth accordingly, laid a taxe upon his Subjects, taking three shillings for every Hide of land: whereupon shee was prefently conducted by his greatest Peeres into Germany, and at Mentz married to Henry the fourth, being there consecrated and crowned his Empresse.

The troth betrothed.

Matth. Paris Hen. Hunting. * Lawrence till this time a fit matrier, & Polydor. Hollad. saith this was the first president, but false both this, and that other at Kingsland and Yorke.

An. Dom. 1117. Forest. Wigor.

An. Dom. 1118.

An. Reg. 18.

A. Reg. 10.

Mr. Mr. Mr.

William Bigod, Geffrey Arch-deacon of Hereford, Walter de Cruce, and many other of prime note and esteeme, to the number of one hundred and sixty persons, none of their bodies being found, though great search was made for them.

An. Dom. 1121. *Eadmerus.*

(42) King *Henry* thus at once deprived of all his lawfull posterity (onely *Maud* the Empresse excepted) upon the tenth of *Aprill*, and two and twentieth yeere of his Raigne, married his second Wife *Adelicia*, a Lady of surpassing beauty, the daughter of *Geffrey* first Duke of *Lovain*, in hope (though it proved otherwise) to have repayred his late losses by issue of her; whose Coronation was appointed to bee celebrated by *Roger* Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the infirmity of *Palsey* so troubling *Ralphe Archbishop of Canterbury*, that himselfe could not performe it; yet becaufe *Roger* was not appointed by him, he forbad his imployment; and the King wearing his Crowne, faith the Monke of *Chester*, this testy olde man could hardly bee entreated by the Lords, to with-hold his hands from striking the same from the Kings head; of such Spirits then were those spirituall Prelates, and jealouse to loose their pompous preheminence of honour: but his high top was fome what borne down by the boysterous blasts of Pope *Calixt*, from whose holy hand *Thurstan* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (contrary to the Kings commaund, and his owne * Oath) having received consecration, and thereupon forbidden by the King to put foot againe within his Dominions, his Holinesse commaunded his New-Creature should bee installed (* against all right and custome) without professing any subjection to the See of *Canterbury*; and threatened with his curse to interdite both Provinces till that was performed. The cause of the Popes indignation against *Ralph* is suppofed to bee, for that hee had received his * Investiture of the King, who contrary to the Canons of the late Romane Synode, did still challenge and practise that * Regall prerogative.

Eadmerus. * *Matth. Paris ad An. 1119.*

(43) Whether it were about this contention of Investing, or about a Fryer of the *Holy Sepulchre*, whom (as *Malmsb.* saith) the King had imprisoned, or about *Thurstans* hard usage; certaine it is, that the Pope much desiring to have private talke with the King, came to him into *Normandy*, and so at *Gisors* conferred (saith *Paris*) the *Great King and the High Priest*: but notwithstanding the Popes threates or intreates, *Thurstan* was kept in banishment full five yeares, and then for the Popes pleasure was restored. But at this meeting the King was so liberall of rich gifts to the Pope and his Cardinalls, that therefore the *Pope* (saith a Monke) *held him a most wise and eloquent perswader, and his actions very justifiable*: But it seemeth the Cardinals were neither so eloquent nor learned as they should bee, for that (saith hee) two *youths in the Kings Company, sonnes of the Earle of Mellent* (learned both, and therefore fit to bee with that learned King) *reasoning of some points with them, and disputing Scholler-like with Logicall Syllogismes, the Grand Rabbies* (used to other exercises at *Rome*, then studying) *were quite gravelled*, and had nought to say, but that *more learning was in these Westerne parts, then they had thought*. But as these Church stirres did not a little disquiet the King, so also did new *Welsh* tumults, raised by *Meredith ap Blethyn*, who with the three sonnes of *Cadogin, Eneon, Madoc*, and *Morgan*, fore troubled the Kings people and peace, by breaking into the Marches, and especially into *Cheshire*, where they burned two Castles. The King therefore making towards them, had sent his maine Armie to conduct the Carriages, whilst himselfe with a small Company tooke a neerer way through the Mountaines and Straites; which being fore-laid by the Enemy, was with great courage set upon, and through the advantage of the place, many of his men slaine, and more hurt by the *Welsh* Archers, whose showers of Arrowes rained thicke upon them from the higher ground: amongst which, one was so levelled at the King, that it struckе him on the breast, yet being surely armed, did him no hurt; but hee therewithall wonderfully dismaied, and by likelihood fearing some treason amongst his owne, (for, then he swore *by our Lords death*, his usuall oath, that no *Wellshman* shot that Arrow, but one of his owne Provincials) and confidering that by, these his over-rash proceedings, his glory purchased in more famous parts, might againe bee lost in this wilde and rude Country; came to a Parley and Peace; receiving of the King a thousand head of Cattle, and leaving Lord *Fitzwarren* Lieutenant of the Marches, returned to *England*, where he held three Parliaments in the same yeere, one at *Norwich*, another at *Northampton*, and the third at *London*.

The King strucke with an Arrow.

King Henries usuall Oath. *Malmesb. lib. 5.*

A Peace concluded.

Iohn Caesar. Cheron. Wallia.

(44) The *Normans* still repining at the Captivitie of *Robert* their late Duke; and standing well affected unto his Sonne, thought now the time fitting, (Prince *William* being dead) to raise the other *William* his Cosen Germane into his place: who as the Monke of *Chester* affirmeth, married *Sybil* the other daughter of *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion*, with whom hee received the Earledome of *Cenomannia*, upon displeasure that King *Henry* with-held the formers dowry in *England*. The chiefe in this action was *Robert* Earle of *Mellent*, who was lately falne off from the King: *Henry* therefore hasting into *Normandy*, besieged his Castle *Pont-Audomar*, and tooke it, and at that time built a large and high wall with many Bulwarkes about the Tower of *Roan*, repaired the Castles of *Caen, Arches, Gisors, Faleise, Argenton, Damfart, Vernon, Ambres*, and sundry others.

An. Dom. 1122. The *Normans* set up Duke *Roberts* sonne.

He marrieth *Sibyl* daughter to the Earle of *Anion*. *Rosd. Higden in Polycr. lib. 7. c. 12.*

(45) In the meane time, Earle *Mellent* desirous to be revenged upon the King, associated *Hugh* Earle of *Montfort* and others unto his aide, who entring *Normandy* with fire and sword, did much harme as they went, thinking to bring all to their obeysance: against whose outrages, *William Tankervile* the Kings Chamberlaine, and Lieutenant in those parts, addressed himselfe, and training them into danger of an Ambush, laid for that purpose, after long fight tooke them both prisoners, and presented them to his Master, whereby the warres ceased for a time in those parts.

An. Dom. 1123. *Roger vinc. Matth. Paris.* King *Henry* to pacifie the Citizens of *Normandy*.

An. Dom. 1124.

(46) In this the Kings absence, but yet with his licence *Iohannes Cremensis* the Popes holy Cardinall, came into *England*, sent by *Honorius* the Second, there to redreise the still continued sinne-seeming abuse of the Clergie, in retaining and using, according to Gods owne Ordinance, the Societie of their wives. This Pontificall Prelate was entertained by all the Bishops and Abbots with great and costly Presents, and afterward being solemnely set in a Councell at *London*, upon the birth-day of the *Blessed Virgin*, made a solemne Oration in praise of Virginitie and Chastitie, with a terrible invective against the married Priests: and to amplifie their sinnes the more, he shewed what extreame impietie it was, to rise from the bed of unlawfull lust, (for so was their chaste Marriage termed) and with polluted hands to touch the Sacrament of the body of Christ: but the same night following he * *having that very day consecrated that holy Sacrament*, was himself taken with a Whore, the matter being so apparant, that it could not bee hid, (neither ought it to be silenced, saith *Huntingdon*) to the great approach of those most unchaste boasters of Chastitie, as both *Paris* and *Higden* themselves doe confesse: and so hee returned to *Rome* with shame enough, but with little successe in that intended businesse: till some few yeeres after * King *Henry*, seeming very desirous to settle his pretenced continency in the Clergie; in a Councell held at *London*, obtained (through simplicity of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saith *Paris*, that himselfe should have the execution of justice and punishments of the Priests, that offended either in keeping of their wives, or using of Concubines, (for likely those that liked not the one, loved the other, as

Henry. Hunt. Matth. Paris. Twelve rich Earles in Normandy. Matth. 1082.

An. Dom. 1125. Cardinall *Cremensis*, the Popes Legate to reform Priests marriages. *Polydor. lib. 17. cap. 16.*

Henry Hunt. lib. 7. Hovden Hen. 5.

Taken with a whore the same day he celebrated the Sacrament. *Matth. Paris. Hen. Hunting Rastal. Higd.*

* Viz. An. Do. 1129. *Polydor. Matth. Paris. & antiquiores. Roger Hoved.*

as well as *Cremensis*) but even then also, the Kings end being onely to get in summes of money, which he had still occasions to use, every man redeemed his liberty by his purse, and matters rather proved worse, then any whit reformed.

An. Dom. 1126. Emperor *Henry* (the Kings first in law) dieth.

(47) Whileft King *Henry* about his said affaires lay in *Normandy*, newes was brought him that *Henry* the Emperor, his sonne in law, was dead; whereupon hee presently sent for his Daughter the Empresse; and with her he returned into *England*, where calling a Parliament, in the presence of himselfe, and of *David* King of *Scotland*, hee caused the Nobles, (and first before all other, *Stephen* his Sisters sonne who first did violate it,) to sweare fealty to her, as to his lawfull, and now onely heire, by whom they should againe come to bee governed by the ancient *English* Royall blood, from which hee shewed her to be descended: which Oath was this, that they should, as much as in them lay, after King *Henries* decease, (if he died without Heire-Male) establish her Queene of the *Monarchy of Great Britaine*, now called *England*. *But whether they did or noe* (saith *Gemeticensis*) *belongs not to me to tell*: but this our Story shall hereafter relate, and make knowne.

The Empresse comes into England.

The Peeres sweare fealtie to Empresse Donegre the Kings daughter. *Malms Newel. lib. 1. Hunting. lib. 8.*

Gemet. p. 670.

Ardg. Manuscr. Gualt. Guisn. Polyd. l. 17. c. 16. Hoved. in Hen. 1. King the Emperour supposed not to be dead.

(48) *Giraldus* and *Higden*, and some ancient *Manuscripts* affirme (but with very little probabilitie or credit) that *Henry* the Emperour died not at this time (as was given forth;) but that rather upon a *remorse of conscience*, for imprisoning his owne naturall Father, *Henry* the third unto death; and also his Spirituall Father the Pope, with his Cardinals; repenting these outrages, hee laid aside his Imperiall Roabe, and secretly fledde into *England*, where at *Westchester*, hee became an Herm.., changing his name unto * *Godscall*, where he so lived the space of ten yeeres, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Warburge* the Virgine. Vpon which his suddaine flight and missing, the Empresse *Maud* * some say, was suspected to be guilty of his death, and for that cause was kept continually in the Queenes Chamber. Indeede, that she abode still in *Chamber with the Queene*, *Paris* records; but hee gives a wiser reason thereof, *for that her Father did love her exceedingly, as being now his sole Heire*; and where should an Empresse rather live, then with a Queene? a Daughter, then with her Mother? a faire Lady, a Widow, and an Heire of so great a Kingdom, then where her person might bee safest from danger, her minde from inveigling, and her carriage from suspicion? But as for that other idle conjecture, it is razed out, both by those Writers, who record his Buriall, and Monument at *Spire*, (as * *Higden* himselfe signifieth) and also by the pen of *William Gemeticensis*, who reporteth her *to bee a woman generally well thought of, and approoved among the greatest Princes of the Empire, for her prudent and gracious behaviour towards the Emperour her husband*; *insomuch that they became suters unto her, seeking by all meanes to attaine her to governe them, and to that end attended her to King* Henry *in* Normandy *to solicite the same*; *to whom in no wise hee would give his consent, meaning to make her his Successor in the Kingdome*: Whereunto *Malmsbury* (who then lived) accordeth; saying, thee was very unwilling to have come out of those parts of the Empire, where both her dowry and acquaintance lay, and that the Princes of those Countries came more then once into *England*, to have her for their Empresse, but that the King would not part with the Heire of his Crowne.

Ardg. Manuscr. Gualtier. Guisn. Polyd. l. 17. c. 16. Hoved. in Hen. 1. King the Emperour supposed not to be dead.

* Abeing now called *Godfrid*, saith *Trevisa*.

* *Iohn Stow.* The Empresse falsly suspected.

Matth. Paris.

Polyd. l. 17. c. 16.

Will. Gemet. The good education of the Empresse.

Malmes. Newell. lib. 1.

(49) But King *Henry* afterwards desirous to bee free from the variances of these forraine Princes, and hearing that *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* had given his Earledome, with the territories of *Gaunt* and *Turyn*, unto his Sonne *Geffrey Martell*, surnamed *Plantagenet*, (himselfe minding to abide at *Ierusalem*, whereof he was King in right of his wife *Millisent*, the daughter of *Baldwine de Burge* lately deceased) thought him the fittest to be linked into his alliance, and therefore concluded a marriage betwixt the said *Geffrey*, and

An. Dom. 1127.

Matth. Paris. Will. Gemet.

The Empresse married to the Earle of *Anion*.

his only lawfull daughter Lady *Maud* the Empresse, though partly against her liking, as both *Gemeticensis* and *Gervasius* of *Canterbury* doth declare; which was solemnized in *Normandy* the third of *Aprill* accordingly.

Gemeticensis. Ger. Dorob.

(50) That *William*, sonne to the *Curtoise*, was formerly favoured by Earle *Foulke*, we have shewed, but now he was further followed with increase of Fortune, and the *French* Kings aide, onely for a rub in King *Henries* way; for *Charles* Earle of *Flanders*, being traiterously murdered by his owne People, without any his issue to succeed him, *Lewis* of *France* (to make *William* faster to him) set him in possession as the next heire in blood unto that Earledome: *William* being the sonne of Duke *Robert*, and *Robert* the Eldeft of Queene *Maud* (the wife of the Conquerour) and these daughter to Earle *Baldwin* the fifth; whose issue Male now failing, the right was from her derived unto this her Grand-child *William*.

William (sonne to Duke *Robert*) made Earle of *Flanders*.

Matth Paris.

Williams title to *Flanders.*

(51) This Ground-worke unto greatneſſe King *Henry* disliked, least by his Nephewes height himselfe might bee over-topped, and his blind fathers wrongs the sooner redressed: therefore having by his daughters marriage made *Anion* his, from *Normandy* he invaded *France*, even unto *Hesdard*, where for eight daies he remained as secure as in his owne Kingdome, and partly by feare, partly by faire payments, wrought *Lewis* to withdraw his aide from young *William*: neither so ceased, but that he instigated *William de Tpres* to children *Williams* state, and did also draw a certaine Duke, named *Theodorick*, out of *Germany*, with a band of *Flemmings*, who entred *Flanders* in Hostile manner.

An. Dom. 1128.

King Henry invadeth France. *Matth. Paris.*

He alieth meanes to disturbe *Flanders.*

(52) With these last, Earle *William* (a Prince for his age of incomparable prowesse) soone met, and giving them battell, with an invincible courage brake thorow the enemies troopes, in such fort that they were discomfited, and the Earle had the day; whence in this heate of blood, hee marched unto *Angi*, a Castle of King *Henries*, which after a strong siege, being upon the surrender, by a small wound which Earle *William* received in his hand, hee shortly died, but not without immortall fame, for magnanimitie and valour.

Earle *William* gloriously slaine.

Matth. Paris.

He dieth of a small wound in his hand.

(53) Were it not reported by some Writers of note, I might heere well passe over certaine presaging dreames (as the Monkes interpreted them) which King *Henry* had, being ready now to goe into *Normandy*: for to his seeming hee saw a sort of ruſticke Plough-men with their Instruments of husbandry; after them Souldiers with their weapons of Warre; and lastly, the Bishops with their Crosier Staves, all of them angerly threatning, and attempting his death: wherewith hee was so perplexed, that leaping out of his bed, he called for helpe; but seeing it but a dreame, as a dreame hee esteemed it, and passed over into *Normandy*: where long he staid not, but that his Daughter *Maud*, upon some displeasure, departed from her husband, and came with her Father into *England*. Some write that *shee was the provoker of certaine displeasures between her Husband and Father, which so affected his minde with passions of wrath and griefe, that many thought it was a great hastning of his end*; and indeed *Malmsbury* witnesseth, that the King upon his death-bed passionately mentioned the wrongs and indignities wherewith her husband had disquieted his minde. Howbeit soone after this her departure from him, by consent of the States, who met at *Northampton*, shee was reconciled to her Husband, sent unto him upon his intreaty, and bare him a sonne, whose name was *Henry*; for joy whereof, King *Henry* assembled his Lords, and againe made his said Daughter, and the lawfull Heires of her body his Successors in his Dominions.

Hen. Huntley. lib. 7. Will. Malms. in Nicol. Historia. Rosd. Higden.

The Empresse departs from her husband.

An. Dom. 1131. *Ger. Dorob.*

Matth. Par.

(54) And then preparing againe for his last and fatall passage into *Normandy*, tooke shipping upon the Nones of *August*, (the very day wherein he first received the Crowne,) when hapned so wonder-

An. Dom. 1133.

Malmes. Newell. lib. 5.

The Kings last voyage into Normandy, forced to be staid.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 9. ca. 17.

An. Dom. 1134. Robert Curtois dieth in prison.

Matth. Paris. Matth. West.

King Henry dieth in Normandy.

Huntedon. Will. Malmes. Matth. Paris.

An. Dom. 1135.

Will. Gemetic. Matth. Paris.

Polyd. lib. 9. cap. 17.

Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt. lib. 8.

* Matth. West. & with Paris. Simon Dun.

Huntingdon 1.2. Hovedon. Rend. Higden in Polyc. 7. c. 17.

* His especiall preheminence.

* His especiall vices.

Princes vices come to light after their deaths.

Description of his person and qualities. Will. Gemet. c. 9. 10. Matth. West.

1 Cor. 11. 14.

full an Eclipse of the Sunne, that *Malmsbury* the reporter saith, himselfe then saw the starres plainly in the Firmament about the Sunne, and that two daies after, so great and fearefull an Earth-quake happened, that the house wherein himselfe sate, was lifted up with a double remoove; and others say, that out of riffes in the earth, burning flames arose, that could not be quenched, which divers judged to be fatall prodigies of the deaths of those Princes that soone after ensued.

(56) For *Robert* the *Curtoise*, after twenty sixe yeeres imprisonment and blindnesse, through griefe conceived at the putting on of a faire new roabe, (too little for the King, and therefore in kindnesse sent to Duke *Robert* to weare) grew weary of his life (as disdaining to be mocked with his brothers cast cloathes) and cursing the time of his unfortunate Nativitie, refused thenceforth to take any sustenance, and so pined himselfe to death. His body was buried at *Glocester* in the Church of Saint *Peter*, and middle of the Quire, where to this day remaineth his Tombe, with a carved Image of his feature, as the monument of a most unfortunate man.

(57) And not long after, King *Henry* in *Normandy*, comming scarse very well from Hunting in the Forrest of *Lyons*, and Towne of Saint *Denys*, made his repast of a dish of Lampreyes (which meate hee too well loved, but could never well digest;) whereupon he fell more grievously sicke, and the same still increasing, after seven dayes sickneesse, upon the first of *December*, the sixtie five of his age, and yeere of *Christ Iesus*, 1135. when he had raigned King of *England*, thirtie five yeeres, foure moneths, lacking foure daies, and Duke of *Normandy*, twentie nine yeeres and foure moneths: he died in the said Towne of Saint *Denys*, and from thence was conveyed to *Roan*, where his Bowels, Eyes, and Braines, were taken out, and buried; the body also sliced, and powdred with much salt, was wrapped in a Buls hide to avoide the stinch, being so intolerable, (a point fitting for such great Princes to thinke on, and in their great glory and pleasures to remember their fraile and humane condition,) that the Physician, who tooke out his Braines, was poysoned therewith, and presently died: whereupon some observed, that other Kings killed men in their life, but hee also * after hee was dead; thence was his Corps carried into *England*, and honourably buried upon the day of Chrisis Nativitie, at *Reading* in *Barkeshire*, in the Abbey that himselfe had there founded, and endowed with large possessions.

(58) After his death, (saith *Huntingdon* and *Hoveden*,) men spake their minde as freely of him, as of any other dead man: some commending him for these three glorious felicities, * *Wisedome*, *Victory*, and *Wealth*: others condemning him for three especiall vices, * *Covetousnesse*, *Cruelty*, and *Lechery*; some instances of which we have touched in the relation of his life; the first three, in obtaining and keeping the Crowne: the last, in his most grievous taxations, cruell handling and imprisoning his Brother; and his incontinency of life shall presently appeare, by his many illegitimate Issues, the fruits of his wantonnesse, and witnesses of his shame: in that Princes who are to punish such sinnes in others, ought themselves especially to be free from them: for though their living fortunes stop mens tongues from upbraiding, yet after their death the tongues of the vulgar, and pens of the learned, will make the infamy of their vices to be immortall.

(59) He was for personage of a reasonable stature, broad-breasted, well joynted, and full of flesh: amiable of countenance, sharpe and faire eyes, blacke of haire, and that somewhat carelesly hanging on his forehead; his minde was enriched with many vertues, a follower of Iustice, a lover of Religion, severe against theeves, and all effeminate nicities; So that hee commanded mens long haire (which against God and Natures law was matchable at that time with womens) to bee cut off: temperate of diet, and never drinking but for thirst; valiant in battaile, yet very circumspect; seeking rather to winne by wise care, then by effusion of bloud: and by the report of most Writers excelled all the Princes of the World in his time, in *Mercy*, *Wealth*, and *Bountie*, unto *Monasteries*: the land hee defended by Garrisons of Souldiers planted on the Confines of his neighbour Princes, building many Forts, Bulwarkes, and Castles; besides twentie five Townes and Cities: whatsoever was wisely or vertuously performed in his Government, is chiefely ascribed to his younger yeeres institution in true Learning and Philosophy, which was *the* * *great furnishment of him unto the Science of Regalitie*; being often heard to say, that hee esteemed *an unlearned King but a crowned Asse*. In which regard (saith * *Rossus*,) *hee tooke chiefe pleasure to reside in his new Palace, which himselfe built at Oxford, both for the delight hee had in learned men, himselfe being very learned, and for the vicinity of his new Parke at Woodstocke*, which he had fraught with all kind of strange beasts, *wherein hee much delighted, as Lyons, Leopards, Lynces, Camels, Porcupines, and the like.* His delight also in works of devotion, shewes it selfe both in the erection and indowment of the Collegiate and * Episcopall Sees of *Carleile*, and * *Ely*, as also of the Abbeyes of *Hide*, *Circester*, *Reading*, and the Priorie of *Dunstable*: His Wife Queene *Maud* founded the Priorie of *Holy Trinitie* within *Algate*, and the Hospitall of Saint *Giles in the Fields*: so that by himselfe, his Queene, and other devoted persons, twentie foure foundations to religious uses (if not more) were erected in the raigne of this King.

Higden. Avesb. ca. 8. Malmesbu.

Will. Gem. ca. 22.

Matth.

* Matth. Westm. in Hen. 1.

* Rossus, that Palace he called Beaumont, where afterward King Richard the 1st was borne. He built all the Castle at Woodstocke. Malmesbu. Will. * Paris. An. 1131. * Higden. l. 7. cap. 14. Godwin Catalogue of Bishops.

Richard.

Eusem.

Malmesbu.

Robert.

Richard.

Reynold.

His Wives.

(60) *Maud*, the first Wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Malcolme the third*, surnamed * *Canmoir*, King of *Scotland*: her mother was Saint *Margaret*, daughter to *Edward*, sonne of *Edmund the Ironside*, King of *England*. Shee was married unto him at *London* in the first yeare of his raigne, *Anno* 1100. by *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: having formerly vowed her selfe a Nunne, which some swore thee did not for love of single life, but to avoid some unworthy matches, which her Father would have imposed on her. Her Coronation was at *Westminster* by the same *Anselme*, on Sunday the eleventh of *November* in the same yeere. Shee was his Wife seventeene yeeres and more, famous for her learning, love to learning, charity to the poore, and all vertuous dispositions; and deceased at *Westminster* the first of *May*, in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, and yeere of our Salvation, 1118. where shee was buried in S. *Peters* Church, on the right side of King *Edward* the Confessor.

His first Wife.

* Grandmoil.

Malmesbu.

Will. Malmes. Ibidem.

(61) *Adelicia*, *Alice*, the second Wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Godfrey* the first Duke of *Lovaine*, by the daughter of the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, and sister to Duke *Godfrey*, and *Iocelin* of *Lovaine*. Shee was married unto him the nine and twentieth of *Ianuary*, in the twentie one of his raigne, and yeere of Christ, 1121. and was crowned the morrow after, being Sunday. Shee was his wife fifteene yeares, but ever childlesse, and surviving him, was re-married to *William Daubeny* Earle of *Arundel*, and was Mother of Earle *William* the second, *Rayner*, *Godfrey*, and *Ioan*, married to *John* Earle of *Augi*, &c.

His second Wife.

Shee was ever barren.

Richard.

His Issue.

(62) *William*, the sonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Maud* his first Wife, was borne the second of his Fathers raigne, and of *Christ*, 1102. When he came to age of foureteene yeares, the Nobilitie of *England* did him homage, and sware their fealties unto him at *Shrewsbury*. The third yeere after, hee married the

Reynold.

William.

the daughter of *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion*: and the same yeare hee was made Duke of *Normandy*, doing his homage for the same to *Lewis* the *Grosse*, King of *France*; and received the homage and oathes of the Nobilitie of that Countrey: but in his returne for *England*, he was unfortunately drowned neere unto *Barbfleet* upon the twenty sixt of November, the yeere of Grace 1120. and eighteenth of his own age, without any issue, to the great griefe of his Father.

(63) *Maud*, the daughter of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Maud* his first wife, was borne the fourth yeare of her Fathers raigne. She was the second wife of the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, espoused at sixe yeeres of age, and at eleven with great solemnitie was married and crowned his Empresse at *Mentz* in *Germany*, 6. *Ianuary*, *Anno* 1114. the ninth of her husbands, and foureteenth of her Fathers Raignes. Shee was his wife twelve yeares, and survived him, without any issue by him; and comming into *England* a widdow, shee had fealty sworne unto her by the Nobilitie, and was re-married to *Geffrey Plantagines* Earle of *Anion*, sonne of *Foulke* King of *Ierusalem*, upon the third of *April*, and yeere of Grace 1127. by whom shee had issue, *Henry*, the second, King of *England*, *Geffrey* Earle of *Nantes* in *Britanie*, and *William*, who was called Earle of *Poyto*: Shee was his wife twentie three yeares, and surviving him also, continued a widdow the last seveteene yeeres of her life, which she ended in the City of *Roan* the tenth of *September*, 1167. the foureenth of the raigne of King *Henry* her sonne, and was buried in the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*.

(64) *Richard*, a second sonne to King *Henry*, and Queene *Maud*, by the testimonie of *Gervasius* the Monke of *Canterbury*, who maketh *Maud* their eldest Child, *William* the second; and lastly, *Richard*; and then (saith he) the left bearing: but *Malmsbury* saith, she had but two Children, one of each sexe.

(65) *Eusem*, also another daughter, and fourth Child (by *Hector Boetius* the *Scottish* Historian) is said to be borne unto the *Beuclearke* by Queene *Maud*; the credite of the two last, I leave to the reporters, who onely thus name them, without any further relation.

Robert.

Richard.

Eusem.

His Naturall Issue.

(66) *Robert*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was Earle of *Glouceſter*, and married *Mabel* daughter and heire of *Robert Fitz-hammon* Lord of *Glamorgan*, by whom hee had issue *William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, *Richard* Bishop of *Bayon*, *Roger* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Maud* the wife of *Randolph Gernon*; the mother of *Hugh Kevelior* Earle of *Chester*, and *Richard* his brother: Earle *William* married *Avis* daughter of *Robert Bossu* Earle of *Leicester*, and had issue three daughters and heires of that Earledome, which by *Avis* the second of them, in the end descended to *Clare* Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Robert* died the last of *October*, in the twelfth yeare of King *Stephen*, and was buried at *Brisslow* in the Church of S. *Iames*, which he had founded, and his body laid in the midst of the Quire; unto him *William Malmsbury* dedicated his Booke called *Historia Novella*.

(67) *Richard*, another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was as it seemeth by an ancient Regiſter of the *Monastery at Abington*, borne in the raigne of King *William Rufus*, of the widow of *Anskill*, a Nobleman of the Countrey adjoyning to the said Monastery; and it seemeth he is that *Richard* that was drowned in the *Norman* Seas, neere *Barbfleet*, among the reſt of King *Henries* children.

(68) *Raynold*, the naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was borne of a daughter unto Sir *Robert Corbet*, Lord of *Alcester* in *Warwickshire*, by the gift of the King in favour of her, who was after married to *Henry Fitz-herbert* his Chamberlaine. This *Raynold* was created Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Castlecomb*, with consent of King *Stephen*, and had issue foure daughters, of whom have sprung many faire branches.

Reynold.

(69) *Robert*, another of that name, was borne of *Edith*, the sister of *Ive*, sonne and daughter of *Forne*, the sonne of *Sigenolfe*, both of them great Barons in the North: which *Edith* afterwards King *Henry* gave in marriage to *Robert Doilie*, Baron of *Hook-Norton* in *Oxford.shire*; and with her gave him the Mannor of *Eleydon*, in the County of *Buckingham*, by whom he had issue *Henry Doylie* Baron of *Hook-Norton*, who oftentimes mentioneth this *Robert* in his Charters, ever calling him *Robert* his brother the Kings sonne.

Robert.

(70) *Gilbert*, another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, is named in the additions to the story of *William Gemeticensis* the *Norman* Monke, in the Chronicle of that country, written by *Iohn Taylor*, being a Translator of that worke out of Latine into French, and lastly, in the Treaties betwixt *England* and *France*, written in the French tongue by *Iohn Tillet*, Secretarie to their late King *Henry* the second, and yet in them, not any other mention is made, but onely of his name.

Gilbert.

(71) *William*, also a naturall sonne of *Henry* the King, had given unto him the Towne of *Tracie*, in *Normandie*; of which he tooke his surname, and was called *William of Tracie*: But whether he were the Progenitor of the *Tracies*, sometime Barons in *Devonshire*, or of them that now be of the same surname; or whether Sr. *William Tracie*, one of the foure Knights that slew *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were any of his posteritie, is not certainly reported: nor any thing else of him, more then that he died a little after his Father, which was in the yeare of Christ, 1135.

William.

(72) *Henry*, another naturall sonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Nesta*, daughter of *Rees ap Tewdor* Prince of South-Wales, who was the Wife of Sir *Gerald Windsor*, and of *Stephen*, Constables of the Castles of *Pembrooke*, and *Abertivie* in Wales, and Progenitors of the Families of the *Fitz-geralds*, and the *Fitz-Stephens* in *Ireland*; hee was borne and bred, and lived, and married in *Wales*, having issue two sonnes, namely, *Meiler* and *Robert*, of which, *Meiler* the elder married the daughter of *Hugh Lacie*, Lord of *Methe*, in *Ireland*; hee was at the conflict in the Ile of *Anglesey*, betweene *Magnus* the sonne of *Harold Harfager*, King of *Norway*, and *Hugh* of *Mountgomery*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Shrewsbury*, wherein he was slaine, as some say, with the said Earle, *Anno* 1197.

Henry.

(73) *Maud*, the Naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was Countesse of *Perche*, and the first Wife of Earle *Rotroke*, the first of that name, son of *Arnulfe de Hesding*, the first Earle of that County: She had issue by him one onely daughter, named *Magdalen*, wife to *Garcy* the fourth King of *Navarre*, mother of King *Sanches*, surnamed the Wife, from whom all the Kings of *Navarre* are descended: She died upon Friday the twentie sixth of *November*, in the twentieth of her Fathers raigne and year of Grace 1120. being drowned in the Sea with her brother Duke *William*.

Maud.

(74) *Maud*, another of that name, and naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *Conan* the first of that name, surnamed the *Grosse*, Earle of little *Britaine in France*, sonne of Earle *Alan* by *Ermengard* his second wife; by *Alan* shee had issue *Howell*, pronounced illegitimate, and disherited by his supposed father *Constance*, that died without issue; and *Bertha* the wife of *Eudes* Earle of *Porrohet*, mother of Earle *Conan* the yonger, who by *Margaret* sister of *William* King of *Scots*, had issue *Constance*, married to *Geffrey* sonne of King *Henry* the second.

Maud.

(75) *Iulian* likewise, another naturall daughter of King *Henry*, was married to *Eustace* the illegitimate sonne of *William* Lord of *Bretevil* in *Normandy*, who was the sonne and heire of *William Fitz-Osborn*, and elder brother of *Roger*, both Earles of *Hereford*

Iulian.

in *England*, and this *Eustace* had hee beene lawfully borne in wedlocke, had beene heire to the Earledoms of *Hereford* and *Iverie*: notwithstanding hee had as small a part in that inheritance of the Towne of *Pacie* from which he tooke his surname, being commonly called *Eustace* of *Pacy*, and had issue by this *Iulian* his wife, *William* and *Roger* of *Pacy* his sonnes.

(76) A naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the continuer of the History of *William Gemeticensis*, and by *Iohn Tillet* his follower, is reported by them to have beene married to one *William Goet* a *Norman*; but in neither of these writers is any mention made of her name, or of his estate, issue, or other relation.

(77) Another naturall daughter of King *Henrie* is without name, recited by the said Authors, and by them reported to be married to the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which is a Towne within the Countie of *Maigne*. Shee had issue by him, as *Roger* of *Hoveden* writeth, *Richard Vicount Beaumont*, Father of Queene *Ermengard* the wife of King *William* of *Scotland*: and *Robert* the Abbot of *Mount-Saint Michael* mentioneth another of her sons, named *Ralph*, who (as he saith) was Bishop of *Angiers*.

(78) Another naturall daughter also of King *Henry* is recited by the *Normane* and *French* writers before avouched, and reported by them to be married to *Matthew* of *Mountmorancy*, the sonne of *Bouchard* of *Mountmorancy*, from whom perhaps descended the House of *Mountmorancy*, who after came to be Earles and Dukes, being growne to bee one of the greatest houses in *France*, next to the Princes of the bloud, for possessions, alliances, and honour.

(79) *Elizabeth* the last naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the former Authors, was unmarried in the time of the one, and her husband unknowne to the other; but both of them agree, that she was born of *Elizabeth* the sister of *Walleran* Earle of *Meulan*, who was sister also of *Robert Bossue* Earle of *Leicester*, wife of *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and mother of Earle *Richard Strangebow*, the Conqueror of *Ireland*.

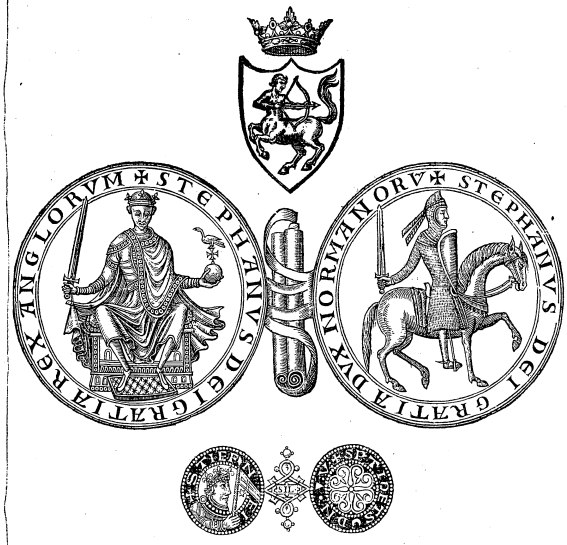
Elizabeth.

STEPHEN

Stephen.

STEPHEN, THE TVVO AND FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 42.



CHAPTER. V.

An. Dom. 1135. King Henries Heir defeated of the Crowne by Stephen.

THough the Empresse *Maud* had fealty sworn unto her in the life time of her Father: and againe both her self and issue ordained to be his successors in *Englands* Throne, as hath beene said; yet so powerfull is *Ambition*, where the Object is a *Diademe*, and so weake are all assurances which are built on the wavering *Multitude*, that King *Henries* providence, was soone defeated, and with his death all fealties reversed, and that by him onely who had * contended to bee the formost of the Laity in taking that oath, even *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Bolleine*, a man whose descent was very Noble, being the third sonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys* and *Champaigne*, who was the sonne of Earle *Eudes*, and he of Earle *Theobald*, the sonne of *Gerlon* the *Dane*, the companion of *Rollo* Duke of *Normandy*; his mother was * *Adelicia* the third daughter of *William* the Conqueror by Queene *Maud* his wife: And himselfe was advanced to bee Earle of *Mortaigne* by King *Henry* his uncle, whose Crowne he now endeavoured to usurpe, being otherwise for his many princely parts, worthy to weild a Scepter, if his claime thereto had been just and warrantable.

Guliel. Neub. l. 1. Hist. Anglicanæ. Matth. Paris. King Stephen his descent.

* Some call her Adela, others Alice.

(2) For as soone as Natures course had brought King *Henry*, where Princes and poorest Subjects are all equall; forthwith hee was working to dispossesse his Issue, which onely now rested in *Maud* and her Children; in which attempt it happened fortunately for him that his yonger Brother *Henry* was then Bishop of *Winchester*, and a very potent man in the State, who had industriously stirred himselfe in making way to his entrance; and (upon assurance of all liberties to the Church and Common-wealth) had drawne on also *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the very first man that had sworne

Will. Gemet.

Stephens brother his chiefe Agent.

Malm. Neub. l. 1. Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt. Archbishop of Canterbury Stephens adherent.

sworne unto *Maude* the Empresse: by whose example many others were winded into the like perjurie, * traitorously avowing, that it was basenesse for so many, and so great Peeres, to bee subject unto a Woman. And to helpe forward those audacious beginnings; *Roger* Bishoppe of *Salisbury*, the late Kings Treasurer, protested (*Malmesbury*, who reports it, himselfe heard it from him) that they were free from the oath made to the Empresse, for that without consent of the Barons she had married out of the realme; but that which wrought most, was the testimony of *Hugh Bigot*, * Seneschall unto King *Henry* departed, who comming over with *Stephen*, tooke his corporall oath, that the King on his death-bed, upon some offence taken against his daughter *Maude*, disinherited her, and appointed this *Stephen*, his nephew, to be his successour. These colourable instigations so moved the * *too credulous* Archbishop and the Peeres, that they all swore fealty unto him, and became his Liege-men.

(3) His first landing in *England*, (being at *Whitsun-day*) by a tempest of thunder so wonderfull and terrible, that the people thought verily the end of all was at hand, did prognosticke the storms of troubles which his perjurie brought with him; for even then both *Dover* and *Canterbury* fortified themselves against him, though *London* gave better leave to his entrance, whose Person and presence drew ever the affections of the beholder, being in all parts compleat with natures endowments, of personage passing comely, of disposition loving, cheerefull, and affable to the meanest, always very liberall; but now especially, knowing his *Purse* the best *Lawyer* to plead for his *Title*; and in Martiall prowesse gave place to none of that time, wherein, though his whole raigne was continually spent, yet (by reason of King *Henries* great Treasure left) never burthened hee the Commons with any exactions, a thing that ever gained the love of the common sort: neither is hee taxed with any other observable crime, save onely his perjury against the Empresse *Dowager*, and her sonne.

(4) Hee entred his government the yeare of Christ Iesus, 1135. the second day of *December*, and was crowned at *Westminster* the twenty sixt of the same Moneth, being Saint *Stephens* day, by *William Corbell* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, who with the rest of the Prelates doing him homage, and knowing now hee would yeeld to any conditions (for performance whereof his* Brother of *Winchester* did there engage himselfe for a pledge) they all tooke their oath of allegiance, conditionally, (traitorously, I might say) to obey him as their King, so long as hee should preserve their Church-Liberties, and the vigour of Discipline: And that the Lay-Barons made use also of this of policy, appeareth by *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, who sware to be true Liege-man to the King, as long as the King would preserve to him his dignities, and keepe all Covenants, whereupon the King promised for the present, that he would speedily reforme the over-hard Lawes of his Predecessors, and mollifie the extreames thereof, to their owne likings, under his Seale and Charter: and so thence hastening to meete the Corps of his deceased Vncle, (which was now brought into *England*) hee honoured that pompous funerall, with his owne, and all his great Prelates and Peeres attendance at *Reading*; whence presently hee went to *Oxford*, where he sealed his fore-promised Charter, of many indulgent favours: * prefacing therein, that hee attained the Crowne by Election onely; and that Pope *Innocentius* confirmed the same; whereby may bee conceived, that his Holinesse, either out of hatred to the Empresse, (whose husband * *Henry* was no friend to the Papacy) or for some other holy ends, had no small hand in advancing *Stephens* perjured and disloyall intrusion. The Tenour of the * Charter it selfe is; *That all Liberties, Customes, and Possessions, granted to the Church, should be firme and in force; that all Persons and Causes Ecclesiasticall should appertaine onely to Ecclesiasticall Iudicature: that none but Clergymen should ever intermeddle with the vacancies of Churches, or any Church-mens goods; that all bad usages in the Land touching forrests, exactions, &c. should be vterly extirpate, the ancient Lawes restored, &c.* As *Stephen* well knew, that they had chosen him their King, onely to make their vses of him, so these immunities hee granted, rather to bleare their Eyes, then * with any purpose to manacle his owne hands with such Parchment-Chaines.

(5) *This his entrance was very peaceable,* (saith *Gervasius* of *Canterbury*) *but by little and little, civill discord increased,* to the lamentable destruction of Men, and the Land: whereto *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, halfe-brother to the Empresse, whose wisedome and power King *Stephen* much feared, gave a secret beginning, when amongst them that swore him fealty, hee concluded his (as wee said) with this reservation, that his owne authority should bee nothing empaired, meaning no longer to respect him as his King, then the King should him as a Peere: and a generall sufferance to erect Castles, for strength, throughout the Land, was no security to his peaceable estate: Intended indeed to strengthen the Kingdome against *Maud* the Empresse; but prooved the bane of all subjective obedience: which was politickly considered by *Henry Fitz-Empresse*, in the conclusion of Peace betwixt King *Stephen* and him, when a thousand one hundred and fifteene Castles so raised, were againe razed and cast downe.

(6) The first man that professedly set himselfe opposite to *Stephens* usurpation, was *Baldwin de Redvers*, who fortified the Citie and Castle of *Excester* against him; the *Welshmen* also, bearing in minde the harms that K. *Henry* had done them, desired revenge, and made many slaughters upon the Kings people: Against these, *Stephen* proceeded with his band of *English* and *Flemmings*, and after a strong and chargeable siege, by famine drew forth *Baldwin*, his wife, and children, all which he disherited, and expulsed the Land, using so great lenity towards all other offenders there, that it gave great encouragement to others rebellions. But in *Wales* the businesse prospered not so well, where at *Cardigan* a great battell was fought, with such slaughter and over-bearing of the *English*, that the men, by women, were taken and led away Captive, and so many drowned by the full of a Bridge over *Temd*, that a passage was made over the water with the dead Carkases therein heaped.

(7) Neither thus onely, but some of the *English* also distasting King *Stephen*, secretly instigated *David* King of *Scotland*, to revenge the wrongs done to the Empresse *Maude*, a service as they urged it, very gratefull unto her, and even pleasing to God and Man. Hee therefore consenting, invaded the Borders, and tooke from the *English* both *Carleile* and *New-castle*, which he stuffed with Garrisons. Against these, King *Stephen* prepared, and with a great power came into those parts, where divers accidents by divers reporters are related, yet all agree that ere long peace was concluded, *Carleile* still enjoyed by King *David*, and the Earldome of *Huntingdon* by Prince *Henry* his sonne; for which he did homage at his fathers command, *David* himselfe refusing to to doe, (as *Hector Boetius* the Scottish Writer affirmeth) for that he had *given his faith before unto* Maud *the Empresse*.

(8) King *Stephen* returned, and all in good quiet, he suddenly fell sick of a *Lethargy*, yea, and in such danger of life, that the common report gave forth he was dead, which stirred great troubles both in *England*, and else-where; for thereby his friends were stricken into great feare, and the factious more bold to prepare for Queene *Maude*; for *Hugh Bigot* one of his chiefest and first raisers, fortified himselfe in the Castle of *Norwich*, and would not deliver it unto any save onely to the King, yea and very unwillingly also unto him: and in *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader* the

* A traiterous position. *Roger de Hoved. Matth. Paris.*

Malmes. Nouell. lib. 1. Idem.

* Or high Steward. *Matth. Paris. Ioh. Wigorn. Tyrrel. Houed.*

* Idem. Fealty sworne to Stephen.

Malmes. Nouel. lib. 1. Matth. Weſt.

Stephens lovely qualities.

Will. Malmes. Ibidem.

Rand. Higden. Roger Houed.

* *Will. Malms. lib. 1. Nouel.*

Allegeance sworne conditionally to the King. *Idem.*

King Stephens fare promises.

Huntingdon. l. 8. Houed. in.

Hen. Hunting.

* *Malm: Novel. lib. 1.* King Stephens Charter.

* This Henry imprisoned the Pope.

* Dated *apud Oxenford* 1136. reg. 1.

Will. Malmes. Huntingdon. Roger Houed.

* *Will. Malms. Houeden.*

Ger. Dorob.

Matth. Paris.

Malmes. Nouel. lib. 1.

Castles generally raised in England.

Wortlingham. Tyrrel. ad an. 1137.

Ger. Dorob. Hermines league with Stotes. *Huntingdon. l. 8. Houeden. Matth. Paris.* His fauor. His Base Duke of Normandy.

Excellent faith in Kings Stephen.

Henry Hunt. *lib. 8. Flor. Wigorn.*

Stephen hopeth his elder brother dyeth. *Tyrrel. Houed. Houeden. Huntingdon. l. 8. Matth. Paris.*

Helpeth the Empresse husbands mouth with money.

An. Dom. 1138. An. Reg. 3.

Ger. Dorob.

England againe distracted.

King Stephen returnes into England.

Roger Houed.

Matth. Paris. The King of Scots against King Stephen.

Tyrrel. Houed. Houed. in Steph. Huntingdon. l. 8.

The English Nobles against King Stephen. *Simeon Dun.*

Polydor. An. Dom. 1138. *Tyrrel. Houed.*

Matth. Paris

Will. Gemet.

Hector Boetius lib. 12. cap. 3.

Simeon Dun.

Matth. Paris. Hen. Huntingd. lib. 8.

Cleros. 11. Mile.

Tumultuous attempts in Normandy. *Pontifical. vrsperg. Tyrrel. Houed. Malmes. Nouell. lib. 1.*

Stephen elder Brother layes claime.

Idem.

Stephen goeth into Normandy. *Will. Newbrig.*

Ger. Dorob. He makes league with Stotes. *Huntingdon. l. 8. Houeden. Matth. Paris.* His fauor. His Base Duke of Normandy.

Stephen hopeth his elder brother dyeth. *Tyrrel. Houed. Houeden. Huntingdon. l. 8. Matth. Paris.*

Helpeth the Empresse husbands mouth with money.

An. Dom. 1138. An. Reg. 3.

Ger. Dorob.

England againe distracted.

King Stephen returnes into England.

Roger Houed.

Matth. Paris. The King of Scots against King Stephen.

Tyrrel. Houed. Houed. in Steph. Huntingdon. l. 8.

The English Nobles against King Stephen. *Simeon Dun.*

the sonnes of *Gruffuth ap Conan* Prince of that Country, carried great spoiles from the *English*, as of other goods, so also of Horse and Armour, and habiliments for warre; likewise in *Normandy*, Conspiracies began to bud forth; for *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion*, who in right of his wife made claime unto all, easily got the hearts and endeavours of many to adhere unto the true heire; possessing himselfe of certaine Castles; but entring further on the Demaines of one *Talevaz*, a man of note (proscribed for some offence or displeasure by King *Stephen*) the *Normans* disliking that, and some other his doings, sent for *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys* (*Stephens* elder Brother) offering him both their Dukedome, and their swords, and lives to defend him in it; who comming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earle of *Glouc.ester*, (not unwilling away to weaken King *Stephen*) delivered unto him upon compostion, the County of *Falesa*, himselfe carrying no small summe of money thence out of King *Henries* Treasury, and very throughly, (though secretly) watching all opportunities to advance the title and designes of the Empresse.

(9) *Stephen* recovered, and hearing these stirres, prepared himselfe first into *Normandy*, at whose approach, after some small attemps, the people (distracted betwixt feare and sense of their duety) yeelded themselves unto his power; surrendring their fenced Cities, and other strong holds. This good successe thus fortunately begunne, hee hoped further to prosecute, by meanes of a League, which hee lately had made with *Lewis* the seventh, King of *France*: and hereupon created *Eustace* his eldest son living, Duke of *Normandy*, commanding him to do his homage for the same to *Lewis*.

(10) Earle *Theobald* seeing himselfe thus defeated of his hopes and purposes, stormed at the wrongs done by King *Stephen*; for hee, (his elder by birth; and *Bloyses* Earledomes lawfull heire) laide his title both for *Normandy* and *England* also, now usurped by *Stephen* his yonger: notwithstanding (rage nought availing without power) hee came to a composition, and remitted his Claime for two thousand markes annually to be paid. *Geffrey* of *Anion* likewise, whose title by his Wife was better then them both, nor able at the presnt (being so farre over-matched by the Kings power, wealth, and confederates) to doe what he would, yeelded to necessitie, and for five thousand markes yeerely to be paid, suffered *Stephen* quietly to enjoy the Crowne.

(11) Having thus at once swept the two greatest rubbes out of his fortunes way, hee well hoped that all cloudes of displeasure, and opposition, were now over-blowne, when unexpectedly newes came, that *England* was in tumults, the sparkes of conspiracie kindled secretly before in the hearts of factious *Peeres*, now openly breaking forth, upon advantage of his absence in *Normandy*: therefore, having not altogether composed his businesse in those parts, he tooke ship for *England* in the depth of the winter; and even in the *Pigill* of Christs Nativitie, besieged, and after tooke the Castle of *Bedford*, that was manned against him in the behalfe of the *Scots*; about which time *David* their King having entred *Northumberland* in the quarrell of Queene *Maude*, the ruder sort of his Armie (as commonly the best governed is not emptie of such) revenged too tragically the wrongs of the Empresse, in ripping up the wombes of women with childe, and tossing their Infants upon the points of their speares, flaying the Priests at the Altar, and dismembring the slayne bodies in most unhumane manner.

(12) Against these, King *Stephen* made hastilie forward, affirming it no policie, *to give one houres rest unto the Enemie:* and threatning more then hee accomplished, entred *Scotland*; whence after some small reuenge wrought, hee was hastily recalled; so many of his Nobles in *England* now in Armes against him, that hee was in a fort beset on every side. and what other could hee, a *Vsurper*, expect from them, but *Treason*, whom himselfe had formerly taught to be *Traitors* to their right full Soveraigne? But yet (as no *Rebellion* was ever without pretence of *Reason* and *Iustice*) they alledged, that hee had * violated his *Oath* touching their Forrests, and other Immunities of Church and Common-wealth: but Church and Common-wealth were but publike colours for private grudges, (as *Malmesburie*, who then lived, well unfoldeth,) which the Great-Ones conceived against their King, because he would not grant them such Castles, Commands, and Lordships, as themselves liked and expected of him, whom they thought to bee so obliged unto them, that he ought denie them nothing. The endlesse and shamelesse importunities of these men, sometimes hee put off, alleadging thereby, the *impaire of his Crownes revenewes*; sometimes hee was faine to satisfie, *distrusting their falling from him:* whose loialty notwithstanding being built on so un-noble grounds, was but coloured, and therefore could not long bee permanent. Neither was it. For *Robert* of *Glocester* (the Empresses halfe-brother, and now her chiefe Counsellor and Captaine) finding those particular dislikes apt to be wrought on, and made serviceable for a common behoofe; wherted on with the touch of conscience, and counsells of religious learned men, (who urged him, with the *hazard both of his credit, and soule, for neglect of his first, and onely-lawful Oath to the Empresse*) sent threatning messages unto King *Stephen*, charging him with his Oath of Allegiance unto Ladie *Maude* his Soveraigne, against whom he had shewed himselfe a most perfidious man, and had impiously drawne him, with others, to doe the like; and so denouncing *Stephen* an open Enemie to the State, and himselfe unto *Stephen*, made strong his faction with the assistance of many Nobles; among whom, *Milo*, a chief man of warre, and High Constable to King *Stephen*, revolted from him, and became a great help to their proceedings.

(13) Earle *Robert*, (whom ere-soones the enraged King discharged of his honours and possessions in *England*) tooke into the Castle of *Bristow*, and made good also his Castle of *Slede*; his complices likewise did the like in other places: for *William Talbot* manned the Castle of *Hereford*, *William Lovell* the Castle of *Cary*, *Paganell* the Castle of *Ludlow*, *William de Mount* the Castle of *Dunester*, *Robert de Nichol* the Castle of *Warram*, *Eustace Fitz-John* the Castle of * *Meltune*, *William Fitz-Alain* the Castle of *Shrewsburie*, and *Walkelinus* the Castle of *Doure*. And thus those Forts which were erected to defend the Crowne, first offended the King, some few whereof as he recovered, he flatted to the ground, and wished the other no higher wals; still swearing *by Gods Birth* (his usuall Oath) hee would not so slightly bee unseated of his Crowne, and wondring what should moove them, who had so readily advanced him, so speedily to unstate him. One fresh motive to these Noble-mens discontents was the Kings * seizing on some great men and their lands, on bare suspicion of their loyaltie; and on the other side, the extraordinarie favour, which *Stephen* shewed to *William de Ypre*, and his *Flemings* (which they interpreted as a contempt of themselves and their Nation) whose counsells he generally followed, and chiefely relyed upon. In disdaine whereof, they sent word to the Empresse, that within five Moneths, thee should have the Realme at command, according to their Oathes made to her Father.

(14) These turmoiles thus working in the bowels of the Kingdome, *David* King of *Scotland* had better opportunity to assaile the sides and skirts thereof; and following what hee had begun, with a very great Army entring *Northumberland*, made great slaughter of the *English*, and destruction of their Countrey: Against whom the Northern Lords prepared, at the command of *Thurstan* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (left by King *Stephen* Lieutenant in those parts) who being by sickenesse kept from the Field, appointed

* *Huntingdon. lib. 8.*

Malmes. Novel. lib. 2. pag. 105.

Idem. l. 1. p. 102.

Idem.

Earle Robert sends threats to King Stephen.

Idem.

Malmes. Novel. lib. 1.

Ger. Dorob. Will. Malmes.

English Peeres revolte against the King.

Henry Hunt. lib 8. Houeden.

* *De Meltune.*

King Stephens vnsaith Oath. *Malmes. Novel. lib. 1.*

* *Malmes. Nouel. libro secundo.*

Ger. Dorob.

An. Dom. 1139.

The King of Scotland his attempts against Stephen.

Simeon Dun.

Hoveden. trendover. Henry Hunt.

This field was fought in August. An. 1138. neer the mouth of Humber. Matth. Paris.

The great valour of Prince Henry of Scotland.

Matth Paris. Hoved. & alii. Petyd Virgil.

Rauulfe Higd.

Earle Robert leaves England.

A Peace betwixt King of England and Scotland. Matth. Paris. Henry Hunt.

Hoved. Henry Hunt.

An. Dom. 1140. King Stephen plucks downe the Castles.

Malmes. Newtl. lib. 2.

Henry Hunt. Hoveden.

A great Councell at Oxford.

Ger. Dorob.

Malmesb. loco citato.

The Kings ualage of his Prelates.

Idem.

* Latford Paris.

appointed *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* his Generall; whose Invective Oration before their joyning of battaile, occasioned upon the fore-said misdemeanors of some undisciplined *Scottish*, is at large set downe by *Hoveden, Huntingdon, Wendover*, and others; in the close whereof, he absolveth from punishment of sin, all such of his side, as should die in this battaile: which made the *English* more desperate in fight, who so sorely pressed upon their enemies, that they forsooke their King, he notwithstanding valiantly persisting, till his dearest friends ernestly urged him to avoid. But his sonne *Henry*, esteeming more of glory then life, rushed in amongst his retiring souldiers, and with undaunted courage, persw ading them to regard themselves and his presence, with threat of shamefull deaths to all such as fled, he held them in for a time; till at length over-laid with the maine battaile of the *English*, the magnanimous Prince *Henry*, likewise quitted the field, bitterly curfing the frowardesse of Fortune, and the mischance that hapned that day.

(15) With like fortunate successe, proceeded *Stephen* against his disobedient Barons, and wanne from them the *Castles* of *Hereford, Gloucester, Webley, Brissow, Dudley*, and *Shrewsbury*, whereby hee weakned Earle *Robert* so much, that he was constrained to flie into *France*, and there instigated his sister the Empresse to come into *England*.

(16) These domestick opposites thus removed out of his way, King *Stephen* re-addressed himselfe for the North, to prosecute that which *Thurstan* had begunne: first therefore winning the Castle of *Leids*, he went into *Scotland*, where by the perswasion and prowesse of *Mars* and *Vulcane* (saith *Paris*) a Peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings; and *Stephen* thence returning, brought Prince *Henry*, (whom he created Earle of *Huntingdon*) with him into *England*, and at the siege of *Ludlow*-Castle, the adventurous Prince was almost surprised, where the besieged with an Iron Grapple plucket him from his Horse, and so had taken him, but that King *Stephen* himselfe, with great valour and honour recovered him: who having wonne the Castle, went presently to *Oxford*, whither newes was brought him that the Empresse was preparing for *England*.

(17) To make all sure as he went, *Stephen* thought it good to demolish and raze those Castles lately built, (having had experience to what troubles they had brought him) and to prevent the building of new; and namely, that of the *Devise*, now (as he surmised) in fortifying against him: hee therefore sent for *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* (the Founder both of that Castle, as also those other of *Sherborn* & *Malmsbury*) a man who in a bad cause had stood King *Stephen* in good stead, howsoever some envying his greatnesse, had incensed the King against him and other Prelates, as if they were false from his side. The Bishop standing peremptorily on his innocencie, yet mistrusting the event, craved the company of *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, and of *Nigell* Bishop of *Ely*; so with a great and well-appointed traine, repaired to *Oxford* unto the Court, where *Stephen* had summoned a Grand-Councell of the States.

(18) The King, who expected of Church-men humilitie, seeing them now armed as men for the field, commanded his attendants to take armour likewise, and so entring communication of divers matters with his Peeres and Prelates, their Souldiers casually meeting, fell at variance, where the Bishops friends had the worser, so that many of them were wounded, and the rest forsaking their masters ranne away. This great assembly thus disturbed, the King required the Bishops to satisfie his Court for those outrages of their servants, *which satisfaction should be, to deliver the keyes of all their Castles to the King, as pledges of their fidelity*, which they refusing, the Bishops of *Salisbury* and *Lincolne* were laid hold of; but *Ely* escaped to the Castle of *Devise*: *Alexander* was imprisoned, till hee had yeelded him his Castles of *New-warke*, and *Slaford*; *Roger* the Castles of *Sherborne*, and the *Devises* (accounted then one of the goodliest Castles of *Europe*) besides fourtie thousand Marks in silver; (which losses the Bishop did not long survive.) The King imployed the money to purchase Lady *Constance*, sister to *Lewis* King of *France*, to be wife unto his sonne *Eustace*: all which was to strengthen himselfe against the Empresse *Maud*, whose comming hee continually feared, and now before his expectation thee was landed in *England*, at a fit time for her designes, when all the great Prelates, (who formerly were his chiefest friends) were highly incensed against the King for such oppression of their Brethren.

(19) The place of her arrivall was at the * Port of *Arundell*, into which Castle shee was joyfully received by *William de Albeny*, who had married Queen *Adeliza*, the late wife to King *Henry*, whose Dowrie it was; from hence Earle *Robert* diverting his course onely with ten Horse-men, and as many Archers, (for in all hee brought over but one hundred and fourtie with him for so great an exploit) passed thorow the Land unto *Wallingford* and *Gloucester*, soliciting his Complices for the aide of his sister the Empresse. * A man who then lived, holds him, in this bold attempt with so small forces, no way inferiour to *Iulius Cæsar*, whom *Livie* reports to have begun his civill warre, and to have set himselfe against the whole World, onely with five Cohorts of Souldiers.

(20) King *Stephen* as then lay in siege of *Marleburgh*-Castle, but having intelligence of this more dangerous an enemy, dislodged thence, and with all expedition made towards *Arundell*; whereat the Empresse, wanting her Counsellor, was wonderfully perplext, yet wanted not a womans wit to helpe at need; insomuch that by the report of *Gervasius*, *left her dignity and right might any way be endammaged, shee tooke an oath, that none of these the Kings enemies, by her advice or consent had entred the Land, but with condition to carry themselves orderly, without impeachment of the honour and allegiance due to the King*; By which policy (to give it no worse name) shee so satisfied King *Stephen* (whom all do censure for too much credulity and facilitie towards his foes) that he caused her to be convayed honourably unto *Bristow*, where shee remained the space of two Moneths, and then got thence unto *Wallingford*.

(21) Earle *Robert* in the meane while dispersed the newes of the Empresses approach, unto whose aid so many gathered, that the same Monke reporteth, *no man was able to see downe their multitudes in context of Historie, much lesse by way of Computation: then beganne* (saith he) *both labour and dolour, which brought the whole Realme to a most grievous division, and in a manner to an utter ruine: for those that favoured the King, what evill soever could be wrought or imagined, they did against them that tooke part with the Empresse: and contrariwise*, Earle Robert, *whose power daily encreased, tortured with cruelties all those that stood for the King; and to augment a more mischiefe, the Flemings left their owne Countrey, and came over by multitudes, like unto a Company of hunger-starved Wolves, seeking to bring the Lands felicitie unto nothing.*

(22) *Stephen*, whose head was now full of troubles, delaid no time to forward his Fortunes, but straightwaies besieged *Maud* and her brother in *Wallingford*. Castle; notwithstanding, wearied with long labour, and profiting little, he caused a Tower of wood to be there erected, which he strongly fortified with men and munition, and then removed to the siege of *Malmesbury*. His brother also of *Winchester*, a stout and politique Prelate indeede, bestirred all his wilie wittes in *Stephens* behalfe; for inviting certaine Noble-men to his Palace at *Winchester*, retained them prisoners, till he had compelled them there, to resigne their Castles to the King. In the meane while Earle *Robert* subdued and spoyled *Worcester*: *Ralph Painell*, in the Empresses favour, burned *Nottingham*; and *Randulph* Earle of *Chester*, joyning in wishes with *Robert* (whose daughter he married) shewed himselfe not

Wendover. Paris.

Polych. lib. 7. cap. 18.

Roger Hoved. The Empresse arrives in England.

Malms. Newt. lib. 2. Huntington. Reg. de Circd.

* At Portsmouth saith Grosg.

Malmes. Newtl. lib. 2.

Matth. Paris. Earle Robert brings but 140 men to the winning of the Crowne of England.

* Malms. Idem.

Stephen hasts to the Empresse.

Her politique excuse. Ger. Dorob.

Rand. Higden.

Randulphs Oration before the battle. Roger Hoved.

Roger Hoved. Huntington.

The Empresse power increases. Gervasius.

Flemings come to King Stephens aide.

King Stephen besieges Wallingford Castle. Ger. Dor.

Henry Hunt. Earle Roberts Oration before the Battle.

Roger Hoved. Hen. Hunt. Ingulph.

The Bishop of Winchester escapes the Snares. Matth Paris.

Simon Dunelmens. Roger Hoved.

Malms. Newtl. lib. 2.

Matth. Paris. Earle Robert brings but 140 men to the winning of the Crowne of England.

* Malms. Idem.

Roger Pictaviens. Hen. Trivet. King Stephen and his adversary fairly pitch their Battle.

Rand. Higden.

Randulphs Oration before the battle. Roger Hoved.

Roger Hoved. Huntington.

The Empresse power increases. Gervasius.

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King Stephen besieges Wallingford Castle. Ger. Dor.

Henry Hunt. Earle Roberts Oration before the Battle.

Roger Hoved. Hen. Hunt. Ingulph.

The Bishop of Winchester escapes the Snares. Matth Paris.

not unwilling to annoy King *Stephen*, though he had received great honours at his hands. The Empresse her selfe, the better to secure her owne person, and to give accesse unto her favourites, tooke into *Lincolne*, where she meant to make her abode, storing the City with all provisions necessary.

(23) King *Stephen*, as vigilant as the other was politike, made straight wayes thitherward, and begirt the City with a straite siege, where hee had surprised his greatest Enemy, had he not found meanes thence to escape: and so possessing himselfe of the City, settled it, and the whole Country in very good quiet. Soone after whose departure, *Ranulph* Earle of *Chester*, with his Countesse and Brother, comming to *Lincolne*, to keepe their Christmas; the Citizens knowing the Kings jealousies, and *desirous to curry favour with him*, sent secret intelligence, that if hee would surprize both those Brethren, he had now the fittest advantage: whereto the King giving eare, came thither with great expedition; and whiles they, thus circumvented, stood on their guard in the Castle, the Earle escaped forth, and went to crave ayde of the Empresse, for refcue of his Wife and Brother whom hee left besieged. Earle *Robert*, hearing the newes, and glad of so faire an opportunity, joyned with *Ranulph*, and they both gathered all their powers both of *Welsh* and *English*, for the releefe of their friends in *Lincolne*: where, resolutely first wading through the River, (which parted them from the Kings Army, and was then deepe) upon Candlemas day, and yeere of Christ Iesus one thousand one hundred forty one, they pitched their Tents, and in the Kings sight ordered their Battaile: One Squadron whereof, was lead by Earle *Ranulph*: the *Disherited* were the Guiders of another; in the third was Earle *Robert* himselfe; and the *Welsh-men* served for the Wing. Their troupes thus marshalled, *Ranulph* appointed in rich Armour, and full of brave resolution, spake thus to his followers, in the presence of *Robert* of *Glocester*.

" (24) I yeeld you unfained thankes, (invincible " Captaine, and you, our companions in Armes) " which heere so resolutely witnesse your loves unto " mee, upon my sole requeste, even to the hazard of " your owne lives. Sith then, I am the chiefe cause " of this your perill, it well befits me, that I my selfe " be formost in the hazard, and give the first on-set " of battaile against this faithlesse King; who made " us a shew of truce, onely to take advantage for our " ruines; and therefore both mine owne courage, " and the Kings unjust dealing, give mee cause to " hope, that I shall forth-with breake asunder the " strongest array of his Army, and make my way " through their midst, by dint of this my Sword. It " shall be argument of your prowesse, to follow me, " leading you the way, and to imitate mee, giving " you example. My thoughts already tell mee, that " even now I am breaking through his Battles, " trampling on the neckes of his Chief-taines, and " piercing with this my Sword the very sides of the " King himselfe. His speech though short and headdy, as more fitting a Souldier then an Orator, yet well suited with the time, and was seconded with great applause of the Souldiers: Whereupon *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, stept forth and said.

" (25) It is not against right, most noble Earle, " that the honor of this dayes service, and first assault, " should bee permitted unto you, in regard of the " greatnesse both of your descent, and your martiall " atchievement; but yet, if Delcent bee stood on, " I my selfe am both the sonne, and nephew, of a " mighty King; if Valour, heere now are many of " choiseft worth, of whom none living can challenge " precedence for prowesse. But other reason ought " now to sway. For sith the King, contrary to his " Oath made to my Sister, impiously usurped the " Kingdome, he hath made a confusion of all things, " both in causing the bloud of many thousands " to be spilt, and in making many Owners (as him-

" selfe was) of that which was not their owne, by de- " priving other of their rightfull inheritance: These " therefore thus disherited, ought of right (in assu- " rance of helpe from their righteous Iudge and re- " venger) give first assault on their unrighteous op- " pressor; and God who justly judgeth his people, " will (doubtlesse) looke downe from his heavenly " habitation, and will not leave us fuccour-lesse, " whiles in a just cause, wee impugne a most unjust " Intruder. But one thing, (most resolved Cap- " taines and fouldiers) I would have you throughly " to consider, that through these Fennes (which " with so much a doe you have passed) there is no " way fit for escape: heere must wee either vanquish, " or leave our lives, for hope of flight is none at all, " nor is there any other way left us now to goe, but " by our swords into the City: and (if I gesse a- " right) even this, that wee have no meanes to flye, " will bee to us the meanes (by divine assistance) to " get the Victory; because they must needs trust to " their Man-hood, who see no hope to thrive by " their Cowardize. Indeed, the Citizens of *Lin-* " *colne* keepe nigh to their houses, and in the brunt of " the Battle, there will their minds bee, and thither " will their heeles follow, whiles you victoriously " shall keepe the Field. And consider farther with " mee, what kinde of Captaines they have: First, *A-* " *laine* Duke of *Britaine*, he comes armed, not against " you, but God himselfe, a furious person, sported " with all filth of sinne, in malice unmatchable, who " thinks it his greatest dishonour, to see any man ex- " cell him in cruelties: With him commeth the trea- " cherous Earle *Robert Mellent*, the very crafts-ma- " ster of fraud, in whose heart dwels impietie, guile " in his mouth, cowardize in his actions; high of " minde, vaine-glorious in words, degenerous in per- " formance; last in the fight, first in the flight. Next, " comes *Hugh By-god*, his name neerely sounding his " perjury; who thought it not sufficient to breake " his Oath with the Empresse, but that he must be " once again forsworne (as all the world doth know) " that *Henry* at his death bequeathed the Crowne " unto *Stephen*, to the prejudice of his owne daugh- " ter; a man (in a word) who accounts *Treacherie* " a *Vertue*, and *Perjury* a courtly quality. Among " these Gallants, marcheth the Earle *Albemarle*, a man " of a singular constancy in evill; very ready to at- " tempt, and very loath to leave any mischiefe; whose " Wife, through irkesomeneffe of his insufferable fil- " thy qualities, is gone from him; and the Earle that " keepes her, hee commeth against us too, a notori- " ous Adulterer, and the *Non-parcill* of impurity, a " true Souldier of *Bacchus*, a stranger to *Mars*; to " whom the sight of all bloud, except of the Grape, " is very fearefull. Then setteth forth *Simon* Earle of " *Hampton*, whose deeds consist altogether in words, " and whose liberality onely in promises; for when " he hath said, he hath done, and yee get no more. " Lastly, you see heere gathered a knot of Peeres, all " like to their Prince, accustomed to robberies, en- " riched with rapines, fatned with Man-slaughters, " and all tainted with perjury. You therefore (No- " ble spirits) whom great *Henry* advanced, and this " *Stephen* hath cast downe, whom *Henry* made weal- " thy, and *Stephen* hath impoverished, be now cou- " ragious, and upon assured confidence of your great " valours, yea, of Gods justice, seeke both your just " *Revenge*, which God even puts into your hands, " on these ungodly wretches; and immortall *Glory*, " which shall henceforward attend both your selves, " and your posterity for ever. If you are all of this " minde, for executing this Iudgement of God now " upon them, then vow your selves unto God, and " this his service; and forbeare, nay rather forsweare " to shew your backes to your foes.

Alaine Duke of Britaines.

Robert Mellent.

Hugh By-god.

Earle Albemarle.

Earle Simon.

At which words, all joyntly lifting up their hands, and acclamations unto Heaven, with a terrible shout abjured all thought of flight, and quickning up their brave spirits, advanced gallantly towards the enemy.

King Stephens addresse to the Battle.

(26) King *Stephen*, the meane while, was farre from being idle, who also ordered his Armie into three severall Battalions: the greatest part and best harnessed, whose Horses he had sent away (perhaps also to deprive his men of all hope of flight) he appointed to remaine on foot with himselfe, and certain of his Nobles, all under one Banner. The Horsemen hee disposed into two severall wings, the one commanded by *Alaine* Duke of *Britaine*, *Hugh Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Simon* Earle of *Hampton*, with the two Earles of *Mellent* and *Warren*; and the other Wing was governed by *William de Ypres* the Flemming. Then the King, because his voyce was not very pleasing or audible, commanded *Baldwine Fitz-Gilbert*, a Man of great honour and prowesse, to utter his minde unto the Army, who standing conveniently to be heard, spake unto them as followeth:

Matth. Paris. Simon Dun.

Hen. Hunting. Roger Hoved.

"(27) All such as addresse themselves, and expose their lives, to the hazard of battaile, have "three things advisedly to be thought on: The e- "quitie of their cause; the Number of the Forces; "the sufficiency of their men. The first, left they "endanger the state of their Soules; the next, left "they be overlaid with multitude of their enemies; "and the last, left while they presume upon num- "bers, they finde them but faint-hearted, to their "utter ruine. But in all these, we know our selves "to bee sufficiently furnished. The Iustice of our "cause is, for observing the vow made before God "unto our King, to withstand them that have falsifi- "ed their faith, even to the hazard of our lives. For "our number, in Horsemen, tis not inferiour to theirs; "in Foot-men wee farre exceed them: and for suffi- "ciency, what words can equall the noble valour of "so many Earles, Lords, Captaines, and Followers, "trained up ever in the warres? But above all, the "incomparable prowesse and presence of our King, "will be in stead of thousands to us. Sith then this "our Lord, and the Lords Anointed (to whom "you vowed your faith) is in Field heere amongst "you; now performe this your vow unto GOD, "assured, that the more constant you proove in this "your Princes service, and faithfull against those "faithlesse perjured persons, the more shall your re- "ward be at the hands of God, and of him. There- "fore be both couragious and confident, the rather, "considering against whom you fight; even against

Earle Robert.

"*Robert* the *Base-borne* Generall, whose utmost worth "is well knowne; for hee can threaten much, and "performe as little: a Lions tongue, and a Hares "heart: his faire speech is his credit, his foule acti-

Earle Ranulph.

"ons are his shame. *Chesters* Earle, what is hee? a "man audacious, but without all judgement; heady "to plota Treason, but still wavering in the pursuit "of it: ready to runne into battaile, but uncircum- "spect in any danger; ayming beyond his reach, and "conceiting things meerely impossible; and there- "fore hath he few with him that know him, but "lends only a rout of vagrant Rascals: so there is "nothing in him to be feared; for whatsoever hee "begins like a Man, hee ends it like a Woman; un- "fortunate in all his undertakings; in his encoun- "ters still either vanquished, or if he chance (rarely "God wot) on a victorie, it is with farre greater los- "ses then the conquered. The *Welshmen* hee bring- "eth, are fitter for our contempt then feare: their "rashnesse you may easily see, for it is naked and un- "armed, who wanting both Military Art and Pra- "ctise, runne head-long, like brutes upon the Hunters "lavelins. The rest, as well Nobles (if such they "may be reamed) as common Souldiers, are but "straglers and runnagates: of whom I would wish "their number greater; for the more they be, the "more successesse will be their service. You there- "fore (great Peeres and Worthies) it now bee- "hooveth (and indeed it much behooveth you) to be "very mindfull, both of your Valour, and Noble- "nesse: this day advance your Prowesse to the height,

The *welsh*.

"and following the fore-steps of your famous An- "cestors, leave to your posteritie both a noble pat- "terne, and an everlasting renowne. Your daily "successe of victories, should quicken your hearts "this day to archieve bravely, and the continuall "miscarrying of our enemies, will quicken their "heeles to flie as speedily: and (I dare say) they al- "ready repent of their comming hither, and are by "this time casting how to be gone, if the nature of "the place would give them leave. Then sith it is "unpossible for them either to fight, or flie; why "come they hither, but even by Gods owne appoint- "ment, to offer themselves, and all their provisions "into your hands? and heere you see their Horses, "their Armour, yea and their bodies, to rest at your "pleasure: reach forth therefore your warlike hands "to seize on that joyfully, which God hath freely "brought you.

Which exhortation hee had scarcely closed, when the noise of Trumpets, and shout of the enemies comming on, was Rhetoricke enough to incite them to their taskes.

The Battle joyn.

Hen. Hunting. Will. Paron. Matth. Paris.

(28) A fore battaile was fought, and with equall successe a long time maintained: for the band of the disherited, whose particular wrongs whetted their courage, (and were therefore politiquely placed in the front) brake terribly into the Kings Vauntguard, and contrariwise *William* of *Ypres* into the *Welsh*, untill the Foreward of the Kings Horse-men began to shrinke backe, and (not without suspition of Treason) galloped away; when presently the Earle of *Chester* encountred the Kings battaile of Foot, in whose strength 'hee reposed most trust; but it being over-laid with Assailants, began also to faint and to flie, leaving the King enraged, both with his friends faint-heartednesse, and with his foes successe. *A very strange sight it was, (saith Paris) there to behold King* Stephen, *left almost alone in the field, yet no man daring to approach him, whiles grinding his teeth, and foaming like a furious wild Boare, hee drave backe with his Battle-axe whole troupes assayling him, and massacring the chiefest of them, to the eternall renowne of his courage: If but a hundred such had there beene with him, a whole Army had never beene able to surprize his person:* yet as hee was single, hee held out, till first his Battle-axe brake, and after that, his Sword also, with the force of his unresistable strokes, flew in peeces; and hee now weaponlesse, and (by an unknowne, doubtlesse an un-noble hand) stricken downe with a great stone throwne at him, was seized on by *William* of * *Kahames*, a most stout Knight, and by Earle *Roberts* command, preserved from any violence to his person, was carried prisoner unto *Maud* the Empresse at *Glouecster*, and thence was sent bound unto *Bristow*, where in the Castle he remained in safe custody.

Gr. Bord. The Clergy opposes the Empresses title.

Will. Malmsb. Stephen. Newel. lib. 1.

Polyd.

Gerv. Dor.

Matth. Paris. King Stephen great valour.

The Empresse received into Devon.

An unprofitable Diuision. King Stephen. M. S. Parvum.

Huntingdon. King Stephen taken prisoner.

Ypodigma. Newel. Malmsb. Hunt. lib. 2. An. Reg. 6. * Alias de Kaine Hastingdon. Matth. Paris.

(29) The Empresse having thus got the Lion in her hold, triumphed not a little in her owne fortune, and now as sole Soveraigne of *England*, Monarchie, commanded all businesse, elected her Counsellors, and bestowed many dignities, where the most favoured. Notwithstanding, that the altered not her stile of Empresse, or Queene of *Romans*, may appeare by this her *Broad-seale* ensuing; under which she granted the custody of the *Tower of London* unto *Geffrey de Mandevil*, and his Heires, covenanting with him therein, *that shee would not make Peace with the Citizens of London, without the said Geffreys consent, because they were his mortall enemies:* but this Earle being afterwards unawares apprehended in the Kings Court at Saint *Albans*, could not be released, till he had surrendred both the *Tower of London*, and other his Castles to the King.

Gr. Dorob. Ypodigma. Newel.

The Empresse absolute governour of the Kingdome.

Charta Matild. Imperatric.

Vpon these happy successes of the Empresse, the States-men stood not any longer for King *Stephen*, but their *Faiths* turning with his *Fortunes*, all of them surrendred their allegiance unto her; the *Kentish* only excepted, where *Stephens Queene*, and *William de Ypres*, maintained his quarrell to the uttermost of their powers.

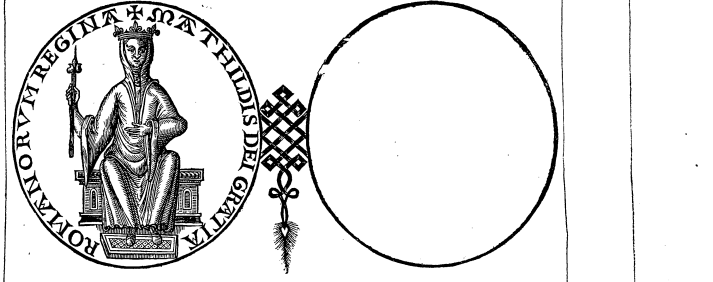
The Empresse setleth to your Statues.

Gerv. Dorob.

Huntingdon. lib. 8.

(30) But

THE TRVE SCVLPTVRE OF *MAVD* THE EMPRESSES BROAD SEALE, APPENDANT TO HER CHARTERS.



(30) But the Empresse conducted in State to *Winchester*, had the Regall Crowne of the Kingdome there delivered her; no man more forward then *Henry* the Bishop, and Brother of *Stephen*, who upon the vowing to bee *ruled by his advice in affaires of Estate*, being then the *Popes Legate*, solemnely in a Synode of the Clergy, accursed all such as withstood the Empresse, and blessed all them that assisted her intereſt: but both hee, and his friends forgot not to adde that wonted traytorous clause of their oath, *so long to keepe faith to her, as shee kept her Covenants with them:* and so with applause of the people, shee came to *London*, and after much perswasion and mediation (for that the Citizens were very stiffe against her) was received into the City with a royall Proceſſion.

(31) Neither was King *Stephen* thus defeated of *England* onely, but *Normandy* also cast off the yoake of subjection; for *Geffrey* of *Anjou*, husband of the Empresse, having some intelligence of this atchieved victory, induced the *Normans* to incline unto him, by publishing the captivation of *Stephen*, unable now to relieve them, or himselfe; and *David* King of *Scotland* for his part was not behind, to set forward the claime of Lady *Maud*, assuming in her behalfe the County of *Northumberland*.

(32) *Maud* thus established, all now esteemed her as *Fortunes* deare-darling, and beheld her as their onely rising-Sunne; the Prison-walles overshadowing the Presence, feature, and favours of the now-dejected unfortunate *Stephen*, whose sorrowfull wife Queene *Maud*, inceſſantly sollicited the Empresse in her Husbands behalfe, desiring his liberty, but not his Crowne, which hee was now contented to let her enjoy; and thereunto offered for pledges many great persons, who protested for him to the Empresse, that hee thenceforth would devote himselfe unto God, and either become a Monke or a Pilgrime: *Henry* of *Winchester* also became a suiter unto her in the behalfe of his Nephew *Eustace*, King *Stephens* sonne, that the * Counties belonging before to the Father, might be conferred upon the sonne.

(33) The *Londoners* likewise having received her into the City as their Lady, thought now (as most doe with new Princes) they might have what they would aske, and became her importunate Suppliants, that the over-hard Lawes imposed by her Father, might now be remitted, and those of King *Edward* might wholly bee in force. But she rejected all these Petitioners, out of Pride, say some; but it may seeme rather of policy, holding it safest, to passe affaires of importance, not upon intreaty, but by due advice, and to governe the subject with a severe austereneſſe, rather then an indulgent lenity. But this too regular strictneſſe, which might have done well in a setled governement, in this her yet greene, and unsecured estate, prooved not so behoovefull. For first, Queene * *Maud* sent to her sonne *Eustace*, that their suites must bee obtained onely by warre; willing him to make strong his party by the assistance of the *Kentish*: the Nobles likewise, *Stephens* undertakers, repined that they were so slightly regarded, or rather rejected: and the *Londoners* also storming at the repulse of their desires, devised how they might take the Empresse their Prisoner, and so redeeme King *Stephen*, to whom their affections were ever firme: but shee hearing of their conspiracy, fled secretly in the night, and tooke into *Oxford*, which in all her difficulties shee ever found true unto her, out of their love, both to her cause, and to her Father; and threatning due revenge for her late wrongs, wrought it upon the Nobles in prison, and (more then was due or decent) upon *Stephen* himselfe, whom shee commanded to be laden with Irons, and to bee abridged of all princely services.

Hen. Hunting. Will. Paron. Matth. Paris.

Polyd.

Gr. Dorob.

Ordericus defines liberty, and not licentiousness.

Ypodigm. Newst. King Stephen mobbed at Stamford or Peterborough.

Bishopric an Inheritance.

The Empresse setleth to your Statues.

Gerv. Dorob.

Her setlement excommodious.

(34) *Winchesters* high mind not broking the Empresses denial of his suite, in behalfe of his Nephew *Eustace*, upon secret conferences with Queene *Maud*, by her lamentable entreaties, began to melt in his affection towards the distressed King his brother; and in fine, resolving to try the uttermost for him, absolved all those whom before hee had excommunicated; pretending, *that the Barons had all kept faith with her, but she had not kept touch with them*; and thinking this a fit time to worke for his brother, sollicited the discontented *Londoners* in his behalfe, and stored the Castles of *Waltham*, *Farnham*, and *Winchester* with Munition and Men; meane while the Empresse came speedily to *Glouecster*, to conferre with *Milo* her chiefest friend, and presently againe returning to *Oxford*, (* which shee chose for her Court and chiefe place of abode) was there maintained onely at his charge, not having one dayes dyet, or provision of her owne; to requite which fidelity, and other noble services, shee there created him Earle of *Hereford*.

(35) Her forces recollected, and thither assembled, she went forth with to the City of *Winchester*, accompanyed with *David* King of *Scotland* her uncle, Earle *Robert* her brother, and many other Nobles; where the Messenger with this equivocall answer, that hee would * *with all speed addresse himselfe*, as if hee had meant to follow them: so forthwith issuing secretly out of the City, did indeed *addresse himselfe* to worke her ruine: for sending for Queene *Maud*, her sonne *Eustace*, the *Londoners*, and *William Ypres*, (afterwards created Earle of *Kent*) made strong his part, himselfe and friends abiding in the City, whiles

* King *Stephens* wife.

The Nobles offended, all off from her. Malmes. Newel. lib. 1.

The Londoners conspire against her. Nic. Trivet.

Rogre Hoved.

Ger. Dorob.

Malmes. Newel. lib. 2.

Henry of Winchester recals his excommunication.

* *Idem locus citatus.* The Empresse maintained at *Arces* his charges.

The Bishop of Winch. her equivocates.

* *Ego paratus sum.* Will. Malmesb.

will. Malmesb. Ger. Dorob.

the Empresse and her Nobles defenced themselves in the Castle, not adventuring to goe forth amongst so many their mortall enemies: and soone after, to worke his wrathfull will, knowing the Citizens to be more affected to the Empresse then to him, commanded the said City to be set on fire, *Where in, the Monastery of Nunnes, above twenty Churches, * the Covent of Saint Grimbald, and the better part of the City, were consumed to ashes.*

Hee fires Winchester. * Alias, The Covent of Hyde. Matthew.

Ger. Dorob. The Bishop of Winchester entrappeth the Empresse.

(36) Seven weekes thus spent, in this counter-siege of the City and Castle, the Bishop, to deceive the Empresse, commanded peace to be proclaimed, and the Gates to bee set open towards evening. The Empresse then, who had indured such troubles, and so long a restraint, greatly desired to change her lodging, and to recreate her perplexed spirits in some other place; so taking horse, accompanyed with her brother, *Reynold* Earle of *Cornewall*, her servants, and many others her friends, besides Earle *Robert*, who followed behind with a troupe of Nobles and Knights; presently at the Bishops commandment, shee was pursued by his Souldiers, and many of her traine wounded and taken prisoners; the Empresse by good providence escaped into the Castle of *Lutegaresshall*, and thence to the Castle *Divize*: where understanding that shee was still in hazard to be surprized, shee devised, (as what will not necessity endure, and a womans wit devise?) to bee laid in a coffine as dead, bound fast with cordes; and so, as if it had beene her Corse, carried in a Horse-litter to the City of *Glocester*: in which bonds of her owne distresse, she had good occasion to remember the chaines of King *Stephens* captivity. To such extreamities were these two Princes at the selfe-same time subject, that whiles they turmoiled for spacious Kingdomes, brought themselves to the very extreame wants, of ayre, and of elbow-roome; but with such dalliance doth *Fortune* (wee see) oftentimes follow her game, that shee maketh even Monarchs the *Balls* of her play, and tosseth them lastly into the *Hazard*, whence hardly they escape with safety of life. Yet this was not the worst; for Earle *Robert* her brother, whilest hee *was busier in providing for her safety then for his owne*, was taken by his pursuers at *Stowbreg* with others; brought backe to *Winchester*, and there presented by the Bishop unto Queene *Maud*, King *Stephens* Wife, who committed him to the custody of *William Ypres*, and hee for more safety to *Glocester*; but others taking sanctuary in the *Nuns* Monastery of *Warwell*, were burned together with the place: Thus then the King on the one side, and the Earle on the other, were kept in safe custody; but the Queene labouring for the Kings release, and the Countesse for the Earles, many Articles were propounded, and many messengers imployed: at length, this was thought fittest, that *Stephen* should bee restored to his Kingdome, and *Robert* under him to have the whole governement of the Land; so that both of them should now joyntly uphold that, which they (the two Ring-leaders) by opposition had cast downe. But Earle *Robert* as he was no whit dejected in mind, with any frowne of *Fortune* whatsoever, so reserved hee his fidelity to the Empresse unstained, and unmoved either with feare or faire inticements, still refusing to capitulate for his freedome, but to his Sisters liking; who likewise bare so brave a mind, that were her state never so weake, shee would not consent, nor give the least care to any composition for the Crowne.

Earle Robert taken.

Malmesb. lib. 2.

will. Malmsb.

will. Malmsb. An. Dom. 1142. The King and Earle Robert redeeme each other out of prison. Roger Hoved.

Matth. Paris. * Malmesb.

(37) Then was enmity increased, the Kingdome divided, and the peoples hatred kindled in maine-taining the factions, all fore-running the ruine of the Land: For these two Chieftaines wearied with irkesomeneſſe of Irons, and hard imprisonment, made exchange the one for the other, without any farther mention of peace, and so studied not onely to renew their former designes, but to encrease the Lands misery by more eager wars. *Stephen* in *England* wrought the people for him, and *Robert* * *taking pledges of the Nobles to attend and guard the Empresse at Oxford till his returne*, went into *Normandy* to solicite *Geffrey* her husband for her defence. But the Earle having troubles with his owne Nobility, and the *Normans* scarsely brought to any subjection, thought it not convenient by his owne absence for a state in hope, to hazard that in hand; and therefore sent with *Robert* some strength of Armes, and with them his young sonne Prince *Henry* into *England*.

The warres renewed.

The Empresse besieged in Oxford. Ger. Dorob.

(38) The Empresse in his absence, had well fortified her selfe in *Oxford*, whom *Stephen* (using the benefit of *Roberts* absence) followed with an eager pursuite, and wanne the Suburbes even unto the City-gates; then girt hee the Empresse with so strait a siege, (meaning never to give over, till hee had now made her sure in his possession) that for two moneths whatsoever *Strength* or *Strataqeme* could performe in assault or defence, was there put in practise, till at length great penury enforced to thinke of a surrender: but shee, a woman (whose sexe hath often deceived wise-men) resolved once againe to overreach her foe by wit, whom shee could not by force: whereto the time did fit her wishes; for being a Winter, sharpe above measure, the River *Thamisis* that runnes by the City-wals, was then congealed with a strong crusted Ice, and besides a great snow did then continue, and had covered the ground. *Maud* upon these advantages, put in practise a most dangerous attempt: for cloathing her-selfe, and some choise of her company, in white linnen-garments, to deceive the eyes of the Sentinels, issued secretly by night out of a posterne-gate, and passing the frozen River, ranne on foote, through ice, and snow, ditches, and vallies, for five miles, even to *Abington*, the falling Snow still beating in their faces; and there taking horse, the same night got to the Castle of *Wallingford* to the great joy, and also admiration of all that were therein.

Nine Trins. will. Newbrig. Higden.

Hoveden. Ypod. Neu.

Ger. Dorob. Matth. Paris. She escapeth a wile.

will. Malmes. Simon Dun.

Ypodig. Neu. Ger. Dunst.

(39) In the meane while, Earle *Robert*, with Prince *Henry*, were arrived in *England* at *Wareham* haven, and presently besieged the Castle there, so to withdraw the King from siege of his sister; but hearing of the happy escape of the Empresse, came with young *Henry* unto his Mother, whose sight made her forget the griefe and sorrowes that she had long indured. Then was *Oxford* upon conditions yeelded to the King; and *Wilton* fired by the bastard Earle *Robert*: The Towre of *London*, with the Castles of *Walden*, *Pleises*, and *Lincolne*, yeelded to *Stephen*; the Castles of *Warrham*, and *Portland*, yeelded to *Robert*: The Earles of *Chester*, and *Essex*, surprized by the King; *William Martell* the great favourite, taken and imprisoned by the Earle. Thus sundry yeeres passing with variable successes to and fro, and every yeere heaping on each side fresh calamities, to the great ruine of the whole land; the Empresse, even wearied with those warres and uncertainties of successe, went into *Normandy*, chusing rather to bee under the protection of her husband in peace, then to raigne in *England* perplexed with troubles: and to the same end she had not long before, sent her young sonne *Henry* to his father, who desired to have him rather heire of a Dukedome with safety, then of a Crowne with daily hazard.

Prince Henry returneth into England. An. Dom. 1149. Ger. Dor.

Roger Hoved. Ger. Dor.

Prince Henry marrieth into Normandy.

An. Dom. 1150. Matth. Paris. Hoved. Prince Henry marieth Eleanor, divorced by King Lewis.

(40) *Stephen*, that by a fresh surprizall of *Randall* Earle of *Chester* had got *Lincolne*, and entring thereinto (which no King before him durst doe, for that certaine wizards had prophesied evill luck unto such) at the solemnization of Christs Nativity, did there weare the Regall Crowne on his head, and after the Empresses departure, caused the Barons of *England*, to sweare allegiance unto prince *Eustace* his son; by which two complements, he supposed all had bin sure on his side; and the rather, for that the most faithfull, puissant, and ever-renowned Earles, *Robert* of *Glocester*, and *Milo* of *Hereford*, the two great and glorious pillars, which had by many Conquests supported their *Anjovenians* cause, were now conquered by death; and the rest of the Nobles, applying themselves to the

An. Dom. 1143.

An. Dom. 1144.

An. Dom. 1145. Matth. Paris.

An. Dom. 1146. The Empresse and the Prince returne to Normandy.

An. Dom. 1147. Ger. Dorob.

King Stephen and Earle Randall agree.

Earle Robert and Earle Milo dye.

Ger. Dorob. ap. 14.

An. Dom. 1148. Prince Henry returneth into England.

An. Dom. 1149. Ger. Dor.

Times, kept themselves quiet in the absence of these Competitors; all which gave no little assurance unto *Stephens* estate.

(41) But *Henry Fitz-Empresse*, growne now from a Child, thought it best a while to leave *Mercury*, (for it is said hee was *Bookish*) and to follow *Mars*; so knowing his presence would preferre much his purposes (for men would bee loth to hazard all for one, who himselfe would neglect all) hasteth againe into *England*, with an Armie of valiant and choise Souldiers; to whom joyned the discontented Earle of *Chester*, *Roger* the sonne of *Miles* deceased, with many more Knights and *Gallants* of the *English*: hee therefore tooke into the North, and met with *David* his cosen, King of *Scotland*, of whom hee was most honourably received, and solemnely sacred with the Military honour of Knighthoode: and thence forward sought all occasions to provoke both King *Stephen*, and his sonne *Eustace* against him: and having setled some courses with certaine Peeres for the pursuit of his designes in *England*, he returned into *Normandy* to compose and set forward some other businesses, which might bee availeable for these his ends.

Prince Henry returneth into Normandy.

An. Dom. 1150. Matth. Paris. Hoved. Prince Henry marieth Eleanor, divorced by King Lewis.

(42) Where long hee staied not, but that *Geffrey* his Father deparred this life, and left him his Heire both of *Anion* and *Normandy*; and the yeere following, hee matched in marriage with *Eleanor* Duches of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*, lately divorced from *Lodowicke* King of *France* for consanguinitie, and adultery (saith *Paris*) after thee had borne him two daughters; *Lodowicke* fearing issue-male by this marriage, to the dis-heriting of his said daughters, greatly impugned Duke *Henry*; and *Stephen*, suspecting his greatnesse, now being Duke of *Normandy*, *Anion*, *Aquitaine* and *Guien*, both of them sought each way to impeach his peace: *Lodowicke*, with Prince *Eustace*, in the parts beyond seas, and *Stephen* in *England*, to make sure his succession, fought to invest the said Prince *Eustace* with the *English* Diademe; both to prevent, and utterly to deprive *Henry Fitz-Empresse* for ever: for calling a Councell at *London*, King *Stephen* commaunded *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to consecrate Prince *Eustace* for their King; which hee refused to doe, and that by commandement from the Pope (whose holy See can deale on both sides, as makes most for their advantage) alleaging now, that his Father was an usurper, and perjured Intruder: whereupon the honest Archbishop fled into *Normandy*, and the King seized upon all his possessions. It may seeme, that one cause of the Popes inclining to young *Henries* title, was to strengthen him against his enemy King *Lewis* of *France*, who had highly offended his Holines, for *casting the Popes Buls* (whereby hee required the fruits of Vacancies of all Cathedrall Churches in *France*) *into the fire, saying, hee had rather the Popes Bulls should rost in the fire, then his owne soule should frie in hell.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury refuseth to consecrate Eustace King. Ger. Dor.

An. Dom. 1152. Hen. Hunt. Gervasius.

(43) King *Stephen* thus defeated of his purpose, and seeing his Title questioned by the Church, who had before approved it, resolved to make it good by the sword: for winning the Castle of * *Muby*, fortified *Malmesbury*, and laid a straight siege unto *Wallingford*, against which, hee erected the Castle *Cranmerse*, to stop the passages of their reliefe, or comming forth. But *Henry* after hee had calmed the boisterous stormes of warre, in the parts beyond the seas, came over into *England* well appointed, unto whom also resorted many of the Nobility, who yeelded up themselves, and above thirty strong Castles to the young Duke; who now well furnished, hasted to raise the siege of *Wallingford*, and there undertooke a great enterprize, for hee incircled the *Besiegers* with a great and deepe Trench, whereby hee kept them from relief, as they did keepe the *Besieged*.

Gildas.

King Lewis exhibites Popes Bulls into the fire.

* Field blowden.

An. Dom. 1153. Hen. Hunt. Fitz-Empresse comes with power into England.

(44) *Stephen* following hastily to succour his men, (though with the lesse edge, for that hee *never fled well in any assault of that Castle*) pitched downe his Tents, even neere his enemy; and ready on both sides to give battaile, the Winter stormes were suddenly so troublesome, that nothing could bee done; but those somewhat over-blowne, and the Armies scarse three furlongs asunder; as King *Stephen* was busied in disposing of his hoast, and giving direction for order of the battaile, his horse under him rising with his fore-feete, fell flat upon the earth, not without danger to his Rider; and thus did hee thrice ere hee left; which thing his Nobles secretly muttering, interpreted for an unlucky presage: when *William* Earle of *Arundell*, a bold and eloquent man, went to him and advised him to a peace; affirming the title of Duke *Henry* to bee just; that the Nobility on both parts there present, were neerely linked in Alliances and blood, and how these stood affected was very doubtfull; yea, that Brethren were there assembled, the one against the other, whereof must needes follow an unnaturall warre betwixt them, and of dangerous consequence, even to him that conquered. With these and the like allegations, at last *Stephen* began to bend, & a parley for peace was signified unto the Duke. *Henry* already warme for the battaile, and his thoughts fixed on nothing lesse then peace, could hardly moderate his youthfull affections; yet at his friends importunity, hee yeelded to conferre with King *Stephen*.

King Stephen and Fitz-Empresse ready to joyne battell. Henry Hunt.

Voluntary presages to King Stephen.

A Parley betwixt King Stephen and Fitz-Empresse.

(45) The place for conference was so appointed, that the River *Thamesis* parted the presence of these two Princes; so that from either banke they saluted each other, and after a long conference, agreeing on a truce, and upon faire tearmes of amity departed, commanding all weapons and attempts of warre to bee laid aside.

Ger. Dorob.

A truce concluded. Matth. Paris.

(46) But *Eustace*, who hitherto had attended Fortune for the Crown, and now hopelesse to have it as his Fathers Successor, was greatly displeased with this new moulded friendship, and in a fury departed the field, purposing to raise himselfe by his owne meanes; and comming to *Bury*, urged the Monkes of Saint *Edmunds* for money to set forward his heady designes: But the wiser amongst them unwilling to bee wagers of new warres (which though ill for all sorts, yet proved ever worst to the Clergy mens possessions) denied his request; wherewith enraged, hee commanded his men to carry their corne and other provision into his owne Castle, situated hard by. But being set at dinner, *wee reade of him* (saith mine Author) *that even the very first bit that hee put into his mouth, drave him into a frensie, whereof shortly after he died; whose body was interred at Feversham in Kent.*

Eustace, King Stephens sonne likes not the truce.

John Tenor.

Pulpit.

(47) The death of Prince *Eustace* so much advantaged Duke *Henry*, that thereupon (the truce in likelihood expiring) many fell off unto him, and many Castles were delivered, as *Bertwell*, *Reading*, *Warwicke*, *Stamford*, and others; whereat *Stephen* was not a little displeased, and thinking to encrap the young venturous Duke, with a strong Army followed him unto *Wallingford*: *But God himselfe looking downe from heaven* (saith *Matthew* of S. *Albans*) *made there an end of those long calamities, by stirring the minds of chiefe men in the land to labor for peace*: such was *Theobald* Archb. of *Canterbury*, and *Henrie* Bishop of *Winchester*, who having troubled the Realme with fire and sword, moved now to repentance, wrought so effectually with his brother, that hee enclined unto a wished peace, contented to adopt the Duke for his Sonne and Successor; and so comming both together to *Oxford* (a blessed sight to so distressed and distracted a Kingdome;) there did all the Nobles doe fealty to him, as to the undoubted Heire of the land; and the Duke to acknowledge this as a favour, yeelded him the honour of a Father, and the royaltie of all Kingly power during his life.

Ger. Dorob. Prince Eustace dieth.

Polydor.

Matth. Paris.

The King and Fitz Empresse accorded.

Gervasius.

(48) Notwithstanding, the cleere Sun-shine of these faire dates, was somewhat darkened with a cloud of treacherie, and lewd attempts of the *Flemings*; who envying *Englands* peace, upon *Barham*

An. Dom. 1154. Prince Henry in danger by treachery.

Downs

Dounes, intended to surprise Prince *Henry* in his returne from *Dover*, and presence of King *Stephen*. In this conspiracie was *William* the Kings sonne, though but young, who himselfe meaning to have one cast at the Crowne, instantly before it should have beene effected, was through the wanntonesse of his horse cast to the ground, and with the fall brake his legge, to whose assistance, whiles every one gathered and lamented, *Henry* upon secret notice of the treason, hasted unto *Canterbury*, and thence to *London*, and soone after over the seas into *Normandy*.

Prince Henry goeth into Normandy.

(49) And *Stephen* now after he had raigned eighteene yeeres, ten months, and odde daies, departed this life at *Dover*, in the Monastery of the Monkes, of an Iliacke passion, mixed with his old disease the *Emrods*, the twenty five of *October*, and yeere of Christs Nativity, 1154. *A most worthy Souldier*, saith *Paris*: and (in a word) one who wanted nothing but a just title to have made him an excellent King; in his ordinary deportment very devout; the fruites whereof were shewed in erecting with sufficient endowments, the Abbeyes of *Coggshall* in *Essex*, of *Furnesse* in *Lancashire*, the houses of *Nunnes* at *Carew*, and *Higham*, an Hospitall at *Yorke*, and the Monastery of *Feversham* in *Kent*, where his *Queene*, his sonne, and lastly, himselfe were enterred: but since his body for the gaine of the lead, wherein it was coffined was cast into the river. So uncertaine is man (yea greatest Princes) of any rest in this world, even after buriall; and restlesse may their bodies be also, who (for filthy lucre) thus deny the dead the quiet of their graves.

King Stephen dieth.

Paris. Booke of S. Albanes.

His wife.

(50) *Maud*, the Wife of King *Stephen*, was the daughter of *Eustace* Earle of *Bulloigne*, the brother of *Godfrey*, and *Baldwin* Kings of *Ierusalem*: her mother was *Mary*, sister to *Maud* Queene of *England*, wife of King *Henry*, her husbands Predecessor. Shee was crowned at *Westminster* upon Sunday, being *Easterday*, and the two and twenty of March, in the first yeare of her husbands raigne, and of Grace, 1136. and being Queene fifteene yeeres, shee died at *Henningham* Castle in *Essex*, the third of *May*, and yeere of Christ, 1151. and was buried in his Monastery at *Feversham* in *Kent*.

Iohn Stow.

Gul. Thor.

His Issue.

(51) *Baldwin*, the eldest sonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud* (bearing the name of King *Baldwin* his uncle) was borne in the time of the raigne of King *Henry* his fathers uncle; and died in his infancy, during the raigne of the same King. He was buried at *London* in the Church of the Priorie of the *Trinity* within *Algate*, which was a house of blacke * *Canons* of the *Augustinian* order, founded by Queene *Maud*, the first wife of the foresaid King *Henry* the first.

* The first Canon Regular in *England* was of this place, Ann. 1108. and the Prior thereof was Alderman of *London*. Stowes Survay.

(52) *Eustace* the second sonne of King *Stephen*, and of Queene *Maud* his wife, being the heire apparant to them both; when his Father was King, was created Earle of *Bolloigne*, which dignity was the inheritance of his mother. Hee married *Constance* sister of *Lewis* the seventh King of *France*, daughter of King *Lewis* the *Grosse*: who afterward was re-married to *Raimond* the third, Earle of *Tholouze*: for *Eustace* died before her, without Issue by her, the tenth day of *August*, in the eighteenth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of Grace, 1152. He was buried by his mother in his Fathers Monastery at *Feversham* in *Kent*.

(53) *William*, the third and yongest sonne of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, married *Isabel* daughter and heire of *William Warren*, the third Earle of *Surrey*, with whom hee had that Earldome, he was in his Fathers life time Earle of *Surrey*, Lord of *Norwich*, and *Pevensey* in *England*, Earle of *Mortayne*, and Lord Eagle of *Normandy*. After his fathers death, King *Henry* the second made him Knight, resumed those things that hee held of the Crowne, restored him to all that his Father held before hee was King. And so hee was Earle of *Bolloigne*, *Surrey*, and *Mortaine*, and being with him in his journey to *Tholouze*, died without issue, in his returne homeward, in the Moneth of October, the seventh of King *Henries* raigne, and of Christ Iesus, 1160.

(54) *Maud*, the eldest daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maud*, was borne before her father was King, in the raigne of King *Henry* the first, her uncle; in whose time also shee deceased, being but young, (though some report shee was wife to the Earle of *Millen*) and was enterred at *London*, with her brother *Baldwin*, in the Priorie of the Trinity aforesaid, then commonly called *Christs Church*, and now lately named the *Dukes-Place* within *Algate*.

Stowes Surv. p. 105.

(55) *Marie*, the younger daughter of King *Stephen* and Queene *Maude*, was a Nunne, and Abbesse of the Nunnerie at *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*; notwithstanding, when her brother *William* Earle of *Bolloigne*, was deceased without issue, shee was secretly taken from thence, and married to *Matthew* the younger sonne of *Terry* of *Alsac*, and brother of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who in her right was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Shee was his wife ten yeeres, and was then divorced from him, by the sentence of the Pope, and enforced to returne to her Monastery, having had issue by him two daughters, which were *Ide* and *Maude*, allowed by the censure of the Church to be legitimate. Lady *Ide*, the elder, was married to *Raymond* of *Damp-Martine*, in her right Earle of *Bolloigne*; and *Maud*, the younger, to *Henry* Duke of *Lorraine*.

His Naturall Issue.

(56) *William*, the Naturall sonne of King *Stephen*, is mistaken of some to bee the same *William*, that was Earle of *Bolloigne*. Others, who know that *William* Earle of *Bolloigne* was lawfully borne, doe thinke that his father had no other son named *William* but him; wherein let *William* Earle of *Bolloigne*, the lawfull son of King *Stephen*, be himselfe a lawfull witnesse of the truth, who having best cause to know it, doth best proove it; and in an ancient Charter of his, being written in those dayes, and extant in these, doth name him for a witnesse, and calleth him his Brother.

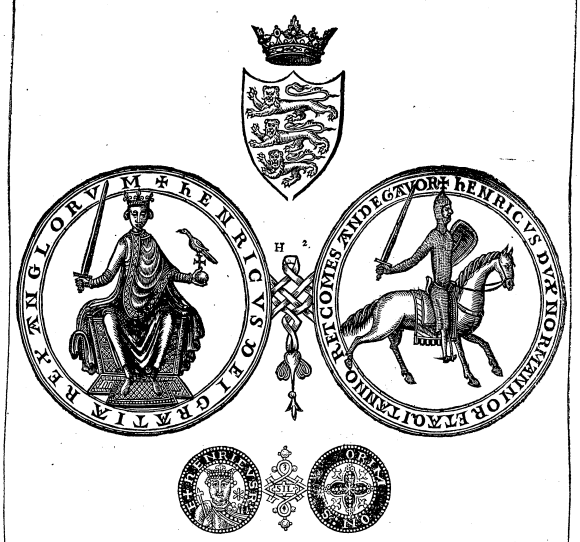
(57) *Gervais*, another Naturall sonne of King *Stephen*, begotten on a gentle-woman named *Dametta*, and borne in *Normandy*, was brought into *England* by his father, the fifth yeere of his Raigne, *Anno Dom.* 1140. Hee was the same yeere, by his father meanes, made Abbot of *Westminster*, and so continued for the space of twenty yeeres: hee deceased there the twenty sixth of *August*, in the sixth yeere of the raigne of King *Henry* the second, the yeere of Grace 1160. and lyeth buried in the South part of the cloyster, within the said Monastery, under a flat stone of black marble, which is remaining there until this day.

HENRY

Henry II.

HENRY THE SECOND, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, THE FORTIE THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 43.



CHAPTER VI.

HENRY, of that name the second, by the double interest of descent and adoption (as you have heard) succeeded in the Kingdome of *England*, whose Pedegree, (which *Mathew Paris* extendeth by the mothers side, in a right line up to *Noah*) and formerfortunes, having already beene touched, his counsels, acts, and other affaires of greatest importance, after the death of King *Stephen*, come now to bee handled.

Henry Hunt.

An. D. 55.

(2) Hee came not to the Crowne unexpected, nor undesired; for the opinion of the man, and hope conceived of his future government, had the force to hold *England* in good obedience without the presence of a King, about sixe weekes, whose entrance like that of the Soule into the Body, did quicken, and enspirite the Realme, as then (in the person of *England*) this clozing verse, or Epiphoneme spake: *Spiritus es, caro sum: te nunc intrante revixi. Thou, soule; I, Body am; by thee to life I came.*

His accesse and Coronation. Tyrrell. Newbr. Matth. Paris.

Neither did his presence diminish the expectations raised, but was saluted King with generall acclamations, and with no lesse joy, at *Westminster* by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, anointed and crowned: the summe of whose first courses for setling his State was this.

His first actions. Matth. Paris.

(3) Sundry Castles (nests of Rebels) hee flatteth to the earth, some others hee fortifies or resumes at his pleasure; chiefly, such estates, as had beene alienated from the Crowne, as the hire and unjust reward of those who withstood his claime. Others write, that hee promiscuously tooke all such lands into his owne possession, as were by Iurors found upon oath to have belonged at any time unto the Crowne. Some Earles unduly created, hee reduceth to private condition, and purgeth the Realme from forraine

Lib. Monast. S. Albani. Polyd. Virg. lib. 13.

Pseudo-Comites. saith Matth. Paris.

forrain Souldiers; chiefly from the *Flemmings*, whose mercenary swarmes most pestered the same, and had most infected him. And because Government is the Soule of State, and Wisedome the Soule of Government, hee choosetth to himselfe a Body of Counsell out of the most eminent persons of both sorts: such was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and for that selfe consideration, he laid the Chancellorship of *England* upon *Thomas Becket*, and held in speciall favour *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, with sundry other Prelates of chiefest note: of the Laity, hee had *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, chiefe Iustitiar of *England*, *Richard de Lucy*, *Iocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Neuile* and others: but for a Cabanet-Counsellour at all times, he had his owne mother, *Matildis* the Empresse, one of the most sage and experienced Ladies of the world. Thus then furnished, and assembling a Councell at *Wallingford*, hee as well for his owne securing, as for the assurance of his Children, sweares the Realme to the succession of his sonnes *William* and *Henry*, the one being in remainder to the other.

Roger Houed.

Roger Houed.

Matth. Paris. ad An. Dom. 1155. Ger. Dorob.

(4) But quiet consulation did not take up the most of his time, even in the daies of these Sunne-shining beginnings: for the raigne of *Stephen*, a most gentle Prince (who thought, out of the necessity of his owne estate, that it was not safe for him to be severe) having given way for many of the mighty to maintaine sundrie insolencies; these now feeling a restraint, began not a little to repine: but *Hugh de Mortimer*, wanton with greatnesse, and the most arrogant man alive, stuft his Castles of *Glocester*, *Wigmore* and * *Bridge-north* with rebellious Garrisons; which *Henry* notwithstanding reduced to subjection, though in the siege of the last-named, not without imminent perill of his person, had not *Robert de S. Clare*, cast himselfe betweene death and the King, taking the arrow into his owne bosome to preserve his Soveraignes life. It bound *Tiberius* to *Seianus* most of all, when a part of the banqueting Cave in which they were, suddenly falling, *Seianus* was found to have borne the ruine from the Emperour, with the perill of his life: but *Seianus* survived that adventure, which our *Senclere* did not, save onely in the better renowne thereof, which deserves to be immortall, being an Act of Piety, worthy of a Statue, with *Codrus*, *Curtius*, *Manlius*, or whosoever else have willingly sacrificed themselves for their Country, or for the Father of their Country, the King.

Lib. Monast. S. Albani.

Matth. Paris.

* Powel in hist. Cambr. pag. 122. misdeames a Bridge for a Castle. In old Records indeed Bridge-North is called Brugg, which caused that errour. Powel writes that it was a Welsh-man, who shot the arrow at the King, ibid.

(5) *Henry* thus having in some sort setled *England*, hasteth into *France* to King *Lewis*, the first yeere of his raigne, and there did homage unto him for *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Anion*, *Main*, and *Lourraine*, which partly were his patrimony, and partly the inheritance of *Elinor* his wife.

Roger Houed. Annal. pag. 2.

(6) His domesticke enemies being subdued, or appeased, hee put his brother *Geffrey* by force to a pension, the summe whereof (if it bee any thing to the purpose to know) was 1000. l. *English*, and 2000. l. *Anion* by yeere, wringing out of his possession all such territories, as by their Fathers last Will and Testament, were bequeathed to him in *France*. But *Geffrey* did not long enjoy the said annuity, or his brothers friendship: for in the third yeere, death brought a discharge, and *Henry* was disburdened of those paiments. For his violence in taking away those lands, King *Henry* might alledge he was eldest brother; but that allegation might bee avoided with his owne consent, which once hee gave: but the great *Elixar*, called *Reason of State*, (though falsly so called, unlesse it bee seasoned with Iustice, and Religion) hath so transmutative a faculty, as to make Copper seeme Gold, right wrong, and wrong right; yea, when all Pleas faile, it will stand for good, while thereare forces to support it.

Matth. Paris. ad An. Dom. 1562.

Polyd. Virg. in H. 2.

(7) This accord betweene the two brethren, being thus (howsoever) established, the King repaires into *England* and at *Chester* enters amity with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, on such termes, as his Grandfather had done, yet *Salvis omnibus dignitatibus suis, saving to himselfe all his dignities*: and the said *Malcolme* restored to *Henry* the City of *Carleil*, *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, &c, and *Henry* restored to him the Earledome of *Huntingdon* in *England*. And so justly dreadfull did the growing puissance of this young Monarch appeare to his greatest enemies, that *Hugh Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, who had potent meanes to doe mischiefe, rendred his Castle to bee at his disposall.

Matth. Paris. Tyrrell. Hist. Hoveden. Annal. Polydor. Virg. Fabian. Stow. Speed.

Hist. of Com. Iohn Stow.

(8) The *Welsh* notwithstanding forsooke not themselves, but did some memorable matters, under the conduct of the valiant Prince *Owen*, against the *English*, in defence of *North-Wales*, and their Countries liberty, to the losse of the *English*, and extreame danger of the Kings owne person, whose Standard-Royall was cowardly abandoned, and the King reported to bee slaine: for which *Henry de Essex*, the *Kings Standard*-bearer at that conflict, was afterward accused by *Robert de Montford* his neere Kinsman, and in single battaile within lists was vanquished at *Reading*, where the said *Henry de Essex* was shorne a Monke, and dyed. *Mathew Paris* relates the whole voyage of King *Henry* summarily thus: That *Henry* prepared a very great Army against the *Welsh*, with full purpose to overcome them both by land and Sea; that hee cut up the Woods and Forrests, and laid open a way; that hee recovered the Castle of *Ruthlan*, and other fortresses taken from his Ancestors; that hee repaired the Castle of *Basingwerke*, and that having brought the *Welsh* to his will, hee returned with triumph into *England*.

Matth. Paris

(9) After this, himselfe and his Wife Queene *Elinor* being openly crowned upon Christmas day, (* some say Easter day) at the Citie of *Worcester*; they both at the *Offertorie* laid their Diadems upon the high Altar, vowing never to weare them after; this being now the third time in which at three severall places, *Westminster*, *Lincolne*, and *Worcester*, hee had beene crowned. This devout act of his, did flow perhaps out of some such speculation as that of *Canutus*, who thought none truly worthy the name of *King*, but *God* alone; or that, upon which *Godfrey* of *Bolloigne*, refused to weare a crowne of gold in *Hierusalem*, where our Lord and Saviour had beene crowned with thornes. For this King had at times the pangs and Symptoms of mortification and piety, and did herein acknowledge the onely giver and taker away of Kiugdomes *God-almighty*; putting himselfe, and Realme, under the protection of that Majesty of whom he held paramount; and professing (as it were) that from thenceforth hee would direct his actions to the glory of his omnipotent Master, which is indeede the onely finall cause of all true monarchie.

* Roger Houed. Matth. Paris. Tyrrell. Hist. Roger Houed. Guliel. Tyr. Hovedon.

(10) Not long after, having established his affaires in *England*, hee croft the Seas into *Normandy*, where successively sundrie matters of importance fell out: as the seizure of the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* after his brother *Geffreis* death; his journey to *Paris*, being invited thither by *Lewis* and his wife the Queene; the unprofitable siege of *Thoulouze* laid by King *Henrie*, where *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in companie with him; the unripe marriage of his sonne *Henry*, to *Margaret* the *French* Kings daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* then Lord Chancellor had formerly conducted with very great State from *Paris*, by consent of parents, for that purpose; the offence taken at those spousals by *Lewis*, for that the children were but infants, and that himself was a looser thereby; the warre hereupon attempted by *Lewis*, fortifying *Chaumount*, which (the *French* having quit the Field by flight) King *Henry* recovered with advantage; the Armies of both these great Kings, being afterward at point (as it were) to joyne, dispersed upon reconciliation of the two Kings, by

An. Dom. 1158. Matth. Paris ad An. Dom. 1158. Hoveden ad An. Dom. 1163.

Roger Houed.

reason

An. Dom. 1163. The great contention betweene the King and Becket Archbish. of Canterbury.

* Matth. Paris. & alii. Legend. eius in vita Th. * Polydor Virg. lib. 16. Most true delineation.

* Galeo Girneldus lib. 8. de rebus Anglicis in Doctor Ouerwhalls Abridgment of lib. 2. Matt. Westmonasteriensis.

Grimsius ad An. 1164. Regis Edw. & quasi Magister. * Paris Acts. p. 64. * Vide Append. No. 1. Hoveden shews the difference of time; leasts Th. Becket. Polydor.

* Gul. Malmesb. lib. 2. de Gestis Pontif. Pari. ad An. 1163. permittente Regis, &c. * making per omnem, mansuetudinem Regem. Ger. Dor.

The causes of the debate betweene the King and Becket.

Publike Incentive.

Gul. Malmesb. l. 2. de eodem.

Roger Houed.

(11) For after these accidents, began the famous controversie betweene the King and his Arch-bishop *Becket*, a man of an invincible stomacke and resolution in his life, and after death reputed by some for a great Saint or Martyr; as is likewise noted of *Henrie* * that he was the most politicke, martiall, rich, and honoured Prince of all his time. This Prelate, by birth a *Londoner*, (though his mother, a *Sarazen*, * say some) by profession a * Civilian, was by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, both made his Archdeacon, and also placed about the person of Duke *Henrie*, who being now King, advanced him in the very first yeare of his raigne to be Lord Chancellor of *England*, in which high honour he carried himselfe like another *King*, and afterward upon the death of *Theobald*, though the Monkes objected against *Becket*, that *neither a Courtier nor a Souldier* (as * he had been both) were *fit to succeed in so high and sacred a function*, yet the King gave him that Archbishopricke, partly in reward, and partly in further hope of his ready and faithfull service. Which to be true, a *Legender* of his Miracles can best relate. *Nonnullis tamen, &c. Many* (saith he) *judged his promotion not Canonicall, because it was procured more by the importunity of the King, then by the voyces of Clergie, or People; and it was noted as presumption and indiscretion in him, to take upon him to guide the Sterne, who was scarce fit to handle an Oare; and that being skil'd onely in worldly affaires, he did not tremble to ascend unto that sacred top of so great dignity.* Whereto agreeth the reports of two learned Monkes who then lived, (for such Authors only we will herein follow, as shall be unpartiall) * one of which testifies, that the Pope about that time calling a Councel at *Tours* (& the King *giving Licence to his Archbishops and Bishops to goe thither*) Becket *secretly surrendered his Archbishoprick*, which he had received *from the Kings* hand, into the Popes hands. The other saith, *Becket* himselfe confessed, that, *not Canonicall Election did call him, but publicke power drove him in; nor the will of God, but mans pleasure, placed him in the roome.* Howsoever, these being memorable arguments of the Kings exceeding love; let us now see how this great Prelate endevored to deserve it, or how he chanced to lose it.

(12) Great and flourishing was the state of the *English* Church and Common wealth at this season; the quiet of both which, *the King studied* and hoped to establish by the undoubted assistance of his great favorite *Becket*, whose counsell & authority he knew might much further his princely designes, especially touching affairs of the Church, & abuses of Churchmen, which then were grown to a dangerous height: whereof let us heare the Monk of *Nuburough* speake; *It was declared in the Kings presence, how that Clergy men had committed above an hundred murthers under his raigne; wherewith the King highly offended, he was in punishing of them somewhat too vehement; but the blame of the Kings too much earnestnes, must lie on the Prelates, in as much as they gave the cause thereof: for, whereas sacred Canons ordaine, that Clerks found guilty, not onely of hainous and grievous sins, but also of lesser, should be degraded, and thousands of such were in the Church of England, like innumerable chaffe amongst a little good corne; yet very few such, for those many yeares have beene deprived. The Prelates forsooth, while they beeStirre themselves, rather to uphold the liberties and dignities of Clerks, then to chastise and cut off their vices, thinke they doe God and his Church good service, in protecting from publike Discipline such hainous offenders, whom (by duty of their places) they ought to correct according to the Canons censure, whereby they through their impunity, having liberty to doe what*

An. Dom. 1158. Matth. Paris ad An. Dom. 1158. Hoveden ad An. Dom. 1163.

Roger Houed.

Idem Nubrig. l. 2. cap. 1.

Houeden. Ol. Trin.

M. Par. p. 164.

Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16. sine dedicat.

Ger. Dor. ad An. 1163. cum gesserit intra Cant. Ecclesiae vocabu. Ibidem.

Roger Houed. ad An. 1163.

Nubrigiensis.

Ger. Dorob.

Points which the Archbishop would not consent unto.

* Ep. Th. ad Alex. 3. PP. 89. 3. ad Suffr. suos apud Roger Houed.

before secular Iudges. 5. That it should not bee lawfull for a Bishop to punish any one for periurie or faith-breach. 6. That the Laity, whether the King or other, should hold pleas of Churches and Tithes, &c.

(16) These points so neerely touched the Papall *Soveraignty*, and *Church-Liberties*, that the resolute Metropolitane mainely opposed his whole powers against them. *Henrie* also persisted, as his Grandfather *Henry* the first had done, who having a * like warre with *Anselme* his Archbishop, was so vehement therein, as hee would not suffer him to returne into *England* (though after some yeares banishment) unlesse he would absolutely binde himselfe to observe, not his Fathers customes onely, but his brothers also, who were the two fatall *Williams*, the *Conquerour* and *Rufus*.

* See before Henry the first.

Reasons moving King Henry to urge the Archbishop to assent.

(17) Many reasons moved *Henry* to attempt this businesse; as first, the enlargement of his Regall authority: Secondly, to exempt his State by degrees, from the dependency on any externall Government, as lineally claiming both from a Conquest, and from *absolute-Soveraigne* Antecessors; and so to introduce that free Empery, to which he saw no way lie open, but by subordinating the Persons and Causes of Church-men to the secular soveraignety, in a few points first, and then in other. And that this was the secret, will not obscurely appear in * that Article, which was summarily this: That *appeales should be made from the Consistory to the Arch deacon, from him to the Bishop, thence to the Archbishop, and so to the King.* Thus farre M. *Fox*; but *Mathew Paris* hath more: *That the King should command the Archbishop to end the suit, and that it should proceed no further without licence of the King.*

* Alls and Monum. pag. 167.

Matth. Paris.

(18) A third reason was, for that hee had by his owne perswasions, and by the Councell of one *Ernulph* a * Bishop, drawn unto his purposes the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and all the other Bishops in a manner, who were now sure unto him, and ready to yeeld to his demands, which they saw, did tend to the good of the State wherein they lived. Moreover, hee was perswaded of great facility in obtaining his desire, both in regard of the * advantage which the Schisme then upholden by *Frederick* the Emperour against *Alexander* the third did give, which might make the Pope afraid to leese or hazard his friends: as also for that the King, till he found the contrary, thought himselfe assured of his *Thomas*, whom (if * *Gilbert* Bishop of *London* said true) he advanced to that dignity against the will and liking, aswell of *Matildis* the Empresse his mother, as of the Clergy and people.

* Hoveden.

* Ralph Dec. apud Roger Hoveden.

* Epist. Thom. apud Roger Hoveden.

An. Dom. 1164. An. Reg. H. 2. 10. Hoveden.

(19) Besides these and other reasons encouraging the King, Pope *Alexander* very desirous to keepe the Kings love (though secretly wishing well to *Becket*s attempts) sent one *Philip* his Almoner purposeles ie to compose the controversie, by *whom the Pope and Cardinalls required the Archbishop to make promise unto the King to the keeping his said Ordinances absolutely, and without any favings or exceptions*: whereupon *Thomas* seeing his scrupulosity thus disapproved by his Soveraigne, by all his Brethren the Bishops, and by the Court of *Rome* it selfe, hee rode to *Woodstocke* to the King, and there promised, that he would keepe his said lawes, *bonâ fide, & sine malo ingenio*, in good faith, and without *mal-engin*.

Nubrig. 2. c. 16 calls him Hominem Scrupulosum. Roger Hoved.

(20) The King afterward (supposing now all contradiction had end, and that *Thomas* would not waver in his faith) called an Assembly of the States at *Clarendon* (of which place in *Wilt-shire* and not in *Normandie*, as * some have mistaken, the said Customes called by the King, *Auita*, were denominated) to collect and enact those Lawes: where *Iohn of Oxenford* sitting President, *Becket*, relapsing againe from his promise given to the King, said, that he had grievously sinned in making that absolute promise, and that he would not sinne therein any more.

The Councell at Clarendon.

* M. Fox.

Matth. Paris. The Archbishop violates his promise.

(21) At which, the King was so vehemently stirred and inflamed, that hee threatned banishment and destruction to him and his. But the Archbishop, having definitely resolved to undergoe any peril, was yet so softned with the teares, prayers, and kneelings of so great and honourable personages, as the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Norwich*, the Earles of *Leicester*, and *Cornwall*, and two knights *Templars*, *Richard de Hastings*, and another, privately repairing unto him, that before the King, the Clergy, and people, *hee sware* in verbo Sacerdotali, *in the word of a Priest, and* de plano, *sincerely, that hee would observe the Lawes, which the King entituled Auita, and all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and whole Clergie, with all the Earles, Barons, and Nobilitie, did promise and sweare, the same faithfully and truly to observe and performe, to the King, and to his heires for ever.* But when the King, not so contented, would have him (as *every one of the Bishops* had done before him) to *subscribe and affix his seale* to an instrument, in which those *Customes* or *Lawes* (being in number *sixteene*) were comprehended; hee once againe starting from his faith, did absolutely refuse, alledging that hee did promise it, onely to doe the King some honour, *verbo tenus, in word onely*, but not with intent to confirme those Articles; neither could the example of the whole State moove him, nor the credit of *Rotrod*, Archbishop of *Roan*, (though sent from the Pope) compose the difference; because *Henry* would not otherwise agree then as the Pope did by his Bull confirme those Lawes, which would not be granted.

The Archbishop would not relent so farre as to subscribe. Rog. Hoved. Ger. Dor.

Idem.

Matth. Paris.

Gul. Nubrig. Hoveden. Gervasius.

Vide Gervasium where they are all verbatim recited. Becket againe starts from his word. Ger. Dor. Ibid.

Gervas. Dorobor.

Matth. Paris. An. Dom. 1164.

(22) *Henry* hereupon sent in Ambassage *Iohn of Oxenford*, and one *Ridell*, his Clerkes, to the *Romane* Bishop, praying that the *Legatine* power for *England*, might be committed to *Roger* Archbishop of *Yorke*, that so he might at last bring *Thomas* under; but neither did this plot thrive: for that the Pope (knowing that the cause was his owne more then *Beckets*) would not be an Author of any grievance unto him, (who in sorrow for that hee had so yeelded in promising, suspended himselfe from use of his priestly function, till upon sure hee was * repermitted) yet somewhat to gratifie the King, he by his Bull granted a sleight authority; *which when the King saw to be but superficiall, and not well horned for his purpose, with great disdaine, he sent the Bull backe againe to the Popes stall.*

Another Embassage from the King to the Pope.

Reg. Hoveden. Gervasius.

The King sends Embassadors to Rome against Becket.

* Matth. Paris. Rog. Hoved. & alii.

Gervasius.

Hoveden.

The King takes Embassadors from the Pope.

* Matth. Paris. Ger. Dorob. Hoveden.

The Archbishop relents in accent.

* Reg. Hoveden.

(23) There followed now upon *Thomas* sundry molestations: for first, hee was * condemned in dammages for a Mannor, which *Iohn de Marshall* claimed; notwithstanding the Archbishop had enjoyed the same for a long time, without interpellation or disturbance. Then was there at *Northampton*, (where the king had summoned a Parliament) an account demanded of him for the king, to the value of thirtie thousand pound, which came to his hand during his Chancellorship. Whereunto his answere was, * That seeing he had formerly accounted, and that the kings eldest sonne *Henrie*, on his Fathers behalfe, and all the Barons of the Exchequer, and *Richard de Lucie* Iusticiar of *England*, had acquitted him toward the King of all accounts, and that hee came free from all actions and dangers to the Archbishopricke, that now therefore hee would not answere, as a Lay-man, having heretofore had so sufficient discharge: which refusall of his was aggravated with divers accusations layde upon him, as of contempt towards the King, in denying to come to his presence, being thereto commanded by him, and the like: whereto though he made excuses (reasonable enough, if true) yet the *Peeres and the Bishops condemned all his moveables to the Kings mercy*: and the Prelates perceiving the Kings displeasure to tend yet to some farther severity, premonished him to submit himselfe, for that otherwise the Kings Court *intended to adiudge him a perjured person, and also a Traitor, for not yeelding temporall allegiance to his Temporall Soveraigne, as himselfe had sworn to due*: and accordingly the Prelates themselves by joynt consent adjudged him of Perjury, and by the mouth of the Bishop of *Chichester*, disclaimed thenceforward all obedience unto

The Archbishop is fined.

Matth. Paris. Rog. Hoved. Gervasius.

Idem.

Matth. Paris. Gervasius.

Idem.

Idem.

unto him, as their Archbishop. The next day, whiles the Bishops and Peeres were consulting of some further course with him; *Becket*, not as yet daunted, caused to be sung before him at the Altar: *The Princes sit and speake against mee, and the ungodly persecute me, &c.* And forthwith taking his silver Crosier in his owne hands, (*a thing strange and unheard of before*) enters armed therewith into the Kings presence, though earnestly diswaded by all that wished him well: wherewith the King enraged, commanded his Peeres to sit in judgement on him, as on a Traitor and perjured person; and accordingly they adjudged him to be apprehended, and cast into prison. The Earles of *Cornewall* and *Leicester*, (who sate as Iudges) citing him forthwith to heare his sentence pronounced; he immediately appealed to the See of *Rome*, as holding them no *Iudges competent*: whereupon all reviling him with the name of Traitor, and the like; he replying, *That were it not for his function; he would enter the Duell or Combat with them in the field, to acquit himselfe both of Treason and Perjurie*, sped from the Court, and from thence without delay into *Flaunders*, disguising himselfe under the name of *Dereman*.

Malmsb. Hoveden. Dunelmensis.

Dorobornensis

Hoveden. Gervasius.

Gervasius Dorobor.

Matth. Paris. An. Dom. 1164.

Another Embassage from the King to the Pope.

Reg. Hoveden. Gervasius.

* Matth. Paris. Rog. Hoved. & alii.

The King sends Embassadors to Rome against Becket.

Gervasius.

Hoveden.

(24) The King on the other side, to leave nothing undone, whereby to atchieve his desire, forthwith dispatched away *Gilbert*, Bishop of *London*, and *William*, Earle of *Arundel*, to the *French* King, that he would not harbour nor cherish one that was fled as a Traitor; but prevailed not: for hee, upon the contrary dealt with the Pope, *That as he loved the Romane Church, and the aide of France, so hee would support the cause of* Thomas *against the King*: which whether he did it out of Faction, rather then Devotion, let others judge: for as we may easily thinke that the *French* would gladly incommodate the King of *England*: so this is not to be denyed, that *Lewis* was * often afterward a Mediator for Peace, and undoubtedly held the man himselfe in great estimation both alive and dead.

Gira Dor. * Iten, Chap 42. scribit, Am the land, that is my home, and my glory will I not give to any other, Hoveden. Ger. Dor.

(25) The Archbishop growing thus in favour with the Pope, King *Henry* sends an Ambassage unto him of many great Personages, as *Roger* Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Iohn of Oxenford*, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *&c.* whose whole imployment being *breve vel precio*, by requests and gratifications to procure disgrace unto *Becket*, their finall lute was, *That the Pope would send two Cardinals into England, fully to end the matter*; but the Pope denyed it, as holding it derogatory to his owne absolutenesse, saying, (like *Gods Vice-gerent* at least) * *That is my own glory, which I will not give to any other; but when bee is to bee iudged, I will iudge him my selfe: For hee knew the King of England was mighty both in speech and meanes, and that Legates might easily bee corrupted, as being men more thirsty after gold and silver, then after justice and equitie*: and the *Pope and Cardinals wisely resolved* (saith the Monke of *Canterbury*) *that as, if this Archbishop were now upheld in his cause, it would be a patterne for others in like case to resist Kings; so, if he should sinke, no Bishops ever after would dare oppose themselves to their Soveraignes pleasures, and so the State of the Catholicke Church would bee shaken, and the Popes authority bee crushed.*

The Archbishop relents in accent.

* Reg. Hoveden.

(26) The King having received this foyle, and impatient of repulse, where his owne subject was a party, thought the indignity offered by the Pope unsufferable, and to let him understand how hee tooke it, directs his Writs unto the Sheriffes in *England*, commanding them *to attach such as did appeale to the Roman Court: the fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, nephewes, and nieces of all such of the Clergy as were with the Archbishop*; and to put them under *sureties, as also to seise the revenewes, goods, and chattels, of the said Clergie men.* Againe, by other his Letters to *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, he sequestred the profits and livings, which within his Diocesse did belong to any of the Clergy, who were fled to *Thomas*, that (without the Kings leave) they might have no part thereof. Lastly, to his Iustices he signified; that they should safe keepe whosoever did bring any interdict into *England*, till the Kings pleasure were further known: he also caused the Church of *Canterbury*, and all the Archbishops goods to be confiscated, grounding himselfe (as may probably be suppofed, upon the judgement given against *Becket* at *Northhampton*, notwithstanding that the said sentence was expresly nullified by the Popes * Bull, and not onely by word of mouth, as * *Matthew Paris* seemes to mistake it. Neither was this all, for he banished out of the Realme, all the kindred of the Archbishop, man, woman, childe, and suckling babes, and forbad that he should be any longer publikely mentioned and prayed for in the Church as Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The incensed Kings proceedings.

Matth. Paris. ad An. 1164.

(27) The Archbishop on the contrary part (the contention being now whether the power Ecclesiasticall or Secular, should worke most) did solemnely in *France* where hee abode, excommunicate all such as obeyed, defended, or had occasioned the saide Lawes and Avitall Customes, and some of the parties by name, as *Richard de Lucie*, *Richard of Poictou*, *Iocelin de Bailull*, *Alan de Nevile*, and other, who presently appealed; but the King having further notice, that *Becket* * *after his publike Sermon, on a great Festivall day, had solemnely threatned the like Thunderclap against his Royall Person*; either to terrifie his adversaries, or to revenge himselfe, *if any such sentence should be against him, gathered a mighty Armie* under pretence of *subduing Wales*, where yet he did little. The meane while *Iohn* of *Oxenford* (who not onely followed the Kings cause stoutly, but also * writ a learned booke in justifying of it against *Becket*) prevailed so farre at *Rome*, that two *Legates à latere*, should be sent into *England*, to reconcile the King and *Thomas*, but when they were gone, the pope hearing that they were resolved * *utterly to confound the Archbishop*, sent letters after them to rebate their absolute power, *they being men* (saith *Gervasius*) *who two much thirsted after gold and glory.*

* The Originall Bull it selfe, I have seene in the custodia of M. John Bancham of Lincolnh.

* Matth. Paris. Annal. 1164. Rog. Hoved. Epi. Thom.

* Ger. Dorob. saith, Comminator iam emisit.

Gervasius saith, it detestantes sententiam, &c.

* Bale Cent 3.

* Gervasius.

Anselm & Augustine brethren. Gervas. Matth. Paris.

(28) When these two Cardinals came to *Thomas*, hee refused to put his cause to them, unlesse there were first a plenary restitution made to him and his, of all that had beene taken away: but being then counselled by them to submit himselfe to the King, his answer was, he would, *saving Gods honour, and the Churches liberty; saving his owne honour, and his Churches possessions; and saving his owne and his friends right*: being further demaunded, whether (to re-fettle peace in Gods Church, which he feemed onely to desire) he would renounce his Bishopricke, if the King would renounce his Customes: hee answered, *The proportion was not alike: for that with the honour of his Church and his person, he could not renounce his Bishopricke; whereas on the other side, the King was bound, aswell for his soules health, as for his honour, to renounce those ordinances*, (will you know the reason?) *because the Pope and hee had condemned them.* And so that desigue for peace was frustrate.

Acts and Monuments, pag. 184. Colu. a.

Ibid.

Matth. Paris. Rog. Hoveden. * Salvo honore Personæ suæ, salvis & ill. libertatibus Ecclesiæ suæ.

(29) The King of *England* tempestuously storming at these affronts, and daily increase of new * salves, wherewith like a guilefull Chirurgion, hee still made the wound more fester; menaced the Monkes (which in their Abbey at *Pontenei*, had now for two whole yeares entertained him) to thrust all of their order out of *England*, if they durst releeve his enemie any longer: Whereupon they dismissing him, *Lewis* the *French* King tooke him to *Sens* with himselfe, where for foure yeares hee remained, and was (if we may credit King *Henrie*) a * great instigator of the *French King*, and also of the Earle of *Flaunders*, against the *King of England*; * as was also by divers Evidences most certaine; if the two said Cardinals told not a lie to the pope: But, that the *Peace was broken, and Warres renewed betwixt the two Kings*, chiefely for Thomas *his sake*, *Gervase* the Monke himselfe doth record it as most credible.

* Ger Dor. Ann. 1167.

* Cardin. ad Iter.

Fox. pag. 184.

Gervas. Fox. Maxime propter Thomam, ut credi potest.

Gervasius. An. 1169. * Apud mostrum mirabilem. * Tacite omni contentione. Gervas. ibid.

Idem.

Idem.

An. Dom. 1168.

Matth. Paris.

The King goes about to forsake the Pope, and joyne with the Antipape. The Bishop of London communicateth with the King.

Rog. Hoveden. The Bishop of London excommunicated by the Pope.

The Bishop of London excommunicated.

An. Dom. 1169.

Gerv. Dorobor.

Comforted by the King.

Gerv. Dor.

Cardinals attempt to make reconcilement.

Dorobornensis.

Matth. Paris.

(30) Howbeit, by mediation at length, the two Kings were againe reconciled, and at their friendly * enterview, *Beckets* well-willers advised him to submit himselfe, in the presence of both Kings, * *without any more reservations*; which hee seeming to yeeld to, presented himselfe very humbly, and referred the cause to the King, not now, *Salvo ordine, suo*, but yet on a new point, *Salvo honore Dei*, wherewith the King exasperated, told the *French* King, such was the humour of the man, that *whatsoever disliked him, he would say it was against Gods honour*, and so would be never the neerer to conformity; with which, and other speeches, *King Lewis* offended with *Becket*, asked him *whether hee thought to be greater or holier then Saint Peter? and the Peeres of both Nations accused him of much arrogancy, as being of himselfe the wilfull hinderer of his owne, and the Churches tranquility.*

(31) Notwithstanding, the Pope forgot not his faithfull *Thomas*, and therefore after hee had graced him with a confirmation of all the Priviledges, and powers, which any of his Predecessors in that See did injoy (to the daring and defiance as it were, of the Kings utmost indignation) the King sent a letter into *Germany*, declaring that hee would forsake Pope *Alexander*, and joyne with the Emperour, and *Antipape*. Whereupon, when the Bishop of *Rome* had commanded *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, to admonish the King to give over his courses, and customes prejudicious to the Church, the said Bishop obeyed, and in his answere fought to persuade the Pope to a connivency, and forgets not to justifie his Soveraigne, as, *That the King was ready to obey the sacred hests of the Church, saving to himselfe his owne and his Kingdomes dignity: That as for Appeales, hee and his Kingdomes dignity: That as for Appeales, hee and his Kingdomes dignity had ever reclaimed that honor by the ancient institution of his Kingdome, that is to say. That no Clerke should for a civill action depart the same, untill right could not be had in his Courts at home, and then he would hinder no man. That he did not banish the Archbishop of Canterbury, who might returne at his pleasure, so as he would observe all those his Grandfathers customes, which once hee had given his faith to doe: That the King thinkes himselfe greatly justified, in that hee is willing to stand to the judgement of the whole Church of his own kingdome, &c.*

(32) But when mediations, letters, messages, or other wayes, would not prevaile; the Pope admonisheth the King, that hee meant no longer to restraine the Archbishop from revenging his owne, and his Churches injuries with the sword of censure, and thereupon (for a beginning) the Archbishop excommunicates *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, and proceeded so farre with others, that there was *scarce found in the Kings owne Chappell and presence such as might performe the wonted ceremonies.*

(33) The King both touched with his owne wrongs, and tender of their case, who for his sake under-went that severity, animates Bishop *Gilbert* with most loving offers to beare the charges of prosecuting his appeale against *Becket*, and desires the Pope to send him Legates which might absolve his excommunicated Subjects, and settle a peace, *or else hee should be compelled to provide otherwise for his owne security and honour.*

(34) Two Cardinals therefore, *Gratian* and *Vivianus*, comming into *France* to end the contention, returne notwithstanding without possibility of doing good; for that *Becket* would not yeeld in any point those Customes, at which hee had once excepted, but with his ordinary limitations. At last yet by the Popes mediation, the two Kings of *England* and *France* met at *Paris*, whither the Archbishop repaired, and yet no peace ensued: for that the King refused the kisse of peace with him, and *Becket* would either have a found and full peace, or none at all; where, though the King of *England* refused to satisfie any thing under the name of restitution, as being against his honour (because all restitution implyed a wrong) yet in the other maine matter of his *Avitall Customes*, offering to stand to the judgement, not of his owne onely, but even of *the Parisian Divines, and Church of France*; hee came off from that conference with some advantage and favour, in the opinion of the hearers.

The King offers his cause to be judged by the Divines and Church of France.

(35) *King Henry* (for all this) seeing no issue of his long disquietnesse, and un-regall usages, understanding also that the *Archbishop of Seins in person had solicited the Pope, to put the Kingdome of England under Interdict*, (which is the prohibiting of the publike use of Christs Religion, and Christian Buriall throughout the whole land) he being then in *Normandy*, sends forth his Edict: *That if any man bring from the Pope or Becket, any letters of Interdict, he should presently suffer as a Traitor to the king and the state. That no Clerke whatsoever goe forth of the land without a passe from his Justiciaries, and none returne againe without letters of licence from the King himselfe. That whose receives any message from the Pope or Becket, nor make any appeale unto them, nor hold any Plea by their mandates. That if any Prelate or Clerke, or Lay-man shall obey any sentence of interdict, hee and all his kindred shall be forthwith expulsed the land, and all his goods escheated to the Crowne. That all Clerkes who have rents in England, returne home within three Moneths, or else all their rents to fall to the King. That certaine Prelates specified, bee cited to answere in the Kings Courts for interdicting Earle Hughs lands. That Peter-pence be not paid to Rome, but reserved.* Thus, (as *Gervase* the Monke lamentably complaineth) *all from the eldest to the youngest throughout England, were made to abjure obedience to Pope Alexander and Becket.*

Darobornensis. A Strange device of Christs Vicar to forbid a whole Kingdome to live like Christians. Howeit, The King's Edict to match the Popes interdict.

(36) After all this, it came into King *Henries* mind, to sweeten these his many cares with some solace, and to crowne his Eldest sonne, young *Henry*, King of *England*, now in his owne life time: *A counsell no more temerarious, then unfortunate*: but of which he did hope to reape this consolation: that it was done in contempt of *Becket*, (whose office it was to have crowned the King, with some advantage also toward the perpetuation of the *Avitall Customes*, and that also without scruple of conscience, his sonne *receiving the Crowne without caution, to preserve the churches liberty, either by him put in, or by others excalted.* Yea rather, an Oath minisired, and by the yong King taken, to maintaine those *Avitall Customes* to the uttermost.

Ger. Dor.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 13.

Lib. Rom. S. Alb. 263.

The King causeth his Sonne to be crowned King.

(37) This solemnity was performed, at *Henrie* the fathers commandement, by *Roger* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, (the anciently rivall See of *Canterbury*) contrary to the Popes expresse Inhibition, the father himselfe King *Henrie*, being present thereat, though without any fortunate presage in comming, or cause of consolation in the action. For * he, in his inauspicious passage out of *Normandy*, arriving not without very great perill, at *Portsmouth*, the best and newest ship he had was suncke in the stormes, and therein, besides *Henry de Agnellis* and his two sonnes, *Gilbert de Sullemni*, Master *Ralfe de Bealmont*, the Kings Physitian and Favourite, with about foure hundred men and women more, were devoured of the working waves. And at the feast, the joyfull father himselfe, carrying the first dish, and the Archbishop of *Yorke* saying in pleasance of the young King: *Rejoyce my sonne, for there is no Prince in the world, hath such a servitor attending at his table as you: The unnaturall young man answered; why? wonder you at that? my father knowes he doth nothing that misbecomes him, for so much as he is royall borne but of one side, but our selfe are royall borne both by father and mother.*

The Kings wrath stirred up the Archbishop. Ger. Cant. An. 1170 to curb them and his Clerks.

The Painted Legend saith, he was 11. years of age.

* Matthew Westminster, Ralph de Diceto, Hoveden, Ralph Niger, Bromton, Gervase Dorobornensis, Sigebert, Trithemius, Ingulphus, Florentius Wigornensis.

Gulielmus Gemeticensis, Extat in MS. Bibl. Sti Joannis Dacheriani apud Rhemos.

Londonij Ex. emplar Sept. in Archivis Cathedralis Ecclesiæ.

* Sept. Thomæ Saguarensis, Semper et ubique fidelis, Pascasius Gallicus Scriptor, qui Thomam sæpe laudat.

* Rog. Hoved.

Ralph. Diceto in H. 2.

(38) Adde hereunto, that this unluckie Coronations triumphes, were celebrated with Bon-fires kindled by the furies in *Normandie*; which *Lewis* the *French* King invaded with fire and sword, because his daughter *Margaret* was not crowned as well as the young King her husband: but the father speeding into those parts, quencht this flame with a promise to re-crowne his sonne, and then his daughter *Margaret*

Gul. Malmsb. lib. 2. de Gest. Reg. Angl.

* Gul. a.

Matth. Paris. The last mentioning of a peace between the King and Archbishop.

Darobornensis. A Strange device of Christs Vicar to forbid a whole Kingdome to live like Christians. Howeit, The King's Edict to match the Popes interdict.

The Archbishop publisheth excommunications.

Matth. Paris. Hoveden.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 13.

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Gul. Malmsb. lib. 2. de Gest. Reg. Angl.

* Gul. a.

Margaret should be honoured with like ceremonies. Thus the fathers patience was exercised on every hand, and worse things were feared.

(39) So now yet at last, in the seventh yeare of *Beckets* banishment, another meeting was had at *Seins*, whither, the two great Kings, and the Archbishop of *Seins*, and Bishop of *Nevers*, being together, the Archbishop of *Canterburie* repaired, and the treaty of peace was entred into, which at *Ambois*, in another meeting (at procurement of *Rotrod* Archbishop of *Roan*) was finished; and the Arch-bishop (knowing the King was terrified with the expectation of the foresaid imminent *Interdiction*) was restored to the Kings favour, and permitted to have full use of his Metropolitane See, and all the profits thereof with the arrerages. Which conclusion, the King signifies to his sonne into *England*, whither the Archbishop returnes, and lands at *Sandwich*: And thus the controversie betweene the King and his Archbishop seemed to be ended.

(40) But the Arch-bishop had not beene long in *England*, before he published the Popes Letters, by which, *Roger* Archbishop of *Yorke*, and *Hugh* Bishop of *Durefme*, were suspended from the use of their Episcopall function, for crowning the young King in prejudice of the See of *Canterburie*; and the Bishops of *London*, *Exceter*, and *Sarisburie*, cut off from the Church by censure, for assisting the said Archbishop at that Coronation, whom *Becket* would not, but under conditions, at the young Kings request, absolve. Whereupon a great complaint was carried into *Normandy*, to the father-King, * by some of the Bishops: and in the meane time, the Arch-bishop *Thomas*, putting himselfe upon the way to visite the young King, at *Woodstocke* in *Oxford-shire*, was commanded not to approach.

(41) At the newes of these late censures, the father-King was so sore displeased, that some words slipping from him, and arguing his great discontent, mooved *Hugh Morvill*, *William Traci*, *Hugh Brito*, and *Richard Fitz-urse*, knights and courtiers to post into *England*, and there in a furie, (without either warrant, or privitie of their Soveraigne) to murther the Arch-bishop (being then about * forty and eight yeares old) in his owne Church of *Canterbury*; which sacred *Place*, and *Time*, besides his high *Calling*, might have pleaded for pitry, had not the men beene wholly transported with barbarous rage. For howsoever wee are farre from their fancies, who, for his zeale to the Popes Soveraignty, have so mounted him to the top of Martyrs glory, that not onely the baseft part of his *Shrine* was pure gold, and * old *Shoe* was devoutly kiffed by all * passengers, but also shameleffe and numberleffe miracles are blindly ascribed unto him, and his * *bloud* almoft matched in vertue with our ever-bleffed Saviours: yet wee no leffe condemne their butcherly execution, who (how great foever his offence was against the King and State) had no lawfull authority to beare them out, or acquit them from the guilt of bloud.

(42) To shut up this long contention (which, as you see, would not be extinct but by bloud, nor take end but by his death, because any censure of our owne will be faid to favour of *Time-serving*, or *State-pleasing*, we will onely annexe the bare judgment of the fore-cited learned Monke of that time, who thus speakes: *Indeed though most mens custome is, in those, whom they love and praise, to extoll whatsoever they have done, (an argument of their great affection, but slender wisedome) yet in plaine truth, those things which the venerable Archbishop so acted, that no profit at all thence proceeded, but the Kings wrath onely was kindled (whereby so many mischiefes afterward arose) I doe not thinke to be praise-worthy, though they sprang from a laudable zeale, as it was in the blessed Prince of the Apostles, who attaining the top of Apostolicall perfection, taught the Gentiles by his example to Judaize; for which the Doctor of the Gentiles * declares that he deserved to be reprehended, though hee did it with a praise-worthy and pious intent.* And in another place: *The Archbishop was hot in zeale of Justice, but whither fully according to knowledge, God knoweth, (for it is not for a man of my meane quality, rashly to judge of so great a mans Actions) but I thinke, the blessed Pope Gregory would have dealt more mildly, and winkt at those things which might have beene borne, without any hazard of the Christian faith, &c.* and then concludes: *Therefore, that which the venerable Archbishop then did, I neither judge that it is to be commended, neither presume I to condemne it, &c. For good men are so to be loved, or lauded by us, that wee neither love nor laud those acts wherein they shew themselves to be fraile men, but onely those things wherein without scruple wee ought to imitate them: and therefore they are wisely and warily to bee praised, that Gods prerogative may be reserved intire to himselfe.*

Nubrig. l. 2. c. 24

(43) Some other learned men there were, who lived neere to that time, whose censure was farre sharper then that Monks: Such were some of those Divines of *Paris*, mentioned by * *Cæsarius* the Monke, who saith, *The question was debated to and fro amongst the Doctors, in the universitie of Paris, whether* Thomas *were damned or saved: amongst whom*, Rogerius the Norman *avowed, that he deserved death and damnation, for his contumacie against his King, the Minister of God: but* Petrus Cantor *alleadged, that his miracles were signes of his salvation, &c.* And indeed it all bee true which one man hath written in five bookes, containing his 270 Miracles, we cannot but acknowledge him, both the greatest Saint, and the merriest too, that ever got into heaven; so ridiculous are many things recorded of him. As that of *Ailwardus*, who for stealing of a great wheat tone (which the Author that writes it, best deserved) being deprived of his *eyes* and * *Virilities*, by sentence of Law; upon prayer to Saint *Thomas* he had all restored againe: Yea, even a * *Bird having beene taught to speake, flying out of her Cage, and ready to be seized on by a Spar-Hauke, said onely, Saint Thomas helpe me, and her enemy fell presently dead, and shee escaped*, and (belike) reported it. Of which great power in this Saint, how can we doubt? sith we read, that even in his life time the * *Virgin Mary* her self was contented to be his Sempster, and *sowed his shirt with red silke*? Many of which kind of follies, (if that word be sharpe enough) might be here inserted, were not our present argument more serious, and these forgeries fit onely for Monkes to indite, children to reade, and fooles to beleeve.

An. Dom. 1220.

* *Cæsarius Dialog. l. 9. c. 59. Petit. Script. Brit. &c. t. 2. Fox p. 289.*

* *Monarch. Lant. in vita Gallo. 3 lamp.*

* *M. S. Pseudinda perhaps for Prudenda. Oxford. or Reg. Lib.*

* *he printed golden Legend in wit Thom.*

Ibidem.

(44) The report of the tragicall outrage on the Arch-bishop comming to the old King, at *Argenton* in *Normandy*; there was no kinde of forrow, into which, (without respect to Majestie, or State) he fell not; and not without cause, as knowing how plentifull an *Hydra* of mischiefes (upon the opinion of his privity with the fact) would rise, if not prevented. But the murtherers, fearing least this their fact would displease the King, in whose revenge they did it, fled into the North, and abode one whole yeare in the Kings Castle at *Knaresborough* in *Yorkeshire*; perhaps by favour of the young King: none of them dying for the fact by way of Justice, because the Clergie exempting themselves from the bonds of civill Lawes, the punishment of a Priest-killer (as by some it appeareth) was not then the death of the *Body* by execution of capitall sentence; but of *soule* by excommunication, till about the twenty third yeare of this King, it was (at the instant suit of *Richard* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and of the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Elie*, and *Norwich*) yeelded, that such persons should suffer losse of life.

The Kings sorrow for the murther, and his difficulties thereupon. Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neust.

Guil. Malmsb. lib. 2. c. 23. Matth. Paris.

Nic. Trivet. Vincel and Holinshe p. 99.

(45) The King therefore, upon protestation to submit himselfe, to the judgement of such Cardinals, Legats, as the Pope should send to enquire of the fact kept his Realme from *Interdiction*, though the King of *France*, the Archbishop of *Seins*, and *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, had out-gone his Embassadours with their inflaming letters, containing the description of that Parricide.

Matth. Paris saith it was granted to Cardinall Pe. tre Leonyby King Hen. Mat. Paris. ad An. Dom. 1176.

(46) Henry

King Henry projects the conquest of Ireland.

(46) *Henry* therefore, among so many perplexities rising out of the Archbishops murther, saw no way so ready for the calming his owne perturbations, or for the averting mens thoughts from the consideration of that scandalous Tragedie, as to undertake some great and noble enterprise, which now offered it selfe very seasonably. For *Ireland*, a very spacious and plentifull Iland, and lying commodiously for the uses of the *English*, burned in it selfe with civill divisions, kindled among the petty Kings and Princes thereof: while *Rhothericke* the *Great*, called *O Conor Dun*, Prince of *Connaught*, abusing his power and the advantage of the times, to the oppression of his neighbours, sought to make himselfe the universall King thereof, having already invaded the Title and Stile of KING AND MONARCH OF IRELAD. And this his purpose was much advanced by the fatall and familiar errour of proceedings in like cases: for the Irish Princes, either through distrust or pride, forbearing to unite their forces against the common enemy, while each provides for one, they are all, as it were, overcome.

Giral. Cambr. de expug. Hib. Camb. pag. 730. Giral. Camb.

Annalib. Hiber. apud Camd. pag. 194. An. Dom. 1166.

(47) Moreover, * *Dermot Mac Murgh* (in that time of the *Irish Pentarchie*, or five-fold Kingdome) having secretely stolne away the wife of *Rothericke*, (a light woman, and consenting or plotting rather, and urging the rape it selfe) added to *Rothericks* ambition, a just desire of revenge, for so notable, impudent, and publique injurie, so much the more odious in *Dermots* person, for that hee was old: neither was this all; for the causes of this change were higher.

* Matth. Paris.

An. Dom. 1053. Dermots sute for aids filed by Henry.

(48) The onely disposer and translator of Kingdomes is God; and in *Ireland* to move him to offence (without which no Kingdome is transferred) against the people thereof, all such sinnes abounded, as commonly forgoe the greatest changes: for not onely the manners of the Nation, were extreamely corrupted, but the Christian faith it selfe decayed; barbarisme over-running the one, and * more then superstitions the other. But it may seeme by some * Authors, that King *Henries* particular inducements to that Action, were both an ancient title unto that Kingdome, derived from his ancestors (the Kings of *England*) for many ages before him; and * many unsufferable wrongs (by their Piracies) unto the *English* Merchants, *buying and selling their Captives, and using Turkish tyranny on their bodies:* which made the *Irish* Clergie themselves confesse, that they had deservedno other, *then that their land should bee transferred to that Nation whom they had so cruelly handled.* Notwithstanding, King *Henrie*, who knew how great and dangerous tumults the Popes had raised on small occasions, thought his way would be much easier, if he went onward with the Popes good favour, which he easily obtained (so liberall is his holinesse of that which is none of his) for a fee; viz. *a penny yeerely to be paid to Saint Peter of every house in Ireland.* Touching which point, *Rossus* of *Warwicke*, (no Protestant, I assure you,) saith, *That Englands King is not bound to relie on the Popes graunt for Ireland, nor yet to pay that Taxe, because hee had claime to that Kingdome by an hereditary right:* and that the Pope had no temporall interest therein (as his favorites pretended) the often mentioned Monke of *New-borough* can tell us, who saith, that *Nunquam externa subjacuit ditioni, Ireland was never subject to any forraine command.*

* Paligenia, Orc. Polyhist. Sing. lib. 13.
* Giraldi Cambr. Hib. expug. lib. cap. 7.
Raimund Comp. Hiberniæ. Vetus & Liv. 2. MS.
Rossus Warwic. MS.
* Campion. Ib. 1. c. 1. MS.
Idem ibid.

Bulla Hadrian. apud Mat. Par. Rossus Warwic. MS.

Gul. Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16.

(49) God Almighty therefore did now put it into the heart of *Henrie*, for the reforming of that Kingdome, to make a Conquest thereof, having in his infinite wisedome before-hand fitted all circumstances needfull to concurre, for inducing so wary and frugall a Prince to such an enterprise, which thus tooke beginning.

(50) *Dermot Mac Murgh*, being in possession of his fatall *Helen* (the adulterous wife of *Rhotherick*) was pursued so eagerly with the revenging sword of his enemy (who, howsoever wounded in heart with the abuse of his Bed, rejoyced in the colour and occasion ministred thereby, for him to seize upon the flourishing provinces of *Leinster*) as he was driven to flie from place to place, and at the length to quit his kingdome also, the subjects whereof his tyranny and vices had unsetled in their affections toward him. Thus desperate of helpe at home, his last deliberations were to draw in forraine aides, the necessitie of his case requiring it; and for that purpose, finally resolves to repaire to the court of the wise and potent *Henrie*, King of *England*, being then in *Aquitaine*: neither could *Dermot* but know, that it had heretofore beene in *Henries* desigues, at such time as he meant to subdue it for *William* of *Anjou*, his yongest brother, and also, because his present Dominions did halfe (as it were) environ it. In which hopes he was not deceived; for *Henry* listened thereunto very willingly, as to a thing which he had indeed * some yeares before projected.

* Giral. Camb. lib. 2. Hib. expug.

Dermots sute succours.

(51) King *Dermot* therefore was heard in his suite. But, because the thing, as at that time, neither seemed great enough for such a Prince as *Henrie* to undertake directly, nor as yet was held sufficiently discovered to his hand; that therefore the Ice might be broken by inferiour meanes, and as well the conveniences, as inconveniences, founded to the depth, (without engaging his royall person, name, or power,) it was by the Kings letters permitted to *Dermot* (the exiled prince) to draw what * adventurers, or voluntaries, either the Commiseration of his estate, or other respects, of pietie, profit, or delight in armes, could allure to the action. Now whether it were, for that he, whose Countries lay toward the coasts of *Wales*, (and within ken upon a cleare day) by commodity thereof might entertaine intelligence, as well as trafficke, with the Inabitants of those parts; or, for that the fame of their Chevalry did invite; or, for that his acquaintance at his arrivall grew there first; or, for that these and many other circumstances met in this accident: sure it is, that *Dermot* raised his first and principall succours from among the *English* Colonies there.

Robert Fitz-Stephen * Ambires ill Iam Stephan-dus. * Camb. p. 738.

(52) The *Welsh* had then in their hands a valiant Gentleman of *Norman* race, one *Robert* * *Fitz-Stephen*, who by *Gilbert de Clare* was entrusted with the defence of the towne of *Cardigan*, but through * treachery the Towne being surprised, *Robert* was also delivered to *Reese ap Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who would hearken to no other endentments of his liberty, but onely, that hee should for ever abandon his possessions in *Wales*. Whereupon (the opportunity of *Dermots* quarrell giving hopes of new fortunes) immediately hee entred into contract with the *Irish* King, promising by a certaine day to come to his succour, with as many Voluntaries, as his remaining fortunes, or the hope of the Voyage could stirre: which hee * did accordingly performe, leaving it very disputable, whether with more sucesse or courage. But *Dermot* well knowing that the fortunes of this *Gentleman* (to whose valour nothing seemed impossible) were unable to undergoe the whole weight of the unknowne worke, had formerly dealt with the renowned Lord, *Richard* of the house of *Clare*, * Earle of *Pembrooke*, surnamed *Strong-bow*: the man whom the Fate of *Ireland* did expect.

Thetwish speake to also thou and thee.

* Annales Hib. apud Cambd. et Giral. Camb.

Richard Earle of Pembroke. * He is commonly called of this cleare seat in Monmouthshire Earle of Strigu. Alias Chepstow.

(53) *Dermots* perswasions to the Earle were of "this kinde: That the enterprise, besides the faculty "thereof, was full of pietie, honour, Iustice, "and commoditie: That it appeared so to King "*Henry* himselfe, by whose leave hee was free to "gather what forces hee could: That he was driven out by the cruell ambition of Neighbors, and "treachery of wicked Subjects. That *Leinster* "was a *Kingdome*, and though but a part, yet clearely the best and richest part of *Ireland*. That multitudes offered themselves to his aide; but his cares were not onely for a *Generall* to leade them, but "for one to whom he might leave his Kingdome "also.

* This seemeth to be spoken, because his mother *Isabel* was Aunt (by the mother) to Maxeline King of Scots. Camd. Annal. Hibern. An. 1169. Earle Richard begines.

The summe of Dermots perswasions.

"also: That the Earle was hee, as the onely man, in "whose person all the respects of birth, honour, "bounty, valour, youth, and fortunes did happily "meete. That the Earle (in his conceit) did dwell "but narrowly (considering what hee was worthy "of) pent-up in the straights of an Earledomes title, for whom a great Kingdome was not great. "That they who would not allow *Leinster* for a "Kingdome, did forget, that *England* once was broken into lesser states; and if *Dermot* were not a "King, neither then were *Ella*, *Ciffa*, *Vffa*, *Sigbert*, "*Crida*, and the rest in the Saxon seven-headed go"vernment: that the quantity of Dominion made "more or lesse strong, but not more or lesse a "King. That he was rightfull King of *Leinster*, as "Sonne and Heire to *Murgh* King of *Leinster*: that "if hee must forgoe his inheritance, it should be to "such as had done him no wrong, and were worthy of it; to *Richard Strong-bow*, and his follow"ers, and not to *Rothericke* and Rebels. That hee "was not unking'd, though unkingdom'd; that *Eva* his daughter (*Eva* the pearle and ftarre of *Ire*"land) should indeed be *Eva* to his enemies, to bring "upon them death, and just confusion: that yet in "defeating the Tyrant *Rothericke* of his hopes by "planting Earle *Richard* and his Forces, hee should "provide for his Countrey, not destroy it. That if it "did fall out otherwise, yet his disloyall people had "their just deserts, who objecting vices to their Sove"raigne, did themselves commit vile Treasons. "Indeed (quoth he) I was never such a King, as that "I was not also a Man. But for those matters be"tweene God and mee, heere is now no place to ac"count, for though his justice hath found mee out, "yet his mercy hath left me more friends at home, "then the number and measure of my sinnes deserve: "My quarrell is most just, as against most wicked re"bels and vsurpers: Restore me then (my Lord) by "your puissance to my native soyle, and my lawfull "rights therein: restore with me Religion and Di"scipline to the ancient splendor thereof, which was "not greater in any Realme about us then in *Ireland*; "reduce the stray, enlighten our ignorance, polish "our rudeneſſe, and let not such abundant matter of "merit and immortall glory escape you. God him"selfe will prosper the enterprise, holy Church hath "long since approved it: and upon such Authours "what can miscarry? And though in thy noble and "Christian courage nothing can weigh so much, "(and these I see worke mightily) yet to satisfie all "respects, Thou shalt have far larger territories then "heere thou canst possesse, And goodly Lands to "distribute for reward among thy friends and fol"lowers. My last offers now shall not shew a more "desire to use thy forces, then a love to thy person "and vertues. They are not trifles I propose, but that "of which God himselfe doth seeme to mee to have "laid the ground, seeing it is his holy will that thou "at this time shouldst bee without a Wife. Know "thou then, that I have but one daughter *Eva*, the "heire of my Crowne, and comfort of my age: let "thine owne eye tell thee how faire and worthy: "this I dare avouch, that thou wilt thinke far broa"der seas well crost, for view of so honest beauty: "she in the first blossome of her youth, a virtuous "Virgine, and by both Parents borne of Princes, shall "at thine arrivall, with this right hand, bee made "thine, and with her, after my death, my whole "Realme, and other my rights whatsoever: which "were they infinitely more, (despise not such love, "nor the alliance of one distressed, but nevertheleſſe "a King,) I would repute them farre too little for "such a sonne in law: who though thy selfe as yet "no King* art come of Kings, and it is my whole "and last ambition, that I may live to make thee "one. The Earle accepted the conditions, resolute to set up *Dermot* againe, and for that purpose bound himselfe by solemne contract, to the full performance of his part within a certaine time.

(53) *Dermot* having thus negotiated his affaires and set it in so good forwardnes, while his friends in *England* prepared themselves and their Forces, lest hee should seeme to relie upon forraigne aides, and so to diminish with them the reputation of his owne valour and alliances at home; hee sayles backe into his Countrey; carrying with him the promises of confederates, and there both by his presence and perswations did the best hee could to facilitate the entrance of the *English*; whose honourable entertainements, devotions, civility, riches, valours, wisedome, and victorious greatnesses he spared not to celebrate, as instruments advancing his owne designes: which raysed no little expectation, mixt with contrary affections of desire and feare.

Robert Fitz-Stephen laid into fetters. * Trias. Istibur.

(54) The next yeare, when the season grew fit for an Army to take the Field, *Robert Fitz-Stephen* accompanied with *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his halfe-brother by the surer side, and * a competent number of Souldiers, reposing (under God) their chiefe hope in their swords and courages, set saile for *Ireland*; and in the beginning of *May* came on shore, at a place called by the *Irish*, *Bann* (by the *English* at this day commonly, *Bagg* and *Bunn*) which in our Language signifies *Sacred*: a word which (so much as names may be presages of things) did as it were hallow the attempt of the *English* with a lucky and gracious ominations, whereof the Inhabitants at this present retaine this rime;

Annals. Clarom. ind. in Cathal. Regia. Vetus. An. Dom. 1170.

At the head of Bagg and Bunn,
Ireland was lost and wun.

(55) The next day after, *Maurice de Pendergast* also, with * other men of Armes, and many Archers in two shippes arrived there, beeing parcell of *Fitz-Stephens* Forces and Companions of his Fortunes, who joyning themselves together, immediately marcht to the Citie of *Weisford* under their Banners, and that in the greatest bravery they could, (the Knights and Men at Armes, in their * Coates of Armes and Colours) to draw thereby now at the first the greater reputation to themselves, and with opinion so gotten, to fill up the smalnesse of their number: in which manner assailing the Citie, the *Irish* therein rendred themselves, and in reward of the service, being also * according to capitulation, and encouragement of others, who were to proceede in this warre, *Dermot*, to whose use the *English Generall* had taken it, * bestowed the Citie it selfe, and the Country about upon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, at his pleasure to be disposed of: and there the first Colony of our Nation was planted, which hath ever since immoveably maintained their abode among innumerable changes in the World, retaining at this day the ancient attire of the *English*, and the language also it selfe, though brackish with the mixture of vulgar *Irish*, which therefore by a distinct name is called *Weisford* speech, current onely in that City, and the County about.

* Maurice Clarom. ibidd.
* The name of Pendergall yet remaines in *Ireland*: taken first (as seemeth) from a Towne of that name in Penbrokeshire.
* Pendergasts coat-Armour, was *Gules*, a Saltyer *Davie*, as my learned friend, M. Babram (whose notes have given me much light in this Kings life, and divers others) himselfe observed in the Friers Church at Clonmell.
* Giral. Camb. in expug. Hiber.
* Camb. p. 748.
The Irish Expug. *Irish* Chronicle.

weisford speech

(56) But *Robert Fitz-Stephen* thus advanced, for his more assurance, beganne to raise a * Towne at *Carricke*, making the place which nature had already fortified, much more by Art defensible. This entrie into *Ireland* being by him now made (under the name of *Henry* King of *England*) and the successe exceeding hopefull, *Richard Strongbow* receiving advertisement from *Dermot*, and the new Lord of *Weisford*, of all occurrences; thought fit, first to dispatch * some supplies to *Fitz-Stephen*, which about the beginning of May, under the conduct of *Raimund le grosse* (a Gentleman of the Earles Family) were accordingly sent: and after *Raimund* the Earle himselfe in the same yeare set forth: His Forces were about * two hundreth men of Armes, and a thousand other Souldiers, with whom hee came safe to Anchor in the Bay of *Waterford*, upon the Vigil of Saint *Bartholomew*, *Augu*ſt 23. *Ann.* 1171. Earle *Richard* the Generall, knowing that expedition did carry with it terrour and advantage, presently marcheth to *Porthlarge*,

* Camb. ibidd.

Earle Richard prepared for Ireland.
* Annal. Hiber. apud Camb. p. 795.
Raimund sent before with supplies.
* Annal. Hiber. apud Camb. ann. 1171. Clarom. Regiens. Mannie apud Cambd. Annal. Cluan. Annalib. Hiber. apud Camb. adsperguntur ann. 1169. pro 1171. ut patet ibid. ad annos 1185.

(the

Earle Richarde firſt arriueth. Waterford taken.

(the *Iriſh* name of *Waterford*) and vpon the very next day tooke the Citie by force, and sacrificed the armed Inhabitants, to the revenge of *Dermot*, ſo the rather to make roome, and ſecurity for themſelves, to the exceeding terrour, and juſt diſmay of all about, as they who found, that, howſoever the pretence was to re-ſettle *Dermot*, the purpoſe was to ſeat the *Engliſh* for ever.

He marrieth the Lady Eua.

(57) But *Dermot*, Authour of this calamity to his Nation, reſolute in his purpoſe, in full complement of his Contract, doth openly in ſolemne manner beſtow his promiſed daughter *Eva*, upon the Conquerour in marriage, with his owne right hand giving her in the Church: at which time the famous *Stronghow* did not celebrate his particular Wedding-day, but the indiſſoluble knot of the *Iriſh* allegeance to the *Engliſh* Soveraignty, with the ſame Ring which circuled his wives finger, affiancing that Iland to this our Countrey.

(58) The marriage performed, it was farre from the mind of the Earle to ſpend much time in revels and feaſts, but conſults with his men of warre what was next to be done for the ſetling his Father in law King *Dermot*, and for finiſhing the Conqueſt which was now ſo happily begun, in two ſeverall parts of *Ireland* at once. Leaving therefore a ſufficient Garriſon to make good the places already gain'd, and to ſecure the landing of freſh ſupplies, he ſets forward with his ſelected Companies, to whoſe victorious weapons the whole Realme lay open, ſo farre forth, that *Rotherick* himſelfe was very well contented (notwithſtanding his lately uſurped, and ſwelling title of Monarch of *Ireland*) to hold himſelfe within the bogs and faſtneſſes of his peculiar Realme, the wilde, and mountainous *Connaught*; meane while, *Strong-bow* keeps on his way over the boſome of *Ireland* to the principall Citie thereof, *Dublin*, taking in (as he marcheth) all the places about, and ſecuring himſelfe by pledges, of their loyalty, or otherwiſe as he ſaw moſt fit. In which journey pleaſed with the delight and fertile ſituation of * *Kildare*, there reſolved to ſettle his abode, and to erect a ſeat to his poſterity.

Earle Richard marcheth to Dublin.

Camb. p. 752.

Dublin taken.

The conqueſt of *Dublin* being ſpeedily, and moſt happily atchieved; not long after, *Dermot*, *Mac Murgh*, Father in Law to the Earle, (whom the *Iriſh* for his affection to the *Engliſh*, call *Dermot Ningall*, that is, *Dermot* the *Strangers friend*) breathed his laſt at *Fernys*, dying * *plenus dierum*.)

Dermot King of Leinſter dyeth.

* *Annal. Hiberniæ paſſim.*

(59) The fame of theſe ſucceſſes wafting over the *Iriſh* Seas, and comming to the King, made him reſolve to paſſe in perſon thither, that hee might have the honour of the Conqueſt: and not approving ſuch forwardneſſe in the Earle, who (as ſome * ſay) were againſt his expreſſe Commandement, (and indeed * *Giraldus* who lived at that time, calls his leave no better then an Ironicall leave) and for that hee knew not to what inſolency ſuch faire fortune might in time allure, as alſo for that they ſeemed to handle the *Natives* too rigorouſly; * thereupon *hee forbids by his Proclamations, any Veſſell to carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and commands all Engliſh to returne before Eaſter, and leave off their attempts, or their eſtates in England ſhould bee ſeized for the King.* By which Edict theſe affaires were brought into fearefull extremity, which was changed into better condition by the travell of *Herveius de Monte Mariſco*, on the behalfe of the Earle, and the adventurers, who finding the King in *Glouceſterſhire*, with an Army for *Ireland*, appeaſed his diſpleaſure upon theſe termes: *That the King ſhould have the head Citie of the Kingdome*, Dublin, *with the adjacent* Cantreds, *with all the* Coaſt-Townes *and* Caſtles, *the reſt to remaine to the Conquerours to hold of the King, and of his Heires, and ſo to be under his protection, as Subjects ought, and as they were before*; which ſubjection it ſeemed to the King they meant to have renounced.

* Will. Paruus Nic. Trivet. Holinſh. p. 83.
* Giral. Cambr. cap. 13. lib. 2.

* Iohn lib. 1. 19.

Giral. Cambr.

(60) The Kings goodly Navy lay in *Milford*-haven, to which as he journeyed, hee thundred againſt the *Welſh* Nobility, comming to entertaine him, for ſuffering *Strong-bow* to depart: At laſt being imbarkt, he had a faire Gale which ſet him ſafe in *Ireland* with all his Forces at *Waterford*, where firſt hee commits to priſon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom the Citizens preſented bound, having held him in cuſtody, under colour of doing good ſervice, becauſe he had entred *Ireland* without the Kings particular leave; yet ſoone after the King releaſed him, but deprived him of *Weiſford*, and the Territories. Then takes he the homages of ſuch petty-Kings, and principall perſons of the *Iriſh* as repaired, diſmiſſing them in honourable ſort, meaning to winne them by gentle, and not exaſperating courſes; and marching through *Oſſyrie* to *Dublin*, he takes *O Rotherick* the King of *Connaughts* homage by *Hugh Lacie*, and *William Fitz-Aldelm*: Laſtly, at *Dublin* he kept his Chriſtmas in Royall ſtate, which to behold, very many of the *Iriſh* Princes came thither.

An. Dom. 1172. King Henries doings in Ireland.

Giral. Camb. lib. 1. Hiber. cap. 31. 32. &c.

(61) Mindfull now of his duty to God, the Iland being calme, and ſilent, through the preſence of ſuch a mighty *Monarch, the moſt noble King of England, and Triumphator of Ireland* (as * mine Authour ſtileth him) cauſeth a Synode to be holden at *Caſſils* for reformation of the *Iriſh* Church, where amongſt ſundry other conſtitutions, to which the *Iriſh* Clergie did willingly ſubmit, it was decreed, *That all the Church-Lands, and their poſſeſſions ſhould be altogether free from the exaction of ſecular men, and that from thenceforth, all Divine things ſhould be handled in every part of Ireland in ſuch ſort, as the Church of England handleth them.* "For, (ſaith the Conſtitution) it "is moſt juſt, and meet, that as *Ireland* hath, by Gods "mercy obtained a Lord, and King out of *Eng-* "*land*, ſo alſo that from thence they ſhould receive "a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore "they uſed.

Religion abuſhed by a Synode at Caſhell.

* Idem. cap. 34.

(62) The King continuing his politicke jealouſies, and thinking *Strongbow* to be as yet too great, draws from his dependency *Raimund*, *Miles Cogan*, *William Makarel*, and other of the beſt Captaines, and makes them his owne by bounty. But before hee could fully eſtabliſh that Kingdome (the inſeparable evill fate thereof, which would never ſuffer it to enjoy the bleſſed benefit of exact civility) other affaires which hee eſteemed more neceſſary, call him away, and therefore having left *Hugh Lacie* at *Dublin*, hee ſets ſaile for *England* upon Eaſter * Monday, and landed happily at Saint *Davids* in *Pembrookeſhire*, from whence with all ſpeed hee poſteth into *Normandie*.

* Eaſter day after noone. Faith. Paris. and Tpodig. Neuſt.

Giral. Cam. Hiſt. cap. lib. cap. 38.

(63) In *Normandy* there attended for his arrivall two Cardinals, ſent as Legats at his owne requeſt, for taking his purgation concerning the death of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, whereof, *upon oath that hee was no way conſenting to that cruell, and ſacrilegious revenge, and declaring withall his infinite ſorrow for having in his anger given occaſion by raſh words for others to doe that deede, and giving further oath to performe enjoyned penances*, hee was by them abſolved. The conditions of his abſolutions were; That he ſhould at his owne charge maintaine two hundred Souldiers for an whole yeare for defence of the Holy-Land. That hee ſhould ſuffer Appeales to bee made freely. That he ſhould revoke all Cuſtomes introduced to the prejudice of the Churches libertie. That he ſhould reſtore and make up the poſſeſſions of the Church of *Canterbury*. That hee ſhould freely receive all ſuch as were in baniſhment for *Beckets* cauſe, &c. Not long after, *Thomas* was Canonized by Pope *Alexander*, and ſo not onely the victory clearely given him againſt King *Henry*, but a triumph alſo.

Matth. Paris Sudelliana. lib. 3.

Matth. Weſt. Wic. Town. Hollinſ. 94. &c.

(64) Now began the wombe of rebellion, and unnaturall conſpiracies to diſcloſe the miſchiefes which were ordained to exerciſe this right redoubted King and Warriour, hatched heere at home by the malice (ſome ſay) of *Eleanor* his Queene, at ſuch time as hee was abſent in *Ireland*, ſo that as * one writes

Roger Hoved.

Matth. Paris. Tpodig. Neuſt.

Walſingh. in Ypodig. Neuſt.

An. Dom. 1173.

Roger Hoved.

Matth. Paris.

Matth. Weſt.

writes, *God ſtirred up the Kings owne bowels againſt himſelfe.* Cauſes of this unhappy diſſention, there were many: Firſt, a Queene and *Wife*, violently vindicative for wrong done unto her Bed by the King, who was immoderately addicted to varietie of loves: then Ambition in an evill-natur'd Child; and laſtly, pernicious Actors and inſtruments, who, for their owne ends, nourished this curſed miſchiefe; ſo as if we ſhould out of our ſtories re-capitulate the ſeverall occaſions taken by the ſonne againſt the father, wee ſhould rather ſhew you the colours, then the cauſes: For none of thoſe cauſes which his Sonne pretended, ſeemed great enough with men that feare God, to beare out ſuch continuall diviſions as followed.

(65) The head of this conſpiracy was very great, and juſtly very terrible: for on the ſide of King *Henry* the ſonne, there were the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, * *Richard* and *Geffrey*, two yonger ſonnes of the King of *England*, whom by their mothers perſwaſions they forſooke, to follow the young King; *David* the *Scottiſh* Kings brother, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, (a Peere of *France*, and a potent Prince,) *Matthew* Earle of *Boloigne*, *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, *Roger Mowbray*, and other great ones, in great numbers, ſo as nothing ſeemed wanting, but onely a good cauſe, which (ſuch as it was) Queene *Elianor*, like an *Alecto*, kept alive, ſo much as lay in her, with perpetuall fomentations. And indeed the ſcope of theſe confederats did require no leſſe a combination, it being to depoſe the Father, whom it pleaſed them (for countenance of their ungodly armes) to repute no King, becauſe hee had crowned his ſonne.

Ypodig. Neuſt.

(66) Though nothing then could come more grievous, to the bleeding heart of a moſt loving father, then ſuch a warre; yet not to be unprovided, hee (like a Souldier) prepares himſelfe, when faire meanes failed, and found multitudes ready to live and dye with him; the indignity of the unnaturall revolt, did ſo much inflame all honeſt courages, which acknowledged him their Soveraigne.

(67) The particular accidents of the wars would fill a volume. At one time *Normandy*, *Guyen*, and *Britaine* were invaded by the confederates in *France*, and at the ſame time *Cumberland* by the *Scots*. But the King of *England* had friends in all thoſe parts, and himſelfe hearing that *Vernuill* was * beſieged by the *French* King in perſon, hee began at laſt to kindle, having, like a ſleeping Lion, ſitten ſtill all that while, and for that the place had (upon parlea) agreed to render if ayde came not by a day, hee arrived to their ſuccour within the time, * ſending King *Lewis* word that hee ſhould get him forth of *Normandy* with ſpeed, or he would without faile, come, and ſee how hee did upon that very day. *Lewis*, meaning nothing leſſe then to put his owne Crowne in danger, while he ſought one for his ſonne in law, (and therefore in all the warre-time would never ſet up his reſt upon a battell,) but willing otherwiſe to doe to King *Henry* the father, all the harme he could, by countenancing the faction, and ſupporting the revolted male-contents with his beſt meanes, and knowing King *Henry* was a ſowre and terrible Prince when he came indeed to fight, immediately raiſed his ſiege, and with as much haſt as he might, abandoned the place, * leaving his Campe, Tents, and warlike proviſions behind, and retired into *France*.

Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris.

(68) And though King *Henry*, beginning now indeed to ſhake his dreadfull ſword, had many faire dayes of his enemies, mixt with ſome loſſes both of men and other ſtrengths, though not great, nor many, in regard of the overthrowes which on his behalfe were given: For that in *Britaine* his forces had in battell vanquiſhed * *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and ſlaine about one thouſand and five hundred of their army; and in *England*, *Reignald* Earle of *Cornewall*, and *Richard de Lucy*, had in bloudy battell * overthrowne the inſolent Earle of *Leiceſter*,

* entred the Towne of *Leiceſter* by force; and that he had the perſons of the ſaid * *Hugh Lupus* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and very many other priſoners of eſpeciall note and Nobility; yet *Lewis* the *French* King mooving a parlea, the father deſirous to uſe the good fortune of warre, to reclaime his rebels, was ſo willing to make peace, that hee might ſeeme to have out gone expectation in the quality of his offers, but through ſuch wicked perſwaſions as were uſed, prevailed not.

* Polydor. Virg.
* Tpodig. Neuſt.

Hoveden.

(69) A violent fire-brand in this diviſion, was *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, being matched with a Lady no leſſe proud, and ſtomachious then himſelfe; who at this meeting, was not contented to have affronted King *Henry* the father, on the behalfe of his young Lord and Maſter the ſonne, but (after many words of reproach) is ſaid to have laid his daring hand upon his ſword, with purpoſe to have ſtrucken the King, had he not beene withholden: (and where ſuch ſpirits had to doe, it is eaſie to gueſſe what kinds of counſell were like to be embraced and purſued;) having forſaken the father, not for that the others cauſe was more honeſt, *but for that* (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) *the father King, labouring to enlarge the Regall-power, ſought to ſet his foote upon the neckes of the proud and haughty.*

Matth. Paris. Thecourageous and diſloyall behaviour of the Earle of Leiceſter Roger Hoved. Holinſh.

Ypodigm. Neuſt.

(70) But God, who meant to chaſtiſe the King, and not to deliver him up into his enemies hands, deſtroyed thoſe hopes that mooved the ſonnes to their unnaturall attempts; for it was not long after, when newes came into *Normandy*, that his faithfull friends and ſervants, * *Richard de Lucy*, and *Humphrey de Bohun* high Conſtable of *England*, together with the powers of *Reignald* Earle of *Cornewall* the Kings Vncle, *Robert* Earle of *Glocceſter*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, not farre from *Bury*, couragiouſly encountred with the Earle of *Leiceſter*, and his * *Flemmings*, of whom above * five thouſand were ſlaine, or taken, and among the priſoners was the Earle himſelfe, and * his *Amazonian* Counteſſe, whoſe perſons at his Commandement were not long after brought over into *Normandy*.

The Kingſvictory in England, he being abſent.

* Pahd. Virg. Henry. Hunt. Holinſh. in H. 2.

* Galles quidam vocat.
* Hoveden, and Polyd. Virg. ſaith 1000. were there ſlaine.

(71) This * great victory and other good ſucceſſe, did ſo much advantage the King, that *Lewis* beginning to diſtruſt the enerprize, fought for ſixe moneths truce for himſelfe, and had it granted: but becauſe there were yet in *England*, two principall men, * the Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Roger Mowbray*, which held out; having *Leiceſter* for their *Randevon*, and feat of warre, with no ſmall numbers of partakers, notwithſtanding that *Geffrey* (the Elect of *Lincolne*, the Kings baſe ſonne) had taken two of *Mowbrayes* Caſtles, and done other good ſervice for his Lord and Father, the truce ſerved the enemy for no other purpoſe but to breath, and to reparire himſelfe.

* Matth. Paris.

Tpodig. Neuſt.

(72) The father (of whom *Lewis* ſaid, that, *hee ſeemed not to goe, but to flye*, hee went with ſuch celerity from one place and kingdome to another) in the meane while, recovers *Nainctis* from *Richard* his violent ſonne, weakening that party by ſo much, and would have weakened it farre more, but that advertiſements came poſt, declaring ſuch matter, as made him ſpeed into *Normandy*.

* Matth. Paris. Great new dangers againſt the King.

(73) Thither * came unto him out of *England*, *Richard* (the Elect of *Winchеſter*) ſent with all haſt by the Kings Iuſticiaries, to lay open unto him, the dangerous eſtate wherein the Realme at that time ſtood. For after that *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* had ſolemnely ſworne to invade *England*, in ſupportation of young *Henries* quarrell, fundry forces arriving and joyning with *Hugh Bygod* Earle of *Norfolke*, had taken and ſpoyled the City of *Norwich*, and done otherwiſe much harme, whereby the young King and his faction had taken great encouragement, as if the dye of Warre were turned, and aſwell the young King as the Earle of *Flanders*, were come with forces to the Coaſts, there to tranſport for *England*: * Moreover, *Robert* Earle *Ferrers* of *Derby* (who was ſalne

* Roger Hoved.

from the father.) had suddenly entred upon *Nottingham*, burnt the Towne, beaten out the Kings Garrison, slaine the people, and (enricht with spoyle) retired to *Leicester*, whither about the same time, *Anketill Malorie* (Constable thereof) had also brought about two hundred prisoners, taken at *Northampton*, which he (with slaughter of the like number of the Towns-men) had also suddenly surprized and taken: so that the Realme stood doubtfull, and in extreame perill; to the encrease whereof, *William* King of *Scots* (being deepe in the confederacy) invaded *England*, dividing his Forces, himselfe with part wasting *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* (a very cruell Captaine) with the other destroying the Westerne Borderers.

(74) The Father wonderfully stirred heerewith, leaves *Normandy* in as good assurance as the time would permit, and sends before him to the Ships, *Eleanor* his owne Queene, and Queene *Margaret* his sonnes wife, his sonne *John*, &c. the Earle of *Leicester* and his Countesse, with many other prisoners, and a mightie Armie; but the winde changing, and hee compelled to stay in Harbour at *Barbefleet* in *Normandie*, where hee had taken shipping, hee is said (GOD touching his heart) to have utrered these words with much remorse, in the presence "of all; If my purpose in this voyage be for the "peace of the Clergy and people, and if the King "of Heaven shall vouchsafe to quiet and calme these "troubles at my arrivall, then for his mercies sake "wee beseech him to send us a prosperous winde: "But if he be against it, and hath resolved to visit the "Kingdome of *England* with the rod of his fury, let "him grant mee never to touch the shore of that "Country more. His prayer thus utrered from the depth of soule, was seconded with a fresh perie of winde: whereupon setting sayle, hee arrived safe the same day with all his Navie at the Port of *Hampton* in *England*.

King Henry sailes into Normandy.

(75) The next day he tooke his journey towards *Canterbury*, where (as it appeareth) the residue of his penance enjoyned him at his Absolution, was to be performed. For, besides the fore-mentioned conditions, the *Legates enjoyned him* (saith the * Author of *Beckets* life) *some other thing secretly, which came not to our knowledge*; yea the * Legates themselves wrote in their owne letters, that *he then promised to doe (voluntarily,* if ye list to beleeve it) *some things which was not fit for them to lay open in writing.* And well might they be ashamed thereof; but if it were so unfit to be written, how unfit was it to be imposed on such a Soveraigne Prince? what it was, let * *Hoveden* report. The King comming towards the Church, where the late Archbishop was buried, clad all in woollen, *went three miles bare footed, insomuch, that the very ground where he went, was bloody, as was evidently seene, much blood running from his tender feete which were cut with the hard stones.* Neither yet was this the worst; for after all this, *Hee received Discipline at the hands of the Bishops, of a great many Priests, and of the Monks.* *Gervasius* names *Abbots* also, whereby appeares, that every severall sort were to have a hand in that service. *Matthew Paris* can tell you more plainly what that *Discipling* was: *viz.* hee *received the discipline of rods on his bare flesh, receiving of every religious man, (a great multitude of them being there gathered) 3. or 5. jerkes a piece:* whence we may easily beleeve, *Baronius* and his * Author spake within compasse, who acknowledge hee received 80. lashes. To such height was the Papall tyranny and pride growne towards those, of whom God had said expressely, *Touch not mine Anointed.*

* Pleta B. Thalib. 4. cap. 5.

* Epist. ad Archiepiscop. apud Hoveden.

* Roger Hoved. in ei. 2. p. 508.

* Matth. Paris. An. Dom. 1174. In Willielmo Rege. Roger Hoved. An. 1174. * Apud Baron. An. Dom. 1174.

(76) Yet some Monks of that age, attribute the happy and great successe which ensued, to the reconcilement which King *Henrie* thus made with GOD for the blood of *Thomas*, because it pleased God to deliver his enemy *William* King of *Scots* into the hands of his souldiers about that very time, and did also with stormes beate backe into *France* his disobedient sonne the young King, being now under saile for *England*, scattering the whole Fleete, and almost sinking it with tempest.

taken, 13. Jul. An. Dom. 1174.

(77) The Kings other actions till his next returne into *Normandy*, which was not long after, (because *Lewis* King of *France*, and his sonne in law the young King *Henrie*, the head to which all this putrified humour drew, with the Earle of *Flanders* had laid a strong siege to the Citie of *Roan*) * *Thomas Walsingham* comprehends in these few wordes; *hee tamed his rebels, put his enemies to flight, seized on their fortresses.* And so having in a manner miraculously quieted the Realme, hee takes with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, with other his chiefe Prisoners, * (whom hee afterwards first imprisoned at *Cane* in *Normandy*, and then at *Falois*) but leaving his seditious wife behinde him under straight custody, hee arrives with his puissance in *Normandy*, which being understood in the Confederates Campe, the same * brake up, and first setting fire on all the engines of warre, retreated into *France*, in such fort, that the *English* souldiers laid hold upon much munition and warlike furniture. *Roger Hoveden*, (a very sure Author) saith, *that the confederates had onely besieged *Roan* upon one side, and that *Lewis* hearing that the victorious King *Henrie* was within *Roan*, did first send away the weake, and worst of his Armie, and then deceiving the *English* with a solemne promise of returning the next day, to enter into a conference with the King about making a finall agreement, did depart; so that *Hoveden*, aggravates the dishonour of the retreat, with the note of faith-breach.

* Thirsby. Matth.

* Roger Hoved.

* Matth. Paris. Tyrrel. Hoved.

* Roger Hoved.

(78) Let the greatnesse and felicity of this King be now but sleightly looked upon, and it will appeare, that no Prince of those times was hitherto so much bound to God for manifold favours as hee. The King and power of *France*, after so many attempts with the young King of *England*, and all their forces, flying at his presence without any stroke strucken, the valiant King of *Scotland* prisoner, and the chiefest of his Rebels under his foote, *England* assured, *Scotland* dismayed, *Ireland* retained, *Wales* ministring souldiers, *Normandy* in possession, and all the coasting Regions, *Britaine*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, *Limosin*, *Gascoign*, *Guien*, &c. from thence as farre as the Mountaines which separate *Spaine* from *France*, under his dominion; and the blessing of Peace, shortly after ensuing, upon such termes as himselfe could reasonably wish, made him like another *Salomon* to bee sought unto: his Wisedome and Magnificence being in such high credite thorow the Christian World, that the King; of *Castile* and *Navarre* chose him sole Arbiter in their debate, which to both their contentment hee most wisely determined; and then * at one time in his Palace at Westminster were seene together, the Ambassadours of *Manuel* Emperour of *Constantinople*, of *Fredericke* Emperour of *Romans*, of * *William* Archbishop of *Triers* in *Germany*, (a mightie Prince) of the Duke of *Saxonie*, and of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*. Moreover hee had the government of *France* for a time, the Kingdome of *Ierusalem* offered him, but refused, and two of his daughters married to the two Kings * of *Castile* and *Sicilie*.

The great felicitie of King Henry.

An. Dom. 1175.

Matth. Paris

* Matth. Paris. Tyrrel. Hoved.

* Roger Hoved.

* Matth. Paris

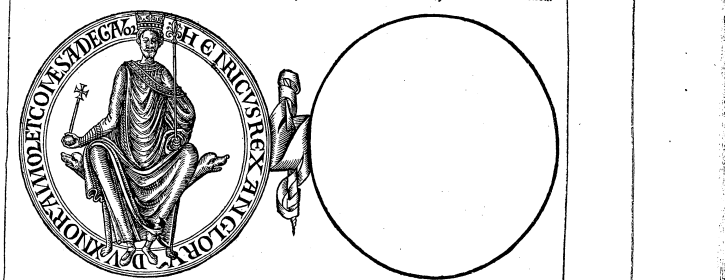
(79) There was first therefore a truce taken betwixt the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henries*; wherein *Richard* (who stood out) was left to his Fathers prosecution, who seeing himselfe thus destitute after many flashes of preparation to resist, and great conflicts with himselfe, put himselfe most humbly into his Fathers mercy, and throwing himselfe * with teares at his feet, obtained the pardon hee begd, and a full restitution to his most inward grace and favour. A most Christian, fatherly, wise, and happy Act; for *Richard* overcome with this unexpected and incredible goodnesse, never desisted till he had brought the yong King to a finall attonement, armes

* Roger Hoved. An. 1175.

Confirmation at London, the Kings being present. * Gervasius. Roger Hoved.

Hoveden in H. 2. fol. 300. Symeon. was Iohn of Parrington ever.

armes being laid apart upon all hands. The chiefe points of that wished peace were: 1. That *Henry* the young King, with *Richard* and *Geffrey*, his Brethren, should returne, freed from all oathes of confederation, to the King their Fathers obedience, as to their Lord and Father. 2. That Prisoners should be set at large without ransome on all hands. 3. That *William* King of *Scots*, the Earle of *Leicester* and *Chester*, *Ralph de Foulgiers*, and other, who had compounded for their ransome, before this conclusion, should have no benefit of this exemption. 4. That King *Henry* the Father should take assurance of loyalty toward him by hostage, or oath of such as were enlarged. 5. That King *Henry* the sonne should ratifie that Grant which his Father the King had made to his son *John*, of some Castles, and yeerely rents in *England*, &c. The Scale it selfe, wherewith the yong king made this mentioned Ratification, we have here annexed.



(80) Touching King *William* of *Scotland*, his fore-mentioned compounding, our Historians all agree not, some saying more, * some lesse: but * *Hector Boetius* (a Scotish Historian of some credit with that Nation) writes; 1. That King *William* was to pay 100000. li. Sterling for his ransome, the one halfe in present coyne, the other 50000. li. upon time. 2. That for assurance of that summe the Earledomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Huntington* should rest in morgage. 3. That King *William* should move no warre against *England* for the retention of those lands. 4. That, for the more security of the premises, the castles of *Berwicke*, *Edenbrough*, *Roxbrough* and *Striveling* should be delivered to the *English*.

* Hoveden. Matth. Paris. Ric. Trivet. Ridych. &c. * Polyd. Virg. lib. Angl. l. 13. * Iohn Bost. Scot. lib. 13. &c. The points according to the Scottish Author.

(81) In the meane while, King *Henry* according to Covenants, dischargeth out of captivity nine hundred sixty and nine men of Armes, taken in those late warres; and King *Henry* the sonne discharged above one hundreth; and having accomplished whatsoever might content or secure his Father, they prepared for *England*, where the joyous letters of their comming written by the Father, had begotten great and longing expectations in the subjects; which he did, (saith *Paris*) *That whom the generall danger of warre had afflicted, the common gladnesse might re-comfort.* In their travaile thitherward, the confidence was such upon this fresh reconcilement, that one Chamber and Table served both, for whom before one Kingdome was not wide enough. They landed at * *Portsmouth* upon Friday, 20. *May*, 1175.

Matth. Paris

* Roger Hoved. An. Dom. 1175.

(82) The face of *England* at this present, was like that of a quiet skye and sea, no blast, no billow, no appearing signe of discontentment; which the better to continue, King *Henry* the Father accompanyed with the King his sonne, omitted no office of a iust and prudent Governour, visiting a great part of his Realme in person, consulting, ordering and enacting such Lawes and courses, as might most establish the good of Peace. Hence it came, that at *London* both the Kings were present in a Synode, in which *Richard* lately chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did publish (* with the Kings assent) certaine Canons for the better governement of the Church of *England*, beginning thus; *At the true fountaine of all happy rule*, that is to say, *at the honour of God, and establishment of Religion and Discipline, &c.* and amongst the rest, this one Canon in especiall words is enacted, *both by authority of the King and Synod*, (and indeed worthy for ever to bee in force) *That every Patrone taking reward for any presentation, should for ever loose the Patronage thereof.* And the same King not long after being at *Woodstocke*, in accomplishment of such holy purposes, by advise of the Clergy provided men to such Bishoprickes, Abbacies, and principall Cures as were vacant, where King *Henry* the Father forgat not his true friend *Iohn* of *Oxenford*, whom he preferred to the See of *Norwich*.

(83) From hence comming to *Terke*, he set those parts in peace; whither *William* King of *Scots* * repaying, sundry matters of importance were handled betweene the two Kings: as likewise afterward at *Windsor* (where the King had called a great assembly of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall) *Rotherick* King of *Connaughs* in *Ireland* (at the suite of his Ambassadors, the Archbishop of *Thuamon* and *Toomund*, and others of that nation, subjects to *Rotherick*) was received into protection and favour, and became Tributary: King *Henry* being unwilling * to fish with an hooke of Gold, which in warring upon *Ireland* hee should feeme to doe. In an other Parliament, not long after, at *Northampton*, he caused *England* to be divided into sixe circuits, and to each Circuit three Iusticiars Itinerants deputed; and as well to give his Lawes more free passage, as also the better to secure himselfe hee threw to the Earth sundry * Castles which had bin formerly kept against him, as *Leicester*, *Huntington*, *Walton*, *Groby*, *Stutesbury*, &c. and had the rest both in his *English* and in his French Dominions committed to his disposition.

* The Kings at Terke.

* Polydor. Virg.

Parliament at Northampton. An. Dom. 1176. The first Iusticiars Itinerants. Holinsh. in H. 2. Hoveden.

* Matth. Paris Roger tribal. Manuel.

(84) The young King * about these times discovered fresh alienations in his mind against his Father; who yet dissembling all, did arme notwithstanding upon the defensive, and replenished both *England* and *Normandy* with Garrisons, which drew the sonne the sooner to come in.

* Roger Hoved. Polyd. Virg.

(85) But the old King not unwilling perhaps (lest the Brethrens concord might proove no better then a conspiracy against the Father) that his warlike Children should contend, * did nourish debate among them: Certaine it is, that to divert the warre from himselfe, hee appeased his sonne the King with an encrease of maintenance for himselfe, amounting in the whole to an hundreth pounds of *Anjouin* by the day, and ten pounds of the same money for his wife the Queene: and whereas *Alice* (daughter of *Lewis* then King of *France*, who was married at three yeeres of age to *Richard* (second sonne of King *Henry*) when he was but seven, and now demanded of King *Henry* the Father, to the intent that *Richard* her husband might enjoy her, the old King who was

* The Iew. Walsin. in Tyrrel. Hoved.

Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 2. calls her Adela.

* Roger Hoved.

An. Dom. 1183.

* Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. Tho. Wals. in Ypodigm. Neust.

* Roger Hoved.

King Henry the sonne dyes in the flowre of his youth.

* Roger Hoved. M. S. Matth. Paris. Thom. Walsing. Ypodig. Neust.

* Roger Hoved.

An. Dom. 1183.

An. Dom. 1184.

* Matth. Paris. Roger Hoved.

* Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris.

* Roger Hoved. fol. 358.

* suſpected to have deflowred her, for that time ſhifted off the delivery of her perſon, in ſuch ſort that peace was not hindred thereby.

(86) But while the young King by his Fathers * inſtigation ſought by force to conſtraine young *Richard* to doe homage to him for *Aquitane*, and King *Henry* the Father for the ſame cauſe commanded *Geffrey* his third ſonne, Duke of *Britaine* (whom ſome for his extraordinary perfidiouſneſſe in this ſervice toward his Father, and manifold Sacrileage, cals the * *Child of Perdition*) to ayde and aſſiſt his ſaid elder brother; while alſo the jealous Father (*out of the ſtrife of his ſonnes*) ſought his owne ſafety, and in nouriſhing it, had by the treachery of the ſaid ſonnes bin twice endangered, and had at both times beene wonderfully preſerved; and while the young King by profound diſſimulations, plotted to bring both his Father and Brother *Richard* into ſubjection; behold the hand of God by taking away the young King at *Martell* not farre from *Linoges*, where his Father lay at ſiege, gave an end to this odious, foule, and intricate contention.

(87) Thus was his life cut off like a Weavers threed (ſay * Authors) who had by dying cut off the hope of many: But whatſoever his life was, which God thus ſhortned at his age of twenty and eight yeares; certainely his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be ſet out in Tables at large as a patterne to diſobedient Children: for his Father refuſing to viſite him (fearing his owne life,) but ſending his Ring in ſigne of forgiveneſſe; the dying Prince moſt humbly with floods of teares kiſſing the ſame, made a moſt ſorrowfull confeſſion of his ſinnes, and feeling death approach, would needes be drawne (as an unworthy ſinner) out of his owne bed, and laid upon another, ſtrewed with aſhes, where his ſoule departed in a moſt penitent manner from his body; which being related to the Father, he fell upon the earth, weeping bitterly, and (like * another *David* for his *Abſolon*) mourned very much, *O quam nefandum eſt!* ſaith "one moſt gravely; *O how hainous a thing it is for "ſons to perſecute the father! for neither the ſword of "the fighter, nor the hand of an enemy, did avenge the "fathers wrong, but a fever and a flux with excoriation "of the bowels.* His body was buried (by his owne deſire) at *Roan*; (which yet was not done without trouble, as if the factions, of which he was the cauſe in his life, did by a kind of Fate, not forſake him being dead; for the Citizens of *Mauns* having interred it, they of *Roan* without menaces, and the fathers expreſſe Commandement, could not obtaine it, who thereupon was taken up againe,) but his wife Queene *Margaret* was ſent backe into *France*, and his ſurviving ſonnes were once againe reduced to due obedience, not any enemy dating to appeare.

(88) Who would not have thought, that this ſtirring Prince, ſhould have had opportunity to end his dayes in peace and glory? but it was otherwiſe ordained by God, and ancient Writers hold, hee was principally ſcourged, for being drawne, by ſeeming reaſons of State, to put off an holy enterprize, the occaſion whereof, was laid as it were at his foote. For *Heraclius* Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, drawne with the ſuper-eminent fame of King *Henries* wiſedome, valour, riches, and puiſſance, travailed from thence into *England*, where, * at *Clerkenwell* by *London*, in an Aſſembly of the States purpoſely called, the King made knowne to them: That Pope *Lucius* had by earneſt Letters, commended the lamentable ſtate of the *Holy-land*, and the Patriarke *Heraclius* unto him: That *Heraclius* (there preſent) had ſtirred compaſſion, and teares, at the rehearſall of the tragicall afflictions of the Eaſterne World, and had brought with him (for memorable * ſignes, that the ſuite was by common conſent of the Countrey) the *Keyes* of the places of *Chriſts Nativity*, *Paſſion*, and *Reſurrection*; of *Davids Tower*, and of the holy *Sepulchre*; and the humble offer of the *Kingdome* of *Ieruſalem*, with the *Enſigne* or *Standard* of the *Kingdome*, as * duely belonging to him, who was right heire thereunto; to wit, the ſonne of *Geffrey* Earle of *Anjou*, whoſe brother *Fulke* was King of *Ieruſalem*.

(89) Nevertheleſſe, (the King having, at leaſt-wiſe formally, adjured the Lords to adviſe him, that which ſhould bee moſt for his Soules health) it was thought fit, to ayde the cauſe with money, but not to employ his perſon, nor the perſon of any Child hee had, which was the Patriarks laſt requeſt; and thereupon (to the unſpeakeable griefe of the ſaid Patriarke, and of the whole *Chriſtianity* of the Eaſt) hee refuſed the ſaid Kingdome, and abandoned as noble an occaſion of immortall renowne, as ever any King of *England* had beene offered; but gave leave * to all ſuch as would, to take upon them the Croſſe and ſerve. This *Heraclius* is hee who dedicated the *Temple*-Church in *London*, as by this Inſcription over the Church-doore in the Stone-worke doth appeare.

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M. C. LXXXV DEDICATA HEC ECCLESIA IN HONOREM BEATE MARIE A DNO ERACLIO DEI GRATIA SANCTE RESVRRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCHA, II. IDVS FEBRVARII. QUEAM ANNATIM PETENTIBVS DE INIVNCTA SI. PENITENTIA LX DIES INDVLSIT.

King Henry re-inſtalleth the kingdome of Ieruſalem.

* Cleo. H. 6. apud camb. pag 795. * Hoved. fol. 359 pag. 1. & 2.

* Roger Hoved. fol. 358.

* Hoveden. fol. 350. pag. 1.

An inſcription upon the Temple Church.

Heraclius departs.

* Rad. Higden. Polydor. lib. 23 in fi. 2.

An. Dom. 1186.

Ioan. pag. 360. Hiſtoire conſtitu. faict. Hiſtoire.

(90) Thus the forrowfull Patriarke being diſmiſſed (not forgetting as * ſome doe write, to thunder againſt the King for abandoning the cauſe) brought backe nothing but diſcomfort and deſpaire, the *Weſterne* Princes (by the Divels malicious Arts) being wrapt and knotted in mutuall ſuſpitions and quarrells indetermined; whereupon ſhortly after enſued, with the loſſe of *Ieruſalem*, the captivity of *Guido* King thereof, and of innumerable Chriſtians beſides; whom *Sultan Saladin*, Prince of the *Muſſulmans* or *Saracens*, to the griefe and diſgrace of all the Chriſtian world, did vanquiſh.

(91) But, King *Henries* mind was more fixed on ſetling the State of his already-poſſeſſed Kingdomes, and therefore in a great Parliament, held at *Oxford*, (unto which came *Rheſus* and *David*, Kings of *South-Wales* and *North-Wales*, with other their chiefe Nobles, which all did there ſweare fealty to the King) he being deſirous to advance his ſonne *John* (whom he exceedingly loved, and commonly in ſport, he called *Sans-terre*) having aſſured upon him certaine Lands and Rents in *England* and *Normandy*, did there very ſolemnely give him alſo the title and Kingdome of *Ireland*: for, (beſides the foreſaid Bull of Pope *Adrian* the fourth, who for ſigne of inveſtiture had alſo ſent a * Ring of Gold, which were laid up in the Records at *Wincheſter*) *Giraldus* (who lived in that age) tels us, (to omit what hee writes of one *Gurguntius*) that *Guillomar* King of *Ireland*, was tributary to the famous *Arthur*: that *Baion* (whence (ſaith hee) the *Iriſh* came) was at that preſent under King *Henry* the ſecond; and that the *Iriſh* Princes had *voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves*, as unto him who by the * *Law of a Sociall warre*, was become their Soveraigne. But that Author had not ſeene belike, or did not remember (when thus hee went about to proove a legall right in the King) what others write of * *Egfrides* ungodly ſpoiles in *Ireland*, or of * *Edgars* Charter, in which is ſaid to bee contained, that he had under his rule the chiefe city of *Ireland*, *Dublin*, and the greateſt part of the Kingdome alſo. But King *Henry* ſtrengthening his other rights with Grants of the Popes, *Adrian*, and *Alexander*, obtained alſo of *Vrban* the third (for *Lucius* the third, who was *Alexanders* ſucceſſor, would not gratifie the King therein) that it ſhould bee lawfull for him, to crowne which of his ſonnes hee would, King of *Ireland*, to whom he ſent a Crowne of *Feathers* woven with Gold, in all their Grants *reſerving to the Roman*

Roman See, the Peters pence, and rights; whereupon the King gave the ſame to his ſonne *John*, whoſe Coronation (ſtung with the like before) his father only did delay, at ſuch time as two Cardinals offered to celebrate that ſolemnitie.

(92) At *Windſor* therefore, his father giving him the * Order of Knight-hood (at which time hee was about * twelve yeeres old) ſent him forthwith into *Ireland*, where the Arch-biſhop of *Dublin* and the State, entertained him, but (by reaſon of ſuch parſimony toward his ſouldiers as was uſed) he returned the ſame yeere without doing much, but not without having waſted the moſt part of his Armie, in skirmiſhes with the *Iriſh*. His Stile in his ſeale of *Ireland* (though *Hoveden* faith, his father made him *Regem*, a King) was onely, *Sigillum Iohannis filii regis Angliæ Domini Hibernie*, Lord of *Ireland*.

(93) King *Henry*, hearing now that his martiall ſonne, Earle *Richard*, had fortified in *Poictou* againſt him, and vanquiſhed *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, * prepares a puiſſant Army, upon terror whereof, *Richard* came in, rendring up *Poictou* to his mother *Eleanor*, (whoſe inheritance it was) at his fathers commandement. The ſame yeere wherein the Weſt was thus defiled with unnaturall diviſions, the Eaſt was likewiſe polluted with the curſed Apoſtaſie of one *Richard de S. Albane* (whom we ſhame to thinke was *Engliſh*) who renouncing the Chriſtian beleefe (upon the Patriarks diſcomfortable returne) became a principall Commander under the *Sultan* of *Babylon*, *Saladine*, whom the Chriſtians drave, with loſſe and ſlaughter of his Army, from *Hieruſalem*. But on the other ſide, revenge of diſobedience ſtill purſued *Geffrey*, ſonne of King *Henry*, who was in a * *Turnement at Paris* troden to death under the Horſe feete. A miſerable end, and a fearefull.

An. Dom. 1188.

* Iam bell. ſacr. lib. 2. cap. 18. cont. Hoveden.

(94) About which times, betweene the *French* and *Engliſh* all things ſtood unſure, now Warre, then Peace, and warre againe, by reaſon that *Philip* (who had beene crowned King ſome 3 yeeres before, during the life of *Lewis*) challenging the cuſtodie of *Arthur*, the *Poſthumus* ſonne, and heire of *Geffrey* Earle of *Britaine*, and ſometimes one thing, and ſometime another, could not have his will: Whiles Earle *Richard* turning to *Philip* againſt his Father, but obtaining a truce for two yeeres, ſuch amitie (if there be any amitie among mightie Princes) grew betweene King *Philip* and Earle *Richard*, Heire apparant of *England* and *Normandy*, &c. that one bed and boord ſerved both. The Father perplexed, cals his ſonne home, who pretending many griefes, as the detention of *Alice* his Spouſe, the doubt of diſ-inheriſon, and other things, ſtood out againe; and againe after a while ſubmits to his Father. Then burſts forth *Philip* into Armes; and things ſo ſtanding, the heavy newes of *Ieruſalem* loſt, flew into Chriſtendome. When this Citie was formerly recovered by *Godfrey* of *Boloigne*, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperour, an *Heraclius* Patriarch; ſo now when it was loſt, an *Vrban* was Pope, a *Fredericke* was Emperour, and an *Heraclius* Patriarch.

(95) Vpon theſe newes *Henry* and *Philip* meete, and for the honour of God, laying down diſpleaſure, in preſence of *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, at which time ſome ſay a Croſſe appeared in the aire, take upon them, as Souldiers of Chriſt, the badge of the Croſſe, and there the better to diſtinguiſh themſelves, it was agreed that the * *French* ſhould weare Red Croſſes, the *Engliſh* White, and the *Flemiſh* Greene. And this determination was ſeconded with warlike preparations, levies of moncy, and inſtitution of martiall Diſcipline: all which notwithſtanding nothing went forward.

* Roger Hoved. fol. 361. Matth. Paris.

(96) At *Richard* began the breach of this honourable confederation, who taking revenge upon certaine Rebels of his in *Poictou*, who brooked not his hard hand; one miſchiefe drew another, and at the laſt both the Kings of *England* and *France* became parties to the quarrell, greatly againſt the minde of K *Henry*, whoſe heart was firmely ſetled (as it ſeems) to revenge the cauſe of Chriſt upon *Sultan Saladine*: for that in his * anſwere to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, "imploring ayde, hee concludes, That among o-"ther Princes, himſelfe and ſonne, rejecting this "worlds glory, and deſpiſing all pleaſures whatſoe-"ver, and ſetting behinde all things which were of "this World, would in their owne perſons with "their whole Forces by the favour of the Lord "ſpeedily viſite him. And ſure the ſtate of thoſe parts required it, *Saladine* having ſlaine many of the Knights, Templars, and Nobles, and above thirty thouſand foot-men, with innumerable other in Cities and Townes by him ſubdued. Among all which grievous accidents, wee cannot (to ſeaſon ſowre thereby with ſweet) omit one noble proteſtation made by the chiefe croſſed Lords, *Philip* Earle of Flanders, the Earle *Bloys*, and other, who being required to "take parts, made anſwere; That they would not "contrary to their promiſe to God, put armour on "againſt any Chriſtian, till they had done their de-"vour againſt *Saladine*.

* Epiſt Hen. 2. ad Patriar. Antioc. apud Roger Hoved. pag. 367.

(97) In the treaties therefore betweene *Henry* and *Philip*; the demands of *Philip* on the behalfe of *Richard* were ſuch, and ſo unſafe for the King (as that all his ſubjects ſhould ſweare fealty to *Richard* during the Fathers life; but yet reſerving their allegiance to the Father) that *Richard* apparantly fell off, and became Liegeman for *Normandy*, &c. to *Philip* King of *France*; and at a new Treaty (by mediation of a Cardinall Legate) the demands of *Philip* being more hard then before, as that King *Henry* ſhould not only ſettle the Kingdome upon *Richard*, but take *John* alſo with him into *Paleſtine*, or that other wiſe *Richard* would norgoe (being jealous of his brothers grace with his Father:) *Henrie* would conſent to none of thoſe inſolent propoſitions, but diſdaining to ſeeme to bee inforced, they betooke themſelves on all ſides to their ſwords.

An. Dom. 1189. A. Reg. 35.

(98) The effect whereof was, that former good fortunes forſaking King *Henry*, hee ſuſtained many loſſes by the Armies of King *Philip* and *Richard*, and was driven out of *Mentz* in *Main*; (the city where hee was borne, and which he loved above all other places) by firing of the Suburbs before the enemy came, being caſually conſumed, hee was glad to yeeld to ſuch conditions as it pleaſed *Philip* to preſcribe. It is written * that at the meeting of theſe two Kings, the Skie being cleare, a thunderbolt ſtroke betweene them, and after a little pauſe comming together again, it thundered more terribly, ſo that *Henry* had falne off his horſe, but that his people ſuſtained him; whereupon he came preſently to an end, though it were to his unſpeakeable griefe; his Kingly heart being uſed to give, and not to take conditions.

* Roger Hoved.

King Henries death.

(99) Fearfull was the ſpeech which King *Henry*, when hee abandoned *Mentz* by reaſon of the fire, "uttered againſt *Richard*; which was, That ſich he "had taken from him that day the thing that he moſt "loved in this world, he would requite him, for af-"ter that day hee would deprive him of that thing "which in him ſhould beſt pleaſe a Child, to wit, his "*Heart*. But after the peace concluded, (upon mediation) betweene the ſides, another thing ſtracke neerer; for finding the name of his ſonne *John* firſt in the Catalogue of the Conſpiratours againſt him in that action, hee bitterly curſed the howre of his birth, laying Gods curſe and his upon his ſonnes, which hee would never recall, for any perſwaſions of the Biſhops and others: but comming to *Chinon*, fell there grievoully ſicke, and feeling death approach, hee cauſed himſelfe to bee borne into the Church before the Altar, where after humble confeſſion, and ſorrow for his ſinnes, hee departed this life.

Holinſh. p. 119. in Hen. 2.

An. Dom. 1189.

(100) It ſhall not (in contempt of humane glory) be forgotten, that this puiſſant Monarch being dead his people preſently left him, and fell to ſpoyle all he had, leaving him naked; of whom * one ſaith truly "and

Accidents after his death, which was, when he had reigned 34. yeeres, 7. moneths and 4. dayes, being 63 yeres of age.

* Roger Hoved.

"and gravely, *Verè mel muſcæ, &c.* Surely, theſe flies "ſought honey, theſe Wolues a Carkaſe, theſe Ants "graine; for they did not follow the Man, but the "ſpoyle and bootie. Neither muſt it bee unremembred, that the fierce and violent *Richard* (now heire of all) comming to meete his Fathers body, royally adorned for the buriall, according to the Majeſty of his eſtate; the very Corſe (as it were abhorring & accuſing him for his unnaturall behaviours) guſhed forth blood; whereat *Ricard* pierced with remorſe, melted into flouds of teares in moſt humble and repentant maner, attending upon the remaines of his unfortunate Father to the Grave.

He was buried at *Font-Euerard.*

His Wife.

(101) *Eleanor*, the Wife of King *Henry*, was the eldeſt of the two Daughters, and the ſole Heire of *William* Duke of *Aquitaine*, the fift of that name, and the ninth in ſucceſſion, ſonne of Duke *William* the fourth, her Mother was Daughter to *Raimund* Earle of *Tholouſe*, and her great Dowrie was motive firſt to *Lewis* King of *France*, (who had two daughters by her, *Mary* and *Alice*) and after to *Henry* King of *England*, to marry her. There are of the * *French* Hiſtorians who report that King *Henry* had a former wife, and that ſhee bare unto him Prince *Henry*: but Writers of our owne (and * ſome alſo of the *French*,) acknowledge but onely *Eleanor* for his wife. Certaine it is, that King *Henries* times were much famouſed by two Women of much differing qualities; the one was his renowned Mother *Matildis*, whoſe Epitaph thus compriſed part of her glory.

* Sonts in Louis the yonger.

* Petrus Ayme lius in Leonist. 7. who calles her *Leonora.*

Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima prole:
Hic jacet Henrici Filia, Sponſa, Parens.

Here Henries Mother, Daughter, Wife doth reſt:
By Birth, much; more, by Spouſe; by Child, moſt bleſt.

The other was this *Eleanor* his Wife; the firſt cauſe of theſe bloody Warres, which long after continued as hereditary betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and the bellowes of that unnaturall diſcord, betwixt her huſband and his ſonnes. Shee much out lived her huſband (as a bad thing ſtickes longeſt) being ſo happy as to ſee three of her ſonnes, advanced to the Crown, and ſo unhappy as to ſee two of them in their graves; Shee departed this life the yeere of Chriſts incarnation, 1204. the fixt of her ſonne *Iohns raigne*, and was buried in *Font-Everard*, by K. *Henry* her husband.

Ralph Coggeſhall.

His Concubine.

(102) *Roſamund*, ſo called for her ſurpaſſing beauty, was the Daughter of *Walter Lord Clifford*: whoſe face and feature ſo dazeled King *Henries* eyes, as by gifts he got this Paragon to his bed, and to hide her from his *Iunoes* eye, hee built (as our hiſtorians report) an intricate Labyrinth at *Woodſtocke*, and therein beſtowed this his pearle of eſteeme, unto whoſe cloſet (for the inexplicate windings) none could approach, but the King himſelfe, or ſuch as hee inſtructed. Notwithſtanding his jealous Queene *Eleanor* by a clew of ſilke, fallen from *Roſamunds* lappe, as ſhee ſate to take ayre, and ſuddenly fleeing from the ſight of the ſearcher, the end of the ſilke faſtened to her foot, and the clew ſtill unwinding, remained behind: which the Queene followed, till ſhee had found what ſhee ſought, and upon *Roſamund* ſo vented her ſpleene, as the Lady lived not long after. Her body was buried at *Godſtowe* neere *Oxford*, a little Nunnery in the rich Meadows of *Evenlod*, with this Epitaph in olde ryme upon her Tombe.

Ranul. Higden. lib. 7. cap. 22.

Hic jacet in Tumba Roſa mundi, non Roſa mundat
Non redolet, ſedolet, quæ redolere ſolet.

This Tombe doth heere incloſe The Worlds moſt beauteous Roſe,
Roſe, paſſing ſweet ere while, Now nought but odour vile.

Where in the Quire it remained under a faire hearſe of ſilke, with Tapers continually burning before it, which as it ſhould ſeeme, was ſo furniſhed at the charges of King *Iohn*: For he both repayred, and with yeerely revenues endowed this religious little houſe, *that theſe holy Virgins might releeve with their prayers, the ſoules of his Father King Henry, and of Lady Roſamund there interred.* But *Hugh* the Saint Biſhop of Lincolne, comming to viſit this houſe in whoſe Dioceſſe it was, thought the hearſe of an harlot no fit ſpectacle for a Quire of Virgins to contemplate, and therefore himſelfe cauſed her bones in his ſight to be caſt forth of the Church, as unworthy for her unchaſte life to have Chriſtian buriall. But afterwards thoſe chaſte ſiſters gathered her bones, and put them in a perfumed lether bagge, incloſing them ſo in Lead, and laid them againe in the Church under a faire large grave-ſtone; about whoſe edges a filler of braſſe was in-layd, and thereon written her name and praiſe. A croſſe likewiſe theſe ſiſters erected neere unto the entrance of their gate, and to the honour of her memory theſe verſes inſcribed.

Gemb. Brit. in Oxfordſhire.

Qui meat hac, orat, Signumque ſalutis adoret,
Vique ſibi detur requies, Roſamunda, precetur.

All you which paſſe this-way, This Croſſe adore and pray,
That Roſamunds Soule may, True reſt poſſeſſe for aye.

Which bagge and bones at the ſuppreſſion of that Nunnery, were ſo found, and the Church thereof ſince inforced to give place unto other buildings, the grave-ſtone defaced of her faire fillet, and the Croſſe caſt downe and broken; ſo that in neither of them I could finde any remembrance by any inſcription of her name.

His Iſſue.

(102) *William*, the eldeſt ſonne and firſt childe of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne before his father was King, and while he was but Duke of *Normandie*, in the eighteenth yeere of the raigne of King *Stephen*, 1152. and the fourth yeere after, (his father being then King, and in the ſecond yeere of his raigne) the Nobiliatie of *England* ſware unto him their fealty, as to the heire apparant of the Kingdome, at the Caſtle of *Wallingford* in *Barkſhire*; but he deceaſed the yeere following, being the third of his fathers raigne, and the fift of his owne age 1156. Hee was buried in the Monaſtery of *Reading* at the feete of his great Grandfather, King *Henry* the firſt.

(103.) *Henry*, the ſecond ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, being borne the laſt of February 1156. was their heire apparant, after the death of his brother *William*; was Duke of *Normandie*, Earle of *Anjou* and *Maigne*; and was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, by *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, the fifteenth of *July* 1170. His Wife was *Margarets*, daughter of *Lewis* the *Tonger*, King of *France*, married to him at *Nubrugh* in *Normandie*, the ſecond of *November* 1160. crowned Queene at *Winchester*, by *Rotrocke* of *Warwicke* Archbiſhop of *Roan*, the 21. of *November* 1163. and ſurviving him was remarried to *Bela* King of *Hungarie*: He died without iſſue, before his father, at *Marcell* in *Towraine*, the eleventh of *July*, the twentie ſixe yeere of his fathers raigne 1182. and was buried in the Church of our Lady at *Roan*.

Roſtus Hoveds & alii.

(104) *Richard*, the third ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Oxenford*, (in the Kings Pallace there, called *Beau-Mount*) in September the fourth yeere of his Fathers raigne 1157. He proved a Prince of great valor, and was therefore ſurnamed in French *Cuer-de-Lion*; in Engliſh *Lioni heart*: he was created Earle of *Poyctou*, and had the whole Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, for which he did his homage, to King *Lewis* the *Tonger* of *France*, in the eighteenth yeere

Yeere of his fathers raigne 1170. yet afterward hee conceived ſome diſcontentment againſt his father, and maintained warres upon him, but was reconciled againe into his love, and ſucceeded him in his Kingdome.

(106) *Geffrey*, the fourth ſonne of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the twenty third of September, in the fifth yeere of his fathers raigne 1159. Hee married *Conſtance*, daughter and heire of *Conan* Duke of *Britaine*, and in her right was Duke of *Britaine*, and did his homage to his brother *Henry* for the ſame Dutchie, and received the homages of the Barons of the ſame: he died at *Paris*, in the 32. yeere of his fathers raigne 1186. the nineteenth of Auguſt, and is buried in the Quire of our Ladies Church there: he had iſſue *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, borne after his fathers deceaſe, the heire apparant of *King Richard*, and by ſome ſuppoſed to be made a way by *King Iohn*; and alſo *Eleanor* called the *Damſell* of *Britaine*, who died in priſon in the raigne of *King Henry* the third.

(107) *Philip*, the fifth ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, may be miſtruſted, to be miſtaken by Antiquaries of our time, as miſ-underſtanding the ancient Writers, who mentioning the birth of *Philip* the Kings ſonne, might by good likelihood, be thought to meane *Philip* ſonne of *Lewis* the *Younger*, King of *France*, who was borne about this time, and was after King of the ſame Countrey. But M. *Thomas Talbot*, an exact traveller in genealogies, hath not onely ſet him downe in this place, amongſt the children of this King, but alſo warranteth the ſame, to be done with good authoritie: howſoever, it is apparant, his life was very ſhort.

(108) *Iohn*, the ſixth and youngeſt ſonne of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, in *Anno* 1166. he was ieſtingly ſurnamed by his father *Sans-terre*, in Engliſh, *without Land*, becauſe he was borne laſt, as if there had beene nothing left for him: Notwithſtanding ſoone after, he was created Earle of *Mortaigne*, and had moreover by degrees, the Earledomes of *Cornwall*, and *Glocester*, the Counties of *Derby* and *Lancaſter*, the Honours of *Wallingford* and *Nottingham*, the Caſtles of *Tikhill*, *Marlborow*, and *Ludgarſall*, with many other great Seigniories, and (above them all) was alſo Lord of *Ireland*, and at the laſt ſucceeded his brother *Richard* in all his Dominions, and was King of *England*.

(109) *Maud*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, borne in the third yeere of her fathers raigne, married to *Henry*, ſurnamed the *Lion*, Duke of *Saxonie*, had iſſue by him *Henry* Duke of *Saxonie*, *Lothar* that died young, *Otho* the fourth *German* Emperour, and *William* borne at *Winchester*, progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunſwicke*, who bare for their Armes, the Coat of *England*, with the two Lions, as *King Henry* his Grandfather bare, before the march with Queene *Eleanor*, and *Maud* married to *Geffrey* Earle of *Perch*: Shee ſurvived him, and died in the firſt yeere of the raigne of her brother *King Richard*, and was buried by her husband, in the Church of S. *Blaſe* at *Brunſwicke*. *

(110) *Eleanor*, the ſecond daughter of *King Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Roan* in *Normandy*, in the eight yeere of her fathers raigne, 1162. She was married to *Alfonſo*, the ninth of that name, ſurnamed the *Good* King of *Caſtile* in *Spaine*, and had iſſue by him *Sanches*, that dyed in his infancy; *Ferdinando* that died in his youth, *Henry* King of *Caſtile* after his father, *Blanch* Queene of *France*, wife to King *Lewis* the eight, and mother of S. *Lewis*. *Berenger* married to *Alfonſo* King of *Lion*: *Vrraca* Queene of *Portugall*, and *Eleanor* wife of *James* King of *Arragon*.

(111) *Ioane*, the third and youngeſt daughter of King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne at the Citie of *Angiers* in *France*, in the moneth of *October*, the 13. yeere of her Fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1166. When ſhe was eleven yeeres of age; ſhee was with great honour conveyed to the Citie of *Palermo*, and there married to *William* the ſecond of that name, King of *Sicil*, Duke of *Apulia*, and Prince of *Capua*, upon Sunday the 13. day of *February*, 1177. and was crowned Queene the ſame day, at the ſame place. Shee had a ſonne by him named *Boamund*, whom his Father when he was returned from his Chriſtning, created Duke of *Apulia*: but the child died firſt, and the Father after, leaving no iſſue. And ſhee ſurviving, married againe, and was the third wife of *Raimund* the fourth of that name, Earle of *Tholouze*: By him ſhee had iſſue *Raimund* the laſt Earle of that houſe, *Bertrand* Lord of *Branquel*, *Montelore*, and *Saluiac*, and a daughter married to *Berald* of *Elbeine*, Prince of *Orenge*.

Gerv. Dorob. An. Dom. 1181.

* M. Ferrers.

* Gaufride of the 88 of Durham. John Stow in the life of King Iohn.

His Naturall Iſſue.

(112) *William* the Naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, borne of *Roſamund*, was ſurnamed in *French*, *Longeſpee*, in *Engliſh Long-Sword*. He was Earle of *Salisbury*, in right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, ſonne of Earle *Patrick*; by whom he had iſſue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Stephen* Earle of *Vſter*, *Ela* Counteſſe of *Warwicke*, *Ida* Lady *Beuchum* of *Bedford*, and *Iſabell* Lady *Veſcie*: his ſonne Earle *William* the ſecond, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*: he died in the Caſtle of old *Salisbury*, and was buried in the Cathedrall Church of the New Citie, in the ninth yeere of the raigne of King *Henry* the third.

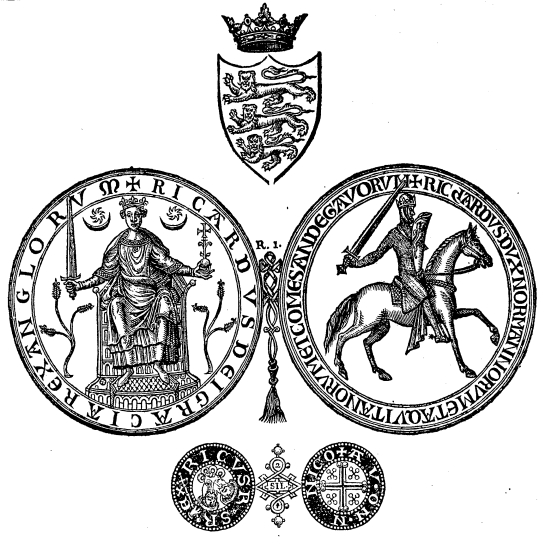
(113) *Geffrey* an other Naturall ſonne of King *Henry*, was borne of the Lady *Roſamund* aforeſaid: This man in his tender youth, was (by his Fathers procurement) made Arch-deacon of *Lincolne*, and after biſhop of that See; which hee held above ſeven yeeres without conſecration, and then reſigning it, in the yeere, 1081. into the hands of *Richard Arch-biſhop of Canterbury*, and his Father; he was made Chancellor of *England*, and afterward by his brother King *Richard*, he was advanced to the Archbiſhopricke of *Yorke*, (being conſecrated at *Tours* in *France*, *Ann.* 1191.) which See he governed with good approbation. But in the time of his brother King *Iohn*, he under-went many difficulties, by oppoſing the Kings purpoſes, who therefore made ſeiſure of his whole ſtate; and *Ann.* 1207. he left the Land, and after five yeeres baniſhment, died, *viz. Ann.* 1213.

(114) *Morgan*, another *Naturall* ſonne of King *Henry*, is thought by * ſome (becauſe ſo ſmall mention is made of him) to have beene of no long life after his birth, and to have beene borne of ſome woman in *Wales*, where this Chriſtian name is moſt commonly uſed, and whither this King upon many occaſions, ſometime reſorted. But ſometime * others (whoſe ſtudious paines, deſerve much thanks of poſteritie) report, that he was gotten on the wife of one *Rodolph Bloeth* (or *Blewet*) a Knight, and lived both to be *Proveſt* of *Beverley*, and to be elected to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, when comming to *Rome* for a diſpenſation (becauſe his Baſtardie made him otherwiſe uncapable) the Pope willed him to profeſſe himſelf *Blewets* lawfull ſonne, and not the Kings *Naturall*, promiſing to conſecrate him on that condition: but he, uſing the advice of one *William Lane* his Clerke, told the Pope, that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his father, or deny himſelfe to be of Royall blood: ſo blind were ſome Prelates of thoſe times, who eſteemed *ſpirituall functions*, to bee but *worldly promotions*.

Richard I.

RICHARD THE FIRST, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-MEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 44.



CHAPTER VII.

An. Dom. 1199.

RICHARD succeeding to his deceased Father *Henry*, brought forth that wonder, which a Writer of that age thus celebrated,

Mira cano; Sol occubuit Nox nulla secuta est.
A wonder strange I write, the Sunne did set,
yet was no night.

* *Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris &c.*

Meaning, that though *Henry* were dead, yet the glory and happinesse of the Land was not thereby clouded, for that *Richard* was another Sunne, and in some respects farre the more bright, and farther shining of the two; as having for honour of Christian Chevalrie, wholly consecrated his warlike minde and actions to the service of God, and re-advancement of the Crosse of Christ, dishonoured by the Infidels in *Asia*: in which enterprise he was so fervently zealous, that from the time of his Fathers death (in whose vowes it had beene) he meditated scarse any thing else, disposing the affaires of his Estate (but not * carelesly, as some would impose) as of things which did but onely under-serve, and conduce to the maine and principall end of advancing his Saviours glory, whereunto he judged that action did tend.

King Richard orders his Estate. * *Read High in Rich. 1.*

(2) Having therefore ordered his weightier businesses in *Normandy*, and other his transmarine Dominions, and in *England* by his Letters, see * the Queene his Mother at liberty from that captivitie, wherein her late husband the King had long detained her, (who sensible of others woe by her owne, did afterward exercise many workes of mercy in that kinde) he cuts over hither, aswell to receive all the rights of Soveraigntie, and to settle the same; as also to levie meanes for proceeding in his intended holy voyage, together with *Philip* King of *France*, and other Christian Potentates.

* *Gir. Pro.*

(3) And though before his Coronation, most Writers doe not call him a *King*; yet sure it is, that he

Gir. Cambr. Roger Hoved. Matth. Par.

Kingly power before Coronation.

Roger Hoved. fol. 374.

he and others did immediately, and unquestionably, from the first accruement of the intereste, (which was at his Fathers last gaspe) exercise all the offices of the royall power; for so hee restored *Robert* Earle of *Leicester* to his whole estate: So plaine it is, that our Government allowes not the dangerous convulsions, and empty spaces of an *Interregnum*, such as in meere elective States are common, if not continuall.

King Richards choice of friends and favrites.

(4) But in nothing more could this noble Prince shew his judgement (though he were otherwise *Sagacis ingenii*, of a sharpe and searching wit) then in this: That hee banished from his familiarity, and (as my * Author saith) hated all those of what profession soever they were, who had forsaken his Father, and both retained, and enricht those other, who had loyally stood for him against himselfe in all affaires.

* *Gir. Dimoch.*

Chiefe matters at the Coronation of Richard.

(5) At his Coronation, which was most magnificently performed at Westminster, by *Baldwyne* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the points of the Oath which hee made to God, and the Kingdome of *England*, at the Altar upon the holy Evangelists, before the Prelates, Nobles, and whole people * were these: 1. That all the daies of his life he would beare peace, honour, and reverence to God, and holy Church, and the Ordinances thereof: 2. That in the people unto him committed, hee would exercise Right, Justice, and Equitie. 3. That hee would blot forth naughtie lawes, and perverse customes, if any were brought upon his Kingdome; and would enact good lawes, and the same in good faith keepe, and without *mal-Engyn*. Which oath being most solemnely taken, and the sacred unction performed; the Archbishop standing at the Altar forbade him, on the behalfe of Almightie God, to assume that honour, unlesse he had a full purpose to keepe what hee had sworne: whereto *Richard* assenting, and with his owne hands, humbly taking the ponderous Crowne Imperiall from off the Altar, in signification, as is probable, that hee held it onely from God; he delivers it to the Archbishop, who thereupon accomplished all the Ceremonies of Coronation.

* *Roberti de Monte apud Bin. Wendover. Matth. Paris. Roger Hoved. fol. 374.*

Jews slaine at the Coronation.

(6) Which Act was accidentally hansfield, and auspicated with the bloud of many *Iewes* (though utterly against the Kings will) who in a tumult (raised by the * *Ocean*) were furiously murthered, which (though it were afterward punished by the Lawes) might seeme a presage, that this *Lion-hearted* King (as his byname *Cœur-de-Lion* did import) should be a speciall destroyer of the enemies of our Saviour.

* So Marshall calls the multitude.

(7) After counsell therefore (first moover in all worthy enterprises) Money was in his first and chiefest cares; for raising whereof, to furnish the intended pilgrimage, he sold, morgaged, estated, and (by a thousand princely skils) as if he should never have come againe, added incredible heapes to those huge sums, which he had scruzed out of *Stephen de Turnham*, his fathers Treasurer, (amounting to eleven hundred thousand pounds sterling, if some say true) all horded by King *Henry*. What could indeed be said enough for such a voyager and it was a cogitation worthy so glorious a purpose, so to order his estate, as if hee were not to returne at all; because, looking backe doth un-bend and soften resolutions.

Riches & pompe in the Holy Land.

(3) As for men and souldiers, the Prelates, Friars, and other Preachers, had stirred up innumerable, by their manifold exhortations (the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having * travelled thorow *Wales* in person for that purpose, going afterward with the King to *Palestine*, where also * he died) in pulpits and private conferences, sounding nothing but the Crosse and Passion of Christ, calling the world to revenge his cause upon the *Pagans*, and setting soules on fire with vehement gestures, actions, and perswasions. But the kingdome of *England* he ordered thus.

His provision for England.

(9) The onely maine danger of the State in his absence, was in his brother *John* Earle of *Mortaine*, of whose ambition hee was somewhat jealous, as * knowing that King *Henry*, not long before his death, had intended the Crowne to him: to conquer therefore his appetites, with bounty, and munificence; and to take away all murmuration in him, for want of Princely competencies, King *Richard* did as it were share the Realme with him, giving him sixe Earledomes, *Cornwall*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, and *Lancaster*, besides Castles, Honors, Manors, Forrests, and much other Riches, and finally the Earledome of *Glocester*, with the Heire of that Countie to be his Wife, though the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* forbade the Nuptials, alledging shee was within the degrees of consanguinitie.

* *Gervasius.*

(10) But lest, through evill nature or advise, Earle *John* should convert those so great gifts to the subversion of the bestower, He entrusted him with no part of the Regall power, as the Key, and secret of his proper fatetie: but laid the maine burthen of Government upon *William Longchamp* Bishop of *Ely*, * chiefe *Justiciar*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Papall Legate, (a person out of all suspicion for aspiring to the Crowne) whereby was conferred upon him, whatsoever King or Pope could grant, for accomplishment of his authoritie; so that hee might well be stiled * *Prince* and *Priest* of *England*; as he was one, the most powerfull subject for the time, that perhaps this Realme hath had: for, though the King had (as it were) joyned with him in *Commission*, one *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*, for the parts of *England* beyond *Humber*; yet, as it * hapned in the Consulship of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, that nothing was reported of *Bibulus*, but all of *Cæsar*; so did *Longchamp* in a short time easily make himselfe sole and absolute, his sway burying in silence, the name and endeavours of his Colleague.

* *Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. & alii.*

* *Rex & Sacerdos. Matth. Paris.*

* *Swet. l. 1. c. 2.*

(11) Thus the summe of command, or the Soveraigne power it selfe, was in the Chancellor as Viceroy, but for defence and preservation of his justice, he * did subordinate or associate to those Bishops, *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh Bardolfe*, *William Marshall*, *Geffrey Fitz-Peter*, *William Bruwer*, *Robert de Whitfield*, *Roger Fitz-Remfrey*, wherein hee did shew his love and care of the *English* Nation, as also of Iustice it selfe: for that many of these were of the most honourable Peeres of the Land (and not men bred up or formerly enured to make Iustice, or their owne Tongues venall, for a fee:) honour being the rule of their proceedings, and strength of private fortunes, with their Princes favour, the pillar to sustaine that honour.

* *Reg. Hoved.*

Iustice is best where it brings Honour rather then Riches.

(12) There remained to provide for (before hee left *England*) the neighbour-hood of *Scotland* and *Wales*, which might otherwise make use of his absence, to his prejudice: But *Rhese ap Gruffith* (of whom there is extant a short but elegant *Panegyris*) Prince of *South-Wales* (being already in amity) came as farre as *Oxford* toward him; but because the King (who was there) came not in person to meete him (as his father King *Henry* had done) the Prince (notwithstanding Earle *John* the Kings onely brother, had conducted him from the Marches with speciall honour) tooke it in so high scorne and indignation, (for even the meanest, from whom service or love is expected, will againe expect regard) that hee forthwith returned into his Countrey, without once saluting the King; who by this neglect, lost *Rhese's* love, as upon the like omission, and unrespectivenesse, *Augustine* (the too supercilious Monke) did lose the affections of the Monkes of *Bangor*, *Rhese's* owne country-men, in another part of *Wales*.

(13) As for *William* King of *Scots* (a very worthy Prince) hee journyed hither to King *Richard* into *England*, and heere concluded a firme friendship, which hee kept very religiously, even in the greatest troubles of King *Richard*, to the glory of himselfe and his Nation; and as some write, sent his Brother *David* with 5000. *Scots*, to serve him in the sacred warres. The chiefe points of their convention were: 1. That for tenne thousand Markes Sterling, (then

Roger Hoved. The agreement betweene the two Kings of England and Scotland 1188. Anno. lib. 13. cap. 7.

Homage Bastion saith 10000 l.

paid) the Castles of *Rockesbrough* and *Berwicke* (cautionarie Castles, or gage-places, for part of his ransome) should be restored. 2. That hee should have all such deeds, instruments, and charters, made by him to the late King *Henry*, which had by constraint or duresse beene obtained, and himselfe to be freed from all encumbrances, claimes, or pretensions whatsoever. 3. That he should have all such dignities, as his brother *Malcolme* held in *England*,, (for which King *William* did there make fealtie) and all such Lands as his Ancestors did hold of the *English* Crowne.

Hoveden.

The agreement betweene the Kings of *France* and *England*.

(14) The State of *England* being thus in the maine, and other meane points established, King *Richard* crost the Seas into *France* to *Philip* King thereof, according to appointment, that from thence, with minds and forces united, they might set forward with the Ensigne of the Crosse; which after some stay (occasioned by the * death of the *French* Queene) they did, upon these Christian and friendly termes; 1. That each of them preserve the others honour, and beare faith to him for life, and member, and earthly dignitie. 2. That neither of them shall faile the other in their affaires; but that the King of *France* shall helpe the King of *England* to defend his land, even as he would defend the Citie of *Paris*, if it were besieged; and *Richard* King of *England*, shall helpe the King of *France* to defend his land, even as hee would defend his Citie *Roan* if it were besieged. This * being fairely engrost, and afterward ratified with oath, and sent by the Kings themselves in person, the Earles and Barons sware in solemne manner, that they would not trespasse against their fealty, nor stirre any warre in either of the Kings Dominions, so long as they were in that pilgrimage: on the other side, the * Archbishops and Bishops did firmely promise (*in verbo veritatis*, in the word of truth) that they would accurse and excommunicate all such as did transgresse this agreement.

* Ger. Dorob.

* Hoveden.

The agreement solemnely ratified on al parts.

* Matth. Paris.

(15) Thus (after some necessary staies) these two the greatest Monarchs of the West, set forward over land (toward the publike service of Christianity) with such numbers as themselves thought best; which were so great, that having advanced (not without some little losse of people by the * fall of the Bridge over the river *Rhene* at *Lions*, which brake by reason of the throng,) beyond the said violent streame they parted company; *Philip* passing over the *Alpes* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-side at *Marsilia*, there to meet with his Navie, which being compact of all the chiefe Ships in *England*, *Normandy*, and other his French Dominions, was there appointed to attend.

The Kings of *France* and *England* set forward to the *Holy Land*.

* Roger Houed. Matth. Paris.

(16) But the voyage being very long, and King *Richard* comming to the Port before his Fleet, after eight daies expectation there, waxing impatient of delay, embarkt himselfe * in 20. hired Gallies, and ten great Hulkes or Busses (a kind of shipping as it seemes peculiar then to the Mediterranean Seas) and set saile toward *Messana* in *Sicilia*, the *Rendevow* of both the Kings, and of their Armies: in which passage, lying at Anchor (on occasion,) in the mouth of the River *Tyber*, not farre from *Rome*; *Octavianus* the Bishop of *Hostia repaired unto him, desiring him in the Popes name, that he would visit his Holinesse; which the King denied to doe, laying to the Popes charge many shamefull matters touching the Romish Simonie and Covetousnesse, with many other reproches, alleadging that they tooke 700. Markes for Consecration of the Bishop of Maines, 1500. Markes for the Legative power of William Bishop of Ely; but of the Archbishop of Burdeaux as infinite summe of money: whereupon he refused to see Rome.* Thus (after sundry accidents and commings on land) hearing that his Navy was safe, he staid for them by the way, and then came to anchor not long after (to wit, 23. of September) before the Citie of *Messana*, with so great a shew of power, and sound of Warlike Instruments, and other signes of Majestie, in the sight of *Philip* and his *French*, and of many other Nations there assembled, that it stroke horror into the Inhabitants, (saith *Hoveden*) and mooved no small envy in the hearts of his confederates.

* Acta and Mon. pag. 314.

The City of *Messana* in *Sicilia* the Rendevow of the Kings.

Reg. de Wend. Matth. Paris.

(17) From this time forward, as it may seeme (the Enemy of Concord feeding the malevolent passions of men with perpetuall matter of debate) the King of *France* was never truly King *Richards* friend in heart, but upon the same day (whether streightned in provisions or otherwise) he left the King of *England*; but by contrary winde was driven backe before night, where (after many troubles and quarrels betweene the *English* and *Sicilians*) the two Kings peaced againe, and settled a new and as firme a league, as they could, during that martiall pilgrimage.

Ger. Dorob.

(18) *Tancred* was at that time King of *Sicilia*, by usurpation, after the death of *William*, who had married *Ioan* sister of King *Richard*, whom (at that time upon displeasure and quarrell being prisoner) *Tancred* set at liberty, sending her in honourable manner to her brother, and did yeeld to sundry Articles, and also presents payments of ample summes. Feare wrought on both parts; for *Richard* being among strangers, and not very sure of the *French*, seised upon a strength of the *Griffons* (people much redoubted in those parts, till the arrivall * of the *English*) and in a tumult tooke the Citie of *Messana* it selfe, where he displayed his Ensignes, till for the *French Kings* love he was content to dis-advance them, and to entrust the Citie to the Knights Templars and Hospitalers, untill *Tancred* had fulfilled all such things as *Richard* did challenge to be due, being many.

King Richard Sicilians affaires.

* Roger Houed. fol. 322. Acta & Mon. pag. 316.

Roger Houed. fol. 383.

* John Stow in his Ann.

* Idem ibid.

(19) Vpon great deliberation therefore, the *Sicilian* King made answer, that he had already paid to his sister, late Queene of that Iland, a very great quantitie of coine in recompence of her Dowry or Ioyncture, and would satisfie all his other demands (concerning the Legacies intended by his Predecessor King *William*, to the Father of King *Richard*) as farre as he ought, according to the custome of that Kingdome, and thereupon gave unto him for the quitclaime of his sisters Ioyncture, twentie thousand ounces of gold: and farther to be acquitted of all other claims and pretences, as also in consideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, nephew and next heire of King *Richard* (if *Richard* died without issue) should take to wife the daughter of King *Tancred*, he paid him other twentie thousand ounces of gold, and of his owne accord, and for King *Richards* love, and for the love of the *English* Nation (which, saith our * Author, was then in greatest reputation through the kingdome of *Sicilie*) as also to be the more assured of performance, he gave him other twenty thousand ounces of gold, besides afterward foure great Ships, called *Prsers*, and fiftreene Gallies.

Acts and Mon. in Rich. I.

The accord betweene King Richard and King Tancred.

* Roger Houed. fol. 322.

Arthur King Richards next heire.

* Roger Houed. fol. 386.

Theodore thousand ounces of gold given to king Richard.

King Richard receives or Spoiles.

(20) King *Richard* on the other side, not to bee wanting to any matter, which in honor and equity might be expected of him, besides letters Patents, hee put in upon their Oathes for his sureties, two Arch-bishops, and two Bishops of his owne there present, and twenty great Lords, and principall men his subjects, whose names (because many of their posterities doe yet stand) are heere inserted out of the said letters Patents, as they are upon record in *Hoveden*.

Roger Houed. in Rich. I. Paulo aemilius in Philippo 2.

Hoveden. pag. 366.

No new opinion in the Popes annulleth

Iordanus de Humez his Constable, Wilhelmus de Curci, Richardus de Camuilla, Girardus de Talbot, Robertus Sablail, Guido de Crone, Guarinus filius Geroldi, Bertramus de Verdun, W. Chamberlangus de Tankerville, Robertus de Novo-burgo, Hugo Bardolfe, Wigain de Cheresburg, Gilbertus de Wasseil, Hugo le Bruiu, Iohannes de Piller, Amauri de Munsford, Andreas de Chauenni, Wilielmus de Forz, Garfridus de Rancune, Amauri Torell, and other notnamed.

Fiſt K. vers. 1. ends.

Hoved. pag. 392.

Idem

* Hoveden against Copy and Roger Houed. against Hoveden affirmeth the Emperour to be in more probable with Histories to Germany.

(21) Moreover for finall assurance, hee offereth that Pope *Clement* should undertake for performance of his part in the said agreement; and that the said *Clement* would accordingly undertake, hee requests him by most officious letters, giving him leave without

The Pope King Richard Liberty

out any reluctation) to put his dominions (upon any his breach) under severest censures.

(22) This peace and accord being happily thus concluded, King *Tancred* (having most royally and lovingly feasted the King of *England* for three daies and three nights in a Castle of his) discovered, upon the way at *Tavernium* in his returne, a foule and unprincely conspiracy of *Philip* (whom one of our writers calls the *vaine-glorious King*) against the head and safety of King *Richard*; which comming to bee scanned betweene the two Kings, the *French* charged the *English* with picking of quarrels; and added, that unlesse *Richard* married his sister *Alice*, according as he ought, having bin contracted long before together, he would be his enemy while he breathed; whereunto King *Richard* (being pressed) did replie: That his * sister during the time of her abode in *England*, had a childe by his Father *Henry* King of *England*, which he was ready to prove by many witnesses there present: so that King *Richard* had farre more cause then a suspicion of dishonesty (which * some write) to refuse the marriage. This falling out so shamefully, *Philip* (upon certaine conditions betweene *Richard* and him) left him at liberty to take a wife where he thought good, but never (as it may seeme) forgave him his evill will while they two lived together.

Ger. Dorob.

(23) And because acts of Christian remorse and humility are too rare among the Great ones of this vaine world, it were a crime to pretermit the exemplar humiliation of this famous Generall K. *Richard*, at this time, who (to use my * Authors words) *inspired with divine grace*, and studying to fit himselfe for the great attempt he had in hand, was stung at the soule with so just compunction for his sinnes, that calling before him his Archbishops and Bishops into a Chappell, at the house where hee was lodged, without the walls of *Messana*; hee blushed not to make a penitent confession of his manifold excesses, humbly praying God of mercy, and them (as his subordinate Ministers) of Absolution; and God (saith *Hoveden*) *respected him with the eyes of Mercy, and gave him a penitent heart, so that from thenceforth hee proved a man fearing God, eschuing evill, and doing good. * O falicem illum, &c. O happy he, who so fals, "that hee may rise more strong: O happy he, who after "penitence, relapseth not into fault and ruine.*

A Christian example of King Richard

* Roger Houed. pag. 396.

Hoveden. pag. 728. ad fin. 2a.

(24) Whereupon addicting his mind to divine contemplations, & meditation of the Christian Church, whose Champion now he was; he desired conference of one *Ioachim* (a Cistercian Abbot) whose great learning and *deepe understanding in the Scriptures*, with an opinion of a *Propheticall inspiration*, made him so famous over the world, that King *Richard* sent for him, being then in *Calabria* neere *Scilie*, whom at his comming he heard preaching and expounding the *Apocalypse* of Saint *Iohn*, touching the afflictions of the Church, and of *Antichrist*, *which* (saith he) *was then borne, and in the City of Rome, and shall bee advanced in the See Apostolike, of whom the Apostle said, hee should extoll himselfe above all that is called God; and that the seven Crownes were the Kings and Princes of the earth which obeyed him.* Surely, neere about this very time hapned that in *Rome*, which might seem to give great probability to that Abbots opinion, especially, if Emperours and Kings be truly called * Gods, over whom *Antichrist* also *should extoll himselfe*: for in the same moneth that *Richard* left *Messana*, was the Coronation of *Henry* the Emperor, and his Empresse *Constantia*, in S. *Peters* Church; where Pope *Celestine* the very next day after his owne consecration to the *Papacie*, *sate in his Pontificall chaire, holding the Emperiall golden Crowne betwixt his feete, and the Emperour* (*as likewise the Empresse*) *flooping low, received on his head the Diadem from the Popes feete; and presently against the Pope strake the Emperors Crowne with his foot, and dasht * it to the ground; signifying that hee had power to throw him* (*upon his demerits*) *out of his Empire: but the Cardinals catching up the crowne put it againe on the Emperours head.*

(25) The same day in which *Philip* and his *French* forces set saile out of the Haven of *Messana*, arrived *Elianor* King *Richards* mother, accompanied with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouse, daughter to *Sanctius* King of *Navarre*, whom afterward hee tooke to wife in *Cyprus*; but his mother after a short stay returned by *Rome* into *England*, leaving the young Lady with *Ioan* Queene Dowager of *Sicilie*, both which accompanied the King toward the holy Land, his whole Navie being * one hundred and fifty great ships, and fifty three Gallies, well appointed for the warre, and * many other Sailes and Vessels: and (not to omit the same, because it is recorded as a singularity) he had among all these, * thirteene Buces or Busies, which had each of them three course of Sailes to saile with: but no Writer (so farre as wee yet find) declares what numbers of Souldiers were in the *English* Armie.

An. Dom. 1191. The King of *France* sets saile for the Holy Land.

* Rog. Houed. fol 392.

* Tyndig. Houll.

* Stauth. Polit. ad. A. D. 1191. Tyndig. Houll.

(26) This Navie royall, betweene the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, (for the honor and good of King *Richard*) was scattered by God with a terrible tempest, some one or two of which suffered wreack upon the Isle of *Cyprus*, whom * *Cursac* (or as other call him *Isakius*, Emperor of the *Griffons*) being a * tyrant did spoyle, and contrary to Christian Religion, (which was his profession, though * some mistake) and all honour and humanity, he would not (among other his unprincely, or rather barbarous behaviours) suffer the Kings sister, and Lady *Berengaria*, with other of that tender society, to come into harbour, to their great discontentment and perill, a * Ship or two sinking there: but neither would God, nor King *Richard* forgive it him.

Hoved. in King Richards Navy scattered.

* Tyndig. Houll. Stauth. Paris. * Hoveden Ger. Dorob. * Holl. Boet. lib. 13. cap. 7.

* Roger Houed. fol. 392.

(27) For the said unworthy Prince having thrice refused to make restitution of his unlawfull seisures and prisoners, was entred upon by the *English*, driven from the shoares with great dishonour and slaughter; the City *Lymesæum* left for a prey to the victors, and himselfe beaten againe out of his Campe, and taken, and after an escape made by him, his onely daughter and heire yeelding her selfe, and her Father lastly comming againe of his owne accord (as despairing to ly hid) under custody and thrust into fetters of gold and silver, the whole Iland (with all the people, strength, and riches thereof) became subject to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter led away into captivity.

King Richard subdues the Isle of Cyprus. Roger Houed. Stauth. Paris. Tyndig. Houll. Ger. Dorob. Acta and Mon. pag. 320.

(28) There arrived at *Limesæum*, to salute and honour King *Richard* within three daies after his first victory, *Guido* King of *Ierusalem*, *Geofrey de* * *Lezinant* his brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, Earle *Rotmond* his son, &c. offering their services, and swearing to be his against all men; with whose privity King *Richard* seized the flourishing and spatious Iland of *Cyprus*, by antiquity celebrated as the very *seate of Venus*, which that it might so prove to himselfe, in the joyous moneth, he solemnly tooke to wife his beloved Lady *Berengaria*.

* Lusignan.

(29) The person of the Emperour (for by that lofty title Writers call him,) was sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, under the custody of *Ralph Fitz-Godfrey*, Lord * Chamberlaine to King *Richard*: his daughter was committed to the two Queenes *Berengaria* and *Ioan*: the Iland it selfe was entrusted to *Richard de Camvile*, and *Robert de Turnham* his Viceroyes, with competent force and provisions, and the Islanders suffered to enjoy all such lawes and liberties, as they held in the time of *Manuel* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, or (as now they call it) of *Stambols*.

* Roger Houed. Matth Paris. Tyndig. Houll.

(30) This fame of *Richard* was much enlarged by his conquering a mighty * Argosey, called a Dromond, wherein were aboord one thousand and five hundred *Saracens* (though disguised under *French Flagges* (furnished, besides all other provisions, with fire-workes, barrells or cages of venemous serpents, and the like, for the use of the *Saracens* at *Acon*, (anciently called *Ptolomais*, to the siege whereof he was then sailing,) thirteene hundred of

of which Miscreants, he sacrificed to *Mars* and *Neptune*, keeping the rest for ransome.

(31) *Philip* King of *France*, (in hope perhaps to conquer *Acon* before the *English* could arrive, and to winne thereby that glory intire) came safe before that Citie in Easter weeke; but as yet had not forced the same: at which time (that the Reader may observe the generall disposition of the westerne Christians in those dayes) there engirded *Acon* (omitting the many great Prelates, Princes, Earles, and Honourable Chiefes) these Nations following; the *Genowayes* and *Florentines*, the *English* under *Hubert* Bishop of *Salisbury*, afterward * Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Flemings*, *Almaines*, *Danes*, *Dutch*, *Frislanders*, *Pisans*, *Lombardes*, besides the Knights Templars (collected out of all Nations) and beside the aides of the *Asians*: all which lay quartered at the Siege in order, as heere they are placed, at that time in which the King of *France* arrived. But *Richard* King of *England* with his victorious and triumphant Navie (which when it went out of *Cyprus*, being much belike augmented, did containe 254. tall ships, and above 60. Galliots) brought terrour and dismay to the besieged, and comfort to the Christians, upon the Sunday after *Pentecost*, being about the middest of Iune.

(32) The siege was so vehemently plied, that (notwithstanding sundry dissentions betweene *Philip* and *Richard*, the two competitors of glory in this voyage) after severall breaches and assaults, the last whereof was made by the *Pisans* and *English*, upon the twelfth of July following, many offers of composition made by the *Saladine*, being utterly refused, the Citie of *Acon* was rendred to the Christians upon these conditions. 1. That *Saladine* (Prince of Miscreants) should by a certaine day restore the holy Crosse. 2. That hee should set at libertie fifteene hundreth Christian Captives. 3. That the Citie with all the things contained therein, should remaine and bee to the Christians. 4. That the Turkes or Sarazens should have their lives onely saved, if these conditions were performed. 5. That they should pay twentie thousand Bizants, (peeces of gold) toward the charges of the Kings. To take possession for the *French*, there was sent in, *Drogon de Merlou*, and one hundreth men of Armes, and for the *English*, *Hugo de Gurnay*, with the like number, who equally parted the Citie, goods, and people, betweene them.

(33) And even now *Philip* King of *France*, aswell because the Earle of *Flanders* died at the siege without issue, whose countries hee long had coveted, as for evill will to *Richard*, whose noble Acts so farre out-went his, and because, as some * write, he had taken bribes of *Saladine*, meditates nothing but returne, asking licence of King *Richard* to depart, being then but the tenth day after the Cities surrender; so badly his envious eyes could, as it seemed, endure the splender of his companions glory. The chiefe commanders of his Army hearing this, shewing themselves true *French-men*, and sensible of their obligation to God, and honour, with many teares befought him not to forsake that holy affaire, *it a impudenter*, so shamelefly. In what Prince would not this have kindled a desire of a better resolution? But impotent passions carrying him, and miscarrying him, he perssited to get leave of *Richard*, who but two daies before, would have had him sweare to a stay of three yeeres longer in that service; but hee who had other cogitations, farre more unworthy of a King, would needs depart, giving his oath upon the holy Gospels, without which oath King *Richard* would not grant his good will; That he would well and faithfully keepe the lands and subjects of the King of *England*, and neither doe dammage nor grievance to them by himselfe, nor suffer it to be done by others * till his returne.

(34) The King of *France* thus leaving *Acon*, in the Castle whereof King *Richard*, his Queene and Sister were lodged, and the Duke of *Burgundie* remaining behind with the *French* hoast, (to whom King *Philip*, not without sundry secret instructions, had with it committed a great part of his treasure) King *Richard* in the same day set forward upon a new enterprize; but it is true which one writes * that by reason of the dissention betweene the Kings, *which of them should seeme the greater*, little or nothing prospered; and just cause had King *Richard* to complain in * his letters, that *Philip*, to the eternall reproach of himselfe and Kingdome, had fouly forsaken his purpose and vow unto God.

(35) But when the *Saladine* could not by any meanes obtaine a longer day for performance of the said Articles of composition, hee cut off the heads of all his Christian Captives; in revenge whereof King *Richard* brought out his Turkish Captives, (being about two thousand and five hundreth) and in the sight of the *Saladines* hoast caused their heads to bee chopt off; the Duke of *Burgundie* doing the same to the like number, neere unto the walls of *Acon*, seven onely being kept alive by the Christian Generals, whereof *Karakeys Saladines* * foster-Father was chiefe. But *Richard* proceeding in his undertaken action, and in his march to *Ioppa*, being set vpon by *Sultan Saladine* (who had put the Duke of Burgundie to flight, and slaine the valiant *Iaques de Avesnis*, who onely with a few in the Rereward made resistance) so couragiously encountred him, that the *Saladine* with the losse of three thousand his choiseft Souldiers was glad to turn his back and flie: whiles therefore this Champion is thus imployed in the Holy-land, let us looke backe a little how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home.

(36) *Iohn* the Kings brother, making use in *England* of such discontenments, as the *incredible insolencies, and intollerable tyrannies* of the Chancellour (who *carried himselfe both like a Pope and a King*, had bred among the Nobility and people, to advance thereby his own designes, stirred against him (though *strengthening himselfe like a Generall in the field*,) so powerfull opposition, that in the end, (upon warrant of a new * Commission sent from the King his Brother) hee with the rest of the Peeres suddenly thrust him out of all command, and shortly after most reproachfully (as it happened, for hee fled, and was taken in a Curtezans attire, ill-beseeming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome also, upon occasion, as of other foule demerites, so particularly of a sacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chancellors command, upon the person of *Geffrey* Elect Archbishop of *Yorke* (naturall brother to King *Richard* and the Earle) on pretence that hee entred *England* contrary to his oath given to his brother King *Richard*, whereas he then came to take possession of his See, to which he was advanced by the * Kings owne procurement, and by Queene *Eleanors* owne travell to *Rome* in his behalfe. And albeit this punishment and shame deservedly followed the Chancellors pride and oppression, yet in one maine point of oppoling the Earles Ambition; (who fought to assure to himselfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of bloud belonged to his Nephew *Arthur*) his service to the State had beene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loyalty of affection, and not from a swelling desire of greatnesse, which he hoped still to enjoy, if *Arthur* (a child) should succeed in the Kingdome, whereas he knew Earle *Iohns* advancement could not be without his apparant ruine.

(37) But *Philip* King of *France* in all places labouring by * wrongfull and unprincely, aspersions to deface the renowne of King *Richard*, though finding small credit to his words (because the man had done nothing himselfe) devised after his returne how to trouble and endamage his friends dominions, and had effected it, if the Lords of *France* whom hee sollicited to that wicked worke, upon preterence

preterence of the composition made with King *Richard* at *Messena*, had not (to their immortall glory) * refused to assist him therein, till *Richards* returne, as well in regard of their owne oathes, as because the sentence of excommunication was denounced against all such as did attempt to endammage him in his absence.

(38) King *Richard*, notwithstanding that the relation of these things greatly troubled him, gave not over as yet, but after sundry other matters of importance performed, did march up within the sight of *Ierusalem*, where he skirmished with the enemy, and overthrew the Convoy or Caravan of the *Saladine*, which came laden from *Babylon*, guarded with ten thousand men; whom King *Richard* valiantly encountring with five thousand selected Souldiers, put most of them to the Sword, and tooke three thousand Camels, and foure thousand Horses and Mules, besides those that were slaine, and so gained the rich spoyle of all the Carriages.

(39) After this, and many other worthy things done, as the rescue of *Ioppa*, and repulse of *Saladine* from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his brave attempts, desirous to re-gaine *Ierusalem*, and the Citie *Baruck*, was abandoned in that enterprise by the Duke of *Burgundy* (who is * said to have beene apatiently corrupted with gifts from *Saladine*, and the regiments of *French* under his conduct:) whereupon hee was the rather perswaded by the *Knights Templars*, and chiefes of the Christian hoast, not to refuse *Saladines* offers for a furceasance from hostilitie, consfidering that hee had a purpose to returne with reenforced numbers and meanes; that his present powers by divisions, by sicknesse, by battailes were wasted, and that the dangerous estate of his owne Dominions did require his presence, (the greatest motive, for hee had supplies of money for his Souldiers wages from Pope *Celestine*) by reason of some undue practises at home, and the rancour of King *Philip* his unreconcileable adversary abroad. Whereupon a truce was taken for three yeares, and *Saladine* re-paid such charges as *Richard* had beene at in fortifying *Askalon*, which was brought to the same estate, as in which King *Richard* found it.

(40) But the King of *England*, though he had very farre excelled all the Christian Princes in great exploits at that journey, because * he had neither conquered *Saladine*, nor *Ierusalem*, did mourne, and parted pensive. In the Holy-land he left *Henry* Earle of *Champaine*, (who upon taking the said *Baruck*, was to have beene crowned King of *Ierusalem*, which *Guido* had resigned) and he left *Guido de Lusignian* (the late King of *Ierusalem*) in *Cyprus*, to whom he had passed it, in exchange for the other, to advance his Kinsmanthe said Earle of *Champain*; which, upon that Title, the family of *Lusignian* for * many descents after did possesse and enjoy. Thus *Richard* having ordered his affaires in the East parts, set saile homeward. The Queenes *Berengaria* his Wife, and *Ioane* his Sister, with the Captive Lady, Daughter of the *Cypriot* Emperour, under the conduct of *Stephen de Turnham*, (hearing of the Kings most heavie fortune) so journeyed at *Rome* about sixe moneths, for feare of *Richards* enemies, and afterward came safe by *Marsilia* into *Poictou*.

(41) God, whose cause was onely pretended in this voyage of the Christians, did not seeme to approove the said truce; for he * scattered the *English* with a terrible tempest, and the * opportunitie of Conquest was so lost, that hitherto it could never be re-gained, and the King of *England* letting it slip, when God had almost put the same into his hands, did miserably fall into his enemies hands. Certainely, the name of *Richard* was at that time growne terrible to *Saladine*, who had received divers losses, foyles, and overthrowes at his hands: Moreover, the *Saladines* whole estate being endangered by such of his own sect as reputed him a meere Vsurper, hee could not long withstand the double impression of the Christian Chivalrie, and of his owne Allies and Country-men; as indeed not long after * he died, leaving his Empire foulely, but justly, distracted by civill confusions: whereas by this Truce the crafty Turke made the world see, that the powers of two so Potent Monarchs had in a manner effected nothing; and *Richard* could never have time to returne for accomplishment of his defignes; for which all Christendome hath at this houre reason to be sorrowfull, and hereof himselfe * was very sensible, so that hee would oftentimes cry out, that hee was not alwaies wise, alluding to this occasion loft.

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with speed thorow *Germanie* in disguise, tooke to him the name of * *Hugh* a Merchant, the haire of his * head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his journey over-land, was neere to *Vienna* unhappily discovered by the profufeneffe of his expences; when hee saw hee could not escape them, * in contempt of his fortunes, he put on royall garments, and refused to yeeld but * onely to the Duke himselfe, who came with joy as to a prey which hee fore longed for: but the rascall multitude * cried things worthy of themselves, calling him (O barbarisme) Traitour, and some saying, stone him; some, cut off his head; and others, hang him: and because the inhumanity of this usage may bee suited with rymes as rude and ragged, you shall in such heare the cause of this Arch-dukes malice, growing first at *Acon*, where the Author speaking of King *Richard* saith;

He gate it soone with his great Ordnance,
And on the walles his Banners full high set,
The Kings Armes he set up also of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ierusalem well bet,
The Duke of Oistrich, Limpald without let,
Set up his Armes after above them all,
Which King Richard did cast downe from the wall.

(43) And though it is certaine that this Authour faines not this fact, for that some such matter) and told by * some with more disadvantage to *Richards* cause) is by others * related, yet the graveft Authors agree (that next to the common envy at his vertues) the greatest preterence was the murther of the Marquesse *Conrad*, commited at *Tyre*, by two cursed *Assasines*, a certaine sect *in the East, living under a Senior or Ruler, whom they honour as a Prophet, by whom they are sent forth to murther such Princes as favour them not, promising themselves the reward of immortality by obeying him in all things, though with the losse of their owne lives.* Of which barbarous fact, *Henry* the Emperor, and *Leopold* the Arch-duke, (whose neere kinf-man *Conrad* was) would seeme to beleeve that *Richard* was the Author, though therein they touche his princely reputation and integrity, * most injuriously, for that the chiefe of that sect by their owne publique * Letters (*written with the blond of the Shel-fish called Murex*, wherewith Scarlet used to bee died) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cause thereof, which was a particular Act of injustice in *Conrad* himselfe: There wanted not fundry other pretences, as in such cases is usuall, as * that *Richard* had entred league with *Tancred* King of *Sicilia* the Emperours enemy, and that he had thurst the *Cypriot* (their kinfman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter Captive. But this booty, being to great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his custodie, meaning to coine much Gold and Silver out of his most unjust afflictions; by sharpe imprisonment: which could not make him in any act or speech, or gesture of his, shew beneath the Majestie of a victorious Prince and King of *England*.

(44) The dismall newes; thereof flying thorow the world, presently disclosed who were sound or unsure; sorrow and dismay was every where among his owne. * His carefull mother, and other his fast friend-

* Gov. Durob.
Acts and Mon. pag. 328.
Roger Hoved.
The City of Acon rendred.
Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neust.
Roger Hoved. fol. 395.
King Richard upon certaine conditions permits the King of France to depart.
* Roger Hoved. fol. 394. p.e.
* Xond. Hist. in Polyer. lib. 7. cap. 27.
Fulk Niniens.
* Gov. Durob.
* Roger Hoved.
Matth. Paris. saith they were 100. Camels, and makes no mention of Mules or Horses.
* Matth. Paris.
* Matth. Paris. in Rob. 1.
Diceto in Eng. and Guil. de Nubr. lib. 4. cap. 18.
Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. Nubrigef. lib. 4. cap. 18.
Salisbe. Eng. lib. 5. Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.
* Hoved in Rob. 1. pag. 388. Matth. lib. 3. cap. 18.
It's but idlely maintained. Nubrigef. lib. 4. cap. 19. Hovede. pag. 401. Nubrigef. lib. 4. cap. 21. Hovede. pag. 399.
* Polydor. Virg. lib. 14.
Roger Hoved. fol. 417.
* Hovede in Rich. 1. pag. 389.
* Matth. Paris.
* Polydor. Virg. lib. 14.
Guil. de Nubr. lib. 4. cap. 18.
* Guil. Nubrig. lib. 4. cap. 18.
* Roger Hoved. fol. 414.
* Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.
An. Dom. 1193.
* Matth. Paris.
* Roger Hoved. fol. 408.
* Polyd. Virg. lib. 14.
* Matth. Paris.
* Gov. Durob.
Hardings Chron. cap. 138.
Pretences for the destruc of King Richard. Matth. Paris. ad An. Dom. 1192.
Gov. Durob. who writes that the Archduke fet up his Standard in the chiefe place of the City of Acon, to the injury of King Richard. Guil. de Nubr. lib. 4. cap. 24. & lib. 5. cap. 16. This description fitteth a like fact now in the West. Ypodig. Neust. p. 455. Edit. An. Domi. 1603.
The Copy of the said Letter, see Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 16. Matth. Paris. ad An. Dom. 1193.
The face of England in her Kings captivity.
* Gov. Durob. Roger Hoved. fol. 408.

friends, sweare the Realme to be true to King *Richard*, watch the coasts, and provide for the securitie of the State, with singular vigilancie, assuring the Cities and good Townes with Bulwarkes, Walles, and Munition. On the contrary, Earle *John* being (by the cunning inveighling and suggestions of his brothers professed foes) not onely put out of all hope of his releasement, but also incensed against him for intending the Crowne to his Nephew *Arthur*, entered into an unbeotherly attempt against his Soveraigne Lord; the summe whereof, take in the words of *Thomas Walsingham*, who saith, that *Iohn* with promises allured many to him through the whole Kingdome, did carefully and speedily fortifie his holds in *England*, and passing the Seas, entred into league with the king of the *French*, that he might utterly put his Nephew *Arthur*, Duke of *Britaine* from that hope, which the Britaines had conceived of his promotion. The * *Normans* giving any way to his disloyall practises, he sweares fealty to *Philip* King of *France* (his brothers most mortall enemie) and also that he would take to wife the Lady *Alice* King *Philips* sister, though polluted by his owne Father, and for that cause rejected by King *Richard*. Out of *Normandy* hee posts into *England*, sollicites Peeres and People, and was loyally resisted: but hee not quieted so, labours to stirre the *Scot* and *Welsh* to joyne in an invasion with him; the *French* and *Flemings* assuring them that his Brother King *Richard* would never be set at libertie: but *William* King of *Scots* would neither give assent, nor countenance, to such undutifull practises, or rather madnesses.

(45) In this most perillous time, the valour and loyaltie of the Citie of *Roan* (the choiceft of *Normandy*) did most clearely shew themselves to the everlasting commendation thereof: for *Philip* comming before it with a puissant Army, solicited them to revolt, promising mountaines. In stead of answere they set open the Gates, telling him that he might enter if he would, for no man hindred him: but the vaine-glorious King being better advised, (for the inhabitants, yea and the damsels of the Citie, whose heads were polde like as mens, powred molten pitch, and such like matter upon the besiegers) retreated from the Walles, and marcht away confounded: and being certainly advertized that the Emperour and King *Richard* were agreed, he sends over to Earle * *Iohn, bidding him looke to himselfe, for the Divell was now let loose.* Hee thereupon croft over the Seas to *Philip*, who * excited him to usurpe the Kingdome of *England*.

(46) Nevertheleſſe by Queene *Elianors* negotiation (who in person travelled to the Emperour) the King her sonne was come to be assured of his libertie, upon these conditions. 1. That hee should pay to the Emperour one hundreth thousand Markes to sterling. 2. That hee should pay fiftie thousand Markes of like money to the Emperour and Duke. 3. That he should marry his Neece, (sister to *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*) to Duke *Leopolds* sonne. 4. That the Emperour should secure him, till hee were under saile with a fore-winde. 5. That hee should set the *Cypriots* person at libertie, and deliver his daughter to the Duke of *Austria*, who was her Vncle, and should deliver 67. hostages for assurance of all.

(47) But to colour this unreasonable and unprincely extortion, the Emperour by his Imperiall Charter gives unto King *Richard*, *Province*, and sundry other ample Territories, containing five Archbishopricks, and thirtie three Bishopricks (sometime parcell of the Empire, but both then and a long time before out of possession) and thereof crownes him *King*, writing magnificent Letters into *England*, with such like offices.

(48) Now when King *Richard* (who had wonne to himselfe wonderfull honour and respect, even of the covetous Emperour, by the proofe of his innocency, and by his most noble and constant carriage) did expect his libertie at an Assembly or Diet, where the greatest Princes and States of the Empire were in person; to wit, The three Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colein* and *Saltzburgh*; The three Bishops of *Wormes*, *Spire*, and *Leiges*; The three Dukes of *Swave* (the Emperours brother) *Austrich*, and *Luvain*; The *Count Palatine of Rhene, &c.* which had undertaken for the Emperour, whose officers had already received the greater part of the ransome: behold even then the Emperour shewes a willingnesse to breake off, producing the Letters of *Philip* King of *France*, and of *Iohn* Earle of *Morton*, in which they offer an huge summe, &c. too impious and devilish to speake of: but the Princes who had undertaken to King *Richard* for good dealing, went to the Emperour, reproving him for his avarice, who would so dishonourably traverse and start backe from the agreement. * Vpon the fourth of Februarie therefore being Friday, the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Colein* restore him, * after fifteene moneths imprisonment, to Queene *Elianor* his mother, free from the Emperour, all that were present weeping thereat for joy.

(49) This Archbishop of *Coleine* was he, who entertaining the King in the Dominions of his Archbishopricke; with great joy for his deliverance did celebrate divine service in this manner: *Now know I truly that the Lord hath sent his Angel and taken me out of the hand of* Herod, *and the expectation of the common people of the Iewes, &c.*

(50) And indeed it was *Gods Angell* did it: for after all this, whiles the King stayed for a wind, and other preparations at the Sea-shoare, the Emperour repenting him of his release, sent speedily guarders to apprehend him againe, vowing *hee should never bee freed from bonds whiles hee lived*; but some secret message (as Princes Courts never want Spials) speedily pre-monished him, and so by a very little time he prevented his surprisers, landing happily at *Sandwich*, in Aprill the Sunday after Saint *Georges* day; where in stead of all other triumphes, or particulars of joy for his returne, wee will content our selves with onely one, as signe of the rest. When the King drew neere to *Rochester*, the venerable new Archbishop of *Canterbury Hubert* (who had beene with him at *Acon* in the Holy-land,) went joyously forth to meet him; whom when the King saw, he dismounted from his Horse, and having bowed his knee, fell upon the earth, in like fort the Archbishop lay right against him; at the last both of them rising from the ground, they ranne into each others armes, comforting themselves with mutuall embraces and weeping with joy.

(51) The justice of a true history will not suffer us heere to forget, in what fort the injustice of this unnoble captivation of *Richard* King of *England*, was punished by God, and on Gods behalfe. The Duke of *Austrian* Country, and people, being vifited with these five plagues, Fire, Water, Barrennesse, Wormes, and Pestilence: the Fire, casually burning his Townes; the River of *Danubius* drowning ten thousand of his Subjects, in an over-flow; the earth waxing dry and feare; the Wormes destroying such fruit and graine as grew; and the stroke of Pestilence killing the principall Nobles and Gentlemen of his Dominions: The Duke for all this continued obstinate, like another *Pharaoh*, swearing to cut off the heads of K. *Richards* Hostages, unlesse all Covenants (though extorted by cruell Duresse) were exactly and speedily performed. *Baldwin de Betun* (one of the Hostages) is sent to the King with this bloudy message; but before his returne, upon S. *Stephens* day in *Christmas*, the Duke * spurring his Horse, in sport, upon a Castle of Snow among yourhes, which were counterfeiting a siege, and an assault, with the slip of his Horse, brake his foot in such fort, as it came to be * cut off, and within a while feeling himselfe perishing upward, so that his death was certaine, could not bee absolved of his Bishoppes from the sentence of *Excommunication*

The attempts of *Iohn*, King of *Richards* brother.

Ger. Dorob. Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſt.

* *Roger Hoved.*

Ger. Dor.

Marriall women in Armes.

* *Roger Hoved. fol. 415.*

* *Langoet ad A. D. 1195.*

The Articles of King *Richards* liberty.

King *Richard* crowned King of Prouince, &c.

A new and foule treason of Earle *Iohn* discovered.

* *Roger Hoved. fol. 418. In Lamtrey fields Matthew Paris, a Monke, saith a mother.*

* *Read Higden. in Polychron. cap. 10. Fabian.*

Roger Hoved.

* *Roger Hoved. fol. 440.*

Matth. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſt.

Malmesb. lib. 4. cap. 4.

The joyfull meeting between the King and Archbishop *Ger. Dorob.*

Iohn Stow in Edw. I.

Rad. Higden in Polycr. lib. 7. cap. 26. King Richards delivery after his captivity. Matth. Paris, Roger Hoved. fol. 332.

King Richards wrongs revenged upon the Duke of Austria.

Matth. Paris. Roger Hoved. fol. 415. Paris. Ypodig. Neuſt. cap. 435.

Ger. Dorob.

* *Walsingham. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

* *Ypodig. Neuſt. Iohn Stow in K. I. Holinsh. stat. ad A. D. 1189.*

Excommunication which had by the Pope beene denounced, till hee and his Lords had sworne to release all the said matters betweene the King of *England* and him; but his sonne after his death refusing the performance, his Fathers body lay stinking above ground eight daies, for that no Clergy-man durst burie it, being but conditionally absolved, till the sonne did yeeld to the performance; yet (if * fome may be credited upon his bare word) the sonne did voluntarily condiscend, and not upon this compulsion.

(53) But albeit the Emperour to declare himselfe wounded with some remorse for his ungodly violence, or to engage others in the impietie, gave three thousand Markes of King *Richards* ransome to make silver Censers through all the *Cistercian order*, who generally refused the gift, as parcell of an accursed spoile (for as for those * leavenie thousand markes, which hee forgave to King *Richard*, with as bad a purpose (being to hinder peace betweene him, and the *French*) as he had taken the other unjustly, they are not to be accounted as restitution, but as the wages of sinne;) revenge forsooke him not, being pursued by his owne Wife (the Heire of the Crowne of *Sicilia*) in revenge of some cruelties done to her Country-men, and after reconcilement with her, falling dangerously sicke, hee died at *Messana*, excommunicated for King *Richards* cause. And albeit he had in his life-time sent his Chancellour out of *Burgundie*, of purpose to offer King *Richard* recompence for the injuries he had sustained, and although *Constantia* the Empresse had sent the Archbishoppe of *Messana*, (while the Emperours body lay above ground without buriall) to Pope *Celestine* in humble manner, praying Christian buriall, yet * *unlesse the mony which hee had extorted from the king of England were restored*, hee could by no entreaties obtaine it, which accordingly was promised.

(54) Neither were the King of *Englands* afflictions unprofitable unto him, for they gave him occasion to reforme his life, taking home to him his Queene *Berengaria*, whose society for a long time he had neglected, though she were a royall, eloquent, & beauteous Lady, and for his love had ventured with him through the World.

(55) King *Richard* after his joyous returne into *England*, having at the Abbey of Saint *Edmunds*, in performance of his vow (as may seeme) offered up the rich Imperiall Standart of *Cursac*, Emperour of *Cyprus*, which hee tooke among the spoyles of the *Griffons* Campe: thence hee marched, and tooke in by furrender such Castles as the servants of his brother *Iohn* (beleeving that the King was not returned) held against him; but *Henry de Pumeray*, who had fortified *Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall*, hearing for certaine that King *Richard* was come, died for very feare. And now, forty dayes of summons being expired, which were allowed to Earle *Iohn*, & *Hugh* Bishop of *Coventry*, for making their appearance, to answere to such hainous matter as was prepared, and they not appearing, *Iohn* was adjudged by the Peeres and States of *England*, to have forfeited all that hee might forfeit in the Realme, and the Bishop to bee punishable by the ecclesiasticall censures, as hee was a Bishop, and likewise as an Officer of the King, by the Laitie. *Richard* afterward bestirres himselfe to draw in money more greedily then did become soe great a Majesty, wherein yet (saith * one) hee was rather to be pardoned then accused, for that he was prefently to lead a mightie Armie against the *French*.

(56) But first of all, to wipe away both the sadnesse and contumely of his late restraint, for a better fortunes beginning, hee caused himselfe to bee crowned againe at the City of *Winchester*; which celebrity was honoured with the presence of *William* King of *Scotland*, who bare a sword before * King *Richard*: betweene which two Princes, there * followed great amity and tendernesse of love; then beeing graunted to him, and his succeſſours Kings of *Scotland*, a certaine pension, with sundry other allowances, and princely attendances, from the first day of their friendly entrances at any time into *England*, till their returne.

(57) The King likewise caused a new broad Seale to be made, requiring that all Charters graunted under his former, should be confirmed under this, whereby hee drew a great masse of money to his Treasurie, subscribing such renued Charters thus: *This was the tenor of our Charter under our first Seale, which because it was lost, and in the time of our being captive in Almaigne was in the power of another, we caused to be changed, &c.* Some have observed, that as this *Richard* was the first of the *English* Kings who bare Armes on his Seales, as appeareth by the * former: so was hee the first who carried in his shield three Lions passant, borne ever after for the Regall Armes of *England*. And whereas we see here the Moone in her full, which in the other was but a *Crescent*, (which is the Turkish-Ensigne,) it may seeme to be done *Emblemetically*, in that fence, as wee reade of another Prince, (who going against the Turkes) gave a Crescent with this word, *Plenior redibo*, I will returne more full. The true draught of this second Seale we have heere annexed.



(58) A good * Author reports, that after this, the King being at dinner at Westminster, and receiving advertisement of the siege laid to *Vernuil*, by his restlesse enemie *Philip* of *France*; sware that hee would never turne his face, till hee had gotten thither with his Armie to fight with the *French*; whereupon hee caused the Wall to bee cut through, (the signe of which breach appeared * above two hundred yeares after) never resting, till with an hundred great Shippes, hee had croft the Seas from *Portsmouth*

Howeden. fol. 418.

* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Roger Hoved. fol. 430.* * *Holl. Iuct. lib. 13. cap. 8. Roger Hoved. fol. 439.*

Inter Charters in Collect. T. Rud. Custos Equitis.

* Whereto are two Lions rampant combattant: well fitting that *Cœur-de-Lion*.

* In Walsingbams dayes, who lived under Henry the fift.

* Rog. Hoved. fol. 421. Matth. Paris. Tyndig. Newll.

Portsmouth into *Normandy*, where the onely rumor of his approach made the *French* King raise his siege, and without stroke or sight of his magnanimous Enemy, (but not without losse and shame) to quite the Field.

King Richard forgiues his brother Iohn. * Nubrigensf. lib. 5. cap. 5. * Thomassius, in Tyndig. Newll. fol. 456. * Hoved. f. 428.

(59) Neither was his clemency lesse then his courage, whereof needs no greater testimony, then when upon Earle *Iohns* * dutifull submission, and his mothers intercession, hee so freely forgave him, as that he calmely said, " *Would that thy faults may so bee forgotten of me, as that thy selfe mayest keepe in memory what thou hast done:* and * afterward restored his possessions unto him; the Earle from that time forward becomming his * true Knight, and doing him very noble services, (especially against the *French*, who had seduced him) as a loving brother and faithfull Leige-man, whereby he made amends for his former excesses, and fully recovered the hearty affection of his Lord and brother.

* Neubrig. lib. 5. cap. 5. * Rand. Higden. in Iohn Ly. cap.

(60) There were after this sundry skirmishes, takings of Prisoners and Townes, and conferences betweene the *French* and *English*, mooved belike by such as religiously tendered the effusion of Christian bloud, so as no great matter was yet effected; that which was, being rather by * Stratagems and starts, then by battle; but within thirty seven dayes after the French-mens flight from *Vernuil*, King *Richard* (in revenge of that desolation which the *French* King had brought upon the City of *Evreux*, where hee neither spared age, sexe, nor Church) comming to *Vendome*, with purpose to surprize the King of *France*, had the spoile of the *French* Campe, their King (a thing almost incredible) now the second time flying without battle. Many of the *French* were slaine, and taken, together with much * treasure, the Chappell-royall, the Indentures of such as had left *Richard* to serve King *Philip*, and all the * tents, carriages, and other furnitures for warre: and from hence marching to *Peyctou*, and *Engolisme*, hee had such successes (howsoever the silent partialities of forraine Writers smother them) that * himselfe wrote over to his deereſt *Hubert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, " *That by Gods favour, who in all things considers the* " *right, hee had taken Taillburg, Marsiliac*, and all *the* " *other Castles of Geffrey de Rancune, the City of Engo-* " *lisme, and all the Castles and Territories of the Earle* " *thereof, and almost three hundreth Knights, or men of* " *Armes, and about forty thousand armed Souldiers.*

* Roger Hoved. fol. 421. * Tyndig. Newll. fol. 456. * Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 2.

* Roger Hoved. fol. 422.

An. Dom. 1195. Roger Hoved. 421.

(61) Wee will not heere over passe, that which *Hoveden* reports, (being an example of Christian repentance in Princes) of a poore Hermits comming to this noble Monarch, and preaching to him the words of eternall life; and bade him be mindefull of the subversion of *Sodom*, and to abstaine from things unlawfull, *otherwise* (saith he) *the deserved vengeance of God will come upon thee.* The Hermit being gone, the King neglected his words: but not long after falling sicke, hee more seriously bee-thought himselfe, and afterward waxing sound in Soule, as well as body, his daily exercise was to rise earely, and not to depart from the Church till divine service were finished: " whereupon, (saith *Hoveden*) *how* " *glorious is it for a Prince to begin and end his actions in* " *him, who is beginning without beginning, and judgeth* " *the ends of the earth?* Moreover, hee bountifully releeved every day much poore both in his Court and Townes about: and restored Gold and silver Vessels to such Churches, from which to pay his ransome they had beene taken away.

King Richards amendment of life and daily exercise.

(62) After this, passed sundry interchanges betwixt the *French* and *English*, sometimes of warres, with wastes and spoiles, sometimes of truces with interviewes and Parlies; in one of which, the Lady *Alice*, (cause of much mischiefe) K. *Philips* Sister, was restored (according to the contract of *Messana*) to her brother, who forthwith bestowed her in marriage upon *Iohn* Earle of *Pontif*. In the meane while the Kings sought to make friends upon all sides, but King *Richard* by his munificence, and other meanes, drew from king *Philip* a mighty party of his neereſt neighbours: * *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, *Raimund* Earle of *Tholouse* (to whom also King *Richard* gave in * marriage, his sister *Ioan* Queene of *Sicilia*) the * *Champanois*, and others; so that *Philip* was faine to trust wholly upon himselfe: for whereas he had lately married the sister of the King of *Denmarke*, of purpose to use the *Danish* shipping against the *English*, that affinity proved enmity: for the * next day after his wedding, he put her away, pretending (beside * other things) that shee was of too neere a propinquity of bloud; albeit most untruly, as her brother, *the King of Denmarke proved before the Pope, though he could not bee heard, the king of France more prevayling, either by feare or favour.*

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 13.

* Roger Hoved. pag. 436. * Matth. Paris.

* Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 16. * Matthew of Westminster, with Florilegus in anno. * Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 16.

(63) About this time, *Iohn* the Kings brother, & *Markadey* Captaine of the *Brabanters*, called the * *Rowters*, had made an incursion up to *Beauvois*, where the Bishoppe, being also an Earle of the Royall Bloud, and the eleaventh Peere of *France*, valiantly fighting, was * taken in the skirmish, armed at all poynts, and bravely mounted; on whose behalfe the Pope (vpon the Bishops humble suite, * pleading the Clergies immunity) wrote somewhat earnestly to King *Richard*, to set *his very deare sonne*, for so hee called the Bishop, at liberty; The King in a kinde of pleasant earnestnesse, caused the Habergeon and Curaces of the Bishop to bee presented to the Pope, with this question (alluding to that of * *Iacobs* children to their father, concerning *Iosephs* garment,) * *Vide an tunica filii tui sit an non; See whether it bee thy sonnes coat or no.* Whereupon the Pope replied, that " *he was neither his sonne nor the sonne of the Church,* " *and therefore should be ransomed at the Kings will,* " *because he was rather judged to bee a servitor of Mars,* " *then a Souldier of Christ.* Whom the King of *England* (in * revenge of many evill offices, especially in the time of his captivity with the Emperour) handled sharpely. The Bishop at length waxing impatient, writes a paffionate letter to the Pope; whose answere in part is heere set downe, for that it * notably defends the King of *England*. If (saith * the Pope) thou hast had ill succesſe, it is no marvaile, for putting off the peaceable Prelate, thou * didst put on the warlike Souldier; and rashly too- * kest a shield in stead of a cope, a sword for a Stole, * a Curace for an Albe, an Helmet for a Mytre, a * Lance for a Bishops staffe, perverting the order * and course of things: neither meant you (as you al- * ledge) to repell violence, but vertue; nor did you * fight for your Country, but against it: for of your * *France* we can now publiquely pronounce; *Woe to* * *that Land whose King is a* * *Child.* For your King * was strictly bound by corporall oath to the King * of *England*, not to damnifie his Territories, &c. * at least-wise till his returne from the journey of his * Pilgrimage: Nevertheleſſe, contrary to his faith * and oath, hee without all shame, seized by force * the good Townes of the said King, and cruelly * wasted his Dominions with hostile hand: but * that King returning at last out of captivity; man- * fully encountred your King, not repoſing his hope * in multitude, but in Almightie God, &c. Humili- * tie therefore against pride, right and equity against * wrong, measure and modesty against intempe- * rance and arrogancie, have certainely hitherto * fought for the King of *England*, &c. We have * notwithstanding directed our supplicatorie Let- * ters to him on thy behalfe, &c. for in such a case * we neither can nor ought command, &c. Meane * while beare your bands and sorrowes patiently, &c.

* Matth. Paris. * Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 5.

* Gem. 3751.

Matth. Paris. * Nubrig. in Rich. 1.

(64) While thus sundry warlike matters passed betweene the *English* and *French*, the King of *England* encreaseth his side with new associates, *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine*, the Duke of *Lovain*, the Earles of *Guyes*, *Boloine*, *Perch* and *Blois*, with others: and * *Hoveden* recites there severall times within a short space, in which the King of *France* was driven with losse

* Nubrig. lib. 5. cap. 5.

* Child in stature, not in yeares, for Philip was elder then enough.

Hoved. Hist.

Hoved. f. 429.

Hoved. pag. 430.

losse and dishonour out of the field by King *Richard*, beside the losse of Saint *Omers*, of *Air*, and of other Townes, wonne by *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders*, and besides the waste of the *French Dominions* by many invasions. But the greatest of the three victories, was the second, which King *Richard* gained at the battaile betweene *Curceles* and *Gysors*, where the K. of *France* himselfe fell into the River of *Ethe*, the bridge breaking under him, with the throng of people which fled for their lives before the *English Lion*: neither was hee easily saved (twenty of his men of Armes being drowned by that ruine) but before hee could bee drawne out, water had gotten into his belly.

The famous victory of Gysors. Hoveden. Matth. Paris. Tyndig. Newll.

(65) This was a famous victory; for besides a long Catalogue of great names extant in Authors; there were taken by the Kings Army, 100. Knights and Servitours on horse-backe, and footmen without number, besides thirty men of Armes, and other inferiour Souldiers not countable, which *Markadey* (Generall of the Rowtes) had for prisoners. There were also taken 200. great horse, whereof seven-score had barbes, and capariſons armed with yron. King *Richard* in his owne person did most nobly, for with one speare he threw to the earth *Matthew de Mummerancy*, *Alan de Rusci*, and *Fulke de Giservall*, and tooke them. " So have wee vanquished the King of " *France* at *Gysors*, (saith the King) howbeit we have " not done the same, but * *God and our right* by us: " and in this fact we did put our owne head and king- " dome in hazard above the counsell of all that were " ours. Howsoever therefore the *French* or others may flubber over such a noble Iourney, wee have not doubted upon so good warrant to record the same.

Gir. Dorob. in Ex. Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. Tyndig. Newll. * King Richards wanlike handywrit. In his Letter to Philip Bishop of Dursine. Roger Hoved. fol. 441. * This de non poenitet Motto of the English King seems hence to be derived.

(66) The warre continuing still, many vertuous men laboured to make a finall accord; and the new Pope *Innocentius* the third, having proclaimed a new undertaking of the Holy-warre * sends a Cardinall Deacon to attone the two mighty Kings of *France* and *England*. At length Articles of peace were drawne; but *Richard* (being farre before hand) was nothing hasty to conclude, and therefore put it off till his returne from *Poyctou*, whither hee went to chastise his rebels, though * some say, hee did then conclude the peace.

* Roger Hoved. fol. 447.

The Pope vainly sweres the Bishop. Matth. Paris.

(67) At this enterview or treaty, *Philip* King of *France*, * (*the sower of strife*, though he fought peace) shewed to King *Richard* a deed, in which Earle *Iohn* newly yeelds himselfe Leige-man to King *Philip*, against his brother. *A wonderfull thing*, (saith *Hoveden*) *that Richard should beleeve it* (being perhaps but a Copy of that device or tricke, if it were a device which they once had joyntly put upon the same *Iohn*, as in the end of King *Henry* the second you heard) who thereupon forthwith diseased the Earle his brother every-where. But the Earle having searched and learned the cause of the Kings sudden displeasure; (*whose* love hee had before redeemed with many loyall services,) *Hee sends two men of Armes to the French Court, who should on his behalfe, in what sort soever, defend his honour and innocency, against any his accusers: but there was no man found in that Court, neither King nor any other, who would undertake the proofe or maintenance thereof*; *whereupon ever afterward Richard held his brother more deare, and gave lesse credit to King Philips words.*

Matth. Paris. An. Dom. 1193. Roger Hoved. fol. 419. Matth. Paris.

(68) But now ensued the fatall accident, which drew the blacke cloud of death over this triumphall and bright shining Starre of Chevalry, the ill-worthy occasion of which misadventure makes it the more lamentable; which notwithstanding, for a document to the Great-ones, against the outrage of Avarice and Cruelty, God suffered thus to fall on him. *Widomare*, Vicount of *Limoges*, having found a great * hoord of gold and silver, sent no small portion thereof to King *Richard*, as chiefe Lord, with which being not contented (as pretending that *treasure trove*, was wholly his by vertue of his prerogative-royall, or else misliking that the Vicount should make the partition) came with a power to a Castle of the Vicounts called * *Chalus*, where hee supposed the Riches were; the Garrison of which place offered to yeeld the same, and all therein, if onely their lives and limbes might be saved: but he would not accept of any conditions, bidding them defend themselves as they could, for he would enter by the sword, and hang them all. It grieves mee to thinke that such a Prince should so forget himselfe: but behold the feverity of Gods judgement. An Arbalaster, (or Archibalista) standing upon the wall, and seeing his time, charged his steele bow with a square arrow or quarrell, * making first his prayer to God, *That hee would direct that shot, and deliver the innocency of the besieged from oppression.* Whereupon discharging it, as the King was * taking a view of the Castle, within the danger and distance of such an Engin, and the King (* upon hearing the bow goe off) stooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left shoulder; the anguish and perill whereof was extremely augmented by the bureherly and unskilfull hand of the Surgeon, who having drawne out the wood, and not the envenomed yron, * mangled the arme with cruell incisions before he could prevaile; the paine whereof hastned his end.

* This Chalus, the English call call Castle Gollard, saith Paulus.

* Gir. Dorob.

* Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. Tyndig. Newll. * Gir. Dorob.

Hoveden calls him Carnifex. * Roger Hoved. Roger Hoveden. fol. 443.

(69) Concerning the name of this tragicall Archer, there is so much variety, as that we could willingly take that uncertainery for a warrant to silence it: being loth to ennoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily punishable with utter oblivion, to have shed, (though defensively or but casually) the bloud of such a King. *Matthew Paris* * in calling him *Peter Basilii*, seemes to allude to some ominous conceit in *Basilii*, (which with the Greekes signifies a *King*;) him *Thomas Walsingham* followes therein, as *Matthew Paris* followed * another: there want not * some who also give him a third name; but *Hoveden* who delivers this accident, as all the rest of this Kings life, in the most probable and fullest manner, calls him *Bertram de Gurdonn*, applying unto him certaine * verses of *Lucan*, in commendation of his unappalled constancy, when he came before King *Richard*: where thou maist perhaps (for satisfaction of thy mind, with beholding some revenge) desire to know what became of the Actor. After that the Castle by continuall assaults was taken; and (by the kings command) none left alive but hee (as being reserved * perhaps to some more shamefull death) the king (upon a christian magnanimity) forgave him the fact, which the party (without shew of dismay) did neither deny nor excuse, but alledged the necessity of his case, and the justice of Gods worke in it, for that the king had slaine his Father and two brothers with his owne hand: being hereupon set at liberty, and one hundred shillings sterling given him by the king: *Markadey* (Captaine of the Mercenary Rowtes) after the king was dead, tooke him, flead him quicke, and then by hanging ended his life.

* Matth. Paris.

* Ypodig. Neustr. * Tyndig. Newll. * Roger Hoved. fol. 449.

* Gir. Dorob. * Roger Hoved. Matth. Paris. * Roger Hoved.

John fol. 450.

(70) King *Richard* feeling the approach of certaine death, disposed his worldly estate, thus: to his brother *Iohn* he gave the Kingdome of *England*, and his other Dominions, with three parts of his Treasure, commanding such as were present to sweare him fealty: to his Nephew *Otho* King of *Almaine*, hee bequeathed (as it * seemes) all his goods and chattels money excepted, and the fourth part of his said treasure hee gave to his servants, and the poore. And having thus discharged his last cares toward the World concerning his transitory state, hee prepared himselfe for the presence of God, strengthening his soule * with hearty contrition, confession, and participation of the holy Sacrament: commanding further, that when he was dead, * his bowels should bee buried at *Charron*, among the rebellious *Poictovins*, as those who had only deserved his worst parts: but his Heart to bee enterred at *Roan*, as the City, which for her constant loyalty had merited the same; and his Corps in the Church of the Nunnery at

King Richards Will. Hoved. fol. 449.

* Otanis Bauldus, saith Hoved.

* Roger Wend. Matth. Paris. * Roger Hoved.

Font-Everard in *Gascoigne*, at the feete of his Father King *Henry*, to whom he had beene sometimes disobedient: and God affording him gracious leasure till he had thus disposed of all; the venemous vapor ascended to his heart, and drave the spirit forth, *with whom* (say * Authors) *the glory and honour of Military skill exspired.*

* Matth. Paris.

* Fabian.

(70) There hath beene an opinion, or fancy, that this King was called *Cordelion*, because he encountred a *Lyon*, in prison, at the Emperours Court: but (saith * one very truely) these are fables, imagined by *English* tale-tellers, to advance their King *Richard*; as the *Britaines*, by the like, advanced their King *Arthur*. The like device, (though more lofty and Mathematicall) may theirs seeme, who conjecture, hee was called so of the famous * Starre, called *Cor Leonis*. But how the conceit of killing of a *Lyon* should come up, as it is not worth the while to enquire, so certainely, *Hugo de Nevile*, (one of King *Richards* speciall familiars) is recorded to have slaine a Lyon in the holy-Land, driving first an arrow into his breast; and then running him through with his sword: whence perhaps that atchievement is transferred from the man to the master; and the Story applyed to the by-name of King *Richard*, whereof the true reason is that which * *Thomas Walsingham* mentioneth, saying; That for the *magnanimity of his heart* (*grostitudinem pressans*, saith an * other, meaning as it seemes, that his materiall heart it selfe was big and massive, which * another also saith was *inexpugnable*) this King was both by the *English* and *Normans* stiled *Cœur de Lion.*

* And yet a Starre he gave in his deville, as is seene in both his Seales.

* Ypodig. Neustr.

* Ger. Dorob.

* Matth. Paris, in Rich. 1. and his Epitaph: *Neustria tuque Regis Cor inexpugnabile tegis.*

His Wives.

Alice the daughter of *Lewis* the seventh, King of *France*, by Queene *Alice* daughter of Earle *Theobald* of *Champaigne*, is by * some reputed the first wife of King *Richard*, though indeed she were * onely contracted to him (being both children) and committed to his Father, but when hee demanded her, his father refused to deliver her, or she to come to him, or both: Wherefore being King, conceiving displeasure against King *Philip* her brother, and more then suspecting her continency with his owne father (by whom hee alledged shee had a child) hee refused to take her: yet * gave a hundreth thousand pounds to *Philip*, *pro quieta clamantia, to be quite freed from her.* Shee became the wife of *William* Earle of *Ponthieu*, and had issue Queene *Joan* of *Castile*, the mother of Queene *Eleanor*, wife to King *Edward* the first.

* Mr. Ferrers.

* Æmilius.

Berengaria the second wife of King *Richard*, was the daughter of *Sanches* the fourth of that name, King of *Navarre*, sonne of King *Garcy* the fourth: her mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Alphonso*, the seventh King of *Castile*, called the Emperour of *Spaine*. She was conveyed by *Eleanor* the Kings mother unto the King in *Sicily*, and married to him in *Cyprus*, whence she accompanied him to the Holy-land. The King (upon what cause we find not) neglected her company for a while, but upon more settled thoughts, he resumed her againe to his love and society, but had no issue by her.

Hovedon.

His naturall issue.

Philip, the naturall son of King *Richard*, seemeth to have been begotten, while he was Earle of *Poyctou*, of a Gentlewoman *Poyctovin*, and to have had of his fathers gift a towne in *Poyctou* named *Sumac*, to have taken also his fur-name and title of the same Towne; and to have beene the Progenitour of a Family of Gentlemen of the same surname and title, in the same Country.

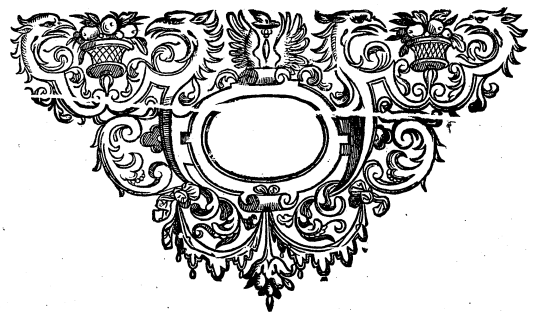
Mr. Brown.

Isabel, (by * some who mention not *Philip* at all) is reputed the Naturall Daughter of King *Richard*, (whose mother the Author nameth not) and that shee was married to *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*.

* Mr. Mills.

Three other Daughters, (Bastards no doubt) hee is said to have, of whose names and matches wee will report as wee find recorded. Whiles hee was in *France*, employed in his warres against King *Philip*, *Fulco* a *French* Priest, came unto him, telling him hee had three very bad *Daughters*, which he wished him to bestow away from him in marriage, or else Gods wrath would attend him: when the King denyed hee had any daughter, yes (quoth the Priest) thou cherishest three daughters, *Pride*, *Covetousnesse*, and *Lechery*. The King apprehensiue of his meaning, called his Lords there attending, and said: "My Lords, this "Hypocrite hath found that I have three daughters: "which I maintaine, viz. *Pride*, *Covetousnesse*, and *Le-"chery*, which he would have me bestow forth in mar-"riage; and therefore (if any such I have) I have found "out most fit Husbands for them all. My *Pride* I be-"queath to the haughty *Templers* and *Hospitallers*, "who are as proud as *Lucifer* himselfe: My *Cove-"tousnesse* I give to the white Monkes of the *Cisteaux* "Order, for they covet the Divell and all: But for "my *Lechery* I can bestow it no where better then on "the Priests and Prelates of our times, for therein "have they their most felicity. Doubtlesse these mariages prooved so fruitfull, that their issue hath now over-flowed all Kingdomes of the earth.

King Richards three Metaphorical Daughters.



IOHN,

IOHN. Monarch 45.

IOHN, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FIRST STILED LORD OF IRELAND, THE FORTY FIFTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER VIII.

An. Dom. 1199. Greatest happinesse no in greatest dignities.

THE lustre of Diadems, and Soveraigntie, so dazeleth the eyes, and bewitcheth the hearts of ambicious beholders, that whiles they fondly deeme the greatest content to be in highest Titles, running after a *seeming happinesse*, they often cast themselves head-long, and whole Kingdomes, into a *reall* and irrepairable *ruine*; as the calamities, which after the death of the noble *Cœur-de-Lion*, lighted on the Pretenders to his Crowne, and on this miserably distracted State, will yeeld us too rusfull a President. To the full acting of which *Tragedie*, (for such it was, and so wee must now present it in this our *Theatre*,) concurred as principall *Actors*, the *two* (though these *Patients* rather, as the issue prooved,) unfortunate *Corrivals* for the Crowne, *Iohn* Earle of *Mortone*, Brother to the late King, and his Nephew *Arthur* the [a] *Posthumous* sonne of *Geffrey* Duke of *Britaine*, the Earles eldest Brother: their *two Female* (and therefore more emulous and restlesse) *Solicitors*, Queene *Eleanor* and Lady *Constance*, each ambitious of their owne, in their Sonnes advancement: their *two* revengefull *Abettors*, *Otho* the Emperour for *Iohn*, and *Philip* King of *France* for *Arthur*: thereupon the *two* unjust *Intruders* on the Crowne; *Lewis* the *French* Kings Sonne, and *Innocentius* the *Pope*, the one by *unprincely forces*, the other by *unpriestly fraud*: and lastly, their *two* sorts of treacherous *Instruments*, of the *Latin* for the one, and *Clergie* for the other; all which, like so many Tragicke fire-breathing *Furies*, set this State in so horrible combustion, as that the [b] smoake is not as yet, so many ages after, quite allayed.

The principall Actors in king Iohns tragicall raigne.

(2) Earle *Iohn*, (the very Centre in which those

calamities

a Borne after his Fathers death, who dyed at *Paris*, 1186. *Celeno. August. Tyrrell. Matth. Giraldus, Hib. expug. cap. 32. Philip* the second of *France. Innocentius* the third.

b In *Iovinius, Bellarmine, Baronius, Greiser, Sleidan*, and other Papall pretenders to the English Crowne.

Earle *Iohns* preparatives to the Kingdome.

c Queen reuerri me diligebat. Guil. Nubrig.
d Gerald. Hib. expug. lib. 2. cap. 31.
e Ger. Dorob. M. S.
f Guil. Nubrig.
g Roger Hoved. in Rich. 1.

h Nich Trivet. M. S. Roger Hoved. Tholig. Weall. and all, except willtill Polydor.
i Roger Hoved. & alij.

The Titles of both competitors.
k Iure propinquitatis, & Testamento Successoris. Wesling. Tyrrel. Annal 1199. Trivet.
l Iure communi. Paul. Æmil. in Philip. 2. Earle Iohns helpes for the Kingdome.
m Reg. de Irland. M. S.

n Roger Hoved. in Ioh.
o Matth. Paris. Hist. Major. Earle Iohns Agents.

p Hoveden. M. S. in Ioh. Duke Arthurs Adherents.
q Hoveden. in Ioh.
r Thomas de Exeter.
s Paris. Hist. Major. Fol. m.
The beginnings of hatred betwixt Earle Iohn and the Provincials.
t Roger Hoved. in Ioh.
u Factiones & conjuratiade, ibid Matth. West. Faits Instrum, Iws & conjuratiuns.
x Polydor. Virg. lib. 15.
y Pallingham. Ypodig. Borne &c. 1189. die Pasche, his father dying before in Augusto.
z Solo intuitu, &c. Polyd. ibid.
a Hoveden. Iohn proclaimed King of England.
b Polydor. Virg. lib. 15.
c Reg. de Wend. M. S. Constance commiteth Arthur to Philip king of France.
* Magnificis verbis, &c.
Polydor. Virg. lib. 15.
d Ioh. de Serres in Vita Augusti. e Nich Trivet. M. S.
The beginning of hatred betwixt King Iohn and King Philip.

calamities met,) had from his infancy beene fedde with high and royall hopes, as c *being his fathers onely darling*, from whom hee had the d possession of the *Irish*, and e intendment also of the *English* Kingdome: and in his brothers time, (f whose return from the holy-warres all men despaired) had by gratious deportment towards the Subjects, obtayned an oath of Fealty to himselfe, in g remainder, *in case his brother should die childlesse*: having now therefore the way to those his desiignes made smoother by the h last will of King *Richard*, and i allegiance of his Nobles then attending; (for *these courses may facilitate, but not make a just claime*;) wee may not thinke, that either he was cold now, for the accomplishment of that, which so hotly hee had before pursued, or so nice, as to neglect a Kingdome, upon scrupulous points of *Titles & Right*. k *Propinquity of blood* pleaded for *Iohn*, as l *Lineall descent* for *Arthur*, the Kings Brother being nearer then his Brothers sonne; but *Iohn*, who knew that the *weaker use to argue their Titles, whiles the stronger hold the possession*, resolved to try the strength of his claime by no other Law then of Armes; and therefore, being at the time of King *Richards* death in those forraine parts, hee makes it his first care to fasten to himselfe, by present m *largesse*, *and large promises* of future favours, (*the usuall Rhetoricke of Competitours*) all the *Stipendarie Souldiers*, *and other Servitours of his deceased Brother*. To win himselfe the like assurance of love at home, and n *to settle* (if it might bee) *an universall quiet*, he o *forthwith despeeded* into *England*, there to concurre with Queene *Eleanor*, his experienced Mother, three of the choiseſt men of the *State*, *Hubert* Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William Marshall* a potent Peere, and *Geoffry Fitz-Peter* the great Iusticiar, by whose severall interests, the *three States*, of *Clergy*, *Chivalry*, and *Commonalty*, might best bee either allured to him by favours, or awed by feare; himselfe, the whiles p *posting to Chinon*, where King *Richards* great Treasure was kept; as knowing* *Richards* treasure would *hardly get or keepe a Crowne by Forces that hee should hardly get or keepe a Crowne by Forces or Friends, if hee wanted* Coyne and Crownes, to win and hold such needfull Adyers.

(3) The Treasurer, though q *himselfe with his Store, Castles, and fidelity*, thus assured to the Earle, had yet a powerfull * *Nephew*, the *Castellan of Angiers, wholly* r *Devoted to Duke Arthur*, to whose use he yeelded up that Citie and Castle, with whom also s *ſided the Nobilitie of Anion, Maine, and Turaine*, surrendring those large Territories, as to t *their liege Lord*, joyntly avowing it to bee the u *Law & custome of those Signiories, that the heritage which was to accrew to the elder Brother, if hee had survived, should descend unto his Sonne*. But *Constance*, *Arthurs* mother, no lesse x *desirous to bee Regent to a King* (for her sonne was but y twelue yeeres yong) then Queene *Eleanor* z *disdainefull* to goe below a Dutcheſſe, did not dare to build her high hopes on so low grounds, for that such subordinate Princes as favoured her cause, *might easily bee corrupted by faire meanes, or crushed by foule*: and therefore upon newes of King *Iohns* successes in *England* (for with generall applause and a *homages* hee was now proclaimed *King*,) distracted with violent and *Woman-like passions*, *Ambition* of her sons *Right*, *Rage* for his *Wrong*, *Feare* of his *Safety*, and (not the least) *Emulation* that Queene *Eleanor* (whose *prudence* and *Grace* with the *Englesh*, had b swayed exceedingly (should effect more in a wrong, then her selfe in a just cause; c shee flies to *Turaine* to the *French King Philip*, (*to seeke a Wolfe to whom shee might commit her Lambe*,) to whose *Protection* shee wholly surrenders his *Person*, his *Cause*, his *Countries*. *Philip* * pretending, (as *Princes* use) a tender care of his *Neighbour Princes* state, but d meaning indeede out of so wilhed a prize, to *raise advantage* to his owne, forthwith (e *without regard of Truth*, or *Truce sworne to King Richard*) re-enforceth all *Arthurs* Cities and Castles with his *French* Garrisons; some of which had scarse put their foote into *Maunz*, but f King *Iohn* was at their heeles, to provide them their last lodging, sacking that Citie, and *demolishing it to the ground*, for a terrour to all others, which after *fealty once sworne* unto him, (*as they had done*) should dare to revolt,

(4) Queene *Eleanor*, who having setled *England* in Peace, was now come over to forward her sonne in the Warres, and was h present at the surprising of *Maunz*, is i censured to have too much sharpened his edge against her Nephew *Arthur* and his friends, out of her implacable disdaine, and Envie towards *Constance* her *Daughter in Law*, and it appears no leſſe, for the King passing thence into *Anion*, left there his k *Captaines and Forces with his mother*, who made *Angiers* participate the fortunes of *Maunz*, the Citie ruined, the Citizens captivated; whiles himselfe comming to *Roan*, l was there by the hands of *Walter* the Archbishop, in the Cathedrall Church with great pompe, on *Saint Markes Festival*, girt with the m *Ducall Sword of Normandy*, and crowned n *with a Coronet of Golden Roſes*, (taking his Oath for faithfull administraion in that Dukedome) which was the pledge or earnest of his unquestionable admittance to the *Englisſh Diademe*, which every day now expected him. Neither yet may wee thinke, albeit King *Iohns* o mature and experienced age, his homebred, and well knowne education, his re-annexing of *Irelands kingdome* to *Englands*, made his person more gracious then *Arthurs*, that yet his *Agents* all this while in *England* found no rubbs in their way, before p *all the Earles, Barons, Burgeſſes, and free-holders* could bee induced to diſclaime *Arthurs* apparent Right, and to ſweare *fealty to King Iohn against all men living*: yea, many of the * *Englisſh Peers* (who through their last Kings absence, and others connivences, had habituated in them a conceit of uncontrouled Greatnes, which they miſcalled *Liberties* and *Rights*, under vayle whereof, they after drew, not onely undue restraints upon the *Regalitie*; but also infinite calamities and maſſacres *on the people, whose good they pretended*,) thought it fitteſt now (like *cunning Statiſts*) *to worke on the advantage of the time*, and *the neceſſities of their Prince*, whose present condition fitted him for any obtruſions: and therefore in the *great Assembly at Northampton*, yeelded onely to ſweare a * *Conditionall Fealty*, to keepe q *Faith and Peace to King Iohn, if hee would reſtore to every of them their Rights*: which was the *firſt ſeede* of diſloyalties, which after grew to ſoe great a height. Thus howſoever, all *domeſticke* difficulties overblowne, and Queene *Eleanor* * left in *Aquitaine* to provide againſt *Forraigne*, King *Iohn* arrived at * *Shoreham*, and the next day comes to *London*, preparing for his Coronation to bee at *Weſtminſter*, the morrow following, beeing Aſcention day.

(5) Strange it was to conſider, (if ought be ſtrange in *State-plots*) how men, otherwiſe very prudent, transported once with Worldly and ſeemingpolitique reſpects, can ſo wilfully cloud their Reaſon, as to attempt thoſe things, which leave both a preſent ſtaine on their *Soules*, and a laſting diſ-reputation both of their *Integrity* and *Wiſedome*, wherein ſo much they glory. For what elſe did *Hubert* Archbiſhoppe of *Canterburie*, the man ſo * famouſed as r the *Pillar of the Common-wealthes ſtability*, and t *incomparable for deepe-reaching Wiſe-dome*, when in that ſacred and celebrious Aſſembly of c *all the States*, addreſſing for the royall Inauguration, hee added to thoſe *Ley-Peeres Conditionals*, his *Clergy-Sophiſmes*, and u ſecond *ſeede-plot of Treaſons*, perſwading them by a cunning, but diſloyall ſpeech (which yet x ſome by transforming, have more deformed) that the *Engliſh Crowne* was meerely *Arbitrary* and *Elective* at the peoples devotion? That y *they all in diſcretion were to know, how that no man hath Right or any other fore-Title to ſucceed another in a Kingdome, unleſſe firſt* (*with invocation for Grace and Guidance of Gods Holy-Spirit*) *hee bee by the Body*

f Matth. Paris. King Iohnation and villanie Maiore.

g Roger Hoved. Queene Eleanor comes to her Sonnes aid. h Hoveden. M. S. Matth. Paris. i Hollinſh. Polyd.

k Marchalcum cum tota fa. Roger Hoveden. Queene Eleanor taketh and inditeth Angers. l Matth. Paris.

m Gladia Pontificalis. Mat. West. Antiq. M. S. n Hoveden. King Iohn crowned Duke of Normandy.

o An. 1199. 31. weſtmg. Tindg. The ſame 25. yeare. Sim. d. Daniel with 13 yeare old when he began to reigne.
p Roger Hoved. King Iohn hide Conſecration removed.
* Richard Earle of Clare.
* Hamo Belet Earle of Gloſter.
* William Earle of Salisbury.
* William Earle of Warwick.
* &c. in Normandy, &c. Generalnes of Barronies, the plagues of the Scots.
* Salvo ſuo ligeantiæ. Hoveden.
q Roger Hoved. The fulfilled of the enſuing troubles.

* Dirig. bill. 25.

* In Swiſs, & Calleid, Swis. Hoveden. Iohn crowned King of England. True honnily in conſcyence & Liberty.
* M. 116. Deb. r Singularis & famoſa Iſidoro. Epiſt. preſatio. s Omnium ad conſentiendum electione. t Omnium ad coronationem electionem. u Hoveden. M. S. x The ſecond roote of miſchiefe. y Matth. Paris. z Polydor. Virg. a From Sharrington Drayt. Ch. Calend. &c.
b Nich. Trivet. c Roger Hoved. d Of Creſſinum Allmeſbury. Hoved. Abid. e Truce with the French. f With Henry the Second, and Richard, vide ſupra. g Doubleheaded noſt unfemenine in a Prince. h Cruſhes affaſſin.

Chap. 8.

Body of the Kingdome thereunto choſen, and hee indeede ſome choiſe man, and picked out for eminency of his vertues; by the President of Saul, *the firſt Annointed King, whom God made Ruler over his owne people, though neither the Sonne of a King, nor yet of any Regall deſcent. So after him likewiſe* David, *the Sonne of* a Iſhai; *the one for being valourous, and a Perſonage fitting Royall dignity, the other for beeing Holy and humble-minded. To* b *ſhew that ſo hee, whoſoever in a Kingdome excelleth all in Valour and Vertue, ought to ſurmount all in Rule and Authority: yet ſo, as that, if any of the Oſſ-ſpring of a deceaſed King ſurpaſſeth others, it is fit ioyntly to conſent in election of ſuch a one. Thus hee ſpake* (as hee profeſſed) *in favour of* Iohn, *who then was preſent, whoſe moſt illuſtrious Brother King* Richard, *dying without any Heire from him deſcending, Him they had all (firſt imploring the* c *Holy Ghoſts aſſiſtance) as being a Provident, Valiant, and* d *undoubtedly-Noble-Prince, unanimouſly Elected, as well in regard of his Merits, as of his Royall Blood.* So unjuſt a ſpeech from ſo great a Perſon, (eſpecially, blanching his diſloyall *Aſſertion* with *Sacred Writ*, and his lewd deviſed plot, with the *Holy Ghoſts aſſiſtance*,) could not but move much Offence and. Wonder to many, even to *Iohn* himſelfe, who doubtleſſe meant to ſtand to e *his right of proximity by blood:* f *but they durſt not then and there, move Queſtions thereof*, as afterward g ſome did, to whom he gave a reaſon of it, as ſtrange as the ſpeech it ſelfe; ſaying, h *that hee was aſſured by ſome divining fore-ſight, that King* Iohn *would worke the ruine of the Kingdome, and that therefore,* to i *bridle him from ſo doing, hee had affirmed his Admiſſion was to bee by Choice, and not Hereditary Succeſſion:* Implying, that as by Election he got the Crowne, ſo by Ejection on demerite hee might as juſtly looſe it. But for that preſent, the Ceremonies all pompouſly accomplished, (where k *three Oathes* were miniſtred to him; l *To love Holy Church, and preſerve it from all oppreſſors; To governe the State in Juſtice, and abolish bad lawes*; *Not to aſſume this Royall honour but with full purpoſe to performe that hee had ſworne*:) the firſt act and bounty of his Kingly Power, was to reward thoſe whoſe hands had lifted him to it, making *William Marſhall* and *Fitz-Peter*, Earles of *Pembroke* and *Eſſex*, and the Archbiſhop, Lord high Chancellour; who ſeeming m *to glory in that addition of Honor*, was told by the Lord *Bardolfe*, that the height of Archiepiſcopall dignity was ſuch, as it was ever reputed a great advancement for a Chancellor to bee made Archbiſhop, but none for an Archbiſhop to be made a Chancellour. And yet in truth, this Office of *Conſcience*, ſuited farre better with the *Miter*, then that of * *Lord chiefe Juſtice of all England*, which hee (*though* * *no great Lawyer*) enjoyed, in the Raigne of the late King.

(6) The Kings enemies, n who kept their heads in, whiles he was there in Armes, found opportunities to impeach him, while he was here feeling his *Peace*: the o *French* King in *Normandy* ſurpriſeth the City *Eurenx*, and recovers the County of *Main*, the *Britaines* re-gaine the City *Angiers* with other ſtrong holds: the newes whereof cauſed King *Iohn* with all ſpeed p to paſſe the Seas, to give ſtoppage to that current; where on his arrivall, his Army of q Friends and *Voluntaries* was ſo encreaſed, that King *Philip* was ſoone content to take r *truce for fifty dayes*; on expiration whereof, an Enterview was agreed on to eſtabliſh a laſting *Peace*. But *Philip* s long time noted of doubling, (*ill beſeeming any, but chiefely a Prince*) the t very day before the two Kings ſhould meete, giving Duke *Arthur* the u *Belt of Knighthood*, and taking of him Homage for the *Signiories* of *Anion*, *Poyctou*, *Turaine*, *Maine*, *Britanny*, and *Normandy*, hee made him faithfull vow, to yeeld him powerfull helpes, for acquiring thoſe poſſeſſions. Neither was King *Iohn* behinde him in that kind of prevention, when *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, the *French Philips* profeſſed Enemy, u comming to *Roan*, and diſſwading x King *Iohn* from truſting any *French* friendſhip, did there ſweare unto him, both faithfull Helpe and Homage. Yet the two Kings keeping touch for the day, though not for the purpoſe of amity (and yet making faire ſhew of that too) held *Parley* betwixt *Butavant* and y *Guletun* z two dayes by *Commiſſioners* inter-current, the third by preſence and privacie, *that not one of their Nobles or Attendants* (who on each ſide *lay far aloofe for the ſpace of an houre*) underſtood any paſſages betwixt them. Thus much yet came to notice by after-relation, that a King *Philip* then required for Himſelfe the large Country of b *Veulguſſine*, pretending that *Geffrey* Earle of *Anion* granted it to *Lewis le Groſſe*, *for ayding his Sonne King* Henry *the ſecond againſt King Stephen*: and for *Arthur*, all *Poyctou*, *Anion*, *Maine* and *Turaine*: both which immoderate demands with others, King *Iohn* (conceiving with c *Salomon*, *Wiſe doth hee not alſo aske for Adonijah the Kingdome?*) d *neither would nor ought to grant unto him*; whereby their amities intended, ended in more hoſtile defiances. But *Philips* capitulating then for *Arthur*, was onely perfunctory and complemental, as his owne words, (and afterward his actions) bewrayed: when being queſtioned by his Favorites of his implacable e *hatred againſt King* Iohn, *who had never harmed him*, profeſſed it was onely, *for that hee had* (not, defeated *Arthur*, but) *poſſeſſed himſelfe of* Normandy, *and the other Demaines, without asking him leave, or offering him Homage.*

(7) The *flames* thus on all ſides *breaking forth the ſtronger, by how much the more they had beene for a time kept in*, (f many Earles and Barons of *France*) (who formerly *adhered to King Richard*) became Homagers to King *Iohn*, they (ſwearing, never without his aſſent to revert to *Philip*, and hee, never to make Peace with *Philip*, but they therein to be concluded. In the heate of which ſidings (if not before) a Schiefe adherent of the forefaid Earle of *Flanders* (now col-leagued with King *Iohn*) being the Biſhop Elect of *Cambray*, fell into the hands of the *French*, at which time alſo h *Philip* Biſhop of *Beauvois*, (a great *French* Peere) was held in priſon by King *Iohn*; and neither of them willing to forgoe their mitred Champions, i *Petrus de Capua*, the Legate, interdicted *France* for the one, and *Normandy* for the other, till they, as perſons ſacred and inviolable, ſhould bee diſmiſſed: yet King *Iohn* (whoſe Perſon and Title the Pope and Papals as yet much tendred) had the favour to wring out of his prize, k *five thouſand Markes for his releaſe*, and an *Oath, never whiles hee breathed to beare Armes againſt any Chriſtian.* l This Legat in King *Richards* time, had made agreement with King *Philip* for a five yeeres Truce, which expiring with *Richards* laſt breath, hee ſtill laboured to eſtabliſh it betwixt the now Kings: but King *Philips* great heart would not ſo come downe, which was likely to have coſt him deere. For purſuing whither his *Fury* (a *bad guide*) did lead him, after his ſiege of *Lavardin*, (m *Whence upon King Iohns approach with his Army hee fled to Maunz, and thence againe fled, King Iohn comming thither*;) ſeized the Caſtle of *Balun* (which belonged to *Arthur*) and to prevent his enemy (as is likely) n *hee levelled it to the very ground*; which fact Duke *Arthurs* o *Generall, William de Rupibus* wrathfully expoſtulating with King *Philip*, as having done therein *contrary to Covenants with his Lord Arthur*, hee as ſcornefully anſwered, that hee would *not for his Lord Arthurs pleaſure, forbeare his owne, in doing as himſelfe liſted, with ſuch Forts as hee tooke.* The Generall ſeeing *Arthur* was but the outward maske, under which *Philip* revelled for his hidden ends, p feriouſly perſwaded his Lord to reconcilement with his Vncle King *Iohn*, and rather to *hazzard his hopes on the clemency of a Generous Foe, then on the guiles of a falſe-hearted Friend*: and ſo making his peace with King *Iohn*, hee preſently yeelded up to him both *Maunz*, and (with Lady *Conſtance*) the young Duke alſo, the important matter

x Roger Hoved. M. S.
A League betwixt England and Flanders.
y Hoveden, which translator and Paris call Wiſilon.
z Hoveden. An Interview of the Kings of England and France.
a Roger Hoved.
b Pergelium. Hoveden. Angelgerius. Hoveden. Valle-Caſarum. Polydor. Nolle-Caſtrum Paul. Æmil. King Philips unreaſonable demands.
c 2 Reg. 2. 22. d Nolite, nec debetis, Paris. The Perſon ends in diſcord.

e Roger Hoved.

f Hoveden.

g Matth. Paris.

h Of whom, ſee in Record the firſt.

i Matth. Paris.

k Paris. Hoved. ſaith but 100

l Nich. Trivet. M. S. Roger Hoveden.

King Iohn purſues Philip from place to place. m Roger Hoved. fol. 452.

n Roger Hoved.
o Princeps Exercitus Arthuri. Hoved. 18.

King Philips wrongs to Arthur.

p Matth. Paris. Roger Hoved.

Arthur reconciled to King Iohn.

of so great contentions. But heavens were not so propitious to these Reconciliats, as so to hold them long: some *Philippines* buzzing such needlesse [a]terrors of Imprisonment into the Noble Childes eares, that the next night, *Feare* giving wings to his flight, as Love did to his Mothers, (for leaving her Husband [b]*Ranulph* Earle of *Chester*, she was amorous of, and married *Guido* a gallant Gentleman, who then fled with her,) they escaped into *Angiers*. *Arthur* neither sure of King *Philip*, nor sure to King *Iohn*, had now cast himselfe betwixt two *Millstones*; but (howsoever) *Philip* ment the *grieſe* in the end should be his.

(8) The breach betwixt these two great Kings, was the more irreconcileable, by reason of the hatred betwixt King *Philip* and the Emperour [c]*Otho*, King *Iohns* Nephew, whose advancement to the Empire (himselfe perhaps [d]aymingto it) *Philip* still endeavoured to impeach, [e]*not regarding that the Pope* (whose power Kings then regarded onely, while it made for their purpoſe) *had thundred his Anathema against all his Oppoſers*: and *Otho in* [f]*gratitude to King Richard, who* [g]*procured him the Diadem Imperiall*, and in tender regard of his Vncles honour, sent him advise, [h]*not to haſten any finall atonement* with the *French* King, for that himselfe *would bring him his utmoſt Imperiall aſsiſtance*. Notwithstanding, by the *Cardinall-Legates* affiduous interceding, a Truce was concluded till the [i]Feast of Saint *Hillary*: at which time, the Kings comming to a Treaty betwixt *Guletum* and *Butavant* Castles, [k]it was agreed, that *Lewis* the Heyre of *France* [l]should marry King *Iohns* Neece, *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*; that King *Iohn* should give for Dowry the City and County of *Eureux*, with sundry Forts in *Normandy*, and thirty thousand Markes in silver; vowing also not to ayde his Nephew *Otho* with men or meanes to attaine the Empire: and further, [l]*promiſing to leave* (*if hee dyed without iſſue*) *unto Lewis, all the Territories hee held in France*; all which Articles were [m]formerly engrossed, but finally concluded betwixt *Butavant* and *Guletum* (the [n]one King *Iohns*, the other King *Philips* Castle) the [n]*Octaves of Saint Iohn Baptiſt*, when these Counties were actually surrendred to *Philip*; the Lady *Blanch* [o]espoused to *Lewis* his sonne; Duke *Arthur* (*Philips* once vowed, but now unvalued charge,) yeelded over, and made [p]*Servant*, and [q]*Homager* to King *Iohn* for his owne Dukedome, whom yet his Vncle was content to leave with King *Philip*, who had now so left him, and erſt had upheld him, onely as the baite of his owne advantage. If Princes can bee thus unprincely degenerous, what truſt can men repoſe in baſer vaſsals? King *Iohn* hereupon proved much more fleddfast to *Philip*, then either *Philip* was to him, or himselfe to *Otho* the Emperour, who sending his two Brethren *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William* (surnamed of [r]*Winton*) to demand the Counties of [s]*Torke* and *Poyctou*, with the Treasure and Iewels which [t]King *Richard* bequeathed him: King *Iohn* denyed to yeeld thereunto, [u]*onely in regard of his Oath which hee had paſsed to Philip, to yeeld no kind of ayde to the Emperour*. And further to teſtifie, (yea further then he ought) his faithfull meaning to preſerve intire this amity with *Philip*, [x]by his advise hee divorced [y]*Hawiſia* his wife, as *too* [z]*neere of Blood*, by sentence of the Archbishop and Bishops of *Burdeaux*, *Poyctoirs*, and *Xanton*, and by the Archbishops hands espoused *Iſabell*, a Heiretrice of *Ailmar* Earle of *Angoliſme*, a faire yong Lady, but [b]destined to another bed.

(9) This *Finall Concord* (so [c]called, but not prooving so) with *Philip*, who now acknowledged *Iohn* the [d]*rightfull Heire of King Richards Crowne*, gave him more leaſure, to receive peaceably all [e]*Submitties*, and bring in forceably all [f]*out-ſtanders* of those his transmarine Dominions, and after to looke home to the affaires of his Kingdome, from which hee had beene (and wee there following him,) too long absent. Yet in the heate of those forraine imployments, hee on occasions had his recourſes hither to settle his State-affaires, and [g]Crowne-Revenewes; to enact wholeſome [h]lawes for forraine and domeſticke Commerce; to Collect an [i]Ayde for his Neeces great Dowry, and Martiall uſes; which later (being three thillings on every [k]Carrucata,) though his firſt and onely Subsidy since his comming to the Crowne, cauſed much heart-burning; eſpecially by meanes of his[l] owne brother *Geoffry* Archbishop of *Torke* (touching whom the King was [m]fore-warned, that *hee would bring a Sword, and not Peace into England*) who bearing himselfe too bold on his bloud and place, [n]*forbad the Collectors of that Ayde in his precincts* (though it were [o]granted to the King generally for all *England*) and alſo being *required by the King* to attend him into *France*, to conclude the Peace, and his Neeces eſpouſall, hee very undutifully denyed his ſervice. The King [p]juſtly mooved with those his diſloyalties, cauſed all his Temporalities to bee ſeized on by his Sheriffe; whom therefore *Geoffry* (adding freſh fuell to the fire) *did ſolemnely excommunicate*, cauſed the Kings Officers to beare blowes, and *interdicted the whole Province of Torke*. So partiall and unhiſtoricall is the report of [q]one; (a Stranger by birth, but more ſtrange for bold untruths) who faines the onely incentive of ſuch indignation in the King, was that Prelates reprehenſion of his Rapines on the people. For (to give a further taſte of that Authors [r]*vehement fond malice*, juſtly ſo taxed) what ancient Iudicious Writers call an [s]*Ayde* neceſſary for Warres, that hee enſtileth Rapines and Spoiles; where they make *Iohn* his Brothers Heyre by Will, hee makes *Arthur*; they ſay he was a[t] valiant man, he faith he was a Coward; where they make him [u]*purſuing*, and *Philip* flying, hee chargeth him to have *made onely plaints, when hee ſhould have drawne ſwords*; where they charge the Peeres for [x]*drawing backe from his Warres*, hee makes them the onely *Haſtings*, and *Iohn* the *Hinderer*; briefely, if a [y]*fire-ſhooting Meteor* appeare above, it portends Heavens fury on *Iohn*; if the [z]*watry Element* over-flow, it bodes *Iohns* fury on his Land. But ſurely that part thereof, which fell on *Geffrey*, it was (you ſee) not undeſerved: notwithſtanding, upon the Kings * returne into *England*, and *Geffreys* to his more loyall carriage and ſubmiſſion, *his Peace was made*, at the very time, and for the more celebrity of Queene *Iſabels* * Coronation, with whom the King himselfe was * *againe crowned at Weſtminſter* by Archbiſhop *Hubert*.

(10) The Pompe of that ſolemnity ended, the King reſolved of ending a long depending controverſie with King *William* of *Scotland*, who formerly (before *Iohn* was proclaimed King) had challenged, as [a]his *patrimoniall right*, the Counties of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, and afterward ſeeing he got but words and delayes, was ready, (King *Iohn* being then in *France*) with an hotter and more forceable argument, to winne, what hee could not crave: but being in darke [b]*devotion all night at Saint Margarets Hearſe*, the ſtill true * *Engliſh*-hearted Queene *perſwaded him by a Dreame*, (for certainely it was no other) not to inſeſt *England*, her native ſoile; who thereupon ſent backe his Army. But now hee commeth with a more friendly traine, upon King *Iohns* ſending to him, in Honourable [d]Embaſſage, the Earles of *Huntingdon* and *Hereford*, King *Williams* Brother and Nephew, his three Sonnes in Law, *Lacy*, *Veſcy* and *Ros*, with others, to deſire him to give him meeting at [e]*Lincolne*, where accordingly they both [f]meet with Kingly curteſies; and the next day, King *Iohn* to auſpicate his Temporall affaires with Spirituall devotions, (and yet to ſhew what hee thought of ſome ſuperſtitious follies of thoſe times) went [g]*undantedly into the Cathedrall Church, being much diſſwaded by many*, (for Monkiſh impoſtures perſwaded many it was very ominous for a King to enter that, and certaine [h]other places) and there offered *a golden Chalice on Saint Iohns Altar, which* [i]*no King before him durſt doe*. Where his Devotions performed the

a *Roger Hoved.*

Arthur flyeth from king *Iohn*. b *Pand. Camil. faith Gwido*, was hee ſecond Husband: but it appeares otherwiſe by *Hoveden* and others. King *Philip* and the Emperours hatred, encreaſeth the malice betwixt King *Iohn* and *Philip*.

c *Otho* the fourth ſonne of *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Maud* daughter of King *Henry* 2.

d *Roger Hoved. fol. 457.*

e *Matth. Paris.*

f *Matth. Weſt. An.* 1198.

g *Roger Hoved. fol. 451.*

h The Emperour offers his ayde to King *Iohn*.

i *Fetan ibid.*

An. 1200. The Kings interview aggaine.

k *Roy. de Hoved. M. S. Tit. in Hoveden.* Articles of attonements.

l *Nich Triver. M. S.* in Vide Chronicon apud *Hoveden. pag.* 453.

m *Hoveden. fol.* 459.

n *Paris*: 2 *Cal. Jul.* o *Walſing. Ypod. Ni.* 1200.

p *Homo Iohannis. Hoveden.*

q *Tyrrels Hiſtoſ. Lon. cit.* King *Philip* yeelds any *Arme* to King *Iohn*, againſt his vow. The Emperors two Brethren ſent to King *Iohn*.

r *Hoveden fol.* 459.

ſ *Eboraci*, ſaith *Hoveden*, peraduenture by reaſon of Inheritance, *Eureux*: t *Nich Triver. in Rich.* 1.

u *M. S.*

x *Roger Hoved.* King *Iohns* care of his oath to King *Philip*.

y *Hoveden. Hoved. fol.* 457. y So called by *Hoveden*.

Paris.

Matth. weſt. Hoved. &c. but our Heralds (*Glover, Miller, Ferrers*, &c.) call her *Iſabell*.

z Grand-child to *Robert* baſe-brother of King *Iohn*.

a *Iohn de Serres.* b *Pandigma.*

c *Apud. Hoved.* d *ibid. fol.* 469.

e *idem fol.* 490.

f *ibid. fol.* 458.

the two *Kings* (in preſence of * three Archbishops, thirteene Bishops, the *King* of *South-Wales*, with a multitude of *Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, *French*, and *Iriſh*, Princes and Peeres,) aſcending the toppe of that conſpicuous and high * hill, on the North ſide of the City, did there in a glorious ſolemnity, ſweare amitie and faithfull love, [k]*upon the Croſier of Archbiſhop Hubert*.

(11) That Spectacle ſo Royall to the beholders, was ſeconded with another, no leſſe Honorable to *K. Iohn*, (for *Humility in ſuch great ones is more glorious then their glory*,) when the King having lately left *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincolne* (called the Saint, for the opinion of unfained integrity, though [l]blemiſhed with ſome obſtinacies, and ſurcharged with Legends of [m]fained Miracles) at *London* very ſicke, (where himselfe with gratious care [n]went to viſite him, and both confirmed *his Teſtament, and promiſed the like for other Biſhops after*,) now hearing he was * dead, and his Corps then bringing into the gates of *Lincolne*, hee, with all that princely Traine, went forth to meete it; the [o]three *Kings* (though the *Scottiſh* was to *depart that very day*) with their Royall Allyes, carrying the Hearſe on thoſe ſhoulders, accuſtomed to uphold the weight of whole Kingdomes: from whom the Great Peeres received the ſame, and *bare it to the Church Porch*, whence the three Archbiſhops and Biſhops convaid it to the Quier, and the next day (it there lying the meane time [p]*open faced, mitred, and in all Pontificall Ornaments, with Gloves on his hands, and a Ring on his finger*) interred it with all ſolemnities anſwerable. Yet heere the King reſted not to give proofe, in ſo great a height, of his lowly minde, and then benigne (how ever afterward averted) to the Clergie; when twelve Abbots of the *Ciſteaux Habit* (whoſe [q]*whole Order* had diſpleaſed him, by refuſing to give *Aide* towards his great payment of thirtie thouſand pounds) [r]came now to *Lincolne*, and all proſtrate at his feet, craved his gracious favour, for that his Forreſters had driven out (for ſo the King had given command) of his *Paſtures and Forreſts all their Caſtle, wherewith themſelves and Chriſt poore were ſuſtained*. The King touched with remorſe on ſo venerable a troope of *Suppliants*, (though ſo great offenders) commanded them to riſe, who were no ſooner up, but the King, *inſpired with Divine Grace, fell flat on the ground before them, deſiring pardon*; adding, that hee not onely *admitted them to his love*, and their * *beaſts to his Paſtures*, (a ſpeciall favour which Kings had granted that Order,) *but would alſo build an Abbey for men of their ſort, (if they would deſigne ſome choice ſeat) wherein himſelfe meant to bee enſhrined*. Neither did hee promiſe then, more then he performed, nor were thoſe wylie *Immiliates* regardleſſe of chooſing a delicate plot for the purpoſe, where hee built a goodly Abbey of their Order, deſervedly for the pleaſance of the place; named [s]*Beaulin*, and of [t]a rich *Revenue*, and exceſſive *Priviledge*; continuing long *of great renowne, as a Caſtle of refuge inviolable*; our Anceſtors thinking it moſt hainous facrilledge, thence to draw any, though willfull *Murderers* or *Traitors*: wherein the Founders of ſuch unſanctified [u]*Sanctuaries* and *Temples of Mercy* (ſo they called them) *throughout this Kingdome, ſeemed rather to take Romulus for their Preſident, then Moſes, who granting favour to caſuall Man-ſlaughters, yet commanded wilfull Murderers to bee drawne from the Altar to the ſlaughter*. But this *Ciſteaux* diſ-order was not alone, either in thoſe ſhamefull indignities, or gainefull attonements. The [x]*Benedictines*, in *Antiquitie* above them, in *Priviledges* equall, ſcorned to be in courage behinde them for affronting their Soveraigne: who claiming the patronage of a * *Benefice* which the *King his Father* formerly beſtowed, * they impugned his royall title, lockt the Church doores againſt his *Preſentee*, (being the Kings neere friend) ſcorned his moſt princely loving letters of requeſt, rejected his often and earneſt meſſages, fenced the Church with armed men againſt the Kings Officers, aſſayled the Kings Sheriffe and his forces, and put them to flight by ſword, mooved the *Pope to excommunicate all their oppugners (which touched the King neere)* yea, cauſed him ſubmiſſion, he forgave them their offence, gave them that patronage, with ſundry other great gifts and immunities, and ſo *became their chiefe Patrone and Protector*.

(12) By what degrees, men not onely of ſuch *reputed-religious habite*, but alſo of the *Secular-Clergy*, fell afterward more and more from ſuch favours of the King, and hee from theirs, a man that will not purpoſely winke, may eaſily behold, both ſorts ſtanding ſo ſtiffe on their perſons, and their poſſeſſions Exemption from Regall command, that whiles the [a]*Pope* would have all for any ſuperfluous imployment, the King could get nothing, though his Kingdome were in hazard, as you heard by the diſloyall obſtinacies both of the Archbiſhop of *Torke*, who denied the King his perſonall attendance, and thoſe *Ciſteaux Monkes*, whoſe Coffers were thus lockt againſt him. The like pretended Exemptions of their *Clergie Prelacies* (as well as of their Perſons and Purſes) wrought alſo like offences, both with former Kings, and now with King *Iohn*, who on the death of Biſhop *Hugh*, reſolving to conferre by gift, (as his[b] Auncestors did, and [c]himſelfe elſe where lately had) that See, on ſome whom eyther merite or affection had endeared to him, (the rather, becauſe [d]men of thoſe places, in thoſe daies were uſually their Soveraignes boſom-Counſellours) [e]hee was with peremptory affronts withſtood by the Canons there, who very bold on the Popes up-bearing, reckt very ſlenderly their Princes diſpleaſing. It is not unlikely that Archbiſhop *Hubert* (left *Canterbury* might bee thought inferiour to *Torke* in daring boldneſſe,) as being Papall Legate, in ſecret boſtring them had a hand, though cloſely carried in a glove: for that the man, who lately [f]gloryed, that the King was wholle his, now finding hee had not the ſway hee expected, and thought hee deſerved (by obligement of his firſt Agency about the Crowne,) not onely ſtudied to make up that by his Legatine Glory which hee wanted by his Princes countenance, but further, (as [g]one who thinkes hee extolles his vertue, who paints forth his diſloyalty,) *hee repented now, more then any thing in all his life, that hee had ſo advanced King Iohn to the Crowne*, Cortes, about this time hee ſhewed ſlender reſpect to his Soveraigne, (for *as God is in his, ſo are Kings alſo diſhonoured in their Miniſters diſgraces*) when being prohibited by *Fitz-Peter*, the Kings great Iuſticiar and Miniſter (in the Kings abſence) of Regall commaund, [h]*from holding a Generall Councell of his Province*, (never vſed to bee held, but by Soveraigne permittance) his pleaſure ſcorn'd to take any counter-maund, but from him eſpeciallie, who, in [i]calling his inferiour, by * joynt deſerts towards the King, but his Equall, was now, in neereneſſe and faſtneſſe to the King, become farre his Superiour. But what ſpeake I of confronting a ſubordinate power? did hee ſpare to out-beard his Soveraigne himſelfe? It ſeemes no. For having notice, the Feaſt of the *Nativity* now approaching, that the King intended, with his Queene, at *Guilford* to keepe that feaſtivity with great magnificence; he whoſe Pallace ordinarily, for *ſplendour, multitude of Attendants, and ſumptuous intertainments dud ſtrive with the kings* (as one of his owne [k]*Succeſſors* avows) thought this a fitting time, to ſhew, both his great ſtate, and little regard of his Princes diſcountenance, by [l]*Paralleling to the Kings*, his owne ſumptuous preparations, [m]*with rich attires, and coſtly gifts for his Attendants at Canterbury*. The king (*as kings brooke not to bee brawed by Subjects, nor is it wiſedome for*

a *Matth. Paris. pallium.* The Clergy ſtand on a threefold exemption. 1 Of their Perſons. 2 Of their poſſeſſions. 3 Of their Prelacies.

b *Apud Matth. Paris.*

c See in King *Henry* the firſt. * *Succeſſit Iohanni de Oxenford, in Epiſtu Nerwic. Iob. de Gray. Dono ſeſtantis regis. Hen ſol.* 498. *Epiſtum Herreford. Dyceto. ad. Angeduniſol.*

d *Matth. Paris, in Guil. 2.*

e *Roger Hoved.* Offerre nolens by the King againſt Archb. *Hubert Cant.*

f *Roger Hoved.*

Hubert rebellious heart to King *Iohn.*

g Pol. *Virg. l.* 15.

Hubert reſiſteth the Kings chiefe Officers.

h *Roger Hoved.*

Hubert brawes the King himſelfe.

i *Archiepiſcopus in Regem & Rex ſecundus perſona. Matth. Paris.* * *As Silens a-gainſt the Gods.*

Hubert outbraves the King himſelfe.

An. Dom. 1201.

k *Matt Paris* in *vitis Duorum Abb. in vit. Hubert.* *Matthew. Quas cum Rex à pari contendit.*

m *Hoveden. An.* 2.

for dif-favourites to doe it,) mooved [n] *with great indignation,* thought the man had too much riches, and too little *Discretion* (*which seldome lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwels in the Heart,*) and therefore to abate somewhat of the one, and learne him more of the other, having first beene in the [o] *North parts* to gather money for his better vses, hee meant not to lavish it in keeping his Easter, which he chose rather to doe at the cost of *Hubert the* [p] *Rich*; and not to spare him, who spared not himselfe, hee there increast that great expence with a greater, of His, and his Queenes solemne [q] crowning againe on Easter day, in the Cathedrall Church; where, in lieu of his expence, *Hubert* had the formall honour *to set on their Crownes*, but yet not the grace to sit neere the Kings heart.

(13) Such being the first overtures of heart-burnings betwixt the King and his Clergy, which after by additament of daily fuelling, brast forth into a more fearefull flame; the Lay-Peeres were so farre from labouring to quench it, that they made it the fiercer: for these Bellowes of Rebellion, which before their Homages did condition for their Rights and Liberties, were not all this while sparing of their breath, to inflame other Nobles with the like heat of fury. Hell it selfe (*whence all Rebellions spring, and thither fall againe*) could not wish a fitter occasion to broach and actuate such a mischiefe. For the [r] *Poyctovins* with King *Philips* connivence, (taking advantage of *King Iohns* absence, and Springs approach) were up in Armes, dislodged his Garrisons, beleagured his Castles; tidings whereof recalled King *Iohns* thoughts from his Domesticke Pomps, to his Transmarine Affaires; for the present, he gave Command to his [*] *Seneschall of Normandie*, to attempt on them some Counter-services, to withdraw the *Seigers*, (whom also King *Philip*, [s] hearing *King Iohn was in person comming over with an Army, forthwith recalled,*) and published his generall [t] summons, that his Earles, Barons, and all that held by Knights-service, should bee ready at *Portsmouth* with Horse and Armes, on Whitsunday then instant, to crosse the Seas with him. The tumultuous Earles, knowing that the King then needed their present helps, and therefore might bee forced to any Capitulations, in a Conventicle held at *Leycester*, by a [u] joynt-conspiring, sent an audacious message to the King, that they *would not* attend him, unlesse hee would *first restore their rights*; with which disloyall refusall, the *King* justly incensed; [*] *by some mens too precipitate advice,* (considering the hazardous time, which needed a salve rather then a corrasive) seized into his hands some of their Castles, to prevent their further attempts, of some he tooke their children for pledges, and others, whose Purses were likely to doe him truer service then their owners, *hee* [x] *released upon payments.* At which prefixed time, hee dispatched before him *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and Lord *Roger Lacie* with [y] two Regiments to joyne with *Normandies* Seneshall. What a [z] grave Author judged of those bold Barons heere, and other turbulent Great-ones then abroad, may bee gathered by this; that as soone as mention fell in of those refractary Lords, hee straight fell off, to shew how in that very yeere, Pope *Innocent then raigning in Rome, Saffadine the Turke in Ierusalem,* [*] *Alexander the* [a] *Fatricide in Constantinople,* (for so he yoketh these three together, with some others following them;) the great Doctors preached, that *then was the time* ([b] *prophesied by Saint Iohn*) *when after a thousand yeeres restraint, the Divell was let loose*, to seduce the Nations like a [b] Serpent, and trouble the world like a [c] Dragon: which how true it proved in this our Nation and little-World (in whose Tragedy the Divell also, amongst the [d] first named Actors, comes now to play his part,) the Diabolicall ensuing practises, both of fraud and fury, will hereafter demonstrate.

(14) The King, though thus disfurnished of his Principall home-helpes, yet [e] entrusting the custodie of the land, especially those Southerne parts, with [f] *Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chamberlaine, and receiving to [g] full reconcilemnt (for more security of the Northerne,) *Geffrey* Archbishop of *Yorke*, whose [h] Churches large Priviledges then hee ratified; without delay at *Portesmouth* hee put forth to Sea, with *Isabel* his Queene, though in sundry Bottomes, and with differing successe, [i] sudden gust dif-parting the Fleete, whereby the King was driven backe on the *Isle of Wight*, *but the Queene* [k] *with much adoe,* arrived safe in *Normandy*, whom soon after the King followed thither. Vpon whose arrivall, the *French* King [l] *perceiving the power of his adversary*, presently condescended to another personall (but very [m] private) Parley; wherein each gave and received such reciprocall satisfaction in their desires, that thereupon not onely the former bonds of Amity seemed to continue strong, but were also more strengthened with a new knot of [n] Association, wherein sundry great Lords of eyther side were by indentment of Writing, made sureties to the counter-part, with condition, that whether of the two Kings did first violate the Covenants, all his cautionary Lords should bee released of their allegiance to him, and become Leige men and Assistants to the Prince offended. And that the world might take more notice of their combined loves, they [o] both agreed to contribute to the *Holie-Warres*, (whith now began to bee on foote) the fortieth part of the whole Revenewes of their Crownes; sending their [p] letters abroad into their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles and people, by their examples to doe the like. With which intercourles, & other complements, three daies being spent betwixt them, King *Philip*, the deeper to skrue himselfe into King *Iohns* good opinion, (*the* [*] *surest way to over-reach another in any commerce*) by intreaty obtained his company, first to S. *Denises Pallace*, [q] where hee entred with a pompous Procession of the Clergy, and lodged with royall entertainment by the King, and the next day, to *Paris*, where hee was received with [r] *very rich Presents* of the City, and great applause of all sorts, to see so noble arguments of affection betwixt two so great Princes, lately so mortall enemies: where the *French King* betaking himselfe to a more private mansion, left his owne Pallace to accommodate and honour *England*s King. After fome dayes there bestowed in princely delights and entertainements, King *Iohn* conducted forth of the City by *King Philip*, and parting with mutuall attestations of love never to bee parted, tooke his journey towards *Normandy*, in full hope to enjoy thence forward the contentment of quiet to himselfe, and peace to his Dominions: but those windy hopes soone changed with his change of the aire.

(15) For whiles at *Chinon* he was royally entertaining Queene *Berengaria* his [s] sister (whom [b] hee there also bounteously satisfied, in performing the Ioyncture promised her by *King Richard*, giving her the Citie and Signiory of *Baion*, two Castles, and their Demaines in *Anion*, with a thousand Markes yeerely for tearme of life,) and at [c] *Argenton* in *Normandy*, where he kept his Christmas, was solacing himselfe with his faire Queene *Isabel*; the Earle of *March*, *Hugh*, surnamed *Le-Brun*, a [d] Peere of great power and alliance, to whom *Isabel* was first promised (though for her [e] unripe yeeres hee never bedded her) enflamed with love of her, who was now thought worthy to bee a Queenes [f] drew on other *Poictovine* Nobles, to thinke that hee was unworthy to bee a King, who wrongfully had taken her [g] from him, and would, if not prevented, doe the like in time with them. So, [h] once againe young *Arthur*, whose former hopes were all cold, is re-kindled by these fire-brands, and set up by their malice, to supplant his Uncle, but by Heavens Decree, to overthrow himselfe; how soever the [i] *Britaines*, then fascinated with his ominous Name, dreamed that the

[n] *Hoved. f. 401.* [o] *Parker in vit. Archb. Cant. records in saying it was Hubert the Archbishop, whose name was gilbert vrsline.* [p] *Hoved. f. 401.* [q] *Hist.*

[r] *Rolling.*

[s] *Matth. 259. reading, and in Hoveden Gallo profecta vexis gentis.* [t] *Pat. 8 Ioh. m. 2. m. Mense ante festum Natal.*

[u] *Westminster M. S.*

[x] *Hoved. f. 401.*

[y] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[z] *Vide Iosephum quæ vice ei, pro Antiq. Iudæ autore.*

[a] *Vsually, Nub History.*

[b] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[c] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[d] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[e] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[f] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[g] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[h] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[i] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[k] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[l] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[m] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[n] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[o] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[p] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[q] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[r] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[s] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[t] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[u] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[x] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[y] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[z] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401.*

[a] *Rym. Gallofol. Hoved. Hoved. f. 401

Quæstiones Variciniæ.

z Wendover.

a Literæ Regis apud Helmsf.

b Paris bill. MS.

c Trodic, Mould. She lived till 1241. Paris in Hen. 3.

d Walsing. Anno 1203.

e Mailleffe.

f Paris

g Matt. Weſt.

h

i Matth. Paris. k Stowes Annals.

l Ralph. Cogshall.

m Wend. M.S.

n Ralph Coggesh. p. 3 ſeling. q Paul. Æmil.

r Iohn de Serres. * Louis of France & Hen. of England. * Ben. Rich. Iohn 3 Iunius of Hen. 2. t By Paris it ſeemeth ſhee out-lived him. u Paris in Hubert. M.S.

King Iohn ſlandered about Arthurs death.

v Paris Hiſt. min. M.S.

Merlin to have beene ment of him, v *that he ſhould be crowned with the head of a Lyon, ſhould cut out the tongues of Buls, and lay-yron chaines on the backes of roaring Beaſts* (and indeed hee z chained them *hand and foote*, and ſo convayed them away in *Carts, a kind of riding till then unuſuall with them,*) ſo King *Iohn* himſelfe, a duely acknowledging *the greatneſſe of Gods goodneſſe therein*, ſent his Letters to all his *Barons* wherefoever (thereby to encourage the loyall, and hold in awe the tumultuous) inciting them *to render all praiſe unto God for ſo admirable a worke, and ſo gracious aſſiſtance:* and ſoone after b he diſperſed his Nobleſt Captives into ſundry Caſtles in *Normandy* and *England*; *Arthurs* ſiſter *Eleanor*, called the *Damoſell of Britaine*, being c committed to *Briſtow Caſtle*, where ſhe d long lived with e very *honourable uſage*. And though the Kings diſpleaſure was juſtly incenſed againſt her brother *Arthur*, for ſo frequent wavering in his faith, yet meaning to ſtifle all meanes of winning him who had thus loſt himſelfe, f hee ſent for him (being then at *Falaiſe* in the cuſtodie of g *Hubert* L. Chamberlaine) and *entreated him very gently, promiſing him all honourable reſpects, if (as yet) he would reſolve to forſake the French Kings amity, and frame both his minde for hearty love, and his actions for peaceable obſervance towards him, his Vncle and Liege-Lord.* Which exceeding clemency, the ill-adviſed yong Gentleman (for what wiſedome is it to ſhew *pride* where wee need mercy, and to give threats beyond poſſibility of performance?) h requited onely with *arrogant and undutifull language, furiouſly* upbraiding the King with violent and fraudulent detention of the *Engliſh* Crowne, which menacingly *hee there required of him, and all other King* Richards *Countries, as his law full inheritance*, affirming with an Oath, *that unlaw full ſhee did forthwith reſtore them, he ſhould not long leſſe he did forthwith reſtore them, he ſhould not long liveinpeace.* With which incorrigible pertinacy the king provoked, as ſeeing no place left to better hopes, i committed him to ſtricter cuſtody k under *Robert de Veypont*, in the Caſtle of *Roan*.

(19) The *Britaines* fury and conſpiracies, which King *Iohn* hoped to abate by this their Princes durance, l were thereby much more augmented; like *Serpents*, moſt ſtrugling with their traines, when they feele their head in preſſure. Which moved the King, who was now returned into *England*, (and in triumph of his late victory, m wore his Crowne againe at *Canterbury*, at the coſt of his former hoſte) to take adviſe of his *Councell* touching his troubled affaires, whoſe ſentence was (if wee will credite the ° reporter) that *Arthur* ſhould looſe his eyes. But the eſcaping of ſuch tortures, is by p ſome aſcribed to the commiſeration of Lord *Hubert*; by q others, to the mediation of Queene *Eleanor*, who interceded with her Son, for her Grand-child, as long as ſhe lived, which was not long; Deathes unpartiall hand (and r griefe of heart, ſome ſay) laying that great and prudent *Queene*, (the wife of * two mighty Kings, and mother of * three) where *Princes* and *Peſants* are all equals. Her Nephew much behind her in age, ſoon over-tooke her (if not ſ out-went her) in deſtiny; whoſe death divulged on King *Iohns* returne from *England*; gave his maligners freſh coloured occaſion; both to moleſt his *quiet*, and to diſtaine his *eſtimation*, as if he had not onely beene the *Cauſer*, but alſo the *executor* of it *with his owne hands*.

(20) As the *Tongues* of *Paraſites* are no true *ſcales* to weigh the worth and vertues of *Great men*; ſo neither ought we to judge of their (or any mans) blemiſhes, by the deforming *pencils* of *Envy* or *Rancor*; *with one of which, no eminency, either of* place *or of* vertue, was *ever unattended*. And that this bloudy aſperſion on the King, came from no other *fountaine* but malignity; ſuch as then lived, and might therefore beſt know the truth, and were alſo (as *Monkes* generally were) his moſt bitter Taxers, and therefore farre from ſalving his infamy with partiall falſehood, can beſt witneſſe. *It was* (ſaith v one) *by certaine perſons avowed, that Arthur attempting to eſcape ſecretly out of hold, was by caſualty drowned in the River Seyne* (on which the Caſtle of *Roan* is ſeated;) *and yet the Frenchmen, the Kings mortall enemies* (*and therefore plenary credit not to bee given them*) *give it out, that he was murthered by the kings command, yea, and by his owne hands: thus by the malice of ſlanderers, Englands King became not a little defamed.* With whom other the approveſt Authors accord (though differing in the * manner of his death) that this imputation ſprang onely from the * *French emulation*; as ſince it hath beene kept on foot, onely by y *French*, or *Italianate* ſpirits, * one of which hath not bluſhed to charge King *Iohn* with *murthering of his owne Brother King Richard*, and a another with killing *Arthurs* ſiſter, who yet outlived him 24. yeares; ſo ſhamelеſly will the *Penne* blurre the truth of *Actions*, where it is once dipped in gall againſt the *perſon*. But ſharper ſhowers then of *Tongues* (*which being undeſerved, are to be unregarded*) were ſequels of b *Arthurs* death: it ſeeming to give new life to King *Iohns* troubles, and King *Philips* hatred, which yet once againe muſt goe masked under the roabe of Iuſtice. For *Philip* cites *Iohn*, as Duke of *Normandy*, to appeare at a ſet day, to be tried upon point of c *Treaſon* by his Peeres; *Conſtance Arthurs* mother (well brooking her name for her *immutable* hatred to King *Iohn*) is made the d *plaintiffe*, requiring Iuſtice of *Philip*, as both their Soveraigne; King *Iohn* not appearing, is condemned e *of atraiterous outrage, for that careleſſe of his Oath made to the French, he though an Vncle, had murthered his elder brothers ſon, being an Homager to the French, and that within the French Territories*; without any *legall courſe, nor by cognizance of thoſe to whom it appertained*; *whereupon he is adjudged to be held an enemy to the French State, to forfeit all his Signiories which by Homage he held of the French, and thoſe to revert to the Crowne of France, and a re-entry to be made by force of Armes, if any deny poſſeſſion.* Thus now the ſecond time, by a ſolemne, but moſt unjuſt ſentence, (as the * *pope* himſelfe did ſtrongly and truly plead againſt *Philips* unprincely and unjuſt proceedings,) the King and Peeres of *France* diſherited and condemned King *Iohn*, though *abſent, unheard, neither confeſſing, nor convicted of the Action*; albeit at that time f *he ſent them his royall promiſe to come, (if they would give him publike faith and ſafe conduct* for his comming and * returning) and anſwere at *Paris touching the death of* Arthur, *though he was his Leiege-man, had ſworne him fealty, had violated the ſame, had raiſed a rebellion, and was taken in battle.* Vpon which grounds, if King *Iohn* had cauſed the pretended execution on ſo capitall a Compoſtor both againſt his Life and Crowne; and one who had cauſed ſo much bloud-ſhed of his people, and more would if he had eſcaped; *in* g *which caſes* Princes *are and ought to be very jealous*; what underſtanding *Statiſt* can juſtly condemne him, or juſtifie the *French* injuſtice? Eſpecially it being queſtionable, and even then h much debated, *Whether the Peeres of France were competent Iudges on a King annoynted, and ſo their ſuperiour, the king of England and Duke of Normandy being but one perſon, & major dignitas abſorbet minorem, the greater dignity was to ſwallow up the leſſe.* But when the will of a *Ruler*, is a *rule*, or *ruled-caſe* to his Iudges, no other could be expected then by theſe Peeres was performed: eſpecially themſelves being ſharers in the booty of his Lands.

(21) Neither did they here ſtay; but (as in moſt *States*, the *Actes* and *Decrees advantageous to the Princes, are carefully purſued, though others ſeldome or coldly executed*) that heady *ſentence* was i ſeconded with as haſty *force*, on *Philips* part, and on *Iohns* (if ſome Authors ſay true) as much neglected. It is no rare thing to ſee Princes (becauſe on their ſafety depends the State of their Kingdomes) often *ſuſpicious of dangers where there is no cauſe*; but it

* Some ſaying he dyed of griefe, ſome of wilfull abſtinence from food.

x Trivet. ſings y Sterre. Annales. Polydor. 2 Sabellicus. Ranulph. de a *Iohn* Hardinge Chron. c. 64. averring alſo in his Chronicle his name by ſinging: Titus ſhee has both Arthur and Iſabel, To ioy the Crowned Engliſhman, as men tell.

b Paris ad An. 1241.

c Stowes Ch. d *Iohn de Serres.*

e Paul. Æmil. Polydor. Virg. Hiſtorians.

f Ex Conſtab. Britan. Hiſtoria MS. * M. Dalrymple. Hiſtory of Scotland. MS.

g Ingenio ſuo gaudens ſui ſpecies mon ſuadet. Salluſt.

h Comb. Hiſt. cittato.

i Matth. Paris.

k Paul. Æmil.

* Robert de Lacie, we ſhould be guilty of high offence againſt true *honour*, who having received of his Prince the cuſtody of the goodly Caſtle *Rocke-Andely* (* which was builded alſo by King *Richard*) f did bravely beare off the ſiege and power of King *Philip* and his hoaſt almoſt a *whole yeare*; in which ſpace, though by their continuall *batteries* and *undermings*; g a great part of the walles were flatted, yet they could never make entry upon him, but were repulſed with ſlaughter, till his proviſion of victuals being now ſpent to the laſt houre, hee called his "Souldiers together, encouraging them, *after ſo long "proofe of their Manhood, not to faint now in the laſt "Act; but to conſider, that though it were better for "them to die by famine, then to live with reproch of falſe "or faint-heartedneſſe, yet it is more noble for ſouldi-"ers to die fighting, then famiſhing, and together "with their owne lives, to ſacrifice to their Countries "honour the bloud of their ſlaughtered enemies.* Whereupon fiercely * ſallying forth with his *Reſolutes*, after a bloudy ſhambles made in the middeſt of his *beleaguers*, he was by *multitude over-borne* and taken, but h *in regard of his exemplary faith and proweſſe, in maintaining his charge, by King* Philips *expreſſe command*, (a ſecond princely and prudent fact, to diſcipline his ſubjects by thus entreating his foes,) he was honourably uſed, and * without reſtraint of a *priſoner*.

(23) But as the fact of this *Peere* was peereleſſe, ſo was this *Clemency* in that King, but rare and unaccuſtomed towards ſuch *Chiefetaines* as ſtifly out-ſtood his aſſaults; i ſome of whom formerly hee had cauſed to be deſpitefully dragged at horſe-heeles, for the terrour of others. Of which indignities, and other irkeſome *extremities*, (*the inſeparable companions of warre*) indured by his people, when King *Iohn* had notice by Meſſengers ſent unto him for *reliefe* and *aides*, no marvell is it, if k *his griefe were above beleefe* or meaſure, finding himſelfe utterly deſtitute of meanes to relieve their *wants*, or his owne *loſſes*; albeit for the time hee bare it out with a manly ſhew, ſaying, l *that theſe were but the French pilferings, of which hee meant in due time to exact an account with intereſt.* For what elſe could hee doe? The *Normans* (to omit thoſe others in open Rebellion) m *either wholly fallen away from him, or but diſſemblingly adhering to him*; his n *Barons* from home, *detaining him at his need*; his ° *Nobles* there about him, being *under pretext of a ſpeedy comming againe*, returned into *England*: by which meanes the King p *was left very diſpeopled, having onely a ſmall traine*, which could in ſo great a need do him but very ſmall ſervice: but that theſe important and unportable matters q *did no whit move him*, nor could retrive him r *from the boſome* of his too deare *Enchantreſſe*, (which occaſioned ſome to thinke him infatuated with * forcery) is a thing paſt capability of beleefe.

(24) The King thus diſſurniſhed of all helps, *Innocentius*, the ſtirring Biſhop of *Rome*, made faire ſhew to ſalve theſe *temporall* wounds with a *ſpirituall* playſter; ſ which doubleſſe made King *Iohn* more ſecure then ſtood with his good: for, as in ſo great diſtreſſes, there was no *forraine Prince* fitter for the King to combine with, then *Otho* the Emperour, his owne Nephew, and Philips profeſſed enemy: ſo the Pope on the one ſide beginning to be jealous of *Otho's* greatneſſe, miſtruſted the concurrence of two ſuch great *friends*, and therefore undertooke to Vmpeere the debates betwixt thoſe two great *Enemies*: and King *Iohn* on the other ſide, willing to make uſe of the *Popes* favour, durſt not yet comply with any, whom his *Sanctitude* any whit diſavoured. His *Legates* for this buſineſſe, were the *Abbots* t of *Caſmer* and *Troiſons*: his motive, that v thoſe diſſentions of *Chriſtendome* weakned the wars againſt *Turkey*: his *colour*, x that this contention being a matter of *faith-breach* (as of *Leagues*, *Oath* and *Covenants*; *the cognizance thereof did properly appertaine* to his ſacred Iudicature; whereof he made ſo little doubt, as that

* Conſtable of Chaſtler.

o Rog. Wend. M.S. f Paris ad An. 1204.

g Wendover. M.S.

h De Wendover M.S.

* Briſtie Nun. Matth. Paris.

* Subtilliore cuſtodia, Paris.

i Paris hiſt. ma.

k Polydor. Virg.

l Virg. Lib.

m Matt. Paris. ma. hiſt. n Parliaments hiſt. M.S. in anſwer to the diſcharge of ſome. o Wendover. M.S. p Paris hiſt. ma.

q Matt. Weſt. * Remedy-leſſe. * Sanctitate ejus multi ſcelus. ibid.

The Pope interpoſeth betwixt the two Kings.

The Popes Nuncio-tes ſee Caſmil & Trium. Fontium Tyndal. v Polydor. & Paul. Æmil.

the y very letter then sent to the French Peeres, it is to this day regiſtred for a a pontificiall decree: and this audacious *Law* then by *Innocentius* firſt brought to the world for current.* *That whenſoever one Prince is delinquent againſt another, the correction thereof appertaines to the Pope.* Their *Commiſſion* was, z to call the Biſhops and Princes of both Kingdomes, for ſetling a Peace; to inhibite all hoſtility; to reſerve the further triall of the *Right* to the Pope, as b *Soveraigne Iudge*; c to enjoyne that all Religious places by the warres deſtroyed, or impoveriſhed, ſhould bee reſtored to their due State; d if either of the Kings ſhould be refractary, his whole Kingdome preſently to be put under *Interdict*. *Philip*, albeit the Pope was then offended with him upon other termes, (for that hee e impoſed towards his warres a taxe of certaine *Tenthes* upon his *Clergie*, (againſt the Popes will) alleadging *it was neceſſary that out of their private abundance, they ſhould beare a charge in the common preſervation,*) yet knowing the Pope had neede of his friendſhip about ſetling the *Empire*, hee meant ſo long to ſide with the Popes *Authority*, as the Pope would ſtand with his *commoditie*, and repining to have ſo faire a prey taken out of his talents, made bold f to deſpiſe both the *commands* and the *curſes*: yet this hee did in ſmoother faſhion then hee had done once before, when he *rigorouſly puniſhed all the* g *Biſhops and Prelates whom for conſenting to ſuch a Papall cenſure, he turned out of their Sees and dignities*; for now, hee h appealed from the ſentence for a faſhions ſake, i but yet violently proceeded with his warres, and k did ſwim with the full current of his *victories*: The waves whereof ſo faſt ſurrounded King *Iohn*, that * fearing alſo further treaſon of his owne men, hethought good, till ſome better daies would thine upon him, (eſpecially *winter ſeaſon*, enforcing ſurceaſe of warres) to abandon the place of his injurious foes, to expoſtulate in *England*, with his perfidious friends.

(25) For that was the firſt worke hee did, after his arrivall, (l which was at *Portſmouth* on Saint *Nicholas* day in *December*) when m laying to the charge of his *Earles* and *Barons*, that *in his warres they ſuffered him to be deſtitute of requiſite aides, and* n *had left him in the middeſt of his enemies, by which their defaults, hee was thus diſpoiled of his Caſtles and Countries*; thereupon, by o adviſe of *Hubert* Lord Archbiſhop, and Lord *Fitz-Peter*, *Chiefe Iuſticiar*, (who knew theſe were no p *forged Cavillations*) he put them and other delinquents to their Fines, (for his warres made him deſire their money more then their lives) wherein theſe two great Counſellors were q overſeers for the receipts, the one for the *Clergie*, the other for the *Laity*, of both whom they received no leſſe ſums of *curſes*, then of *Coyne*. The like repining among the people, (who judge of the goodneſſe of a King onely by ſparing their purſes) enſued on the grant of a large *Subſidie* (two Marks and halfe of every *Knights Fee*) in a Parliament * preſently after held at *Oxford*, where the *King* and *Peeres* convening about redreſſe of thoſe remedileſſe miſchiefes, the iſſue (as ſeemeth) was, that Ambaſſages ſhould be addreſſed into *France*, two Prelates, *Canterbury* and *Norwich*, with two Earles *Marſhall* and *Leiceſter*, to treate from the Body of the Kingdome, touching thoſe Provinces, which being incorporated with *Englands Soveraignety*, could not without apparent injuſtice be abſtracted from a Nations common intereſt, upon coloured pretences againſt any particular. *Philip*, having r upon King *Iohns* departure thence uſed his whole Forces and Wits, to weary, or to win divers other Cities and Forts; which had till then ſtood faithfull (for which purpoſe hee alſo imployed ſundry s inſtruments, themſelves firſt corrupted, that they might corrupt others to defection, with great *rewards and greater promiſes*,) hee meant not now to re-commence Queſtions of Right, having already neere decided that point by the point of his ſword: yet becauſe hee was to deale with a mighty Nation, hee would not abruptly refuſe to capitulate, and yet againe by propoſall of v conditions exceeding either reaſon or poſſibility, hee dammed up all paſſages to peaceable agreement: x his demaunds were, to have either *Arthur*, whom hee knew to be dead, re-delivered into his hands alive, or elſe, his Siſter *Eleanor* in marriage, with all thoſe Countries in that Continent: but thoſe Stateſmen eaſily perceived that *Philips* heart, aimed farther then his tongue, and that with *Eleanor* hee hoped to purchaſe a higher dowry, even the *Engliſh* Diadem, whoſe claime glided downe from the brother to her; which perchance was the ſecret ground of his Oath, that he would never linne to purſue that quarrell, till hee had deprived King *Iohn* of his Kingdome.

(26) This Ambaſſage was not onely thus iſſueleſſe, but produced alſo effects tending to further irritation: for this ſeemeth to bee the time when a *Philip* ſent a braving Champion, to juſtifie by *Duel* before the States here in *England*, what his Maſter had done in *France* againſt their King in open warre; and b though it was not deemed expedient to jeopard a Title of ſuch weight on the Armes and Fortune of one man; yet it was reſolved the Challenger ſhould not paſſe unanſwered, whereto none was held fitter then *Iohn Curey* Earle of *Vlſter*, for c *rebellion and denying his homage to the King*, condemned to perpetuall impriſonment in the Tower) a man of Giant-like limme and ſtrength, and of ſome diſpoſitions not diſpicable, if they had not been ſavaged with a too careleſſe rudeneſſe: which appeared not onely in his d wilde ſpeeches, touching the Kings miſ-uſage of his nephew *Arthur* (which e ſome by errour alledge as cauſe of his indurant durance,) but even now, when the King demaunding him, whether hee would combat in his quarrell? f *No*, (quoth he) *not in thy quarrell, nor for thy ſake, but for the kingdomes right I will fight to the death.* Againſt which day, whiles he repaired with large dyet his impaired limmes and ſinewes, the *French-man* hearing of his exceſſive feeding, and ſtrength anſwerable therero, thereby fearing he had beene ſome *Monſter of Nature*, rather then a man, hee ſecretly ſneaked away g into *Spaine*, aſhamed to ſhew his face in *France* againe. *Curey* finding the King gracious, was hereupon releaſed, and h is ſaid (if this bee not to digreſſe) to have croſſed the ſeas for *Ireland* fifteene times, and evermore beaten backe to the ſhore, i acknowledged himſelfe herein juſtly puniſhed of God, never againe to ſee his owne ſeate, for diſplacing God out of his, when he converted the Church of Prebendaries in *Doan*, conſecrated to the *bleſſed Trinity*, into an Abbey of Monkes, to the honour and name of Saint *Patricke*, k whoſe image was erected in a ſtately ſeate, wherein before the *Trinity* was deportracted, which was thence rejected into a private Chappell. The l *Iriſh* relate, that the two Kings being afterward together (beſike when they made the next truce in *France*) King *Philip* hearing *Curey* to bee in the *Engliſh* Campe, intreated to ſee ſome experience of his ſo much feared and reported ſtrength: where a Helmet of excellent proofe full fareed with Male, being ſet upon a great woodenblocke, the Earle liſting his truſty Skeyne, firſt louring round about him with a dreadfull aſpect, cleft ſo deepe quite through the ſteely reſiſtance, into the knotty wood, that none there could draw it out but himſelfe, who did it with eaſe, and being asked by the Kings, why hee frowned ſo irefully before the ſtroke; he told them, that he then intended if he had failed of his blow, to have killed them all, both kings and others the lookers on.

(27) But what *Philip* could not in *England* by one Champion, he accompliſhed in *Normandy* by many, where having a m *mighty power attending him from city to city*, yet hee thought faire words would be for himſelfe both cheaper and ſafer, and with the *Provincials* more forceable then force it ſelfe; eſpecially, where

where ſuch troupes of armed Orators were at hand, and where golden Preparatives had made way with the chiefeſt. *Philip* told them, n their late Lord had o quite forſaken them, and that therefore himſelfe, "as their ſupreame Leige came to provide that his "owne Countries might be indemnified, deſiring "them lovingly to admit and embrace him as their "Lord, ſith now they had no other to protect "them from skathe; but menacing withall, that p if they forced him to uſe force, they ſhould die "no other death then hanging, or to bee ſtead a-"live: with which fawnings and feares, though many well munifyed places were fetched off *without any reſiſtance*, q *their Captaines violating their faith to curry favour with the French*; yet *Roan*, the r place ever honoured for *fidelity* to the *Engliſh* Crowne (and q therefore worthily ſelected by King *Richard* to be the *Shrine* of his *Leonine Heart*,) was better fortified both in *affection* and *munition*, then to wave upon parties. Which neglect incenſed *Philip* to turne his *Oratory* into *Battery*, (it being the chiefeſt Citie, and therefore of greateſt conſequence for conſummating his victories) which he continued in a moſt fierce and s *horrid manner of ſiege*, the ſpace of two moneths; but finding it to be *with ſmall advantage*, he fell againe to * golden Eloquence, attracting ſome in ſpeciall with preſent pay, and all in generall with t *promiſes of future injoying all their wonted lawes, and liberties, without impairement of any their commodities whatſoever*: adviſing them u not to reject *thoſe profered conditions, which ere long they would gladly get, when they ſhould not be granted. The Roaniſh*, ſeeing their dangers, feeling their wants, fearing their ruines, yet deſired reſpite till King *Iohn* might know their State: who finding himſelfe at home as ill be-ſted as theirs abroad, his *Barons* v *refuſing to follow the warres*, returned them anſwere, hee could not preſently releeve them. Whereupon the z *Great men, who could ſway the multitude with cheaper reaſons, then Philips* open hand had ſwayed with them, perſwaded them to weigh, that *in truth they were all originally French-men, though now called Normans, of that nobleſt and richeſt part of all France, and the French King being Supreame Lord thereof, there was no cauſe at all of continuing this new hoſtility, but very many of renewing that antique amitie.*

(28) The y *Head*, yea, and *Heart* of all *Normandy* thus fainting; who can expect that theſe few inferiour members, yet untainted, ſhould ſo continue long? neither did they. So as eft ſoones all that Dukedome, one of the goodlieſt gemmes in the *Engliſh Diademe*, and diſbranched from *Fraunce* ſince the yeare *eight hundred eighty five*, was againe rent away, ingloriouſly for them who loſt it, injuſtly by them who got it, but perfidiouſly by ſuch as ſhould, and might haue kept it. For whatſoever *neceſſitie* then, or *malice* ſince hath laid on the King; this *Eulogie*, and memoriall thereof, written by a unpartiall pennes, will ſtand indelible on his Subjects, *A Rege Anglia, Normannia fraudibus ſuorum alienata, Englands King loſt Normandie by treacherie of his owne people.* And no leſſe treacherouſly deale *Philip* with them, when hee had caught them with the trap of his gloſing proffers (as ſuch Princes more uſually then princely, ſquare *their promiſes to others liking, their performances to their owne*) cauſing without delay their cities goodly walls b *to be utterly demoliſhed, and giving ſtrict charge that they ſhould never be built up againe.* The other neighbouring Countries, *Main, Turraine, Poictou*, who were all fore-runners in the Rebellion, would not be now behinde in the finall revolt; *Angiers* in this more happy, that ſhe fell away by others fallhood, not her own, when ſtanding on her guard, c *William de Rupibus* clad his choyſe Souldiers upon their Armour, in the habite and other furniture of market-men, who ſo getting acceſſe unto the City-gates, made eaſie entrance for a greater hoaſt; which ſoone after became abſolute Lords of all *Anjou*.

(29) Wofull experience had now taught King *Iohn* a Leſſon fit to be learned of all Princes, whom the fawning World enſtileth moſt *Mighty*, that this their *might* is not onely violable to the checke and diſpoſe of that Higheſt all-ruling power, who unthrones them at his will; but even depends of the waving humours, and wils of thoſe * inferiour Vaſſals, of whom they thinke themſelves un-reſiſtable Commanders. But King *Iohn* was not unſenſible either of his forraine diſhonours (though as d often as hee endevoured to redeeme it, by levying any Army, ſutable to ſo great a deſigne; ſo often was hee croſſed by his owne Nobles) or of thoſe his Domeſticke affronts; which notwithſtanding, by *counſell* and *aſſiſtance* of his better affected, and truer hearted friends and ſubjects, at length e he gathered a *Royall Hoaſt and a mighitie Navie*, (therein 14000. Mariners f ſome ſay) with full reſolve to revenge his wrongs, and repaire his loſſes. Which great enterprize, managed with unmoveable determination, (for now with full ſayles, and fuller hearts at *Portſmouth* they were ready to embarke) brought to the Kings further knowledge, and to the worlds, who had beene all this while the ſecret undermin-ers of his fortunes, and hinderers of his imployments. For *Hubert* g *the Archbiſhop, and Papal Legate, with many others*, (amongſt whom, h ſome find *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke* numbred) thither comes unto the King, and *ſtatly* i *forbids him to proceede in the voyage*. Some k Writers have laboured to conjecture the true cauſe and reaſons of this audacious *Prohibition*; but if wee conſider on the one ſide the *Popes* uſe of *Philips* Forces, to counter-ballance if needs were *Othos* greatneſſe; on the other, the intereſt which both the *Pope* * and *Philip* had in *Huberts affection*: we may without *Huberts* l *divining Spirit* pry into the myſtery of his ſecret workings, as an *Archbiſhop*, and now open command as a *Legate*, to hinder *King Iohn*, for feare of hindring *King Philip*.

(30) But whatſoever was the reaſon, *Hubert* was the Inſtrument that ſo reſolute projects, ſo m inexſtimable charges, ſo neceſſary an action fell ſodainely to the ground, whereby, beſides the leſſe-miſchiefe which therewith fell on the King, many freſh grudgings accrewed unto him, for ſuffering himſelfe to be thus violently repulſed from ſo behovefull a purpoſe. The *Archbiſhop* and *Marſhall*, as principals, were rewarded with the n *curſes* of the diſmiſſed multitudes, as the juſt fee for their unjuſt counſell; and the King himſelfe was ſo little pleaſed with ſo unexpected a countermand, that albeit at the preſent, (either awed with the authority of the Papall Legate, or with the weight of his colowred motives, or with hazard which hee might leave behinde him) hee durſt not withſtand it; yet o the very next day, checking himſelfe for over-prizing the command of any man, above the value of his kingly honour and ſtate, hee p reſolved to recollect his diſparkeled troupes, and to * put forth to Sea. To which end, taking order for his *Nobles* to follow, they gave him leave q *with a ſmall company* to wave up and downe two daies, in expectance of their attendance, till ſeeing them more obſequious to *Huberts* command then his, (r the Archbiſhop alſo ſending his Inhibition after them on the Sea) hee was forced to come againe to land. How a King of any royall ſparkle, could brooke ſuch Sea and Land Tempeſts, without diſgorging his Kingdome of the cauſers thereof, I cannot conceive; and yet ſo unevenly doth ſome mens judgement poyſe, whoſe affection guides the *Beame*, that this defeating of the Kings weighticeſt affaires, is cenſured as s too light to deſerve the puniſhment which inſued, when *the King put many of the Earles, Barons, Knights, yea and Clergy-men, to a grievous pecuniary redemption for thus refuſing to follow him for recovery of his Inheritance.*

(31) The Archbiſhop, though their Ring-leader, might

a Admilius in Philip Augult. Le. Decretal. in Titul. de ſuperſt. c. 13. * Blondus Decad. 2. l. 6. Trivet. M. S.

b Paſſerres. c Speed. Nevb.

d Paul Aemil.

e Iohn de Serres.

f Walſing. Polydor.

g Trivet. M. S. ad An. 1201.

h Guginus.

i Polydor.

k w endover. M. S. * Grafton Stow

l Pariſ. hiſt. ma. in Matt. weſt.

n The word over M. S. Pariſ. hiſt. ma. M. S. o Pariſ. hiſt ma.

p Apud Matt. weſt. Occaſiones cavillatorias.

q w end. M. S.

An. Dom. 1204.

* Ioh. Serres King et commiſſaris. Paris. r Rand. Coggeſhall

t Matth. Paris.

s Polyd. Lit.

a Annales Hibernie, apud Camdin. Brit.

b Campians Hiſt. of Ireland. l. 2. cap. 3.

c Angelus Hiſt.

d Hoden. e Campians Hiſt. of Ireland. Iohn Stow. & Annals. f Angelus Hiſt.

g Compilator citat.

h Annales Hib.

i Campian Hiſt.

k Annales Hib.

l Ibidem.

The great Ring eight of Europ.

m Pariſ. hiſt ma.

n Wend. M. S.

o Paſſerius in King Richards reigne.

p Hoden. & Campians Hiſt. of Ireland. Iohn Stow. & Annals. f Angelus Hiſt.

q Compilator citat.

r Paul. Aemil. in Philip.

s Roger Wend. Iohn Hoveden. Matthew Paris. & Paul. Aemil. in Philip.

t Roger Wend. Iohn Hoveden. Matthew Paris. & Paul. Aemil. in Philip.

u Roger Wend. Iohn Hoveden. Matthew Paris. & Paul. Aemil. in Philip.

Rose loſt, circa annum Sanctiſſimi Salvatoris.

x Caput infra Normandie, Rothomagum, Pictavis.

y Normandy falſified in Sovereignty & loſt & ſervile. Polydor. Aemil. Such creeds in ſtrong Realms but very ſeldome. Machiavel. Princ. c. 19. Speed. Hiſt. M. S.

z Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil. Speed. Hiſt. M. S.

a Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

b Conditions of peace offered and refuſed. Wend. Hoved. Paul. Aem.

c Polydor.

d Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

e Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

f Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

g Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

h Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

i Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

k Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

l Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

m Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

n Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

o Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

p Rog. de Wend. Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

q Matth. Paris. ma. hiſt.

r Matth. Paris. hiſt. ma. M. S.

s Apud Matt. Paris.

t Polyd. Virgil.

u Polydor. Virgil. Hiſt.

w Wend. M. S. Pariſ. hiſt. ma. M. S.

x Coggeſhall. Hiſt.

y Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

z Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

a Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

b Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

c Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

d Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

e Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

f Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virgil.

g Wend. M. S. Pariſ. hiſt. ma. M. S.

h Coggeſhall.

i w endover. Paris. k Coggeſhall. Hiſt.

* Hiſt. de nimia familiaritate Philippi ſuſpectum Babebatur. Paris. 1. Supra. §.

l Hiſt. de nimia familiaritate Philippi ſuſpectum Babebatur. Paris. 1. Supra. §.

m Coggeſhal. Stow.

n Malmſb.

o Ibidem.

p Rog. de Wend. Fabian tells, Pariſ.

q Matth. Paris. ma. hiſt.

r Matth. Paris. hiſt. ma. M. S.

s Apud Matt. Paris.

might well haue beene exempted from this iudgement by his passage to a higher,* dying(if some erre not) the very same weeke, either of [u] *griefe*, or of a [x] *fever*, which killed him in foure dayes: but the king forthwith in person at *Canterbury* seized vpon all his wealth and possessions, shewing himselfe [z] *right ioyfull*, that now he was rid of him, whom *men suspected of too familiar practising with the French King*, and saying, [a] *he was never a King till now*, by reason of *Huberts too much presumptuous daring to crosse his royall resolutions as late he did*. But this ioy and hope of happier dayes, was soone choaked and buried in the same Tombe with *Hubert*; out of whose ashes sprang vp a root yeelding more, and more bitter fruits, then king *Iohn* had as yet tasted, by how much more lamentable are the wounds which are in the bowels and heart of a *State*, then those which onely light on the skirts or more remote members. The first seeds of which fast-growing mischiefes, were to the eye, (as are *the beginnings of all Kingdomes ruine*) *very small and contemptible*, and the *Sowers* of little better regard, being but *Cloistered Monks*, who craftily factious to aduance a priuate friend, (which once mounted into *Huberts* Chaire, might be-friend them againe,) they gaue a deadly blow, both to *themselues*, their *Soueraigne*, and the *State* in generall. The * *yonger heads* among them (whose *vnexperiences makes them in acts of Societies more forward and daring*) hauing feerest notice of *Huberts* death, [c] meant by a slight (whereunto they doubted not to finde the Popes furtherance) to defeate their Soueraignes interest in that Election, (and perchance in all other, euer after) of a Primate for the See of *Canterbury*, the most important place of his Kingdome. * *Reginald*, the Sub-prior of their Covent, One (as you shall heare) fitter for their projects, then for that place, was the man they chose, and that at [d] *midnight*; when singing *Te Deum*, they lifted him first vpon the *High Altar*, and after into the *Metropolitan Chaire*. They ought to haue first obtained the Kings assent, and leaue to elect, and therefore to preuent both [e] his interposing and displeasure, till it were too late for him to redresse the wrong; the same night they caused their *Elect to enter* * *caution by oath*, neuer to carry himselfe as *Archbishop*, nor to make it knowne to any man liuing, till hee had further *speciall warrant from them, vpon proofe of the successe it might finde at Rome*, whither forthwith they sent him for his dispatch.

(31) *Reginald* taking *Flaunders* in his way, was both so [f] *proud*, [g] *periurious*, and [h] *misjudgent*, (the vertues of their most choyse man) that he could neuer conceale the purpose of his journey, and boast of his dignity from any mans *Eares*, nor from their *eyes*, the Conuentuall letters ratifying the same. Whereof when the Covent had notice, *vehemently intended against him who had thus diuulged their secret*, and providently casting how to evade the Kings offence, [i] out of hand they despeeded certaine of their *Crue*, to crave both [k] pardon of their fact, and *licence* for choyse of some worthier *Primate*. There was then in high grace and imployment about the King, *Iohn Gray* Bishop of *Norwich*, [a] man of great *wisedome, learning* and *integrity*, [l] qualities truely desiring that high place) whom the King (very sensible still of the contrary qualities, & turbulent affronts which he endured in *Hubert*) much desired to aduance, commending him, as one [m] *most deare vnto him, and of his secretest Counsels* (of [n] which, some say, hee was *President*) *most behoouefull for the Common-wealth; for Himselfe, and them*: which message from the King faithfully delivered, [o] all of them *glad thus to redeeme the fauour* which they had hazarded, with *vnanimous consent* elected him; and sending for him from *Yorke* (where he was in the Kings affaires) the [p] King himselfe graced his entrance into *Canterbury* with his presence *in great pompe*; and the next day, the *King with a multitude of People assembling in the Metropolitane Church, the* Prior *did there publish his Election solemnely, and in due forme performed*; *where the Monkes carrying him with* Te Deum *to the high Altar, did forthwith enthronize him in the Chaire of his Primacie*; *The King there in presence of them all, giuing him actuall possession of his Temporalities*. This loving correspondence betwixt the King and his *Clergie*, gaue great hope of more blissfull fortunes hencefor-ward vnto them both; but the Infernall Author of debate, and his *chiefe Agent*, tooke a hint hereby to intrude a Tyranny both vpon Clergie, King and all.

(32) Little thought false *Reynor*, what was doing at *Canterbury*, whiles hee was trotting to *Rome*; whither when he came, and shewed his *letters of Ratification* to his Holinesse and his Cardinals, [q] hee received *this short answere, that it was a businesse which asked mature deliberation and better informations*; the Pope soone finding, that the *Sub-prior* was too sleight an instrument for him to worke with, and for King *Iohn* to be wrought with, and therefore bethought him of some fitter hammer for so hard an Anvile. But sundry stops were in the way, which wisely and by degrees were to be removed. The first was, (which *Reginald* in likelihood had imparted to hasten his owne dispatch) that the *Bishops* of the *Province* claimed a ioynt interest with the Monkes, in choyse of their *Primate*: a point which could no way suite with the Popes aduantage, because Bishops were generally much obliged to their Soueraignes, and so likely still to Elect a *Royalist*, whereas Cloystermen, professing ignorance of worldly affaires, and obedience to one Superiour, might more facilly be swayed to bend as the Pope would bow them, in preferring his Creatures. Which was the Motive (we may suppose) of the Popes * Letters, soone after sent to the Suffragane Bishops, exhorting them by [r] sacred example, and precept of *filiall obedience*, to desist *from vexing, like vndutifull sonnes, their Mother-Church with such vndue chalenges*. The *Bishops* notwithstanding, who knew themselues in sacred writ to be stiled *fathers*, would not thus acknowledge the Monkes for their *Mothers*, till *Innocentius* to his light *Reasons* added the weight of his *Keyes*, and by his power swept both that and other rubs out of his intended way. [s] For the King keeping his Christmas at *Oxford*, (attended as it seemeth by his Bishops) meaning not to pretermit any faire meanes to worke the Popes inclination towards the new *Elect*, he sent for [t] twelve of the Monkes, whom with some other of his owne Clerkes (which carried his *Letters* to the Pope) hee put in truft for transacting this businesse at *Rome*; allorting them *very bountifull expences out of his Exchequer* for their whole journey. They to leave with the King, (who knew well the traines of *Rome*, and the ouer-reaching ferches of *Innocentius*,) a pledge of their durie, and assurance of his hopes, [v] entred with him [x] *a couenant by oath*, that no man, nor meanes should remove them from him, whom the King and themselues had already appointed: the Bishops sent [y] the same time their *Procurators* also, to plead their right of *Co-election*; so as, foure obstacles stood at once in the Popes way, the *two elections* of the Monkes, and the *two claimes* of the *King* and *Prelates*, hee for his *Royall-assent*, they for their *ioynt consent*, in the choyse) which all must be dasht and voyded before the Pope can have his full forth.

But because these will aske long time for contriving, (which moued his Holinesse to adiourne the hearing to the very [z] end of the yeare, wee will see the while how the King and State of *England* is imployed.

(33) The dorre, which deceased *Hubert* did put vpon King *Iohn* and his late designe, gaue both King *Philip* aduantage to take furer footing in his new possessions, and King *Iohn* greater stomacke and edge to recouer his old. The last taske (almost) of the one, and hold of the other, was *Chinon* a place of great strength, but in nothing more, then in the ever-trusty valour of her Captain, *Roger Lacie*; who (if some mistake

* Archbishop *Hubert* dyeth at his Manor of *Teoham*. *Paris.*

[u] *Ex Paris. Archiepisc.*

[x] *Polydor. Virg.*

[y] *Holdem.*

[z] *Paris. Hubert. mala. Matth. Paris. mss. hist. M.S.*

[a] *Idem.*

Archbishop *Huberts* end, the beginning of greater troubles to King *Iohn*.

The Monks of *Canterbury* the seed-men of *England's* troubles.

* *Addaffectatio-ver. Paris. mi MS. vend. M.S.*

[c] *Mat. West.*

* *Thiert. M.S.* calls him *Reyerus*.

[d] vend. M.S. *Paris. vvell. &c.*

[e] *Paris hist. ma.*

* *Prælatis cautione iuratoria. vvelsminster.*

[f] *Vit. Arch. Cant.*

[g] *vend. M.S. in vvelsminst.*

[i] *M. Foxe* mistaketh, saying, it was the next day after *Reginald* went, also *Polydor. Helias*, and *Melchior* saying, it was not till they heard from Rome.

[k] *In Vit. Arch. Cant.*

[l] *Godwins Catalo. Paris hist. ma.*

[m] *Gr. Sim. Holl.*

[n] vend. M.S.

[o] *Mat. West.*

[p] *Mat. West.*

[q] vend. M.S.

King *Iohn* hemp'd with him-self with new Leaguers *vt vend. Annal.*

[r] *Paul. Æmil.* * They were taken vp *ex Chronic. Burton.*

[s] *Idem.*

[t] *Matth. Paris.*

* *Ex Tabl. Johis.*

* *Daniel & Flor. Decem.* [t] *Paris Tabl.*

King *Iohns* fugitives. [u] *Matth. hist. ma.*

[x] vend. M.S.

[y] *Mat. West.*

[z] *Mat. Auleri. edem.*

[a] *Paris.*

[b] *Mat. West.*

[c] *Ann. M. S.*

[d] *Ex Annalis de Burton. Pagel.*

[e] *Idem.*

[f] *Mat. West.*

[g] *Paul. Æmil. Polydor.*

[h] *Idem.*

[i] *Paul. Æmil.*

[k] *Inficiis excepti.*

[l] *Polydor. Virg.*

mistake him not in stead of [b] *Hubert de Burgo*) being redeemed from the *French*, resolved here to give *Philip* another taste of his proweſſe, and King *Iohn* of his fidelitie; had not others faithleſſe feare defeated his brave resolution. For the beſieged having [c] no reſt night or day, from a long and inceſſant battery, their *Commanders* invincible constancy against yeelding, which enhearned the better sort, diſmayed the baſer, as more prizing their eaſe, then their *faith* or *fame*; ſome of which by night ſlipping over the walles, ſo inſtructed the enemy of all ſecret advantages to poſſeſſe the Towne, that by a ſodaine aſſault, both it and *Lacy* (more worth then it,) was againe ſurprized. Heere ſeemed to haue beene the *Garland* of *Philips* conqueſt; had not newes beene thither brought unto him of ſome new riſings in *Britaine*, where *Guido*, the husband of *Conſtantia*, *Arthurs* Mother, (ſenſible belike of the falſe-grounded wrongs offered to King *Iohn*, under pretence of *Arthur*,) [d] returned gladly both into *Amity* and a ſtrong *league* with the *Engliſh*: and with him alſo *Savary Malleon*, and *Almericke Lufignian*, [e] two Peeres of Heroike valour and great command, whom King *Iohn* of his * priſoners, had made by prudent and lovely uſage his truſty *friends*. The *French King* fuming to ſee his unjuſt intruſions thus prejudiced, (eſpecially by *Arthurs* owne *father in law*) was haſtening from *Chinon* into *Britaine*, to worke revenge on them, whoſe exemplar equity ſhould have beene his mirrour of amendment; *Englands King* on the other ſide, was no [f] leſſe heartned with this new *confederation*, [g] levying once againe a puiſſant Army, which he [h] landed at *Rochel*, being the onely noted place, which in all theſe turmoyles and murabilities of Fortunes, kept her ſelfe entire from entrance either of enemy, or of diſloyall thought.

(34) The King having his Army much augmented [h] with great concourſes of his beſt affected *Provincials*, marching confidently forward, ſubdued a *great portion of that Countrey*; till comming to *Mount-Auban*, [a] Caſtle of much renowne, (as being reputed [k] *inexpugnable*, and now the *Rende-vous of his moſt potent enemies*, *and all their flower of Chivalrie*, he gave a terrible aſſault thereto, for fifteene dayes together; where at laſt his [l] *Engliſhmens valour was ſo adventurous in ſcaling the Walls, and both giving and taking blowes unportable*, that in thoſe few dayes hee entered Conquerour into that very place, [m] *which Charles the Great, could not get with his ſeaven yeares ſiege*. The [n] multitude of *Nobles* therein taken was ſo great, that he ſent into *England* a bed-roll of their names, for a *memoriall* of ſo great a victory. Which auſpicious beginnings, he ſeconded with no leſſe expedition, providence, and proweſſe, in the ſiege of *Angiers*, where, on his firſt approach, he [o] gave preſent inſtructions to his maine Army, ſuddenly to environ the whole Citie, and by aſſault to ſeeke entrance at the walles on every ſide, whiles himſelfe and his ſelected band, with fire and Engines would aſſaile the *Gates*; where with great celerity, and no leſſe hazard then hardneſſe, breaking through, hee became Lord of his owne. But whatſoever were the Citizens demerits, pitious it was, that their offences, and the Conquerours wrath, lay ſo heavie on thoſe ſtately walles, as [p] to throw them flat to the ground; which haſty doome, (it being the [q] *cradle of his birth, and citie of his chiefe delight*,) he as haſtily (and very dearely too) repented, when with exceſſive expences hee encircled it againe with a beauty farre beyond the former. Theſe faire ſucceſſes humbling all the Countrey before him, cleared his paſſage into *Picardy*, whither King *Philip* was now converting all his power, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the violence of this Torrent: which [r] now more facilly hee might ſtoppe, having in his way, *by laying ſecret * ambuſhments*, laid hands upon Duke *Guydo*, *Savary*, and *Almericke*, King *Iohns* principall hopes, as they were buſily advancing his preſent affaires: by which ſurprize, though the *Engliſh forces* miſſing their *Provincial* aids, were greatly impaired, yet their * great hearts were not much amated, as the *Frenchmen* [s] found, when both the *Armies* neere approaching over-night, the next morning alacriouſly they addreſſed to the fight, and *with great ſpirits* on each ſide expected the Signall. Notwithſtanding, the day likely to prove dreadfull with expence of bloud, upon earneſt interceding of ſorraine Prelates, and religious perſons, who undertooke equally to compoſe all things; both Kings condeſcended to a two-yeares * Truce, *King Iohn* chiefly out of affection to his Captive friends, whoſe liberty was formoſt in the conditions.

(35) Having thus ſeeled thoſe Countries in farre better termes then laſt he found them, hee embarked for *England*, where he laid not aſide a careſull (though diſtaſtefull) providence, for ſtill bettering thoſe his ſucceſſes: for which ends, whiles from his Subjects (both *Lay* and *Clergy*) hee [t] gathered *money*, the *Sinewes of warre*, hee loſt their affections, *the ioyns of peace*; whereof *Geffrey* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* (his *Naturall* and unnaturall brother) was a principall incentive; who [x] ſolemnly curſing all the Kings Receivers within his Province, fled ſecretly out of the land. Which pervicacie, * a bitter Enemy of King *Iohn*, yet bitterly taxeth, ſaying, *y the Engliſh Biſhops were farre from that dutifull obſervance towards their Soueraigne, which the French Biſhops performed to theirs, at whoſe commaund they maintained Souldiers in his Warres againſt King Iohn, acknowledging they were ſo bound to doe, as often as the King purſued the Warres in perſon; though now alſo they did it, where hee was not in perſon*. And indeed how hollow-hearted to the *State*, thoſe money-murmurers were, their * owne friend bewrayeth, ſhewing, how *with curſes they wiſhed, and prayed to GOD, that theſe exactions might never haue any good ſucceſſe*, though they knew it was purpoſely for preſerving a maine part of the Kingdome. A diſloyalty the more unſufferable by the King, knowing that but a [z] very little before, the Popes Legare, *Io. * Florentius*, nick-named * *Ferentinus*, for *bearing away ſo much money*,) had [a] gathered of the Clergie *a huge Maſſe of money, which in full Cheſts hee conveyed to Rome*. Yet all theſe domeſticke grudges abated not the Kings due care, nor yet his good hopes, which were ſoone after much augmented by the encouragements of *Othoes Imperiall* preſence, [b] who in perſon arriving here in *England*, to project for his owne and his Vncles Warres, was with great joyes met by the King, and conducted through *London* by night, where *all the Citie was ſeene in her glory, and all the ſtreets adorned with richeſt hangings, beautified all along with the luſtre of pendant Crownes, and burning Lampes*: who after ſome dayes of royall entertainements hence departed, not unfurniſhed with helpes to deſtray his Warres.

(36) Whiles King *Iohn* is thus buſied about his open Hoſtilities, Pope *Innocentius* is plotting his ſecret Stratagems againſt him at *Rome*: where, like unto that * other old *Roman*, who being choſen *Vmpere* touching ſome march lands betwixt two neighbour-Nations, unpartiall to either, [c] adjudged it from them both to the *Romane State*; ſo hee now, being *Arbiter* betwixt the *king, Biſhops*, and *Monkes*, concerning their choyſe, hee meanes to defeate them all, and * adjudge the right of diſpoſing thereof to his *Romiſh See*. Therefore, at the * fore-limited day of hearing, his firſt care was, that the [d] Biſhops lippes *for ever* ſhould be ſealed up, (notwithſtanding their [e] *allegations of Law, Reaſon, Decrees, and Practiſe*,) from intermedling in choyſe of their *owne Primate*. Will you heare the maine reaſon? *becauſe himſelfe, and ſome other popes would haue it ſo*. Which *definitive ſentence*, being [f] ſent to the Prelates into *England*, it was thought a point of prudence alſo, to [g] *prepare the King, and worke him pliable before hand, to entertaine that which was to follow*: which muſt be done by amiable

* *Braffus enim Anglus. ſaith Ann. Polydor. Virg.*

[a] *Matth. Paris.*

* *In feſto omn. ſanct. weſtm.*

K. *Iohn* returns to *England*

An. Dom. 1207.

[x] vend. M.S.

[y] *In Philippo Augusto.*

* *Mat. West.*

[z] *Paris in an Florentio.* *Thiert. M.S. * Varia freudo, Matuelly a Mat. Auleri. Mat. Paris M.S.*

[b] *Idem.*

The Emperors entertainment.

The Popes beginning of wrongs towards King *Iohn*.

* *Hac decipere eſt, cum Iudicare ſibi.*

[c] *Tit. Cal. Ian. Paris.*

[d] *Paris.*

[e] vend. M.S.

[f] *Dated 12. Cal. Ian. Paris.*

[g] *Mat. Paris.*

The Popes present and Letter to King Iohn.
* Iohn Sto. Annal.
* Epist. Innoc. apud Paris.

amiable lines, and Gemmes, *wherewith he knew the King was much delighted.* His *Present*, being foure gold *Rings*, with foure *precious stones*, an *Emerald*, *Sapphire*, *Rubie*, and *Topaze*, he so vainely and childishly (though * ignorance enstile it eloquence) celebrateth in his * *Epistle*, for their *number*, *forme*, and *colour*, that no man will question whether it were dictated with an Apostolicke Spirit. The Rings *Roundnesse* must remember the King of *Eternitie*; the *Quadrat number of Constancy*, and of the foure *Cardinall vertues*, *Iustice*, *Fortitude*, *Prudence*, *Temperance*; the *Golds price*, of *Wisedome*; the *Emraulds greennesse*, of *Faith*; the *Saphires brightnesse*, of *Hope*; the *Rubies rednesse*, of *Charity*; the *Topazes clearenesse*, of *operative Sanctity*, *&c.* Which, though toyes, were yet accepted as pledges of love for a while, till at last, the King finding by the sequell, they were but baites to beguile him, esteemed the Popes *Gold as drosse*, *his Iewels as* * *Iewish frandes*, *and his love as most cankered hatred.* For shortly after came to his notice, the most indignious injurie, which the Pope meant to obtrude upon him and his Kingdome, having not onely hunted both *Reynard* and *Gray* out of their holdes, but also imposed upon him, for the chiefe place and managing of his State, one whom he reputed a chiefe and dangerous enemy to himselfe and it: which thus was fetcht about.

* Gemmas gestatum libeat.

(37) The Monkes freed from the Bishops impugning, were hote now in the strife amongst themselves; the [g] one side against *Reyners* election urged it wanted *Royall assent*, the *greater* and *sounder* part of Electors, due *solemnities*, due * *time*: the other, against *Norwich*, that *no second election could be validous, unlesse the former were first annulled.* Both their Reasons pleased well the Pope; who, (as pre-possessed Iudges often use) made shew of [h] *great diligence* in pondering the *pleadings*, whereas himselfe long before had resolved on his *Sentence*; which was, that by *Apostolicall definitive doome*, *neither of the Elects should ever be capable of that See.* So great rubbes hath the Pope with so little breath blown out out of his way. The man whose advancement all this while hee had aymed at, was now commended to them, who must be there presently chosen for their *Primate*, *Stephen de Langton*, a Cardinall, *English* by birth, [i] *French* by *education* and *affection*, one of so [k] transcendent power in the *Romaine Court*, *that the pope was thought not for love, but for envie*, (as being himselfe eclypsed by his neerenesse) to have wished his service in some remoter dignity. But the Monks ill-apaide with what was done already, and very tremulous to enter matter of new intrications, alledged against all further courses, that [l] *no Canonicall Election could bee there made, they having consent neither of King nor Covent*; at which word the Pope snapping them up, bad them *know, that* * *hee had there plenitude of power over the Church of Canterbury*; and besides, *that no consent of Princes vsed to bee expected in Elections celebrated where the Pope was*: hee therefore charged them, *under paine of his high curse*, (a terrible bug-bear in those dayes) there presently to chuse him for their *Primate*, *whom himselfe thought good to nominate unto them.* Thus trembling under the cracke of his *Thunder-bolt*, they all [m] excepting one *Heliae de Brantfield*, whose constancy shall here perpetuate his memory,) *durst not for feare but elect him*, *though very unwillingly*, *and with murmurations*: whose * *Consecration* followed by the Popes owne hands at *Viterbium*, and his earnest *recommendation* by the Popes [n] *flattering* Letters, to the Kings favourable acceptance. And this was the unblessed beginning of those new miseries which brought the King to his ending, and his *Kingdome* to unsupportable calamities; all which, little did his *Holinesse* or his *Charity* reckon of, so his desperate *policie* might take effect. Yet not unduely fell those judgements of many Princes of those times, who neglecting the domesticke execution of *Supreme Iustice*, suffered their Subjects, at so high a rate both of *expence* and *travels*, to buy such *arbitrary* and *dangerous* formes of a forraigne, and falsly named *Iustice*.

g Paris.
* Being by night.
h mysticover. M.S.
i Apud Mat. Par. bill. mo. & Matth. Paris. bibl. M.S.
l Matth. Wil. Paris.
* Nay, wonder. M. Sanctimonier saith not, as of the Monkes.
m Idem.
* 30 Cal. Iul. Paris. 55. Mat. westmin. in Reg. de Wend. M.S.

(38) Two very presumptuous *Lawes* hath [o] one observed to have beene first hatched by this lawlesse *Pope*, the one occasioned by King *Iohns* and *Philips* former strife, that *Princes delinquent must bee lyable to correction from the Pope*; the other, upon the choyce of the *Emperour*, that *where in elections voyces are equall*, *or concord wanting*, *the Pope may gratifie whom hee please*: unto which wee now may adde a third no lesse arduous and insolent, that *the Pope may strike up Elections*, *both where*, *and of whom*, *and with*, *and without what consent him listeth.* Which lewd obtrusion, that it galled the King to the quicke, we need not marveile, if wee ballance in one *Scale*, the popes meere will and pleasure, in the other the *dishonour* to the King, (thus to be triced out of that, which so vehemently, and with his owne prefence he tooke care to see effected;) the prejudice to his Crowne, to bee defeated of *Soveraigne assent*; the hazard to the State, to have his * *Enemy* (a *Philippine*, and *French* favourite) the* *chiefe man* over his *English*: besides wrongs more particular; as both the *disgrace* to his best deserving Counsellour, and the *disloyalty* of the Monks, first, to choose without his *licence*, then to mocke him with a second *choyse*, next, to beguile him with *oathes*, after, to travaile upon his excessive charge, and lastly to doe, and undoe all, with their *perjurie*. With all which so farre the Kings patience surfeited, that hee began on them to dis-gorge his wrath, who with him began these affronts; proscribing first all those Monkes as [p] Traytors, and afterward writing his [q] Letters to the pope, with relation of those great "wrongs to Himselfe, and exceptions to *Langton*; "vowing immutably to stand for his owne *Elect*, and "to dye in defence of the *Liberties of his Crowne*; "putting the pope in minde, that *Rome* reapt more "gaine from *England*, then from all the Transl-alpine "Regions; threatning also, if he were now crossed in "this, hee would stop all from crossing the Seas to "*Rome*, nor would any longer emendicate their forrain "Iustice, fith his owne *Kingdomes*, so abounded "with Bishops and learned men of most accomplish-"ed perfection in all professions.

o Blondus Dec. 2. l. 6. Pope Innocentius his three Hastings Lawes.
* Caleban. Iohn 11. conf. to. 2 Roger Hoved. fol. 436.
p Dide apud Matth. & Paris.
* Hoc contin. Matth. Paris.
q Matth. Paris.
* Hollinshe. Stow, &c.
P Matth. 1188
q Apud Matthew Paris, & Paris
r Rolles Sum. Alum. in vita Sti. Alber. M.S.
* Polit Treat. hist. pope & emperour cunning speech indifferently considering the kings cruel, or his anger.
s Paris. Hist. 2.
t Paris. Ann. 1169.
u Liuye poor country apud Paris
d Matth. Paris. Godwin catalog. of Bish. Lib. S. Alban. in vit. Abb. Hugo. & S. Matth. Westm.
* The Spirit. Sir S. Iohns Theologie Institutions S. Prat.
* Invocum plenitudine imbecillitatem, Matth. Paris. fol. M S. Ita Constitut. Innocent. quem tenet Ecclesiasticus Episcopus, & Rex communitas Spirat.
* He was deprived of his dignity and living as being then absent. See St. Austin in Canterbury.
x Bellum ciuile, Lucan. lib. 9.
* BB. Tom. 8. fol. 11. 1. quon.
x Paris hist. in.
y The Monday in Passion weeke, Paris. On Easter day saith Polydor.

Chron. Anglic. M. S.

deprived of the very face of *Christianity* for many ensuing yeeres; as if, not *Innocentius* Christs *Vicar*, but *Iulian* his professed Enemy, had *mured up the doores* of the Christians *Temples* for despight of their *God.*

(40) But this High-Priest had forgotten what another * taught him, and [z] hee himselfe sometimes thought, about interdicting *France* for their Kings offence; *that better it was one should suffer then a whole Nation perish*: whereas now, for the Kings only crossing the *Popes good pleasure*, *God* is censured to loose his worshippe, and all the *People* to hazard their soules, [a] living almost like *Infidels*, without *Gods service and blessed Sacrament*, yea and dying * *like dogges tumbled into every ditch.* But what? did such wofull effects fasten onely on the Laity? The Clergy bare their part too; whom the flames of the Kings justly incensed wrath did so scorch, that his Dominions were too hote for their abode: for, their [b] *persons* hee proscribed and sent packing to the Pope, their revenewes hee confiscated, their *Bishoprickes*, *Abbeyes*, and *Priories*, hee *deputed to Laymens Custody*: *their women* (for such as had not wives, had Lemmans) *were dearely ransomed*: and every where they suffered wrongs without ordinary protection of *Iustice.* Whereof, though our * vulgar perfunctory Writers produce no other reason, but the onely over-flowing of the Kings gall, as if first stirred by some few delinquent Bishoppes, through furious revenge it over-whelmed the whole Clergy; yet indeede these were but the due chastisements of their generally-dilloyall hearts. As (to instance) when the King sent his [c] mandate to S. *Albans*, that *not regarding the Popes command in the Interdict*, they *should continue the celebration of Gods service*; the *Abbot* calling his Monkes into the *Chapter-house*, perswaded them to obey God rather then Man, (meaning the Pope rather then the King) and to *beare resolutely the kings anger*, * *whom God in due time would bring to an end.* What marvaile then, if the Clergy carried so generally with this streame of a forraine vsurped power, against *Gods* service, and their *Soveraignes* godly desire, and due authority, were likewise generally involved in that reward of their disloyalty? And yet, even in the *Clergy*, many of eminency detested these cruell and irreligious courses of the *Pope*; [d] *Philip* the Bishop of *Duresme*, and his Successour, with the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Winchester*, heartned the King to contemne the *Papall Curse*; the [e] *Cisterstian Abbots* (*neglecting the Interdict*) continued their divine celebrations, till the *Pope* suspended them for their contempt; *Alexander** Abbot of the *Benedictines*, a Divine of * exquisite learning, [f] published in his Sermons, that their *present calamities were no reproach to their Soveraignes proceedings*, *but due rewards of the Subjects haynous trespasses*, *because kings ought to governe*, *yea and strongly bridle all disobedient Subjects whomsoever*; *but as for Popes they ought not to intermeddle in the civill affaires*, *and regiment of any Princes over their vassals*, *seeing* Peter *himselfe received no power*, *but onely in matters appertayning to the Church.* And though the * Pope were revenged on him for his plaine truth, and some Monkish humours have asperted other such men with bitrer reproaches, yet what may be thought both of these the Popes courses, and of such his opposers, a late Iesuite (no partisall man to Princes) sheweth, saying, that *many, and godly wise men at that time did wish*, that *Pope* Innocentius *had not stood so hard with king* Iohn *in such a poynt as this was*, *for contenting him with a person gratefull unto him in that See.* And no marvaile they so wished, seeing that was the grand cause of such infinite confusions, factions, and wrongs, hurrying so indignely the Prince, Peeres, Clergy, and Commons; the very contemplation whereof to all *godly wise* men must needes bee gastly and rufull: yet wel-fare those Anathematizing Bishops, the Instruments of all these evils, who patiently endured under the name of exile, [h] *to live the while abroad in all variety of delights.*

z Dide apud Matth. & Paris.
* Iohn Comm. Matth. Paris.
a Matth. Paris.
b Matth. Paris.
* Hollinshe. Stow, &c.
c Rolles Sum. Alum. in vita Sti. Alberti. M.S.
* Polit Treat. hist. pope & emperour cunning speech indifferently considering the kings cruel, or his anger.
d Matth. Paris. Godwin catalog. of Bish. Lib. S. Alban. in vit. Abb. Hugo. & S. Matth. Westm.
* The Spirit. Sir S. Iohns Theologie Institutions S. Prat.
* Invocum plenitudine imbecillitatem, Matth. Paris. fol. M S. Ita Constitut. Innocent. quem tenet Ecclesiasticus Episcopus, & Rex communitas Spirat.
e Liuye poor country apud Paris
f Paris. Ann. 1169.
* He was deprived of his dignity and living as being then absent. See St. Austin in Canterbury.
x Bellum ciuile, Lucan. lib. 9.
* BB. Tom. 8. fol. 11. 1. quon.
x Paris hist. in.
y The Monday in Passion weeke, Paris. On Easter day saith Polydor.

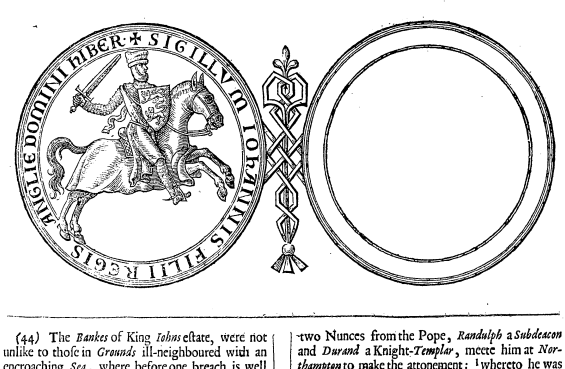
(41) Such perplexities in the *People* could not but breed as great harred and hazards to the *king*; who therefore to prevent the issue of such discontents, (which *though causlesse*, *yet kindling in the multitude prove often unquenchable*,) hee [i] required of his Nobles new *Oathes* of allegiance, *pledges* of such as hee most suspected, and *homage* of all *Freeholders*, [k] even of twelue yeeres old, *whom he distrusted with a kisse of peace.* Misdoubting also the Popes further intent to *absolve his subjects from their due allegiance*, he gathered about him (by * example of his Father *Henry* on the like ground) a mighty Armie for all occurrents. The terrour whereof hee first displayed in the *North*, offended (faith [l] one) with * *William* King of *Scotland*, for marrying his daughter to the Earle of *Bullogne*; for receiving (faith [m] another) *fugitives*, and enemies of his State: for throwing downe (faith a [n] third) a castle built by King *Iohn* against *Barwicke*: but whatsoever were the breach, the cloze was amiable, each accompanying other to *Yorke*, where King *Williams* [o] two daughters were promised to King *Iohns* two sonnes, and [p] delivered as pledges of united love, with a [q] gift of nine thousand markes. The dread of this his power so glyded out of the North into the West, that upon his returne, the [r] Princes of *Wales*, and others *rich and poore* came to him at *Woollocke* (*the like thing never heard of before*) to doe him homage. But all these linkes of allegiance were soone cracked by another thunder-clap (from *Rome*) of *Anathema* on the king by *Name*, with strict injunction for all men to abandon his presence: [s] which *sentence* being sent to bee divulged by the Bishops and Prelates in *England*, *all of them for feare or favour of the king*, were content to neglect the *Popes* commaund, and let the *Apostolike processe escape without execution.* The same fyet thereof was in all mens mouthes, but came first (as seemeth) to the Kings *Eares*, [t] by a fervant of his owne Exchequer, *Geffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who secretly perfwading his *fellow-officers*, *that they were bound in conscience to relinquish the kings service*, gave them example himselfe by leaving his dutie and charge; for which hot-braine tricke, hee was put in a * *Coale of lead*, the weighe wherof, as (a punishment of his levity) soone hastened his end in prison: but the greater and wiser fort, both of [u] Nobles and others, continued their due attendance on their Soveraignes *Court* and *person*, *without* * *regard of the censure.*

(42) Those Romish furies thus infesting all at home, gave also courage and opportunity to ill-affected members further off; some of which in *Ireland* having furfeited long of the kings indulgence or absence, [x] *begunne now to play the kings themselves.* The noble spirit of this Prince in his tender yeeres [y] made choyse (on bended knees to his Father, in presence of *Heraclius Patriarke of Hierusalem*) rather in *devotion* to conduct an Army against the Turkes, then in *Ambition* to take possession of that goodly Kingdome. But being now possested thereof, and intending (by a kind of compensation for his losses in *France*) to annexe and assure that Kingdome to the *English* Crowne, hee resolves with a power-full Army to quell the disturbers, and reforme the disorders, of his first, and long un-visited charge. Whose approach such fame and dread did fore-runne, that [z] more then twent ie *Petty Kings* of that Nation haftened to *Dublin*, there to honour his [a] arrivall with their submissive attendance, *Homage* and *Oath* of Allegiance; others, either upon confidence of their good holds, or diffidence for their ill deserts, flying his presence, and some of them, the Country. The * two *Lacies* (whose onely praise was, that they were the sonnes of a nobly-deserving Father) having beene, through *ambition of Soveraignty*, the fountaine of daungerous garboyles, [a] tyrannizing over the *Commons*, and making away such of the

h Paris Omnimodo vitae res in deficie.
i An. Dom. 1209.
l Matth. Paris. Westmonst.
k Paris bill. mo.
* Superbie Hist.
l Nich. Trivet. M. S.
* Not. Annales as Polyd. mistaketh.
m Paris bill. mo. & Hector. Boet. his. 13.
n Boet. ibid.
o Idem. M. S.
p Paris bill. mo. M. S. hunc inconsulter, & M. S. fatis ut (non ita) miliis.
q Matth. Paris.
The King excommunicated by name.
r Roger de Wendover. M. S.
s Paris bill. mo.
* Cons. Plumbea. Paris.
u Westminster. An. Dom. 1210.
* Non obstante sententia, ibidem.
x The King forbiddeth the State in Ireland.
y Giraldus in Prooem. ad Reg. Iohn. Hiberniae. expug. lib. 2. c. 18.
z Paris bill. mo.
a Idem Polli. Paris.
* Archiver & Hugh. the sons of Hugh. Cambrens. hist of Ireland.
* Attacks Hibernicos. Campions hist. of Ireland.

Nobles, as stood either in their light, or in the Kings favour) fled into *France*, where they lived in * an Abbey as poore *Gardiners*, untill the Abbot descrying by their deportment some state above their habite, *upon penitent humility* reconciled them to the King. The Lord *William de Breuse*, (a * Baron lately of great command and wealth in the Marches of *Wales*,) shewed not the like penitence, nor found the like grace; who, upon * refusall to deliver his sonne as a pledge of his fidelitie, sped into *Ireland* to flie the Kings wrath, and now, to avoyde his pursuit, fled also into *France*, then the common *Sanctuary* of all trayterous fugitives; but * sharpe revenge overtooke both his *Sonne* and his *Lady*, (taken in a strong Castle of *Meth*) whose virulent and rayling * tongue had more exasperated the fury of the King (whom she immodestly reviled as a *Tyrant* and *Murtherer*,) then could be pacified by her strange presents, (* foure hundred Kine, and one Bull, all milke-white, except onely the eares, which were red,) sent unto the Queene.

(43) But [b] *Catalus*, the unquiet King of *Connaught*, trusting to his owne Forces, King *Iohn* subdued by strong pursuit: [c] and after all carried him *captived in triumph*, imprisoned the *English Fugitives*, tooke pledges both of *English* and *Irish* Inhabitants, punished by death malefactors, turbulent persons by ransomes, eſtablished all their *Lawes*, *Coynes*, and *Officers*, to the *English* forme, and deputed (which was worth all) a wise, stout, and upright * Governour over them, the Bishoppe of *Norwich*, *Langtons* Competitor: thus settling on that barbarous Iland so noble and ordered a face of government, as was the stay thereof in those tumultuous times, and a patterne even to more peacefull ages to imitate. By which both glorious and * speedie conquest and *reformation*, hee better merited that Style of *Irelands* Lord, then when it was confirmed to him by a Crowne of * Peacockes feathers from the Pope, at what time (long before) hee injoyed it by his Fathers gift, as his *Broad-Seale* (heere not unfit to be annexed) will shew.



This Seale is at a Charter granted to *Dublin*, before *Iohn* was King.

(44) The *Bankes* of King *Iohns* estate, were not unlike to those in *Grounds*: ill-neighboured with an encroaching *Sea*, where before one breach is well made up, another no lesse dangerous is laide open: which endles turmoiles kept his *body* still in Action, his *Minde* in passions, and his *Prowesse* in ure. The vaste expenses of his *Irish* expedition were no sooner repayred, (by a * great taxe charged on all the *Conventuall houses*) but *Lewelin* Prince of *North-Wales*, with his great spoyles on the *English* Marches, made new matter of charge and exploit for the King; [d] having, to prevent due revenge, caused his *Wallans* to convey all their cartell and better substance to the scarce-accessible refuges of *Snowdowne Hill*. These difficulties much more whetted and excited the Kings resolution; neither had the vertuall power of the Popes fulmination as yet so blasted his good fortunes, but that hence also hee [e] returned in great *triumph*, as *Conqueror of all Wales*, where, with wonderful celerity and valour, he [f] *subdued all their Princes and Cheefes*, *whom he received upon Oath, homage, and hostages*, with an absolute [g] *graunt of all their Inland unto the king for ever*. Notwithstanding, perceiving that [h] very many slipt away for dread (at least for colour) of the Popes curse, from those his *martiall* and other *civill* services, (though [i] hee punished by fine all such Revolters,) whereby his person could never bee free from danger, nor his State from trouble; hee resolves (seeing the Pope unflexible, and unsensible of so many Christians calamities,) at length to relent from his vowed stiffenesse against the Popes Elect, in hope so to settle his owne and his Subjects tranquility, though with unsufferable indignity to himselfe. In his [k] returne from *Wales*, with

with an Army no lesse faithfull then powerfull, and also with the love of his Neighbour-Princes. King *William* of *Scotland*, [q] at this time infested with a dangerous rebellion, (stirred up within his Kingdome by one *Gothred*, [r] laying claime, under colour of some antiquated title, to his *Crowne*) being himselfe infirme with age, sent his sonne *Prince Alexander* into *England*, to crave assistance of King *Iohn*, who (by his owne princely love and readinesse to demerite theirs,) resolving with his Army in person to chastise the disturbers of his trusty Confederate, before his setting forth, did [s] on the table in a *solemne feast*, (which hee kept in the *Hospitall of Clerken-well*) *adorne Prince* Alexander *with the Belt and Order of Knight-hood*; and [t] afterward with his Hoast vanquishing the *Rebels*, advaunced their *Chiefe-leader* farre higher then his owne *Ambition* expected, and left that Kingdome in a setled peace. But whiles he is thus kindly carefull in suppression of anothers rebels, his owne at home are as unkindly vigilant to undermine his State; the *Popes absolution*, like magicke-spelles, having let loose many tumultuating *Spirits*, which wil not easily be laid againe. For the [u] *Chiefes* among the *Wallians*, whom neither breach of their *Oathes*, nor losse of their noble hostages, ([x] which soone after perished for their parents sinnes) could deterre, suddenly fell off from the King, and fell on his Subjects with [y] much *slaughter of men*, *burning of Townes*, *and surprizall of Castles*: whereof, whiles the King meaning to take sharpe revenge, was on his way at *Nottingham* with an un-resistable Armie, letters of great speede and secrecie were delivered to him, (as he sate at meate) from his faithfull and gratefull friend the *Scotish* King, and instantly others from his Daughter *Ioan*, *Prince Lewylins* Lady, both giving him intelligence of imminent Treasons [z] plotted by sundry *of his Peeres*, *who meant eyther to murther him*, *or betray him to the butchery of his foes*. Which dreadfull notices from so true-hatted Informers, could not yet affright his manly heart, till comming to *Chester*, he there understood by sundry other Intelligencers, that his [a] *Nobles* held themselves quite discharged from his Allegiance; and knowing that they wanting fidelity, he himselfe could not but want fecurity, hee dismissed his Hoast, tooke hostages of his Barons, pursued the detected Conspirators, and [b] the *three principall* of them flying the Land, he prosecuted their persons, demolished their Castles, and confiscated their possessions. But many of as vile and virulent affections they left behinde them, as that [c] trayterous Act of those Nobles bewrayed, who sent to *Philip* of *France their sealed Charter*, *promising to settle on his head the Crowne of England*, *if hee would come to receive it*. And that the mindes of the *vulgar* should not be un-possessed with like expectation of *Iohns* un-crowning, the prophesies of an [d] *Heremiticall wizard* (fore-telling, that on the day of the *Ascention*, King *Iohn* (should be no *King*) were buzzed into their ears. Whether by *Gods* inspiring, or the *Divels*, these were revealed, [e] some doe doubt; but hee that considers the quotidian impostures of these times, and the secret machinations of the *Pope*, the *French* King, and the *English Barons*, all for divers ends, complotting against King *Iohn*, will easily perceive both what use there was of suborning such a Prophet, to deterre the popular meynie, from sticking to the King, and to beguile their credulity, as if the thing were to be done, by Gods fore-appointment, and ordinance, and also [f] that his punishment *by death*, as a trayterous Impostor, was no other then he deserved.

(46) Neither is the Popes revenge thus appeased, some higher greeces yet remaine, on which his *Greatnesse*; and greatnesse of his holy rage must display it selfe: the under-props whereof, (a thing almost incredible) were not onely *English-men*, but *English* Bishops also. For *Stephen Langton* with the B B. of *London* and *Ely*, (thirsting after revenge, though with the destruction of their Country, and bloud-shed of innumerable their Compatriots) going to *Rome* with complaints on the King, [g] made *humble supplications: to the Lord Pope*, *that he would vouchsafe in a touch of pious compassion*, *to support the English Church*, *being at the point of ruine*. At whose earnest follicitation, the tender-hearted Pope (grievously lamenting the desolation of the Kingdome of *England*,) decreed by solemne sentence: *That King* Iohn *should be deposed from his Kingdome*, *and that the* Pope *should provide some other*, *who should be deemed worthier to succeede*. To effectuate the former clause, *Innocentius* eagerly pursued the latter, sending speedy Letters to (whom but King *Iohns* most mortall enemy?) *Philip* King of *France*; [h] requiring him *to undertake the labour of the dethroning King Iohn*, with no lesse reward then pardon for *all his sinnes and enjoying of the English Crowne to him*, *and his heires for ever*. A goodly large patent both for a *Spirituall* and *Temporall* Kingdome, which, (more like *Mars* his Priest, then Christs *Vicar*) he meanes to seale, with a deluge of Christians bloud. For not thus yet satiated, he transmits his *Letters* generall; [i] *To all Potentates*, *Souldiers*, *men of warre of all Nations*, *to signe themselves with the Crosse*, and to follow their Captaine, *Philip*, for the dejection of King *Iohn*, assuring all, that their assistance (whether in *Person* or *Contribution*) *shall be no lesse meritorious*, *then if they visited our Saviours Sepulchre*. That this Pope under colour of such *Crusadoes*, did formerly *cloake his owne Avarice*, his [k] owne Monkes averre; but here he cloakes therewith both his *Pride*, and a farre more savage vice, the thirst, not of mens *Gold*, but of their *Blood*. In which service with King *Philip*, he used the same *English Prelates* for his *Negotiators*, which were before his *Solicitors* thereunto; with whom also he sent his Factour *Randulph*; [l] *giving him in private*, *secret instructions how to manage every particular of the whole designe*, *to the most behoofe of the holy See*.

(47) The *French King* likewise receiving [m] from the Archbishop and his Associates, (in a [n] Councel) the *Apostolike sentence*; was very apprehensive of that employment, whereto not so much the Papall commaund, as his [o] *owne ancient malignity*, and the *English* Barons trayterous requests, had prepared him; both which he was now [p] *willing to make with the specious pretext of Iustice and devotion*. Vnder which colours he had [q] speedily marshalled an immense army at *Roan*, & drew a mighty Navy richly furnished to the mouth of *Seyn*, [r] *all his Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Knights*, *and Souldiers being summoned* to the exploit *under paine of high Treason*, *and disinheriting*, who therefore both in feare and hope of spoyle, came flocking without number.

(48) A preparation of so great importance, that all Christendome tooke notice of, could not long be hidden from King *Iohn*; whose care, by reason of his now doubled opposition (forraine and domestick) could be no lesse for his *owne* and his *Kingdomes* safety, then was his *Enemies* for impugning both. Wherefore his Summons being [s] sent to all his officers both for *Sea* and Land, for speedy furnishing both of a *Navy*, and an *Army*, equivalent to encounter so powerfull an invasion, such [t] innumerable multitudes swarmed to *Dover*, and other harbours for landing, that the Chiefe leaders for want of provision, dismissing the rest, [u] encamped at *Barham-Downes*, *onely with 60000. choyse*, *valiant*, *and well-appointed men*, *who*, *if they had carried all one mind*, *and true affection towards their King*, *and safegard of their Country*, *there breathed not any Prince under heaven*, *whose assault England had not beene able to repell*. And being no worse appointed for a *Sea-fight*, his intent was to grapple fiest with the *French fleete*, [x] *making no doubt of sinking them all*: *so secure and confident was hee in expectation of all Invaders*. In which brave addresse, whiles both shores of the Sea are thus bel-laide with both those Kings puissant armies, the one waiting for

a S. Tamion.
b Hist. Cambriæ.
c Iornalensis M. S.
d Famished (some say) in the Castle of Farat.
e Old Chron. of Flanders. Italian.
f Paris. hist. min. M. S.
g Hoveden. M. S.
h Polydor. Virg.
i Paris. hist. ma.
k Eng. de Wend. M. S.
l Tyrrel. Hoveden. Matth. Paris. Compleat Hist. of Ireland.
m Trussing. Rot. Claus. in Turr. Lond.
n Rishanger. Paris.
o Paris. hist. ma.
p Rishanger. Paris.
q Heller. Rott. lib. 13.
r Eth. de Bever-wod.
s Paris. hist. ma.
t Eth. de Beverwod. Gothredus hanged by King Iohn.
u Matth. Paris.
x 28 Welsh hostages hanged at Nottingham. Paris.
y Wend. M. S.
z Matth. Paris.
a Idem.
b Fitz-walter, Vesci, Bichel, and Percie. Ex Trivet. M. S.
c Matth. Paris. Wendo & alios.
d Peter of Pomfret. Vide M. S.
e Polydor. Virg. ex magicis artibus.
f Matth. Paris.
g Paris. hist. min. M. S.
h Matth. Paris.
i Paris. hist. ma. M. S.
k Reg. de Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. ed. an. 1202.
l Matth. Paris.
m Rog. de Wend. M. S.
n Matth. Paris.
o Matth. Paris.
p Trivet. M. S.
q Chron. Dunst. Abo.
r Wendov. M. S.
s Matth. Par.
t Wend. M. S.
u Paris. hist. ma.
x Wend. Paris.

An. Dom. 1211. King Iohn vide-dicton Wales.
An. Dom. 1212.

the Enemy, the other for faire winds, & more forces, behold *Pandulphus* (the Popes Pragmaticke) having firſt defired ſafe conduct of King *Iohn*, arrives at *Dover*, to put in execution thoſe [i] *ſecret Inſtructions* which his *Lord*, (who made his advantage of the *Foxe-skin*, as well as of *the Lyons*) * *had expreſly preſcribed*. He there unfolds to the King, the *innumerable* "*multitude* both of King *Philips ſhips*, and of his "ſouldiers *Horſe* and *Foot*, (all in readineſſe to paſſe, "and yet more expected to follow) to bereave him of "his *kingdome* by Apoſtolicall authoritie, and to en- "joy it himſelfe with his heires for ever. That with "him were alſo comming all the *Engliſh* Exiles, both "Clergy and Lay; *they*, by his forces to re-poſſeſſe "their eſtates, (maugre the King) and *he* from them "to receive Allegiance, as from his ſworne Subjects. "That hee had the fealty of almoſt all the *Engliſh* "*Peeres* obliged to him by their owne *Charters*; "which made him diſtruſtleſſe of attaining eaſily his "wiſhed ſucceſſe: which calamities (the more unſuf- "ferable, becauſe impoſed by his inſulting enemy, and "his owne ſubjects) he might yet evade and retaine "his Crown, which by ſentence he had already loſt, "if penitently he would ſubmit himſelf to the Chur- "ches judgement. Doubtleſſe the ſtraits wherein to the King ſaw himſelfe plunged, were very dreadfull; ſo many deadly enemies abroad to aſſault him, ſo few truſty friends at home to guard him: which drove him into this ſad cogitation, [k] *that thoſe his perſidious Peeres would now with their followers abandon him in the Field, or betray him over to the Sword of his Enemies*. Yet not unlikely other motives alſo might forcibly perſwade him to relent: the remembrance of the Emperour *Otho*, whom this very Pope (not without ſoule blot of [l] *Iniuſtice* and [m] *Lewdſie*) had both eagerly advanced, and furiouſly diſ-empyred, the boundleſſe furies of the *Cruſado* promulged againſt him, wherewith this Pope [n] uſed to over-flow, as with a mercileſſe *Ocean*, all ſuch Princes as withſtood his will, which once broken-in would never end, but with the end and ruine of all. Thus thinking it better to yeeld to the time, with aſſurance both [o] of his *Crowne*, and of the [p] *Popes favour*, then deſperately to hazard *Life*, *Crowne* and all, to his mortall foes; he redeemes his ſafetie on ſuch conditions, as *Neceſſitie, and the Pope* (*both which have no law*) liſted to impoſe; and ſo preſently ſworе to ſubmit *in all things* * *to the judgement of the Church*. By vertue of which farre ſtretching Oath, *Pandulphus* afterwards exacteth his ſubſcription to a * *Forme of Peace preſcribed by the Pope*, wherein King *Iohn*, *though* [q] *with an unwillinge, yea a bleeding heart, and weeping eyes, yet will he, nill he*, muſt acknowledge [r] *that touching all things for which hee was excommunicated, hee had abſolutely ſworne* * *to ſtand to whatſoever the Pope ſhould command*. Secondly, *that the Archbiſhop, Biſhops and Monkes, with all thereſt of that liſt, ſhould* (*with ſatisfaction alſo for all dammages*) *be reſtored both to their poſſeſſions and the Kings favour, ſo that they alſo would ſweare not to attempt any thing againſt the Kings Perſon and Crowne*. Wherein we ſee that King *Iohn* in ſwearing to *obey the judgement of the Church*, was concluded to have ſworne performance of *whatſoever the Pope commanded*, and how great matters the Pope can command, King *Iohn*, with much more * *bleeding amaritude of ſpirit*, ſhall quickly ſee and feele. For two daies after, (being the period of the Hermits propheſie) the King at the houſe of the *Knights Templars*, in *Dover*, [s] *by the Popes command* in his [t] *pre-ordination at Rome, taking off his Crowne from his head, ſurrendred it into the Popes hands by his Attorney Pandulphus*, (at whoſe feete he [u] alſo laide his Scepter, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the Royall Enſignes;) ſubſcribed alſo to another [x] *Charter*, whereby hee *reſigned his Kingdomes to the Pope*, profeſſing he did it * *neither for feare, nor force, but of his owne free will, and in the Common Councell of his Barons, as having no other way to make ſatisfaction to God and the Church for his offence, and that thence-forward he would hold his Crowne as Feodary to the Pope, paying a penſion annuall of* 1000 *Markes for both the Kingdomes of England and Ireland*: whereupon doing *homage* and ſwearing *fealty* to the Pope, he did withall deliver ſome money, (as the earneſt of his ſubjection) unto *Pandulph*, [y] who throwing it to the ground, did thereon *trample with his feete*, to manifeſt his Maſters greatneſſe. That theſe things were done in preſence of ſome Peeres, who gave no conſent thereto, appeares by *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, (the very principall man in that Aſſembly) who [z] both *inwardly grieved threat, and openly diſclaymed* and gaine-ſayed it.

(49) The Pope formerly pretended hee ſought [a] *nothing more then* Iohns *repentance*, and [b] *grieved at nothing ſo much as Englands deſolation*: but theſe his circumventions bewray he ſought ſomewhat elſe, which bred both *repentance* and *deſolation* to King *Iohn* and his Succeſſors long after. Which fact cannot be liveliер paralelled, then by another dolefull accident of the former yeare, [c] when a dreadfull fire in *Southwarke*, conſuming the Church and buildings neere *London-Bridge*, ſuddenly (whiles numberleſſe people flockt on the Bridge, either to bring ſuccour or ſeeke ſafetie) the fire by a winde ſeized alſo on the hither end of the Bridge; wherewith * multitudes thus encompaſſed on both ſides, miſerably periſhed; where at length ſome bringing their *Barges* to ſave the reſt, their crowde was ſo great, that the veſſels ſinking, more periſhed in the *Water*, then by *fire*. King *Iohn*, like thoſe, was in the middeſt of two inevitable flames; on this ſide, his faithleſſe Nobles, on that, his mercileſſe foes; when the Pope thus proffering him St. *Peters Boat*, for a ſafegard from both, drencht him into as great miſery, certainly greater Ignominy then both the other. Wherein yet the Pope doth not want his ſhare and ſhame; amongſt his owne favourites, ſome accuſing that his *preſcribed Charter*, as [d] *lamentable and deteſtable*; [e] ſome denying it was of the Popes procuring, but that King *Iohn* had long before made a *vow of devotion*, that if God ſeeled him in thoſe Kingdomes hee would dedicate them both, and make them tributary to the See Apoſtolike. But ſome other, (great *pillars* of the *Papacy*) ſtepping further, [f] avow it to be utterly *untrue, that King* Iohn *did make his Realmes thus tributary to the Pope*; or [g] *that ever ſuch penſions were paide to Rome*; or [h] if hee ſo did, or any other *Engliſh* King ſhould ſo doe, ſuch an act *to be of no validitie at all*; or if it were of any force, [i] *it ought onely to lie on King* Iohn, *who ſo offended, and not on any his ſucceſſors*. Doubtleſſe, if the *Papal ſword* had power to cut off King *Johns* regality for any offence, his Crowne was to have deſcended to the next Heire, (whether *Henry* his ſonne, or *Eleanor Arthurs* ſiſter, then alive) who, as they were not guilty of the fault, ſo neither conſenting to the reſignement. Some therefore have imagined, that [k] *ſuch Inſtruments might happily then be motioned and drawne, and yet die unratified, though the copies ſtand recorded*; but whatſoever were then done, that the Pope himſelfe (not onely thoſe his friends) were thereof aſhamed will hereafter appeare.

(50) Whiles *Pandulphus* is thus chaffering about the Crowne for his Maſter the *Pope*, *Phillip* is fitting his head to weare it, and was now ſetting forth his Navy to winne it, for himſelfe; which made the Legate (having after [l] five dayes ſeyſen re-delivered the *Crowne*, but [m] not yet releaſed the *Cenſures*, till conditions were performed) to haſten into *France*, carrying with him eight thouſand pound, as part of reſtitution to the exiled Biſhops; where, comming to King *Philip*, he adviſed him to diſmiſſe his *hoaſt*, and enterprize againſt King *Iohn*, as being now an *obedient and reconciled Son to the Church*. But *Philip* who was of the Popes minde, not caring for King *Johns* repentance, but for his *Kingdome*, which now hee loſt before he had gotten it, [n] *ſtretting exceedingly* to ſee himſelfe not onely ſet up for a ſtale, and made to the

Ibidem.

i Matth. Paris.

k Pap: formam evidenter exprimit. Paris.

Pandulphus perſwaſion to King Iohn.

l Paris hiſt. ves. in Mat. Weſt.

n As Sylveſter threweth his Ladies S. touching the *Albigenſes*, and Paris touching Otho, &c.

o Vvend. M. S. p Matt. Weſt.

* Indicio Eccleſiæ penitentium. Paris.

* Dicted at Dover, 13. May, An. 1213. Paris. Vvend.

q Matth. Paris. hiſt. maj. M. S. r See Wendover, Paris, Weſtminſter, Trivet, Polydor.

* State manide in Domino Papæ.

* Iuſſus ad ſubſcribendum tam ſui cruciatum quam ordinationis. Paris hiſt. min. M. S.

* In voluntia Aſſenſionis, May 15. Paris.

t Verisimile, ex Innocentiani mandatuli, Polydor.

u Sextam quod fuerat Regnum ſententiatum. Vvend. M. S.

x Ibi. de Server. in Vit. Auguſt. x See Vvend. & Paris.

* The Pope commands the King to averre untruthes.

y Paris hiſt. ma.

z Matth. Paris.

a Nihil hic ſe- cundum Deum. b Grave nimis conſilium. Paris.

c Ex Rend. t. Merſe de South Paris hiſt. min. M. S.

* Will. Paling- ton writeth that 3000. were ſtifled and halfe burnt, beſides thoſe who were quite conſumed.

The Romaniſts cenſure touching the Popes thus dealing. d Engliſh, Scotiſh Aſſem. Matth. ord. Paris, & alii. e Scholion of Rend. ſelby. f Sir Thomas Moore in his Supplication of ſoules. g Conſimiliter. of Benedict. h Ibi. cap. 5. Sir Tho. More. i Polyd. Virg. lib. 15.

k Edmund Campion. hiſt. of Ireland. lib. 2. cap. 9.

l Paul. Emil. in Philip. m Paris hiſt. min. M. S.

n Matth. Weſt.

World an object of ſcoffe, by the Nunces guileſull colluſions, but alſo by the [o] *Popes owne inticements*, plunged into ſo exceſſive a dammage, (having ſpent, beſide his great travaile in this preparation, 60000. *Crownes, wherewith hee purchaſed nought but ſcoffes*; reſolved and *profeſſed, that ſith the Pope himſelfe, had ſo farre thruſt him on, his Legates ſuggeſtions* (*no nor his threats of excommunication,*) *ſhould not draw him backe* from his intendment. In which reſolution [q] calling his Peeres and Nobles into a conſultation at *Sueſſoune*, all the reſt approving the courſe, *Ferdinand* Earle of *Flanders* (*part of whoſe Countrey Philip by force detained*) told him tartly, that [r] as the attempt was both *unjuſt and impoſſible*, ſo [s] *it was fitter, every mans right ſhould at home bee reſtored, and juſtice imbraced, before they attempted to teach duties of piety to others abroad*. And, that he [t] *ought rather to thinke of making reſtitution to King Iohn of thoſe tranſmarine Countries, which hee with-held unjuſtly, then of invading his Realme, whereto hee had no right at all*. With which unexpected reclamation, [u] the chiefe Peeres began to waver, and *Philip* enraged, *bidding him deſiance, forbad him his Court*. The like rough uſage (not * long before) found [x] *Reginald the moſt valorous* Earle of *Bulloigne* (though his *daughter was married to Philips younger ſonne,*) whom the *French* King perceiving to wiſh well to King *Iohn*, [y] *drove him unjuſtly out of his Earledome*; but King *Iohn*, receiving him with honourable compenſation of [z] faire revenewes in *England*, held both with him and Earle *Ferdinand*, a fure (though ſecret) confederacy. So that now *Philips* rage, and feare to hazard his owne Crowne, (if ſeeking anothers, hee ſhould leave ſo neare an Enemy at his backe, diverts the courſe of his *Ambition* into the Itreanе of his *Revenge*, and reſolving firſt to ſubdue the Earle, (after which ſucceſſe hee might more ſafely paſſe into *England*,) hee commands his mighty prepared Navy to ſet forth from the mouth of *Seyne* towards *Flanders*, where himſelfe with his forces (meaning to ſubdue the countrey in their way) would meet them by land. Whereof King *Iohn* having ſpeedy intelligence from the Earle (who, knowing his meanes too ſlender to beare off the Kings ſo long prepared power, deſired his preſent ayde) without delay deſpatched his * Fleete, to purſue them who intended to purſue him, under the conduct of a [a] *three brave Generals*, his brother *William* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *William* Duke of *Holland*, and *Reginald* Earle of *Bulloigne*, [b] who with hugely gaines ſurprizing the *French Navy* at the port of *Damme*, (whiles moſt of the *French Souldiers* were on land, diſpoiling the Earles Country,) ſeized on them all; [c] *three hundred of which ſhips*, laden with proviſion, Armes, and other coſtly fraught (*for whatſoever the King and all his Nobles held deareſt was therein,*) they ſent for *England* (whither at firſt they were bound) and *above one hundred* other they burnt, or ſunke, for *France*.

(51) This Navall victory produced effects in the two Kings ſo oppoſite as were their affections; the [d] one *with anguiſh of his irreparable loſſe and ignominy*, haſting back into *France*, to prevent further danger; and [e] the other (joyfull of his owne ſucceſſe and his confederates) diſmiſſing his power, as ſecure of any *French* attemps in haſte. Wherefore now, with full purpoſe to finde him worke at home, who ſo buſily fought it abroad, hee forthwith ſent (with large rewards to his *Flaunders Army*) [f] inſtructions alſo to the Earles, how to inveſt *Philip* on that ſide of *France*, whiles himſelfe entring *Poictou*, would ſide of *France*, whiles himſelfe entring *Poictou*, would do the like on the contrary ſide, and *otho the Emperor on a third part*. A dangerous plot and league, if the iſſue had beene anſwerable to the deſignes. For proſecution whereof, [g] King *Iohn* attending at *Portſmouth* with a noble Army, in hope now that all true *Engliſh*, would gladly embrace ſo faire an opportunity, to recover their hereditary Provinces from the falſe *French*; his *Barons* reſtleſſe themſelves in procuring his unreſt, and envying that his forraine vexations being thus paſſed, hee ſhould want domeſticke, flatly oppoſe themſelves both to his commaund and their Countries good, [h] denying him (*until he were abſoyled of his excommunication,*) their attendance in ſo behovefull a ſervice. Thoſe men in the heate of his former troubles with the Pope, ſhinking ſuch troubled waters moſt advantageous for their fiſhing, [i] re-commenced their contention with the King for their long-deſired *Liberties*, wherin becauſe they found him ſtill as immooveable as themſelves were immoderate, it ſeemeth, though the cloake of their now refuſall were *Religion*, yet their ſpurre was *Revenge*, having withall an eye to the good of the King of *France*, whom ſo well they had before loved, as to wiſh him *King of England*. But King *Iohn*, being no leſſe earneſt to further the preſent generall cauſe, then they their particular ends, delayed not their deſires; and [k] deſpeceding his Charters and ſafe conducts to the Archbiſhop and his fellow-Exiles, hee as ſpeedily * arrived: [l] *at whoſe preſence the earth* is faid *to have trembled*; but (doubtleſſe) King *Iohn* did; who hearing of his comming towards him (then at *Wincheſter*) went to meet him and thoſe other Biſhops; at whoſe ſight [m] *he fell down at their feet; with floods of teares intreating them to commiſerate His*, and his *Kingdomes miſeries*. Vpon which [n] *great humility in a King* (*moving them likewiſe to bedew their eyes,*) they lifted him from the ground, and leading him by each Arme to the doore of the *Cathedrall Church* (where, at rehearſall of the 50. Pſalme, all his Nobles and others wept for joy,) after in the *Chapter-houſe* they did abſolve him; but with ſuch guilefull Appendices of Oathes impoſed on him, that this abſoilement was not ſo much the *Epilogue* of his olde, as the *Prologue* of his new Tragicall vexations.

(52) For the *Prelates*, whoſe beſt abettors the diſloyall Barons had formerly beene, meaning now to be the like to them, amongſt other *Oathes* then taken of the King (to [o] defend *holy Church and Church men*; to make due *reſtitutions* to the Clergy; to beare *fealty* to the *See of Rome*,) cunningly alſo inſerted this, [p] *to eſtabliſh the good Lawes of his Predeceſſors, and to abolish all bad, proceeding with all his Subjects according to the juſt judgements of his Courts*: out of which generalities, what good ſtuffe the *Prelates* and *Barons* can picke, ſequels will ſhew. Now all exceptions ſeeming to be taken away, which might hinder the Kings deſigne for *France*, hee once againe at *Portſmouth* haſtens to embarke his hoaſt; where, at the point of paſſage new impediments are pretended, [q] that the *people having ſpent their money with long attendance, could not bee fitted for the ſervice, except the King would doe it out of his Treaſure*; which moved the King in anger, with a ſmall traine of his owne attendants, to ſet forth to Sea, and his *Barons* (*Philips* true friends) *to depart home, leaving the king* (*who at Gerſey expected their comming*) *deſtitute of their ſervice*. With theſe ſo often trechcrous deluſions, what marvaile, or blame, if a King, and in ſo important an action, thus defeated, were enflamed to take due revenge? On which purpoſe the King thus [r] *enforced to returne*, reſolving to chaſtiſe thoſe *rebellious ſpirits* (the cauſes thereof) *and to reclaime them to due obedience by force of Armes*, the Archbiſhop (reſolute to be as tough a *Bridle* to the *Regall power*, as ever *Hubert* his predeceſſor was,) came unto him, to divert him with Arbitrament, that it *was a breach of his Oath, for him to take Armes againſt any man whatſoever, without the judgement of his Court*. But the [s] next day, ſeeing hee could not thus prevaile with reaſons (the King forbidding him to *intermeddle in matters of lay-judgements*, and [t] *ſwearing that he would not forbeare for one* * *Clerkes pleaſure to take his owne raſſals*) he followed the King (who was on his way earneſtly following his intendment) deterring him with threates, and vowing, [u] *if out of hand he did not deſiſt* from his purpoſe, hee would *excommunicate all*, (except the King himſelfe) *who durſt take*

h Vvend. M. S. Paris.

i Matth. Tviset. An. 1212. M. S.

k Vvend. Paris.

* Apud Dover-ham, 17. Cal. Auguſt. Wendover. M. S. l Lib. S. Albin. & mir. lib. Ang. Archbiſhop Langton arriveth in England. m Paris Vvend. n Idem.

The King abſolved from the ſentence of Excommunication.

The Archbiſhop ſides with the Barons againſt the King.

o Vvend. M.S. Paris hiſt. ma.

A guileful oath impoſed on the King.

The King againe deluded by freſh ſhifts.

q Matth. Paris. hiſt. ma.

The Barons leave the King.

The King returneth for want of his Subjects aide. r Matth. Paris.

s Reg. de Wend. Ch. S.

t Paris hiſt. min. M. S.

* Proper vocant clericis ſtipendia. hiſt.

u Paris hiſt ma.

take Armes against any whomsoever, till the Interdict were quite released. So quickly did this Prelate on his coming into *England*, shew himselfe not only a faithfull *Philippine*, (as the King fore-saw,) and a faithlesse *Baronist* (as these his darings prove) but even another Pope, to threaten and persecute the King, sith *Innocentius* had left to doe it.

The Archbishops conspiring against the King.

(52) But these threates of *sacred Censure*, though they dash the whole course of Regall government, may seeme the more excusable, hee having some colour (though but a colour) thereof by reason of his *vocation* and *place*: the courses which soone after hee pursued, will not admit the like plea or pardon with the King. This *English Pope*, having in a [a] *promiscuous Synode of Clergymen and Barons*, granted by Indulgence, that in this time of Interdict, both *Conventuals and Seculars*, might in their Churches celebrate divine service, *so it were with a very low voyce*; singled out the *Barons into a* [a] *very private conference* (more cordiall perhaps to them then serving of God,) relating with much ostentation, what an *Oath* at his afforoiling the King, hee [b] *compelled him to take, for restoring good lawes, and antiquating bad*; *to which end, a Charter of King Henry the first being lately found* (which there hee shewed and caused to be read) *by it, they might, if themselves would, reduce to the pristine estate, those Liberties which long they had lost.* Both *Charter* and *Counsell* being received with [c] *great applause and joy*, a [d] *Confederacy was stricken betwixt them*, they all *sweuring to him to strive for those liberties to the spending of their lives, and hee promising them his most faithfull and uttermost assistance.* Amongst so many false to the State, probable it is, that some were false among themselves, by whom these *secrecies* might come to the Kings eares; who finding himselfe by both Clergy and Lay-Peeres combining against him, unable to revenge his forraine, or represse such domesticke indignities, knew no surer way to over-top them all, then by that high Hand, by which himselfe was first subjected to them all. How this must be fetcht about, because it concernes his Holinesse, a *learned Monke* shall relate in his owne Language. [e] *The King knew and had learned by manifold experience, that as the Pope, both for Ambition, and Profit, went beyond all other mortall men: so likewise, hee was in his greedy desire of riches so unsatiable, that with money, either paid or promised, hee might bee wrought like waxe, and made pliable to all wicked actions.* Thus having the true length of the Popes foote, hee fits him accordingly with rich presents, and golden promises, craving (by such moving Rhetoricke) not his ayde onely, but his *Curse* also against the Archbishop and Barons, who so unessfully distressed him. But *Innocentius* (forward of himselfe without any Motives, to put in ure those his Papall vertues, and the execution of his late usurped power,) upon the first gladsome newes of *Englands Vassallage* to his See, had presently dispatched for *England* an Agent of greater port then *Randulph* a *Subdeacon*, *Nicholas* Bishop of *Tusculum*, with no meaner credence and instructions for preserving what the Pope had guilefully gotten, then *Randulph* had to purchase what he ambitiously gaped for: by whose [f] arrivall the King seemed to bee possessed of those his desires, before his golden letters arrived at *Rome* to crave them.

The Popes Legate commeth into England.

(54) For this *Legate* was infected with the like itches (6 *Ambition* and *Avarice*) as his Master, and therefore King *Iohn* knew how to demerite his faithlesse and love, by supplying him with like [h] oyntments; whereby the Archbishop and Barons soone perceived, that the *Legate* was [i] wholly *Regall*, and the King *Papall*; which jealousie made both their Actions more distastfull. The Overt and professed end of his comming, being to release the *Interdict*, hee first tampered a little to accord the King and Prelates upon covenants of *Restitution*; towards which, though the King offered ten thousand markes, yet the Prelates [k] repining at the Legates [l] *partiality* to the King in approving that offer,) [m] chose rather to suffer the whole land to grone under that unchristian, and truely-styled *Curse*, [n] then to defalcate any jot of their covetous demands. Vnder which colour, the Popes Agent, (a fit *helve* for such a *hatchet*) brake his minde to the King of a more secret and principall cause of his *Legacy*, which was [o] for the contriving of a more validous and unexceptionable conveyance of his Kingdomes to the yoake of *Romish* Soveraignty; pretending doubtlesse, (as *Randulph* had done) that [p] *hee could never be safe or quiet, but under the powerfull protection of the Popes wings.* What juft exceptions the World might take to the former Grant, his *Holinesse* was not ignorant; it being an Act in the King, both of manifest * *Perjury* against his oath at his Coronation, and alfo of * *Confirmation*, * *Circumvention*, and * *Feare*; hee being driven thereto by the Pope himfelfe, who had fet up both the *French* power, and his owne Barons against him; an Act of one * actually *excommunicate*, as alfo were the * *Witneffes* converfing with him in that action, whereto, as neither the * next *Heyres*, nor the * *Clergy*, nor * *Body* of the Kingdome, gave any confent, fo an * *open diffolaime* thereof was made by the very [q] *Principall man* there prefent, in the name (as is likely) of all the reft: and that all was ingroffed with fo many *groffe* * *untruths*, as if done *moft voluntarily*; without *any* feare or *force*; in a generall *Aſſembly of the Barons*, onely by a *divine inſpiration*, and becauſe *the King had nothing fit to pacifie God for his ſinnes*, *but the giving away of his Kingdomes*: Well might the Pope bluſh at theſe fhamelesſe abuſions; and therefore if now the King, ſtanding on calmer termes, can be wrought to ratifie his *former Grant*, though the dealing bee more fraudulent, yet the Act will ſeeme more colourable, becauſe favouring of leſſe conſtraint, and more *free devotion*. But if we looke with an unpartiall Eye, wee ſhall ſee both the plight of King *Iohn*, and the action of *Innocentius*, ſtill like it ſelfe: the *Interdiction* ſtill burthening his land; his *Barons* more moleſtious to him then forraine foes; his *Prelates* greedily grating on him to empoveriſh his meanes; his Archbiſhop ſtopping all proceedings againſt *forraine* or *home bred* enemies; and if hee had thwarted the Popes commaund herein, hee fore-ſaw farre greater ſtormes at hand, then he had hitherto eſcaped. Thus in deſire to ſettle his *Kingdomes* quiet for his owne time, and in hope, perchance, that his *Succeſſors* would (as ſince by divine bleſſing they have) vindicate it againe from ſuch an enforced ſlavery, hee condeſcended to renue his [r] *Charter of Subjection*, knowing belike that his expreſſe [s] *reſervation to himſelfe and his Heires, of all due adminiſtration of Iuſtice, all Liberties and Regalties*, (as being excepted out of the Graunt,) was forcible of it ſelfe to make it unforcible. For how hath hee his wonted *power of Iuſtice*, who was *ſupreme*, and is made *ſubordinate*? how his wonted *liberties*, who was *abſolute*, and is made *Homager* and *Penſioner*? how his rore uſed *Regalties*, whom another may name and command as his *vaſſall*? Yet this *Charter*, adorned with a *Golden Bull*, (fit for the *Roman* * *Phalaris*, whereas the former was but ſealed with *wax*) was at a meeting in Saint *Pauls Cathedrall Church* [t] pretended for other buſineſſes about the *Interdict*) preſented for more authenticke ſolemnity at the High-Altar, where, in the *King* and *Legates* preſence, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, himſelf alſo both a Cardinall and a Legate (in this, acting the office of a ſtout *Patriote*, and noble *Prelate*, as the *Archbiſhop* of *Dublein* had done at the firſt *Graunt*,) ſtept forth, and in [u] the name of the whole *Clergy* and *Kingdome*, * *boldly and earneſtly* preſented [y] *at the ſame Altar in ſolemne manner, his Appeales againſt that Charter, ſo execrable to the whole world*, as likewiſe *formerly* [z] *he had uſed all poſſible endevor to divert the Kings heart from that Subjection to the Pope and Court of Rome.* That the Peeres of the *land* accorded with the Archbiſhop in the *Appeale*, (and

m Nich. Triuet. M.S.

n Circa interdictum relaxati nolunt, ne ſint fatti ſchismatici ad plenum. ibid.

o vvend. M.S.

p Wthout. Triuet M.S. Exception to the firſt graunt.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

q Archbiſhop of Dublin.

11. Groſſe untruthes ſpecified by the Pope in the grant.

The Pope renaunceth his firſt Charter, and feeles a new. 9

King Iohn poſſeſſeth condition-

The new Charter to the pope.

r Dated 3. Oct.

s Saluo tenore hereditas. See the Charter. Matth. Paris. vveſtmonaſt. &c.

t Phalaris burnt men in a brazen Bull.

u Paris hiſt. ad An. 1211. Turis de epiſcopis Cantuar. appeales againſt the Kings ſubjection.

u As appeareth in Matth. Paris ad An. 1211. Turis de epiſcopis Cantuar. Stephanus Lang. and in Rogus Wendo.

x Paris hiſt. ubi M.S. faith alſo Precenter, ad An. 1214.

y Paris hiſt ubi ſupra M.S. ad An. 1213. Thoſſ. vvorceſt.

z Paris hiſt. ubi M.S.

(and more then in *Appeales*) both the Kings owne [p] letters to the Pope ſaying, *they openly profeſſed, that they forcibly made head againſt him, becauſe hee had ſo enſlaved his land*, and their owne bitter *exclamations* againſt it, ſo frequently in [q] Authors reiterated, doe demonſtrate: and yet both the *Archbiſhop* and other *Barons*, are ſo cunningly named in the Popes [r] *Tranſcript*, as if they had not onely beene preſent and *witneſſes* at the doing, but alſo *approvers* of the deed. What comfort then had *Innocentius* of renouncing his *old Charter*, and thus ſhuffling for a *new*? Surely but little, it ſeemeth; eſpecially when hee ſaw both his owne *Creatures in England* thus oppugne it, and *Chriſtian Princes* abroad; yea King *Iohns* * mortall *enemies*, who not onely denyed, that *England* (notwithſtanding this Tranſaction) [s] *was any patrimony of Saint Peter*, and condemned the Pope for *holding an errour ſo pernicious to all Kingdomes*; but alſo vowed *to dye before they would yeeld, that any King can of his owne will, make his Kingdome Tributary, and his Nobles ſlaves to others.* By which univerſall deteſtation of this the Popes uſurping, it is not improbable (though for the preſent hee flouriſhed the *Tranſcript* thereof, which he ſent into *England*, with the [t] Preface of *Chriſt and Melchiſedech, being Kings and Prieſts*, and *that therefore in one perſon of Chriſts Vicar, as the Soule and the Body, ſo both Kingdome and Prieſthood did now concurre,*) that yet ere long hee was no leſſe aſhamed of this *letter*, then of his *former Charter*. Whereto well ſureth his teſtimony, who writes, that a [u] *Parliament was held at London the yeare 1214. Where the Archbiſhop ſate as Preſident with all the Clergy and Laity: wherein by commandement of the Pope, the Charter, Fealty, and homage by which the King was* obliged to the Pope, *was abſolutely releaſed on the ſeventh day of July*: which if it be true, no marvaile if the *Court of Rome* cannot produce, though often challenged thereto, this *Charter*, whereof ſo much they vaunt. Notwithſtanding ſome unquiet Spirits, aſpiring long after to the *Papacy*, though pretending (perhaps) the [x] *Originall Charter was conſumed at Lyons* (where the [y] Pope cauſing, ſome fay, *his owne Conclave to bee ſet on fire, to have a pretence to extort a contribution from the Prelates there in councell, the fire went farther then * hee meant it ſhould*) they made ſome flouriſh to [z] renew their claime of *homage* and *penſion*, till in a Generall Parliament, the Prelates, Lords, and Commons, *ſeverally* and *joyntly* [a] *enacted*, that *for ſo much as neither King Iohn, nor any other King, could bring his Realme and people to ſuch thraldome*, but by *common aſſent of Parliament, (the which was never done,)* and that *in ſo doing hee did againſt his Oath at his Coronation*; *beſides many other cauſes of juſt exception*; *if therefore the Pope thence forward ſhould attempt any thing therein, the King with all his Subjects ſhould with all their Forces and powers reſiſt the ſame, and rather hazard all their lives and liveliyhood, then endure that uſurpation.* If Pope *Paſchall* (in the [b] time of King *Iohns* grandfather) having *with much ſolemnity* made ſome grants to the Emperour *Henry*, and confirmed them with an [c] *Anathema*, with the [d] *oaths* of thirteene Cardinals, and with [e] religious receiving of the *bleſſed Sacrament*; yet, becauſe ſuch grants were thought prejudiciall to his *See*, [f] ſolemnely diſclaimed his owne Act, and ſuch his doing was approved by a *Clergy Councell*, as pretended to bee done [g] by *feare*: how much more juſtly might King *Iohns Succeſſors* and his *State*, by ſuch approbation of their grand Councell, free themſelves of thoſe ſervitudes wherewith by anothers *unjuſt*, *forced*, *unwarrantable* Act, they were ſuppoſed to be enfettered?

(55) Though the Archbiſhop were ſo unkinde againſt the Pope (the Advancer of his Fortune,) as to give by his appeale ſo fatall a blow to his deſired Crowne, yet the Pope was not ſo ingrate as to dye in his debt; as quickely hee found in [h] another appeale which hee made to the Pope againſt his *Legate*, for that hee, relying on [i] *Apoſtolicall indulgence*, not onely diſpoſed of all Spirituall dignities to [k] *ſuch as beſt liked the King*, but alſo to his owne [l] *Italians, and Kinſmen, though abſent, unknowne, unſufficient, unworthy, yea, and ſome* [m] *unborne.* Which *Legatine* * *Tyranny* unſufferable in a Chriſtian State, though *Simon Langton* (the Archbiſhops brother and Proctor) urged earneſtly before the Pope, yet the Legates Agent *Randulphus*, ſo diſplayed both the Archbiſhops ſervent neſſe *in uſing ſuch* * *eager perſwaſions and appellation againſt the Kings ſubjection*, and the Prelates * avarice, *in their unreaſonable exactions for reſtitution from the King*; being the moſt *benigne, modeſt, and humble Prince that his eyes ever beheld*; that his Holineſſe not onely conceived [n] *exceeding hatred* againſt the Archbiſhop and his cauſe, but ſent alſo his Authenticke Letters for repealing the *Interdict*, upon reſtitution onely of 13000. Markes * more to the *Prelates* (the King before had voluntarily offered them 100000.) and that but by equall portions of [o] five yeeres payment. But the King, who knew the Popes pleaſure before theſe Letters came to impart it, having found that his *French* affaires had ſuſtained unreparable impeachments by his hitherto enforced delayes, [p] entruſting his Kingdome to the *Legate* and *Earle Marſhals* cuſtody, was with his Forces paſſed into *Poyctou*, (whiles in his abſence, the relaxation of the *Interdict*, after [q] more then fixe yeeres continuance, was by the Legate in a Parliament ſolemnely promulged) where his Succeſſes were ſo fortunate, that [r] *it being powerfully ſubdued*, great hope was conceived the other Provinces would follow. Whence breaking with [s] like victories into *Britaine*, being there at the point to give [t] battle to *Lewis* the *Dolphine*, his ever faithleſſe *Poyctovins* ſodainely [u] forſooke him, and made him forſake his purpoſe. But a greater impairement of thoſe his hopes, was the [x] defeature of his Confederate *Otho* the Emperour, at the renowned *Battle of* * *Bovines*, where King [y] *Philip*, ſtricken from his horſe by the hand of *Reginald* Earle of *Bullogne*, had there with his *life* ended the *quarrell*, if a faithfull Souldier had not covered him with his owne Body, and bravely facrificed his *life*, to ſave his *Soveraignes*; who thereupon recovered both his footing, and the *victory*. The heavy newes whereof, concurring with his Barons outrages at home, drove King *Iohn* on [z] deare conditions, to capitulate on a *five yeeres Truce*, and returne to bridle them at home, whoſe attempts hee ever found moſt dangerous, when he was moſt buſied abroad. For under a * *pretext of Devotion* (the uſuall maske for Treachery) the Barons aſſembling at Saint *Edmunds*, [a] *did every man on the high Altar ſeverally ſweare, to renounce their ſworne fealty to the King, and purſue him by Armes, till they had enforced his conſent to the Charter of liberties formerly by the Archbiſhop recommended to them.* which when [b] afterward they came in perſon to challenge of the King, as a part of his *Oath* taken at his Abſolution; he [c] *ſeeing both their forces and affections addreſſed for violence*, was enforced with *gentle language and promiſed ſatisfactions*, to deſire, till after *Eaſter*, *mature deliberation on ſo important a matter*; in which breathing time, both in *pollicie*, he tooke new oath of loyalty throughout all the land, and [d] *in devotion*, undertooke the *Vow* and *Signe* of the *holy Wars*; chooſing belike to die againſt faithleſſe *Turks*, rather then to live amongſt ſuch unfaithfull Subjects. but neither *Oaths*, nor *holy vowes* [e] (*then eſteemed the ſupreame priviledge of protection*) could bee ſufficient *Bucklers* to protect againſt ſuch deſperate attempters; who at the prefixed weeke of Eaſter, preparing themſelves not for a *Conference*, as with their Prince, but for a *Battle*, as againſt ſome hoſtile power, trouped together at *Stanford*, with [f] an *Army inſtimable for number, whoſe* * *very principall Abetter and conſpirer was Stephen the Archbiſhop*, the more pernicious perſon, becauſe (to hide his falſe intendments) moſt aſſiduous in attendance about the King. And ſhim the King ſelecting to ſend to the

Barons

g Dated at Dover, the fifth of September. Matth. Paris hiſt. maj. Apoloy. Bullet. cap. 3. q In introductorio. Innocth. vvoſt. & alii. r In Originali in caſtello S. Cotton inventa.

s King Philip and the Peeres of France. Paris hiſt. maior. M. S.

t Extat original. vveſtmonaſt. Dat. 1206. 1214.

u Author. Rolos. M. S.

x Matth Paris. ubi ſup. An 1213. y Idem, ibidd.

* Could the Pope vſe Purgatory fire, and nothing?

z See Parliament Rolles, temp. Ed. 1. & 2. 2. 40. Ed 3. Parliament Rolles. Num 8. The like anſwer to this was made, anno 32. Ed. 1. Rot. Claus. m. 9. in Schedula. See Camden in Hibernia, p. 732.

a Idem in Brut. 1.

b Florent vvig. ad An. 1212. Matthew. ibidd. c Idem, ibid. d Paris in Hi. 1. Rivallen.

e Rot. Flores.

An. 1214. The Popes diſcharging againſt Stephen Lang. &c.

f Matth. Paris hiſt. maior. g See Parliament-Rolles in Turre.

k Regiis matribus Paris. hiſt. maj. M. S.

l Idem.

m Ibidem.

* Legati Tyrannis. ibid.

* Contra ſuſcitatos ſubditorum inimicos appellatio. Paris M. S. * Nichol. de Anagnia, Matth. Paris hiſt. maj. & Paris hiſt. min. M. S.

* The King had paid 27. thouſand before, and was to make it up 40000. o Nich. Triuet.

p vvend. M. S.

q Annos 6. menſes 3. dies 14.

r Lit. Regis Iob. apud vvend.

s Matth. Paris.

t Roger de vven. M. S. u Paris min. M. S.

x Paul. Æmil.

* Ad Pontum de Bovines. 6. Cal. Auguſti. Turin. M. S. y Philip hilſtma. See in Æmilius this battle at large.

z Datis 8000. marcor. Paris. M. S. The Barons knew all thoſe practiſes.

* Orationis gratia. vvendover. M. S. a Matth. Paris. hiſt. maj.

An. Dom. 1215.

b vvendo. M. S. c Matth. Paris.

d Idem.

e Dicens Innocentii apud vvend. & Paris.

f Paris. vvend. ubi ſup. * Conſervatis privilegiis ad inſtantiam baronum Stephanus, ibidd. g Idem.

Barons Army (who were come on as far as *Brackley*, not farre from the King, residing now in *Oxford*) to know the contents of their desires; hee brought a [h] *Scedule of their claimed liberties*, with a message of their resolutions, *if presently hee sealed not a Charter thereof vnto them, they would compell him thereto by forcible entrance on all his possessions.* Whereat his great heart * *highly disdaining*, hee demanded, *why they also demanded not his kingdome? those their exactions being grounded on no colour of reason*, and swearing never *to enslave himselfe to them by such a concession*, he dismissed his *Archbishop* to returne them his peremptory answere.

(56) Neither were the *Barons* lesse resolute in performance of their *vow* and *message*, appointing for *Head* unto that huge and heady rout, *Robert Fitzwalter*, whom they entitled [i] *The Marshall of Gods Armie and holy Church*: who first affailing *Northhampton* Castle, after fifteene dayes fruitlesse fury, departed to *Bedford*, whose * Castelan being a Confederate, gave them easie entrance; but the *Londoners* (displeased with the King for burthening them with taxes) not onely admitted them, but [k] *invited* them by requeste, to enter their *Citie* by night: where having that Key (as it were) *of the Land*, in their dispose, they by their [m] *threatfull letters*, not onely drew most of the Nobles from the King, but also had almost lockt him out of his Regall Seat. To prevent which outrage, by gentle messages intreating of the Barons a *place* and *day* of meeting, who thereto designed * *Runingmead* (since called *Councell-mead, for such consultations of State*,) they thither came [o] *with armed multitudes out of all the kingdome beyond all number*, that the King, [p] *seeing his power far inferiour vnto theirs*, was constrained to * grant them their uttermost desires, not onely for *Liberties*, (specified in * *Magna Charta*, and *Charta foresta*) but also for a kind of sway in the *Government*, by *twenty five selected Peeres*, to whose commands all the other Barons also were *bound by oath* to bee obsequious. Thus one of the greatest *Soveraignes of Christendome*, was now become the [q] *twenty first petty King in his owne Dominions*; as appeared that very night, when all the rest following the pompous streame of the new *up-start Kings*, left their *Soveraigne* * onely with seaven Gentlemen to attend him. What marvaile if high disdain hereof pierced his swelling heart, and filled his minde with revolving thoughts, how to unwind himselfe out of those servile fetters? And so hee did: [r] sending his letters over night unto certaine his trustiest *Castellans*, strongly to fortifie and victuall their *Castles*; and the [s] *next morning before breake of day*, very secretly retyring into the *Isle of Wight*: (whence seeking redresse both by the [t] *spirituall and temporall* [sword]) hee sent *Messengers*, both to the *Pope*, and other his *forraine friends*, to crave the *Censures* of the one, and succours of the other, against such outragious *Rebels*. In both which, his *Agents* were so sedulous, and his *Friends* so compassionate, that at [u] *Rome by definitive sentence, the Barons Charters were speedily cancelled*, the *King* and *Barons* [x] *accursed, if either of them observed the composition*, (which *Excommunication* was soone after upon their continued rebellion put in execution, for that [y] *the Pope, Fortunes wheele being turned, did mortally persecute them whom himselfe had first wheeled and incensed against the King*, [z] and from *Flaunders, Gascoyne, Brabant*, and other parts, such competent aids came in, as encouraged the *King* (after [a] *three moneths* secrecy and retyring,) to shew himselfe in the face of his enemies. His suddaine comming, with so unexpected attendance, to the siege of *Rochester Castle*, so amated both the * *Captaine* thereof, and all the *Barons* ([b] *who had sworne to assist him against any siege*,) that the one nor daring to approach to his rescue, the other was enforced to yeeld up his charge; and all his company had received, * what they deserved, had not *Savery de Malleon* entreated for their lives. The *Gales* of King *Iohns* fortunes seemed from this time, to blow from some happier Angle; and [c] dividing his great hoast into two parts, with the one conducted by himselfe *Northward*, he * *every where from the Southerne to the Scotish Sea*, victoriously subdued his *Rebels*, as likewise did the Earle of *Salisbury* with the other forrainers *Southward*. In which most deplored state of this land, all things were in confusion, and all men set on mischief, [d] *Fathers against their Sons, Brother against Brother, Kinsmen and Allies, against their nerest friends*, by *assailing, surprising, pursuing, burning, spoyling, disherizing, tormenting, murthering*; all the Kingdome, by the combustion of so universall a Rebellion, becomming like a generall *shambles*, or place of Infernall torture. And yet, as wirnesseth one who then lived, [e] *the Fathers and ageedmen* (likely to be the wiser, and better affected,) *flood on the Kings part, but the younger on the contrary; though some againe forsooke the King for love of their kindred, and other like respects.*

(57) Which certaine miseries, and uncertaine findings in *civill warres*, are not so strange, as is the savage madnesse of disloyall dispositions, who to attaine a shadow of *seeming Liberties*, immerge themselves and their abetters into bottomlesse servitudes and distresses. Yet more strange it is, that those *Barons*, and their adhering impugners of the King, whose pretext formerly was, that they durst not obey the King becawse of the *Papall Curse*, being now themselves by vertue of the same [f] *commanded to obey and assist him*, could without any scruple *contemne both it, and him*, [g] pretending it concerned them not, *because particularly they were not named*. Yea, the Archbishop himselfe, who with his suffilings had made the *World* seleeve, that the *Popes censure* (yea and his [h] owne too,) were of vertue to deprive the King of all Soveraigne command over his Subjects, now being [i] *by name*, and under *that fearefull penalty*, required *by the Pope to denounce the same against those perturbers of the Kings peace*; he esteeming thereof, but as a *wizard* to affright children, told the Popes messengers, [k] *he would not doe it for any cause whatsoever, till himselfe had in person conferred with the Pope*; for which enormious contempt, the Bishop of *Winton* and *Pandulph* [l] *solemnely denouncing the curse themselves against the Barons, did likewise suspend him from all Episcopall authority. Stephen* thus comming to *Rome* (for *Innocentius* had then called a *Generall* [m] *Councell*, and therein [n] *excommunicated all either French or English who impugned king Iohn*) was in that assembly (° of sixty one Archbishops, foure hundred and twelve Bishops, eight hundred Abbots and Priors,) accused and convict of *treason against the king, and contempt against the Pope and Churches censures*; for which the Pope [q] *fully resolving to depose him from his See and Dignity, by the Cardinals earnest intercession for him (as being their Brother-Cardinall)* was intreated to deale somewhat milder; but yet thereby * *publike sentence confirmed his suspension*, commanding by his [r] letters *all his Suffragane Bishops to with-draw their obedience from him.* And for a farther revenge, whereas *Simon Langton* (his Brother,) by his procurement had beene elected to the See of *Yorke*, (a strange example to [s] *have a whole kingdome ruled by two Brethren* of so turbulent humors) the Pope not onely did [t] cassate *his Election*, and made him *incapable* of any *Episcopall Dignity*, but also placed in that See, *Walter Gray* [u] (a trutty friend to the King, and a professed enemy to the *Langtons*) whose * *Pall* cost him no lesse then a thousand pound. By the like covetous grating, at the breaking up of the *Councell*, the Pope [v] *extorted of every Prelate there, an infinite masse of money* * *before he would give them leave to depart home*, amongst *whom William* Abbot of Saint *Albans* was one, [x] who "*comming to take his leave of the Pope without any*
"*present*; what (faith he) *Art thou the Abbot of*
"*Saint Albans, to which place so often favours have*
"*beene done by our* See; *and doth it become thee, to*
"*goe hence without respect to me who am Pope? where-*
"*upon he offering fifty Markes, was checkt and enforced before*

[a] Matth. Paris. Wilh. de Neubrig.

[b] Rog. de Wend. M. S.

[c] Cum maximo indignatione. Johannes.

The Barons in open rebellion.

[d] Roger Wend. M. S.

[e] Will. de Rolla Camer.

[f] Matth. Weſt.

[g] Matth. Paris. M. S. Wendover. M. S. & Matth Paris.

[h] Rog. de Wend. M. S.

[i] Matth. Paris. M. S.

[k] Matth. Weſt. Trivet. M. S. Wendover. M. S. & Matth Paris.

[l] Matth. Paris. M. S.

[m] Wendover & Matthew Paris. M. S.

[n] See the Charters at large in Wendover and Paris.

[o] Paris.

[p] Paris. Equitibus remedium. M. S.

[q] Paris. hill.

[r] Paris. hill.

[s] Paris. hill. mis. Dit. S.

[t] Ralph Innocentius. dat 9. Cal. Sept. apud. Matth. Paris.

[u] Paris. hill. mis. M. S.

[x] Matth. Weſt. Trivet. M. S. Wendover. M. S. & Matth Paris.

[y] Will. de Albinco.

[z] Reg. de Wend.

[a] Suſſexiâ, &c. Matth. Paris. M. S.

[b] Matth. Paris. hiſt. mi. M. S.

[c] Matth. Weſt.

* A mari & Scotis quos ad id ſecum duxerat. Paris.

[d] Lib. S. Alban. in vita Willi. Abbat.

[e] Roger Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris in Manip.

The Pope Centures contemned.

By the Barons.

[f] Wendover M. S.

[g] Matth. Paris hiſt. mi. M. S. By the Archbiſhop.

[h] Matth. Paris.

[i] Rolls Patent. 13. apud Paris.

[k] Paris hill. ma.

[l] idem.

[m] Concilium Lateranenſe mirande frequentatum, in quo interfuit 0 idem. P Paris hill. ma.

[q] Paris hiſt. mis. M. S. The Archbiſhop ſuſpended.

* Latenter impetravit. Nec Innocentius. Paris.

r Innocentii IIIti epiſtolæ.

[s] Reg. de Wend.

[t] Wilhelmus Gaſcoigny Cardinalis, & Archidiac. Meldenſis. Matth. Paris. hill. ma.

[u] Paris. hill. ma.

[x] Matth. Weſt. Wendover. M. S. & Lib. S. Alban. in vita Willi. Abbat. M. S.

[y] Matt. weſt.

[z] Trivet. M. S. Par. hiſt. mon.

"*before he went out of the Popes Chamber, (which he re-*
"*pented hee ever entred) to pay an hundred Markes:*
"*which yet he brooked the better, because the Pope so*
"*handled all other Prelates; the fashion being for every*
"*man to lay downe his money ready told before the Popes*
"*feet*, and so to take a [b] *deare bought benediction* and
"*be gone: but if any wanted present Cash, the Popes*
"*Merchants, that is, his Vsurers, were at hand, but on ve-*
"*ry hard conditions to supply them.*

(58) But how ever the *Clergy* fared, King *Iohn* had cause of contentment in the Popes proceedings in that *Councell*; especially for that now his disloyall Barons were [c] *all excommunicated by Name, and all their lands, together with the City of London, interdicted*: which, though it gave a deadly blow to the Barons faction, and made their case plainly desperate, yet they standing on their guard still in *London*, * held *those censures in so high contempt, that they decreed, neither themselves or Citizens should observe them, nor the* "*Prelates denounce them*, alleadging, [d] *that they were*
"*on false suggestions procured; but chiefly for that it ap-*
"*pertained not to the Pope to deale in secular affaires,*
"*seth Peter received of our Saviour onely a power of mat-*
"*ters of Ecclesiastick; And what should the Romane insa-*
"*tiable avarice extend it selfe hither to us? What had*
"*Prelates to intermeddle with Warres? Such are Con-*
"*stantines Successors, not Peters, whom as they represent*
"*not in good Actions, so neither doe they in authoritie.*
"*Fie on such * rascall ribaulds, who knowing little of*
"*Armes or ingenuous courses, being but base Vsurers and*
"*Simoniacks, will now by their Excommunications domi-*
"*nere over the whole world: Oh how unlike are they to*
"*Peter, who now usurpe Peters place?* The Barons (the causers themselves, of what they so detested) had leasure thus to reason, for now they had neere lost all; and therefore "*cursing both the Pope*, (who cursed them, and endeavoured [e] *to draw all into the bottomelesse gulfe of the Roman avarice*,) and the King "*believe twixt whom like two millstones, they were now ground-*
"*ded to peeces; being hopelesse* (by reason of their disloyalties) *to finde any favour of their Prince, if they should submit themselves vnto him*, [h] *in these straits*, they resolve on a project, (futable indeed to their former designes, but otherwise so execrable, as well may justifie King *Iohns* exorbitances,) for betraying the Crowne of *England* unto *Lewis* the *Dolphine* of *France*. In which ungodly message sending the * *Marshall of Gods Army*, and some others, with their letters of alleageance, firmed with [i] all the *Barons Seales*, to implore King [k] *Philips* favour for sending his Sonne; and his Sonnes, for the acceptance of the Crowne; they receive (upon delivery of fifty *English* hoftages) a * present supply of *French* Gallants, with speedy expectance of their new *French-English King*.

(59) *Lewis* not so voyde of *Ambition*, as to lose a *Crowne* for want of ferching, was not long behinde a *Crowne* for want of ferching, was not long behinde them; though the Pope (upon notice of the designe) had purposely sent his Legate, Cardinall *Wallo*, with [m] *Apostolicall commands to Philip, to stay his Sonne from entring on Saint Peters patrimony*; [n] who declared the *Great curse in the Councell* on all men combining with those persons excommunicate, against King *Iohn*. Vpon which speech, *Philip* replyed, that *England was no * patrimony of Saint Peter, no King having power of himselfe to alienate his Kingdome, King Iohn especially, who* "*being never lawfull King,*
"*had no power to dispose thereof*; and that it was an *Er-*
"*rour, and a pernicious example in the Pope, and an * itch-*
"*ing luſt after a new kinde of domination*: his Peeres sware, [o] *by Christs death, they would spend their lives, rather then suffer that a King should of himselfe, or with a few flatterers, passe over his Crowne, and enthrall his Nobles, especially to the Pope, who should follow Saint Peters steppes to winne soules, and not to meddle with warres and murthers of mens bodies*: and *Lewis* himselfe [q] hee beseecht his Father, not to hinder him from that, which he had not given him, and for which hee was now resolved to spend his bloud, and [r] *would choose rather to bee excommunica-*

[a] Matth. Paris hiſt. mi. M. S.

The Barons excommunicated by name.

[c] Innocent. lib. Lateranſ. 1. C. Celebrato. M. S.

[d] Abbat contemnendo ſuſpenſis. Matth. Paris.

Engliſh. Wend. M. S. Matt. Paris mai. hiſt.

The Barons rails on the Pope.

* Marcelli vitandos Paris.

[f] Wendover M. S.

[g] Matth. Paris hiſt. mi. M. S. By the Archbiſhop.

[h] Matth Paris.

[i] Rolls Patent. 13. apud Paris.

[k] Paris hill. ma.

[l] Paris. Hill. in Philip. Aug.

The Barons betray the Kingdome to the Dolphin of France.

* Non-Fitzwalterum.

Wendover Paris.

[m] Paris. & Will. Armor. Philippi. Paris faith but 24.

* Col. Guerſii Paris. Inſcribit pre-paration for England. miſſa Capud. Monaſt. Wendover. Paris.

* Nec fuit, eſt, neceſſe, Paris.

[o] Guer. weſt. Fabyan and Grafton.

* Abbatiæ nunc dominationis libidinis. Matt. weſt.

P Matt. Paris hiſt. mis M. S.

[q] Matt. weſt.

[r] Trivet. M. S. Par. hiſt. mon.

* Spretis monitionibus. Wilhelm. Armor. Matth. Paris. Wendover. M. S.

[x] Capgrave. Paris.

[y] Trivet. M. S.

* Ex Col. Fauſt. Matt. weſt.

* At Stoanes, ibid.

[z] Trivet.

* Videlicet ex Lincolnſhire. The Scyres. M. S.

[x] John Stow.

[y] Matt. weſt.

[z] Paris. hiſt. ma. Wendover. M. S.

* Seſcriain bleid. Penteccoſt. Nic. Trivet. M. S.

* Fregenti irrepudio. Paris. M. S.

[a] Trivet. M. S. Paris. & Wend. M. S. [b] Matt. Paris hiſtor. ma.

[d] Wend. M. S. Paris.

[e] Matt. weſt. Paris.

[f] Matt. Paris hiſtor. ma.

* Willing ford. Windſor, Britil. &c.

[g] Matt. weſt. Par. hiſt. ma. [h] Paris hiſt. mi M. S.

Confederates doe the like at *Windsor* Castle; King *Iohn* and his *mighty hoast*, breaking forth with a fuddaine violence, like a furious tempest, over-runneth the Countrey all about, to the ruining of the Barons Castles, and possessions every where. Thus setting forth from *Lime* in *Norfolke*, (where, for their faithfull services he [k] bestowed large *Franchises*, and his *owne Sword*, and a *Guilt Bole*, for testification of his affection,) with a full [l] *resolution to addresse his mighty Army for to give Lewis battell*, as hee was passing the *Washes* with his *Army* and rich *carriages* toward *Lincolneshire*, in those sands (by reason of the often-changeable channell, ever dangerous) all his [m] *Carriages, treasure*, and *provision*, (himselfe and his Army hardly escaping) were irrecoverably lost.

(60) Many likewise were the grievances into which the *Barons*, the meane while were plunged, to see their *Native Countrey* by their owne wilfulnesse thus horribly massacred, their owne Castles and possessions ruined and rifled by the King, & which bred in them most anxietie, [n] their faithfull *services* (in this their faithlesse adherence) not so respected by *Lewis*, as he, and their owne fore-running hopes had promised them, whiles he conferred onely on his *French*, all such *Territories* and *Castles*, as the hand of victory had lent unto him. But their distresses were yet farre greater, then those their jelousies could comprehend, [o] till a *Noble Frenchman* (*Vicunt de Melun*) a man of great esteeme with *Lewis*, having his soule in his *sickenesse* deadly wounded with his sins of his *health*, desired private conference on his death-bed in *London*, with those *English Barons*, to whom *Lewis* had committed the custody of that City. To them hee imparted, what *lamentable desolations and unsuspected ruines hung over their heads, for that* Lewis *with sixteene other his chiefe Earles and Barons, whereof himselfe was one*, (averring it *on the Salvation of his now departing Soule,*) *had taken an Oath, if ever Englands Crowne were setled on his head, to condemne unto perpetuall exile all such as now adhered to him against King* Iohn, *as Traitours to their Soveraigne, and all their kindred in the land utterly to extirpate.* So counselling them *timely to prevent their miseries*, and to locke up his words *under the Seale of Secresie*, presently his penitent Soule being thus in peace with men, went to rest with God. What strange amazements so rufull a relation might work in the hearers, we may imagine, but onely men in like perplexed estate can fully and sensibly conceive. The operative power whereof was such, that though many of the Barons then doubted, *whether, if they returned to their Soveraignes due allegeance, he* (*whose hatred against them with so many indignities they had provoked*) *would accept them upon their repentance*, [q] yet presently forty of them addressed their Letters of submissive suite unto the *King*, in hope that *true-kingly bloud is ever ready to yeeld mercy, to such as are ready to yeeld themselves prostrate.*

(61) But these solicitors for mercy came too late, either to receive, or yeeld any contentment, by their submission to the King, himselfe (now at *Newarke*) lying at the *mercy* of a higher Soveraigne, and by the stroke of death neere to some rest, which in his life he had seldome attained: vexations being commonly the attendants of *Crownes*, but *quiet* and *content* the Priviledges of more private States. On deaths approach, with penitent [r] *confession of his sinnes, and great devotion, hee received the blessed Eucharist*, having the Abbot of * *Croxton* for his Physitian both bodily and ghostly: and not onely *forgave gladly all his mortall persecutors* (holding that a matter *though very difficult* to flesh and bloud, yet *salutary to the Soule*) but also *sent command to Henry* his sonne to do the same to whom he caused all present, [s] *sweare fealty, as to the heire of the Crowne*, and sent *his* Letters *to all his Officers abroad*, exhorting them to assist him. And [t] *thus he commended his soule to God, and his body to be buried in Worcester Church*, where the Bishop solemnely interred it, by the Kings appointment, neere the body of *Wolstan*, a fainted Bishop renowned for constant fidelity to his Prince against the rebellious Nobles of * his time: with which kind of men, King *Iohns* government had been miserably encumbred.

(62) This, being the *Catastrophe* of his *Tragicall* Raigne, might also have beene the close of his *Story*, had not the suddenty of his death exacted some search into the cause of his sickenesse. Such *Authors* as touch the matter but in generall, content themselves with saying, hee dyed of a [a] *grieſe*, or a [b] *feaver*, or a [c] *flux*, or a [d] *surfet*; but those who have entred into the particulars, insist on such a *surfet*, as whereof both *griefe*, *feaver*, and *flux* were most probable effects and *Symptomes*. For comming (say [e] they) from the *Washes*, to *Swinshead Abbey*, (being of the *Cisteaux Order*, which of olde hee had much incensed) he added new matter of offence, as hee fare at meate, when, in speech [f] *of his enemies too large provision*, he sware, if he lived but half a yeare longer, he would make one half-peny loafe as deare as * twelve: which to prevent, a Monke of that holy habit, whither in love to *Lewis*, or hate to the *King*, or pitty on the *Land*, presenting him with an envenomed Cup, (whereof the King commanded him to be his *Taster*) became the Diabolicall Instrument of his owne and his *Soveraignes* destruction. This relation delivered by *Monkes*, and men of *Monkish* humour, as a thing so undeniable, that they avow (at what time they wrote this) [g] *five Monkes in that Abbey did sing for this their brothers soule specially, and so should whiles the Abbey stood*, which, if it had beene forged, every child might easily have refuted; and the rehearsall of all circumstances thereof, (of the Kings speeches, of the *Monkes* conference with his *Abbot*, of his preparing the drinke with the *Toade* in the Garden, of his dying in the *Firmary*) might deserve credit with the greatest Patrons of *Monkery*; yet [h] one of them (as if by acquitting *Simon* of *Swinshead*, all * other of such Orders were cleared from assasinating of *Princes*) striveth eagerly, to asperse some late * Relaters hereof, with the blots both of malice and *forgery*. Wherein is the *malice* [i] in adding to the narration, *Pictures also of the fact, so to move hatred to Monkes and their Religion*; whereas of truth, either *Monkes*, or men of that Religion, were the very first, who not onely so depictured, but also lively and richly depainted it in their [k] *goodliest Manuscripts*. Wherein then the Forgery [l] in addding to *Caxton*, that [m] *his Abbot gave him absolution for the same before-hand, there being no such matter at all, nor any mention thereof in the Story?* No: let the very Story speake. [1] *The Monke went to the Abbot, and was shriven of him, and told the Abbot all the King had said; and praid his Abbot to assoile him, for he would give the King such a drinke that all* England *should be glad thereof, and joyfull: tho yode the Monke into the Garden, &c.* Yea father, [n] one Monke alleadgeth, an inducement for the *Abbots* assent thereto, for that the King had sent for the *Abbots* Sister (a faire *Prioresse*) with purpose to have desboured her. Yea, but the Story it selfe is charged with [o] *novelty, the first author thereof being but Anno 1483. and all other former Writers making no mention of it.* This if true, were somewhat, and doubtlesse, it is as true as the former: for how could he bee the first *Author*, sith the Latine *History* entituled * *Eulogium*, (whose Author dyed about 1366.) hath all particulars more exactly set downe, then that *English* hath, and expretly, that the *Monke conferred with his Abbot, of his whole purpose, and shriued himselfe, how hee would suffer this voluntary Martyrdome, as Caiphas said of Christ, better one perish then a Nation. At which constancy of the Martyr, the Abbot wept for joy, and praised God: So the Monke being absolved by the Abbot, was undaunted, and tooke the Cup, &c.* And not onely * *Ranulph* the Monke of *Chester*, [q] *Iohn* of *Tynmouth*, and [r] *Thomas Otterbourne* the *Franciscan Fryer*, recorded it as * a *fame generally received*, but fundry other auncient Stories; as *Iohn*

Iohn of Lichfield, the *Monke of Leicester*, and *Scala Mundi* (to omit other [p] nameslesse Authours before *Anno.* 1483.) so confidently avouch his poisoning at *Swinshed*, that unpartiall [q] after-Writers, though friends to *Monkery*, made no scruple to believe it. And why should they not, sith an * *Authour*, more ancient and unexceptionable then all the rest, (even King *Iohns* Sonne and Successor in his Kingdome) averred it, [r] when, the *Prior of Clerken-well* fawcily telling him (being then in that house) *that as soone as he ceaste to doe Iustice towards his Prelates, hee should cease to bee a King*; the King enraged with his traiterous threat, replyed; What *e meane you to turne me out of my Kingdome, and afterward to murder me, as my Father was dealt with?*

(63) But not to trouble our selves with refuting a *Gooſes* gagling against *Foxes* true relation; ease it is to observe the hatred of *Monkes* against that King, both in thus procuring his death then, and his dishonour (a fecond death) in their flanderous inventions ever since. For, whereas he [s] writ by some of his Bishops to certaine forraine Princes, for aides against his *faithleſſe Rebels*; the *Monkes* charge him, that he *counterfeited his Bishops Seales, and writ abroad, that all Englishmen were become Infidels and Apoſtates from Christs faith, and therefore such should come to subdue them, and take their poſſeſſions*: [t] when hee faid, a *Stag* which hee kild, had never the leſſe fat, though he never heard a *Maſſe*; they charged him *he doubted of the Reſurrection of the dead*; [u] and in saying, *hee never ſped well after his yeelding to the Pope*, that he faid he was unfortunate *ſince he was reconciled unto God*: that, [x] when hee gave leave to a ſervant of his owne, *to enter any religious Order*, hee gave him leave to be of what Religion and Faith hee liſt. That moreover, [y] he offered his Kingdome to a *Saracen*, & would embrace the Turkiſh faith, though this tale were told by one *Robert of London* (a [z] wicked Maſſe-Prieſt, or rather a *Monſter*, [a] having *a face like a Iew, with one arme long, and another ſhort, his like a Iew, with one arme long, and another ſhort, his fingers deformedly growing together two and two,*) with ſuch ſenceles improbabilities, as [b] *that he found that Mooriſh King reading of Saint Pauls Epiſtles*, and that he refuſed the Kingdome of *England* being offered him, with the like. That laſtly [c] it was revealed to a Monke, King *Iohn* was in Hell; though a Poet for ſo ſaying, is by *M. P.* (& who *made no doubt of King Iohns ſalvation*) cenſured for a * *Reprobate*. Theſe all are demonſtrations of ſo incredible hatred, as ſhould rather alleviate their *Authors* credit, then the kings; whoſe Raigne had it not fallen in the time of ſo turbulent a *Pope*, ſo ambitious Neighbour *Princes*, ſo diſloyall Subjects, nor his Story into the hands of exaſperated Writers, he had appeared a King of as great renowne, as miſfortunes. His workes of devotion inferiour to none; as his Foundations declare at [h] *Beauley*, [i] *Farrington*, [k] *Malmesbury*, and [l] *Dublin*, and that other for *Nunnes* at *Godſtow* by *Oxford*, [m] for which ſome have interpreted that Prophecie of *Merlin*, as meant of him;

Sith Virgin-gifts to Maids hee gave,
Monges bleſſed Saints God will him ſave.

His Acts and Orders for the *Weale-publike* were beyond moſt: he being either the *firſt*, or the *chiefeſt*, who appointed thoſe noble *Formes* of Civill government in [o] *London*, and [p] moſt *Cities*, and Incorporate *Townes* of *England*, endowing them alſo with their greateſt *Franchiſes*; The [q] *firſt* who cauſed Sterling-money to be here coyned; The [r] *firſt*, who ordained the Honourable Ceremonies in Creating of *Earles*; The *firſt*, who [s] ſetled the *Rates* and *Meaſures* for *Wine, Bread, Cloth*, and ſuch like Neceſſaries of Commerce; The *firſt*, who planted *Engliſh Lawes* and *Officers* in *Ireland*, and both annexed that *Kingdome*, and faſtned *Wales* to the Crowne of *England*, thereby making amends for his loſſes in *France*; and thence, amongſt all the Engliſh *Monarchs*, he was the *firſt* who enlarged the *Royall Style*, with *Lord of Ireland*: a matter of greater import for *Englands Peace*, then all the French Titles ever yet have prooved. Whoſe whole courſe of Life and Actions, we cannot ſhut up with any truer *Eulogy*, then that which an ancient *Authour* hath conferred on him: *Princeps quidem Magnus erat, ſed minus felix; atque ut Marius, utramque fortunam expertus; Doubtleſſe, he was a Prince more Great then happy, and one, who, like Marius, had tried both ſides of Fortunes wheele.*

His Wives.

(64) *Alice*, the firſt wife of King *Iohn*, was the eldeſt of the two daughters, and heires apparent at that time, of *Humbert* the ſecond, Earle of *Maurien*, now called *Savoy*: her *Mother* was *Clemence*, daughter of *Berthold*, the fourth Duke of *Leringen*, who had beene the divorced wife of *Henry the Lyon*, Duke of *Saxonie*. This marriage was in their childhoode concluded by their *Parents* at *Mounferrant* in *Averne*, in February, *Anno* 1173; he ſhould have had with her, her Fathers *Earledome*, but all altered by her untimely death; and after enſued the death of her *Mother*, the new marriage of her *Father*, and iſſue male of the ſame, whereof the *Dukes of Saxony* are deſcended.

(65) *Iſabel*, his ſecond Wife (by * ſome called *Hawiſia*, or *Avis*) though the youngeſt of the three Siſters, yet was in regard of this marriage, the ſole *Heire of William* Earle of *Glouceſter*, Sonne of Earle *Robert*, the *Naturall* Sonne of King *Henry the firſt*; her *Mother* was *Hawis* the daughter of *Robert Boſſu Earle of Leiceſter*. She was married unto him when hee was *Earle of Mortoine*, in the firſt yeare of his brother *Richards* Raigne: and after ten yeares having no iſſue by him, was (the firſt yeare of his Raigne) divorced from him, under pretence of *Conſanguinity*, and married to *Geffrey Mandevill* Earle of *Eſſex*, and laſtly, to *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, but dyed without any Iſſue by them.

(66) *Iſabel* alſo his laſt Wife, was Daughter and Heire of *Aimer Earle of Angoleſme*; her *Mother* was *Alice* daughter of *Peter*, Lord of *Courteney*, fifth Son of *Lewis the Groſſe*, King of *France*. She was married unto him in the firſt yeare of his raigne, and crowned by *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, 8. Id. Octob. *Anno* 1200. and ſurviving him, was married to *Hugh Brun* Earle of *March*, and Lord of *Luſignian* and *Valence* in *Poyctou*, to whom firſt ſhe ſhould have beene married, but yet (as ſeemeth) contrived her affection to him till now. By him ſhe had divers Children, (greatly advanced by the King, *Henry* 3. their halfe-Brother, and as greatly maligned by his Subjects) *Hugh* Earle of *March* and *Angoleſme*, *Guy* of *Luſignian*, ſlaine in the battle at *Lewiſe*, *William* of *Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Aymer* of *Valence* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Geffrey* of *Luſignan* Lord of *Haſtings*.

His Iſſue.

(67) *Henry*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Iohn*, and *Iſabel* his laſt Wife, was borne at *Wincheſter*, 1. *Octob.* 10. of his Fathers Raigne, *Anno* 1208. King *Iohn* dying at *Newarke*, (* whither hee was brought in a Horſe-litter from *Swinſhed*,) the Barons malice was ended, their offence amended, *Lewis* of *France* rejected, and the yong Prince ſeated on his Fathers throne.

(68) *Richard*, his ſecond ſon by the ſame Queene, was borne the next yeare after *Henry*; by whom afterward he was made Knight, created Earle of *Cornwall*, and appointed Earle of *Poyctou*. After the death of *William* Earle of *Holland*, Emperour of the Weſt, he was by the *Electors* choſen to ſucceede him in the *Empire*, and crowned King of *Romanes*, and of *Almayn* at the City of *Acon* in *Germany*, by *Conrade* Archbiſhop of *Coleyne*, *Maij* 27. being the Aſcention day, *Anno* 1257. deceaſing at the Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, *April* 20. *Ann.* 1271. the 13. yeare of his *Empire*, his

a Hill. de gestis regis & M. Sancti Albani. Dunst. Canon. English. Chronicles. M.S. Iohn Maior. George Lilliat. Grafton & alii.

b Fab. dirivelling. c Polydor. d Otterbourne. e Matt. Paris.

f Chronicle of S. Albans. M.S. Sundry Anglish Chronicles. M.S. Grafton. Chron. f. English Chro. M.S. & Baily. M.S.

g Chron. of S. Albans. M.S. Caxton of all. Eulogium saith, Ives Monkes ex confessio Capitali genere ille.

h Parker in his Antiquit. Brit. cap. 15.

i Yet Iohn Clement a Monke did lately print a History of France.

k M. Foxe his Martyrology. Sir Tho. Hoby his Ward-work. Professor of Cambridge Pictures in his Marc. Whose the Monke is limned with his Crowne and Sickle, sitting at a banquet and foure Monks in their habits comming to him, whereof one presents him with a poysoned cup. Vide. MS. of S. Albans in Bibliotheca Arundel. Cant. & MS. Script. compar. Ad. Le in Bibliath. Bodlei.

l Parker. ibid. Caxton. Eulogium saith Ives Monkes ex confessio by Parker Ives Cities.

m Eulogium MS. in Bibl. D. Pych. Cantab.

n Borne in the reigne of Henry 3.

o Chronic. Rivij 1336.

p He ended his story Anno 1420.

q Fama vulgata.

r Matth. Paris. Ioh. Maior. Polydor. Hist.

s Record. de Charta Civit.

t Cambd. Brit. in Worcestersh.

u Cambd. Brit. in Ordinibus Angl. Hamel. Paris. Pitheus. Cantipratanus. Bolcet. Lynd. M.S. Paris.

v Roger Hoved. M.S. Citat ex libello cui Titulus Eulogium, apud Fabianum & Fox.

* Hoved. in King Iohn.

* See Glovers Catalogue of Honour, p. 363. & p. 334.

* Matth. Paris. in eodem.

* Roffen. Wigorn. comites.

his body was buried in his Monaſtery of *Hailes* in *Glouceſterſhire*, but * his *Heart* at *Oxford* in *Reuly Abbey* (founded by him) under a *Pyramis of admirable work*. Hee had three wives, the firſt was *Iſabel* daughter of *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*, widdow of *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*; by whom he had iſſue, *Henry* ſlaine at *Viterbo* in *Italy*, and *Iohn*, both dying without iſſue. His ſecond wife was *Sanches*, (daughter of *Raimund* Earle of *Prouince*, and ſiſter to Queene *Eleanor* his brothers wife) who was crowned with him at *Acon*, and had iſſue by him *Edmund* Earle of *Cornwall*, and others. His laſt wife was *Beatrice*, *Niece* to the Archbiſhop of *Colyne*, who ſeemeth to have ſurvived him, & to have no Iſſue by him.

(69) *Ioane*, the eldeſt Daughter and Childe of King *Iohn*, and Queene *Iſabel* his laſt wife, was the firſt wife of *Alexander* the ſecond, King of *Scots*, married unto him in *Yorke*, *Iunij* 25. Anno 1221. who returning into *England* to viſite her Brother, deceaſed at *London*, and was buried in the *Nunnery* at *Tarent* in *Dorſetſhire*, 4. *Martij*, in the 21. yeare of her Brother King *Henries* raigne in *England*, and the 23. of king *Alexander* her husbands in *Scotland*, Anno 1236.

(70) *Eleanor* their ſecond daughter was firſt married to *William Marſhall* the younger, Earle of *Pembroke*: and after his deceaſe without iſſue, and ſeaven yeares Widow-hood, remarried to *Simon Montfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, Sonne of *Simon* Earle *Montfort* in *France*, by *Amice* Daughter of *Robert Blanchmane* Earle of *Leiceſter*) who maintaining the Barons warres againſt King *Henry* her brother, was ſlaine at the battaile of *Eueſham*, in the 19. yeare of her brothers raigne, 1265; after whoſe death, ſhe, and her Children were forced to forſake *England*; ſhe dyed in the *Nunnery* at *Montarges* in *France*. *Henry* her eldeſt Sonne, was ſlaine with his Father at *Eueſham*: *Simon*, the ſecond, was Earle of *Bigorre*, and anceſtor to a Family of *Mountforts* in thoſe parts of *France*.

Almaricke, her third Sonne was firſt a Priеſt, and Treaſurer of the Cathedrall Church in *Yorke*, and after a Knight, and a valiant ſervitor in ſundry warres beyond the Seas. *Guy* the fourth Sonne was Earle of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountforts* in *Tuſcaine*, and of the Earles of *Campobachi*, in the Kingome of *Naples*. *Richard* theſift Sonne, remained privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountfort* to *Wellesborne*, was anceſtor of the family of *Welles bornes* in *England*. She had alſo a daughter named *Eleanor*, borne in *England*, brought up in *France*, and married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewellen ap Griffith*.

(71) *Iſabel*, their youngeſt daughter was born An. 1214. when ſhe was 21. years of age, ſhe was married (being the ſixt and laſt wife) to the Emperour *Frederick* the ſecond, at the City of *Worms* in *Germany*, 20. of Iuly, 1235. She had iſſue by him, *Henry* appointed to be king of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, *Landgrave Thurin*: ſhe was Empreſſe ſix years, and died in Child-bed, *Decemb.* 1. of her husbands Empire, 31. of her brothers reign, 38. An. 1241.

(72) *Iane*, or *Ione*, the daughter naturall of King *Iohn* (by *Agatha* Daughter of *Robert Ferrers*, Earle of *Darby*) married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*. Anno 1204. her Father gave with her the Caſtle and Lordſhip of *Eliſmore* in the Marches of *Southwales*; ſhe (like a moſt loving Child) gave her Father ſecret intelligence of the Treaſons intended againſt him by the *Welſh* and *Engliſh*.

(73) *Geoffrey Fitz-Roy*, a baſe Son, who tranſported ſome Souldiers into *France*, when Archbiſhop *Hubert* forbad the King his Father to goe thither.

(74) *Richard*, who married the Daughter and heire of *Fulbert de Dover*, who built *Chilham* Caſtle in *Kent*, which Caſtle he had with her, and had Iſſue by her, of which ſome families of good eſteeme are deſcended.

HENRY

Henry III.

HENRIE THE THIRD, LORD OF IRELAND, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GVYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SIXTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 46.



CHAPTER IX.

An. Dom. 1216. * Tyrrel. Neuſt.

HEnrie, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Iohn*, was, when his Father dyed, about * ten yeares of age: which ſtate of child-hood, being moſt unfit to ſucceed in ſo troublous a State, (the furious waves whereof ſeemed farre from being appeaſed) God Almighty, in favour and pitty of his innocency, ſtrengthned with the ſervice of great and worthy men, whereby the free and noble Realme of *England* was gratiouſly preſerved from *French* ſervilitie; from whoſe Continent as it was naturally diſparted with a Sea, ſo could it as badly have endured to be joyned thereto by ſubjectiue government. Howbeit the difficulties were not few nor ſleight, which did at firſt empeach this happy preſervation, though they did not hinder it long; for, * *he diſpoſing the matter, who ordaineth all things wiſely, and moderates them ſweetly, faire weather was reſtored after ſtormes, and quiet being eſtabliſhed through the Kingdome, the peaceable ſeruants of God had ſpace to breath in.*

* Lib. Monaſt. S. Albæ M.S.

The ſucceſſors of King Henrie the Childhood.

(2) To effect ſo great a benefit, *Wallo* the Popes Legate ſtood wholly for advancement of *Henry*, and expulſion of the *French*; the authority of whoſe perſwaſions, joyned with his other power and example, drew many of the Prelates ſo farre, that (although their lands and goods were therefore ſpoyled) they would not doe any homage to *Lewis*; as likewiſe the loyall care of *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembrooke*, did gaine (in time) and ſettle the hearts of the ſecular Lords. Great was the wiſedome, courage and diligence of that Noble Gentleman in ſo broken and jeopardous eſtate; for he, knowing that the maine hopes of his Countrey reſted in the ſafetie of their perſons, in whom the right of Succeſſion was,

* Take ſee Annals in Hen. 3.

The great prudence and care of wil. Marſhall.

was, he firſt of all ſecured them within the Citie of *Glouceſter*, which was at *Henries* ſervice: There were with the young King, his mother Queene *Iſabel*, his brother *Richard*, (afterward King of *Romans*,) his ſiſters, the ſaid Earle, and many others in great numbers of the chiefe and principall men of all ſorts, who upon perfect notice of King *Iohns* death, repaired thither to their young Prince, with a purpoſe to conſult and concur in one, for the re-union of minds and bodies to the obedience of the true-borne King. The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore bringing forth his precious charge, and placing him with all due honour and ceremony in view of the aſſembled States, is reported for the pleaſing of all ſides, to have uſed words to this effect: *Albeit the father of this Prince, whom here you ſee before you, for his evill demeanors hath worthily undergone our perſecution, yet this young Childe, as he is in yeares tender, ſo is hee pure and innocent from thoſe his fathers doings: Wherefore, ſith every man is to be charged with the burthen of his owne tranſgreſſions, neither ſhall the Childe (as Scriptures teach us,) beare the iniquitie of his Father: wee ought of dutie and conſcience, beare our ſelves milder towards this tender Prince, and take compaſſion of his age. And for as much as he is the Kings * lawfull and eldeſt Sonne, and ought to be our Soveraigne, and his Succeſſour, let us with one joynt aſſiſtance appoint him our King and Governour; let us remove from us this Lewis the French Kings ſonne, and ſuppreſſe his people, which are a confuſion and ſhame to our Nation, and the yoakes of their ſervitude let us caſt off from our ſhoulders.*

(3) The entertaining of perſwaſions among the wiſe, is an effect of *Truth*, not of painted Phraſes; and theſe plaine words of the Earle, (the yong Kings Brother in law) were received with generall applauſe of all that were preſent, ſo that *Henry* was immediately proclaimed, and ſpeedily crowned (upon the day of S S. *Simon* and *Iude*) in the preſence both of *Wallo* the Popes Legate, (who impoſed on his unexperienced yeares ſome undue oathes of ſervice to the Roman See,) and of Queene *Iſabel*, with many of the Lords Spirituall and Secular, and ſtore of all other ſorts of people. The ſpeed of which Royall Ceremony (for it was the ninth day after King *Iohns* death) was not greater then the neceſſity of the State required: for his enemy, (nor onely his, but the enemy of the *Engliſh* name, Prince *Lewis*) had (as yet) *London*, the chiefe ſeat of the Empire, at his devotion many potent Earles, Barons, and martiall male-contents, ſubject to his command, and an Army in the field with which he fought to conſtraine that mirrour of conſtant loyalty, *Hubert de Burgo*, to render him the moſt important Caſtle in *England*, that of *Dover*, committed to his much-approved truſt. The young King on the other ſide was environed with many difficulties, want of money not the leaſt, the moſt part of his Fathers treaſures being drowned. To encounter all which miſchiefes, the ſaid Earle of *Pembrooke* was by common aſſent of *Prelates* and *Peeres* conſtituted Guardian of the yong Kings perſon, and Vice-Governour of the Kingdome.

(4) Letters hereupon iſſuing in the new Kings name, and for his affaires, to all ſuch as had charge in the Common-weale, (with many promiſes of reward and favour,) were accordingly in moſt places obeyed: for the evill-will borne to King *Iohn*, ſeeming to die with him, and to be buried in the ſame grave, the loyall bloud waxt warme about the coldeſt hearts, re-kindling in them the honeſt deſire of ſhewing themſelves true *Engliſhmen*. It was alſo a great helpe to the Kings party, that Prince *Lewis* his followers and Abettours, were, on every Sunday and Holiday, pronounced to ſtand accurſt, and excommunicated. *Lewis* perceiving, (contrary to his expectation) that King *Iohns* death was to him nothing availeable, but rather detrimentall, dwels no longer about *Dover-Caſtle*, but raiſing his ſiege, enters *London*, and provides the beſt he can for his tottering eſtate, which he fought to ſupport, by putting *French Garriſons* into Caſtles; The * Tower of *London* being rendred to him, hee beſiegeth *Hertford Caſtle*, which after the ſlaughter of many *French*, being delivered upon faire compoſition, the cuſtody of that Piece was demanded by *Richard Fitz-Walter*, as by ancient right belonging to him; but *Lewis* put him off with this anſwere; *That hee ſhould have patience, till hee had conquered the Realme, at which time hee would reſtore their rights to every one.* The ſecret reaſon which moved *Lewis* to give this anſwere, was: for that, conſulting with his *French* upon *Fitz-Walters* demaund, they gave it for their common opinion: *That the Engliſh were not worthy to have ſuch places entruſted to their charge, who were betrayers of their naturall Lord.* A juſt reaſon to move *Lewis* ſo to anſwere, but a farre better to teach others to continue loyall. The Caſtle of *Berkhamſted*, (whoſe Captaine was one *Walerano* a valiant Dutch Knight) hopleſſe of ſuccours, was likewiſe rendred, which as the reſt, he ſtuffed with *French Garriſons*; wherein, how ſoever he provided for his owne Nation during that preſent, hee tooke no wiſe courſe for the maine of his enterpriſe: for ſo apparent jealouſies, (ſeconding and confirming the Vicount *Melunes* predictions) could not but utterly unſettle the affections of ſuch great ones as had called him in. His next March being to Saint *Albans*, where he would have conſtrained the Abbot to doe him homage, hee was encountred with this honeſt anſwer: * *That he would doe him no homage, unleſſe hee were abſolved from the homage which hee had made to the King of England:* yet to purchaſe reſpite of homage, or rather his, and the Townes peace till Candlemas, hee was forced to uſe the mediation both of his * purſe, and of his noble friends.

(5) But thoſe inteſtine cauſes for which the Barons had called *Lewis* in, falling now to the ground by the death of King *Iohn*, and the *French* by their naturall inſolence, ſuſpicions and vanity, miniſtring new reaſons of averſion, were all of them ſtrong motives to diſpoſe the mindes of the *Engliſh Lewyſians* to returne to due obedience; yet finding themſelves bound in honour, not ſo to leave him ſodainly deſtiture (who upon affiance of their oathes and hoſtages had put himſelfe among them) that hee ſhould thereby fall into *Heavries* hands; they deſire therefore his abſence, but not his deſtruction. The more handſomely to compaſſe the reſt, an abſtinence from warre was (for a time) concluded betweene the King and *Lewis*; the rather, for that *Lewis* had intelligence from *Rome*, that the curſe which *Wallo* had denounced againſt him, ſhould ſhortly bee confirmed by the Pope, unleſſe he left *England*. As this Truce gave *Lewis* libertie to ſayle back to *France* for new ſupplies from his Father, (who greatly deſired to conferre with him;) ſo his abſence gave opportunity to his *Engliſh*, to conſult more freely of their beſt way; that from thence-forth *Lewis* was never potent in their affections, but * preſently loſt many chiefe Lords and others, who againe became true *Engliſh*.

(6) *Lewis* upon his ſpeedy returne out of *France*, minding to make a ſpeedy diſpatch, ſets out of *London* his Army of more then twentie thouſand Souldiers, with a purpoſe not onely to free * *Mont-Sorrel*, (then beſieged by his enemies) but to ſubdue the whole Countrey adjoyning. Odious and grievous to the Countries was this paſſage of the *French*, which reach as farre as *Lincolne*, there were among them ſo many ragged Raſcals, the * very ſcumme and filthy froth of that Nation, whoſe beggery was ſo baſe, that they had not cloathes to hang on their backes, to ſupply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, Governour of the King, * by the Counſell of *Wallo*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, reſolving to ſet the cauſe upon God, and the fortune of a Field, is now with the young King and his aſſiſtant

* Ypodig. Neuſt.

Matth. Paris.

Lewis and his followers accurſed.

Holinſh.

The judgment of the French touching the Engliſh Barons.

* *Iean de Quintyn, and Robert. Fitz-walter.*

The policy of King *Henries* friends in their march.

* *Eliz. Hiſtoll. S. Alba MS.*

Matth. Paris.
* He paid to mariners to *Lewis*. Motives and helpes for King *Henrie* beſtowed.

The farefull end of the Earle of *Perch.*

Paul. Emil. in Philip. Aug.

The Kings Army both a ſtrange victory called *Lewis* fair.

Matth. Paris. Holinſh. p. 199

Lewis goeth into *France*, but ſoone returneth.

Rog. de Wend. MS.

* *Matth. Paris*

* *Mat. Paris*

* *Walſing. Ypodig. Neuſt.*

* *To Lincolne-ſhire.*

The French ſouldiers beare marching.
* *Matth. Paris.*

The perillous ſtate of *Lewis.*

* The King gathers an hoſt to fight with the French.

* *Verd. Ist. S. Petri Aug.*

The actions of *Lewis* after King *Iohns* death.

Aſſiſtant Lords, at *Newarke*, where the generall Aſſembly for that ſervice was appointed. The whole Army after the Muſters, reſted there ſome dayes, which they ſpent not in vanities, but in devotions and receit of the Sacrament, humbling themſelves before the offended Majeſtie of God; and ſo all of them (ſaith *Paris*) being prepared, reſolve either to returne victorious, or to die in defence of their countrey, their Soveraignes right, and their owne Liberties, and poſſeſſions, all which ſeemed now to lye at ſtake. To give them the greater edge and ſpirit, *Wallo* with great ſolemnity accurſeth *Lewis* and his Coajutors, and thus the Army marcheth towards *Lincolne*, and the *Lewyſians* there in ſiege of the Caſtle: the King himſelfe being left with a ſtrong guard at *Stow*, (about eight miles ſhort of *Lincolne*) accompanied with *Wallo* and others, there without perill of his perſon to attend Gods pleaſure, in the event of the enterprize.

(7) Vpon their approach, if the Counſell of * ſome *Engliſh* Lords had beene followed, the *Lewyſian* Army had iſſued forth of the Citie, and given them battle in the open field; but the Earle of *Perch*, (the *French* Generall) thinking the Kings party to bee greater then it was, for that the Noblemen and Banneretes thereof had each of them two *Enſignes*, the one borne with themſelves, the other advanced among the carriages, which doubled the ſhew of their numbers; they did thereupon change that courſe, cloſed the gates of the Citie, and plyed their endevours againſt the Caſtle more fiercely then before. The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore lets *Falcaſius* ſlip in at the Caſtle poſterne with his *Arbalaſters*, whiles others breake up the South-gate of the City, at which the Kings Army moſt couragiouſly entring, and they of the Caſtle ſallying out in *Flancke* of the Enemy, ſcattered, & utterly defeated the *Lewyſians*. The Earle of *Pearch*, *their Generall*, being environed with the Royaliſts, and willed to render himſelfe, ſware that he would never become Priſoner to any *Engliſh*: upon which refuſall he was run through the ſight of his helmet into the braines, and ſo dyed without ſpeaking any word. In this conflict, (being on Saturday in Whitſon-weeke) the force of naturall propenſion was apparent; for notwithſtanding the fiery reſolutions of the Kings people, yet when they ſaw the faces of their kinſmen, friends and countrymen on the other ſide, their fury relented ſo ſtrongly, that the moſt part of the revenge fell upon the Horſes, and not upon the Horſemen, whom onely they laboured to make their Captives. The whole riches of the *Lewyſian* Campe, and of the City of *Lincolne*, became the booty and ſpoile of the Kings Army, whereupon this diſcomfiture was called *Lewis Fair*. Neither did the *Clergy* of the place eſcape, for the Popes Legate had commanded that they alſo ſhould be riſted to a penny, as perſons excommunicated in partaking with *Lewis*. The Chaſe was but coldly and fainedly followed upon the flying Barons, otherwiſe nor a man could have eſcaped, wherein yet the chiefeſt Baronswere taken, with about * 400. Knights, beſides Eſquires, and of other ſorts without note or number, though * ſome ſay that this number of Knights were ſlaine, and Matrons and women of the Towne flying by boat, which they had no skill to governe, were drowned. Such as eſcaped the fight were not therefore paſt the danger; for the Country people fell upon them as they fled, killing great numbers, ſo that almoſt all the footmen tooke up their laſt lodgings before they could reach to *London*, where *Lewis* was. The *Marſhall* of *France*, the *Caſtellan* of *Arras*, and about two hundreth Knights came ſafely thither, but were not otherwiſe then fowerly welcome of the Prince, who laid upon their cowardiſe the loſſe of all the reſt. His feare of being taken Priſoner juſtly encreaſing, hee fortifies *London* by the beſt meanes hee can, and diſpatcheth Poſts into *France* for more reliefe. This great victory was much the ſtranger, if (as * ſome write the ſame went) that onely there were ſlaine upon both ſides, the Earle of *Perch*, one of *Dubrents* Knights, and an obſcure fellow belonging to ſome, or other of the Barons.

(8) The Kings Governour after the victory rode preſently with the gladſome tidings in the height of ſpeede to the King and Legate, who with teares of joy gave God thankes. But the noble Earle nor leaving his worke imperfect, ſeekes to embarre *Lewis* from forraging about *London*. Meane while by the diligence of Lady *Blanch* the wife of *Lewis*, *Euſtace* the ruffianly *Apoſtata*, (who of a Monke becomming a * *Demoniacke*) was now upon the Sea with a freſh ſupply of men and munition bound for *London*; But God was no better pleaſed with theſe, then with the other ſcatterlings at *Lincolne*. For the *Engliſh* Navie, having the winde of the *French*, ſinke diverſ of their Ships by tilting at them with the yron Prowes or Beakes of their Gallies; uſing alſo unſlacked lime in duſt or powder, which they threw into the faces of their enemies, and blinded their ſight: ſo were the hopes of *Lewis* for any preſent ſuccours abſolutely fruſtrated. *Euſtace* himſelfe, found after long ſearch, and drawne out from the bottome of the Pumpe in a *French* Ship, at *Dover* had his head cut off, though * ſome ſay he was ſlaine by *Richard*, a baſe-ſonne of King *Iohn*. The newes of which ſucceſſe being brought to the king, did not more rejoyce him, then they wounded *Lewis*, for the loſſe was not onely great in men, but in all ſorts of riches and proviſions. To give now no reſt to *Lewis* his declining fortunes, the Earle of *Pembroke* with a mighty Army beſieged *London*, and *Lewis* therein, as well by *Water* as by *Land*; ſeeking to drive him by penurie to render the City. It came to capitulation, and in an Ilet in the River of *Thames*, not farre from *Staines*, the King, *Wallo* the Legate, and *William Marſhall*, the Kings Governour, met with *Lewis* and the Barons to finiſh the Peace: for *Lewis* had promiſed to doe as *Wallo* and the Earle would deviſe, ſo that it might not tend to his diſhonour or ſcandall: Heads or Articles of the agreement which *Lewis* ſware upon the Goſpell to performe, were, 1. *That Lewis, the Barons, and other his partakers ſhould ſtand to the judgement of the Church, (whoſe cenſures they had now ſome yeares contemned) and from thenceforth be and remaine true to the ſame.* 2. *That hee and his ſhould forthwith depart the land, never to returne againe with a purpoſe to doe harme.* 3. *That hee ſhould doe his beſt to draw his Father to make reſtitution of all ſuch things in France as belonged to the King of England, and that Lewis when himſelfe was King ſhould quietly part withthem.* 4. *That Lewis ſhould immediately render to King Henry all holds and places taken in the warre.* On the other part, the *King*, the *Legate*, and the *Earle* ſware; 1. *That the King ſhould reſtore to the Barons, and others, all their rights and inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demaunded of his Father.* 2. *That none (of the Laity) ſhould ſuffer dammage or reproch for taking part on either ſide.* 3. *That Priſoners ſhould be releaſed, &c.* Whereupon *Lewis* with his adherents was formerly by *Wallo* abſolved from the ſentence of *Excommunication*, and ſo they ranne on all ſides into embracements, and parted in the kiſſe of Peace. The * *Welſh*, who had held with the Barons, were left out of this Concluſion, being thereby laide open to ſpoyle. Thus was * *Lewis* * driven out of *England*, whom the Earle of *Pembroke* brought to the Sea-ſide, and the realme was cleared.

(9) There are * who write how that *Lewis* had a great ſumme of money paide him for reſtoring the Hoſtages; but *Matth. Paris* whom * ſome cite to that purpoſe, affirmes no ſuch matter in any printed Copy. Reaſon ſurely is utterly againſt it; for when even the life of *Lewis* was after a ſore in King *Henries* hand, with what ſenſe can it ſtand that the King ſhould ſet all the *Freſich* free without ranſome, and yet himſelfe pay money for the Hoſtages? which alſo were not his, but the Hoſtages of his enemies

* Ypodig. Neuſt.

Rog. de wend. MS. Matt. Paris

* *Paul. Emil. in Philip. Aug.*

* *Holinſh. in Hen. 3.*

Lewis had no money granted to him by this compoſition.

Stow. in Hen. 3.

London beſieged.

Articles of peace betwixt *Henry* and *Lewis.*

* *Dorſ. Prou. hiſt. Camd. p. 630.*

* *Joh. Till Chron.*

* *Paul. Emil. in Philip.*

enemies the Barons; so that, if money were due, it must have come from them, not from the King, who both in honour and profit was rather obliged to the contrary. Writers of that very time doe in plaine words say, *The poverty of Lewis was such, that he was compelled to borrow five thousand pounds of the Londoners, to set him out of England:* and therefore that other seemes nothing else but a vaine gloze to salve the honour of *Lewis*, who was plainely driven out of *England* (after so high hopes) with losse, sorrow, and *eternall disgrace*, which the *French* are so sensible of, that they scarce seeme to write of the whole action, otherwise then * laying the misfortune of *Lewis* upon the Barons mutability.

(10) The Realme of *England* purged of those forraigne dregs, was not therefore presently freed from other manifold encumbrances, such as after so great a tossing of all lawes and things divine, and humane, doe ordinarily flote up and downe, like the froth and working of a troubled Sea. For divers men presuming upon their former services to the State, or thinking the old bad World would either continue still, or soone returne, if Iustice grew confident against Trespassors, or for what other corrupt motives soever, did dare intollerable things. The *principall Lords of this misrule, were *William* Earle of *Aumarl*, *Falcasius de Brent* with his Garrison soldiers, *Robert de Veipont*, with others, who having had the Castles and possessions of certaine Bishops and Great men, either to keepe in trust, or otherwise by iniquitie of the times converted violently to their uses; did still with-hold the same, both against the minds of their lawfull owners, and the Kings expresse prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gangi* detended the Castle of *Newarke*, (being the Fee of the Bishop of *Lincolne*, as was also the towne it self:) against the Kings Armie, conducted by the * Great *Marshall* Earle of *Pembroke*, for eight dayes, and did not first yeeld the place, before (by mediation of friends) the Bishop paide to *Gangi* one hundreth pounds. There was in that great Earle, a perpetuall care to conclude things without bloud-shed, wherein shined his Christian piety and morall wisedome, there being no other so safe way to settle disordered humours. The greater was his losse both to the King and State, by his death, * soone after ensuing, whose * monument yet remaining, doth not so much eternize his memory, as that well-deserved * Epitaph, the *Epitome* of his noble vertues;

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Irelands Saturne, Englands Sunne am I,
The Mars of France, and Normans Mercurie.

He left behinde him five sonnes, all Earles of *Pembroke* successively, and dying without issue; his five Daughters advanced by great marriages, brought as great advantage to their husbands issue, by the inheritances of their issuelesse brethren.

(11) The King, (governed after *Marshals* death, by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and such * other, whom the Bishop had procured to joyne in administration of publique affaires) seeming now to have settled and calme estate, resolves (for good hopes sake) to be crowned againe; which was performed by *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury* at *Westminster*, with the attendance and confluence of all the Prelates, Peeres, and People. Vpon the * Saturday before his Coronation, the * new worke of the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, (*Paris* calls it the Chappell of our Lady,) was begunne, whereof the King himselfe in person laid the first stone, as if hee meant the World should know, his intention was to consecrate his future actions to raise the glory of God. This calme, but new beginning, was almost as speedily distempered and disturbed by sodaine stormes; by reason that, while the King kept his Christmas with great royalty at *Oxford*, in the company of the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, *William de Forsibus*, Earle of *Aumarl*, incited by *Falcasius de Brent*, and the like riotous Gentlemen, sodainely departed from the Court without leave, and (whether it were upon discontentment, because the King had againstt the Earles will the last yeare taken *some Castles into his hands, or out of an evill ignorance how to live in quiet) he manned the Castle of *Biham*, victuals it with the Corne of the Chanons of *Bridlington*, spoyles the Towne of *Deeping*, and under shew of repayring to the Parliament, seizeth on the Castle of *Fotheringhay*, committing many other furious riots in contempt of the King, and breach of his peace; many * others in other places following his lewd example. Yet at length the Earle coming in under the conduct of *Walter* Archbishop of *Yorke*, was at the suite of *Pandulph* (who succeeded *Wallo* in the place of *Legate*) pardoned; and the like hurtfull clemency was extended toward his Complices and Retinue, whom the King in regard belike of some former better deserts) for free without punishment or ransome. And to prevent any further disturbances of that nature, *Hubert de Burgo*, Earle of *Kent*, for his rare integrity and fidelity (approoved in all King *Johns* troubles) was also made governour of the Kings person, and chiefe *Iusticiar* of *England*, with the generall allowance of all the *States*. What neede the Land then had of a severe proceeding, wee may judge by this, that *Foulk de Brent* held the Earledomes of *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, with the Castles and Holds; *Philip de Marc*, the Castles of *Peke* and *Nottingham*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Darbishire*; and others detained other portions; without any other right, then that which the iniquity of the late tumults gave.

(12) It was no small addition to the troublesomnesse of this time, that certaine * Lords of *Wales*, and (as * some say) Prince *Lewelin* himselfe, desirous to rid their Marches of the *English*, rose in Armes, and laide siege to the Castle of *Buelt*, which invited King *Henry* to draw thither with an Armie, but the worke was made easie by the voluntary departure of the *Welsh*, upon the fame of the Kings approach: which appearances of some ensuing stirres, moved the king to thinke of strengthening himselfe with faithfull alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of *Scots* came to *Yorke*, (who in the yeare * before had met King *Henry* at the same place, and there tooke to wife the Lady *Ioan* King *Henries* sister; and *Hubert de Burgo*, in presence of both the Kings, married the Lady * *Margaret* sister to *Alexander*; *Boetius* * saith, that two great Lords of *England* married two sisters of King *Alexander* at that place. About which time, * *Isabel* Queene Dowager of *England*, without the leave of her sonne the King, or of his Counsell, croft the Seas, and tooke to husband the Earle of *March* in *France*. The yong King supposing his estate at home now somewhat settled, and his eyes beginning to grow cleare-sighted by the benefire of experience, forgets not to looke about his affaires abroad; and first sends * *Savarie de Mulcon* to be his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, where yet the *English* held the greater part, and dispatcheth Ambassadours to *Philip* King of *France*; for restitution according to the Articles with *Lewis*: whereunto answere was made, that nothing ought to be restored which by right of warre had beene atchieved; but (as it seemes) there was a Truce for * foure yeares agreed upon betweene the two Monarches, concerning the County of *Poictou*.

(13) The State both of Church and Commonwealth in those troubled dayes, seeme to have much resemblance; every man daring to attempt in either, what his owne audaciousnesse would suggest, or others connivency permit. But *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who himselfe was lately the Ring-leader of disorders both in State and Church) is now become very diligent in his *Provinciall Synode* at *Oxford*,

Oxford, * about reformation of the Clergie, where also was convented before him an execrable *Impostor*, who seeing how current all grosseft delusions passed in those daies of blindnesse, was emboldned to suffer himselfe to be wounded in his *hands*, *feete*, and *side*, (an horrour to thinke) that by the resemblance of those bloudy impressions, he might perswade the people (apt to beleeve any thing) that hee was their very Saviour: whose deserved punishment was by *immuring* betweene two walls, as a monster too impious and unworthy to die by any humane hand. There was immured with him a curs'ed olde beast, who pretended to be *Mary* the mother of this Christ, and well might be, if their manners be compared; * some adde a third also, who named her selfe *Mary Magdalen*. The punishment by Crucifixion which * some thinke was executed upon the man at *Arbarbery*, is neither so credible nor tolerable, as in which Christianity it selfe might seeme to sustaine reproach; it being also against the * ancient law of *Constantine*, the first famous Christian Emperour, that any should from thence-forth die by crucifixion; but it may be, that it was first so judged (which might cause the relators errours,) though afterward upon sounder deliberation changed into a more fitting censure. But strange it is, that this man deserving (as he did) so severe a judgement at *Oxford*, S. *Francis*, whose fiction and imposture was the very same, (for the * *wounds*, though not for the *name*, of Christ) * so soon after deserved for it to be canonized at *Rome*, for a *Chiefe of Saints*; and perhaps if this Monster had beene at *Rome*, he had beene likewise *Sainctified*, or if Saint *Farncis* had beene at *Oxford*, he had beene likewise immured.

(14) In the State of the *Common-wealth* incredible darings (though of inferiour quality to that former) were not wanting, against the majesty of the King; as appeared by *Constantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a Citizen of *London*: who upon colour of a popular tumult, by him purposely cherished, (which rose at pastimes of wrestling, and like masteries betweene the *Citizens of London*, and others of the *Suburbes*,) attempted to set up a *Lewis* againe, and in the heat of the sedition, he trayterously cryed, * *Mount-Ioy*, *Mount-Ioy*, *God for us*, *and our Lord Lewis*. Though the [b] Lord *Maior*, a discreete man, earnestly perswaded dutifull behaviours, yet *Constantine* had made the people incapable of good Counsell with his seditious *Proclamations*, which hee there caused to be [c] published. The secret of this conspiracy was [d] revealed by [e] another Citizen, and without question was farther spred then the compasse of one Citie, even as farre as into the hearts of all such turbulent people, to whom *warre* was beneficiall, and *Quiet* banefull. The chiefe *Iusticiar* hearing of these matters, with forces assembled, entred [f] the *Tower*, whither hee commaunded the principall men of the Citie to come, who easily put off the blame from themselves upon *Fitz-Arnulf*. But hee as resolute in his answere, as desperate in the sedition, complayned of himselfe in the hearing of all, *that he had done lesse therein then hee ought*; yet fifteene thousand Markes sterling hee offered for his life, when hee saw the halter about his necke, (for with his *Crier*, and his *Nephew*, the next day hee was hanged,) but no price could redeeme him out of the hand of Iustice: [g] It is said, that he so confidently answered, upon truth of the Articles and Oath betweene the King and *Lewis*, that the partakers of *Lewis* should not be troubled; and that, upon this occasion, *Lewis* denied restitution of such things, as the Articles did mention, pretending that *Henry* had therein broken first his faith, and thereby made the whole contract frustrate. Execution thus done without noise, or the *Londoners* privitie, the *Iusticiar* accompanied with *Falcasius* and his armed troupes, enters *London*, apprehends such others as were culpable, and for a terrour to the rest, causeth their [h] hands or feet to be cut off, and then set them at libertie. The King deposed the Magistrates, though some write that the tumult was appeased by the *Major*; but when the King found, that onely the [i] baser fort were interessed in the disorder, he was reconciled to the Citie, having first thus weeded this chiefe *Garden* of the *English Empire*, and pluckt up the roots of the *Masterbramble*.

(15) This dangerous beginning might have had farre worse proceedings, if the King, though in yeeres tender, yet had not been so provident, as to have foreseene it, and so, with patient connivence at some particular indignities, prevented a publique disquiet. For the Barons, still minding their long desired *Liberties*, and requiring a confirmation of them by the King, who at the concluded peace with *Lewis*, had sworne thereto; *William Brivere*, one of the Kings Councell, answered; that *the Liberties which they demand, ought not to be observed, because they were violently extorted*. But words growing heereupon, and Archbishop *Stephen*, (the Barons ancient Abettour) kindling thereat, the young King prudently shut up the whole strife with this speech; *All of us have sworne to those Liberties, and that which wee have sworne, all of us are bound to observe*. His *Deed* immediately sealed his *Word*, (for he saw he durst doe no other,) and *Writs* were sent forth, to enquire upon Oathes, what Liberties or free Customes were current, in, and from the time of King *Henry* his Grand-father: by which Act, all mens hopes were raised to expect the full conclusion of all those grievous contentions, which had so long encombred the Kingdome. The like hope was conceived of better successes then before, in forraine affaires, upon newes of the death of King *Philip* of *France*, the ever-deadly (and now dead) Enemy of *Englands* wel-fare; which mooved the King to send the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and three other Bishops to *Lewis*, now crowned King of *France*, there to demand the *Duchie of Normandy*, and such other lands on that side of the Sea, as before his departure out of *England*, hee had sworne to restore: but his answer was; 1. *That hee held those possessions by a just title, as hee was ready to shew King Henry, if hee would come to his Court to make his demand:* 2. *That the King of England had violated his Oath, for that such as were taken at Lincolne were grievously fined.* 3. *That such Liberties of England, for which the warre was first mooved, and had beene granted at his departure, and since confirmed by Oath, were not onely not observed, but the old wicked ones reduced, and generally farre worse ordained in their place.* With which solutions to their demand, the *Ambassadours* were faine to returne, and *Henry* left to come by his owne as he could.

(16) The King well perceiving, how unable hee should bee either to recover those his Transmarine Dominions, or almost to maintaine his owne royall estate at home, if such, as by the unruliness of former times having gotten possession of Crowne-Lands, might still with-hold them, resolved to resume them; by advise principally of *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, who thereby drew upon themselves no small loads of envie. Which recovery of such parcels of the royall Patrimony, though it were no lesse needfull then lawfull; yet by reason the interessed were so many, (and such as wanted no will to tosse the whole Kingdome, rather then forgoe their holdings,) they wisely used all the strengths which Religion or humane policie could give. First therefore [k] there was procured a Briefe from the Pope, by which both the King was declared to bee at libertie to choose his owne *Councell*, and governe by himselfe, (which, who doubteth but hee might have done without the Popes Bull?) and all men commanded under paine of *Censures* to restore such things as against law and the Kings will, they detained from him. This put the interessed into a will to raise Armes; meeting for that purpose at *Leicester*, where the *Cestrian* Earle and his [l] Confederates consult, how they (under

An. Dom. 1218.

An. Dom. 1220.

An. Dom. 1221.

An. Dom. 1223.

An. Dom. 1224.

the ſpecious pretext of removing the Earle of *Kent*, as one whoſe predominating greatneſſe, and evill offices againſt them, were not to be by them endured,) might dereine the Caſtle and other poſſeſſions demanded. But upon notice, that (if forthwith they did not render backe what they unjuſtly held,) they ſhould by name be preſently excommunicated; and that the King, (now at *Northampton*) had with him not onely an honeſter cauſe, [a] *but a greater number of Souldiers*, (which they much more feared then all their flaſhes of Excommunication,) they following a [b] wiſer courſe, repayred forthwith to the King, rendring up into his hands all that belonged to the Crowne; but did not lay downe their diſpleaſure, for that, on their petition, the King would not put from him his chiefe *Iuſticiar*, the object of their Envie.

(17) Meane while *Lewis* King of *France* not contented to deny the demaunded reſtitution upon his alleaged pretexts, invades ſuch other parts as [c] King *Henry* peaceably held in *Poictou* and *Xaintoing*; the beſt colour and reaſon given for it, [d] is, *That whereas Aquitaine* (whereof *Xaintoing* and *Poictou* were part) *was holden of the Crowne of France by homage, the King of England, being not hindred by ſickneſſe nor other neceſſitie, was not preſent at the Coronation of Lewis, nor excuſed his abſence by Ambaſſadours.* In proſecution of which pretence he tooke [e] *Rochel*, (the principall Port of *Xaintoing*) with other places, and overthrew in a Battle, *Savarie de Malleon* alſo, Lieutenant for King *Henry* in *Aquitaine*: upon which overthrow the loſſe of thoſe foreſaid Townes, with the whole Countrey of *Poictou*, (as [f] one ſaith) enſued. Withall, the King loſt the ſervice of the ſaid *Savarie*, a valiant commaunder, who for ſome indignitie offered unto him by *William Longeſpe* Earle of *Salisbury*, (ſ ſent over by King *Henry*, upon ſome diſtaſte of *Savaries* doings, with commiſſion to overview his courſes,) ſodainely turned *French*, among whom he had great credit & preferment. King *Henry* ill brooking to great a defalcation of his forraine eſtates, determined to have recourſe to the generall aide of his people, for meanes to recover his loſſes, but while (for that purpoſe) hee held [a h] Parliament, the whole Aſſembly was ſodainly troubled with juſt complaints of an inſufferable outrage.

(18) For *Henry de Braibrocke*, a *Iuſtice Itinerant*, who with other held the *Aſſiſes* at *Dunſtable*, was ſodainely ſurprized, (and impriſoned under ſtrong Garriſon in *Bedford*-Caſtle,) by the commandement of *Falcaſius*, enraged, for that thirty verdicts had there paſſed againſt him, upon trialls of title for Lands which hee had forceably entred. The Iudges Wife with her teares ſo mooved the whole Parliament to indignation and pitty, that all other buſineſſes ſet apart, the Clergy as well as the Laity forthwith attended the King to the ſiege. *Falcaſius* himſelfe flying into *Wales*, there to contrive a greater body of Rebellion, did leave his brother, Lieutenant in the Caſtle with a deſperate crew, having victuals and munition for an whole yeeres reſiſtance. Yet after two moneths ſiege the Caſtle being taken, the Iudge was enlarged, the Lieutenant and his whole retinue hanged, the pile it ſelfe (as a denne of Theeves) demoliſhed; and an example given what others ſhould truſt unto, who did not in due time ſubmit themſelves to their Soveraigne. This [i] *Falcaſius* was a *Norman* by birth, and a baſtard, who comming over in poore ſort under King *Iohn*, ſo behaved himſelfe in the Kings ſervices, that in regard of his all-daring forwardneſſe, *Bedford* was given him to defend againſt the Barons; where by rapine and violence hee had drawne together the ſhew of a great fortune, beſides that which he had in marriage with *Margaret de Riparis*, a great inheritrix, whom King *Iohn*, to her no leſſe diſcontentment, then diſparagement had beſtowed upon him. But now when this Caſtle, beyond his imaginatio was thus beaten to the earth, and all other his poſſeſſions ſeized by the King; he procures *Alexander* Biſhop of *Coventree* to ſafe conduct him to *Bedford*, where hee throwes himſelfe at the Kings feete, imploring mercy for his former good ſervices. Hee was, after pardon of life hardly gotten, ſent into perpetuall [k] baniſhment; at which time hee with teares deſired the Earle of *Warren*, (who had in charge to ſee him ſhipt away,) *That hee would commend him to the King, and let him know* (a ſecret fit for the King to take notice of) *that all the troubles which hee had raiſed in the Realme, were by the onely inſtigation of the Barons.* Notwithſtanding the King was ſo incenſed for the keeping this Caſtle againſt him, that hee commaunded all [l] Strangers to depart the Realme within a time there limited under great penalty.

(19) The interrupted Counſels of Parliament, and purpoſes of the King for recovery of his *Poictovine* inheritances, were now againe reſumed; yet the King could not there (but upon condition [m] that he ſhould graunt their *Liberties*, the ſtring which was ever harped on,) obtaine a fifteenth, nor the good will of the States to furniſh him in his *French* hoſtilities: Thus the King, [n] drawne *with deſire of money* (whoſe of his want was very urgent) grants thoſe his *Charters* under his Seale, and was ſo further wrought on, that oathes were (by royall commandement) taken, to tie all men to the obſervation of the ſaide Graunts, according to the very Letter, if that be the meaning of [o] *literaturam juramentum*, and not ſomthing elſe. Vpon the ſtrength of this money, (whoſe daily expenſe, like vitall nourishment, keepes all great actions alive,) *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings brother, *William Longeſpe* Earle of *Saliſbury*, and about threeſcore Knighs with competent forces were ſent into *Gaſcoign* in the Spring; where they ſafely arrived at *Burdeaux*, and were honourably entertained. This timely arrivall had good effects, for it confirmed the well-diſpoſed, ſetled the irreſolute, and reduced much which had beene extorted by the *French*. *Hugh* Earle of the Marches of *Poictou*, comming by the *French* Kings direction to remove Earle *Richard* and the *Engliſh* from the ſiege of the *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted [p] by an *Ambuſcado*, and diſcomfited with no ſmall loſſe of men, munition, and carriages. All ſides were in the end contented to pauſe without parliance, and the *Engliſh* held *Aquitaine* deſpite their force or practiſes. But *William Longeſpe* the Kings Vncle ſurvived not long his good ſervices in thoſe parts; who returning (upon buſineſſe of State) into *England*, ſoone ended his daies at his Caſtle of *Saliſbury*, with ſo great humility and pietie, that at poynt of death he would not receive the *holy Euchariſt* in his Bed, (which devotion is alſo reported of King *Henry* the eight) but upon his bare knees on the ground, which hee moiſtened with aboundance of penitent teares. Vpon which great *Earle* this *Epitaph* was made:

Flos Comitum Wilielmus obit, ſtirps regia; & Longus
Enſis, *vaginam capit habere brevem.*

Royal borne William, Flower of Earles lies here;
A ſheath thus ſhort, doth Long-Sword *ſerve to beare.*

(20) About theſe times the *Pope* (ſay [r] his Monks) *ſent abroad into the world his Nuncios, requiring evely where undue exactions*, with purpoſe to ſettle a certainty of contribution to his See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedrall and conventual Churches in Chriſtendome; alleadging, [t] that he did it *to wipe away from that See, that ancient ſcandall of Avarice and Briberie, which otherwiſe their penury muſt ſtill enforce them to uſe.* Nevertheleſſe, aſwell the Meſſenger, as the Meſſage found but ſlender welcome here. For, (by procurement of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,) the Popes Agent *Otto*, received Letters from *Rome*, commaunding him preſently to returne: *Otto*

a *Reg. de Wend. M. S. Matt. Paris. hiſt. ma.*

b *Saliſberimo uſi conſilio, ſaith Paris; out of vrond.*

c *Tho. Walſing. in Ypodig. Neuſt.*

d *Paul. Æmil. in Ludou. 8.*

e *Ypodig Neuſt. Matth. Paris.*

f *Paul. Æmil. in Ludou. 8.*

g *Polyd. Virg. H. lib. 16.*

h *At Northampton.*

Regiſtrum. M.S. Matth. Paris. A ſtrange outrage againſt execution of Iuſtice.

Matth. Paris.

i *Matth. Par.*

Bedford Caſtle raſed by the King.

k *Was dyed after was in Paris, in extreame penury and horror. Paris. Polydor.*

l *Lang. circa.*

An. Dom. 1225.

m *Reg. Wi. M.S.*

n *Matth. Paris.*

o *Matth. Paris. who An. Dom. 1220. dothe ſet Literaturæ-iuramento, tranſpoſing by Inuerſion the Oathe-inventing, whichthey were to ſweare vnderwrit for word, or a written oath ſigned or ſealed by them. Tho. Walſingh. Polydor. Virg. lib. 16. calls him Earle of Champaigne, and might be both.*

p *Rogr. Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. Polydor. Virg. Paul. Æmil. in Ludo. 8.*

An. Dom. 1226.

Polydor. Virg. lib. 16

q *Longſpee, or Long-Sword.*

r *Matth. Paris hiſt. ma.*

s *Clarus Papa, apud Matth. Paris.*

Otto in rage of this unexpected revocation, like a brave *Romane* threw the Popes letters into the fire, yet durſt not diſobey the Contents. And whereas the meſſage it ſelfe had beene ſcanned and ſifted to the very bran, both heere and in * *France*, *and judged to ſavour of ſo univerſall an oppreſſion, as might cauſe a generall diſcreſſion from the Church of Rome*; the King in preſence of his Prelates and Peeres, turned off the Popes covetous demand with this thrifty anſwer: *The things which the Pope would perſwade unto, doe ſtretch themſelves as farre as the Chriſtian World is wide, and becauſe England is but an Out-Angle thereof, therefore when wee ſee other Kingdomes give us an example, hee ſhall then finde us the more forward to obey.*

(21) That difficultie ſo avoyded; the King was earneſtly bent to make a voyage in perſon to the ayde of his brother Earle *Richard*, who purſued the affaires of *Gaſcoigne*; which though by the late Earle of *Sariſburies* death it received ſome mayme, yet by the fortitude and counſell of other noble perſons, it did ſtill proſper. This intention and deſire was ſtaid by the receit of Letters out of *France*, which declared the King his brothers health, and the good ſucceſſe of affaires. The King, (ſome ſay) among his Counſellors of State, had one *William de Perepound*, a great Aſtrologer, who fore-told that *Lewis* King of *France* ſhould not prevaile; and this affirmation did the rather withhold him at that preſent. There is who * writes, that King *Henry* (upon the Popes Letters) forbare to attempt any thing in *France* at that time, leſt he ſhould hinder *Lewis*, who was then upon an enterpriſe againſt the remaines of the *Albigenſes* in *Languedoc*, *Province*, and the parts about. Theſe men were traduced for *Heretikes*, and ſo condemned by the See of *Rome*; but what their *Hereſie* was, a * Fryer (who writes againſt them) reports, ſaying, *They were of all other the moſt pernicious Sect; for antiquity, ſome holding they were from the Apoſtles time; for generality, there ſcarſe being any Nation where they are not; and laſtly, for ſhew of piety, in that they live juſtly before men, and beleeve all things touching God aright, and all the Articles of the Creede, * onely they blaſpheme and hate the Church of Rome.* No marvaile if this horrible *hereſie* did trouble his *Holineſſe*: and therefore, whereas his Predeceſſor, and himſelfe had kept much adoe in *Chriſtendome*, to excite men to take the *ſigne* of the *Croſſe*, and warre againſt the *Turke*, (which the Fryers did perſwade men unto, teaching, that * *whoſoever were polluted with any bainous offence, as Parricide, Inceſt, Sacrideige, hee was preſently acquited both from the ſinne, and the puniſhment of it, if hee thus tooke the Croſſe upon him,*) now, becauſe the Earle of *Tholous*, and his people entertained the foreſaid *hereſie*, the *Croſſe*, and *holy warres* were by the Pope denounced againſt them. Of which Earle yet let us heare the judgement of another * Fryer then living. *Thoſe* (ſaith hee) *who thus tooke the warres and Croſſe againſt him, did it more for feare of the French King, and the Popes Legate, then for zeale of Iuſtice; it ſeeming to many a wrong thus to inveſt a faithfull Chriſtian man, and one who with many teares deſired the Legate to examine the faith of every one of his Cities, and if any one held againſt the Catholike faith, hee would puniſh him, according to the judgement of the Church, and if any City ſhould reſiſt him, hee would enforce it to make ſatisfaction. As for himſelfe, hee offered to bee examined by the Legate touching his faith, and if hee were faulty, hee would make ſatisfaction to God and the Church. But all theſe things the Legate ſcorned, nor could that Catholike Earle finde any favour, unleſſe hee would forſake his Inheritance, and abjure it both for himſelfe, and his heires for ever.* Theſe were the Heretikes againſt which *Lewis* was now imployed by the Pope, and King *Henry* the while * commanded to furceaſe from impeaching his holy enterprize. Wherein *Lewis* had ſpent a moneth, in the ſiege of *Avinion*, and endured (for all his faced *Croſſings*) marvailous loſſes, by a terrible plague devouring his Army, by a ſtrange kinde of venemous Flyes, diſparching many, by a ſodaine drowning of a great part of his Army, and laſtly, by being himſelfe * poyſoned by * one of his Earles (an unchaſte Rivall of his Bed,) *though it was given forth of him*, (as * of his late enemy King *Iohn*, whom ſome thinke that *Lewis* his friends did make away) *that hee dyed onely of a Flux.*

(22) The newes of the *French* Kings death, ſeconded with ſure relations of ſundry diſcontentments, and open factions under the young King (who was but * about twelve yeares of age) bred an hope in King *Henries* minde, that now the time was come, wherein hee might recover thoſe ancient inheritances which his Fore-fathers held in *France*: and to advance his hopes, hee had his mother Queene *Iſabel* (wife to the Earle of *March* in thoſe parts,) an earneſt ſollicitor. *Peter* Duke of *Britaine* was the principall man who tooke offence that himſelfe had not a chiefe hand in directing the young King *Lewis*; but his prudent mother Queene *Blanch*, * weakned his party, by drawing his brother *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* from him; and albeit the Duke had repaired the breach, by affinity with the Earle of *Champaine*, (one of the twelve Peeres of that Realme, to whom the Duke married the Lady *Blanda* his daughter and heire,) yet was the Earle driven by a ſhort warre to continue quiet. The Duke hereupon caſts himſelfe upon King *Henry*; *Sed ſera auxilia Anglica; the Engliſh aydes come ſlowly* ſaith *Æmilius*. Theſe and the like inducements mooved the King to ſend *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, with others, to the chiefe Men of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, and *Poictou*, that by large promiſes they might procure them to acknowledge *Henry* for their King, or by partakings, facilitate their reduction to the Engliſh Soveraigntie; who accordingly proſecuted their employment.

(23) Theſe opportunities for that deſigne, moved the King to be-thinke how to gather money, to furniſh ſo chargefull an enterprize; whereby while he fought to provide to recover that which was loſt, hee miniſtreth occaſion to hazard that which he had. The onely great man in Court was now *Hubert de Burgo*: For the King proteſting himſelfe of age to governe without a Tutor or Protector, did principally conferre with him about all his moſt weightie affaires. Hence grew more envy againſt *Hubert*, and perill to the King. From * the Londoners, (beſides the granted aydes of a fifteenth, which all degrees were ſubject unto) hee wrung five thouſand Markes, for that they had, (as was alleaged) to his prejudice, given *Lewis* the like ſumme. In the Parliament at *Oxford*, by advice of *Hubert* his *Lord Chiefe Iuſtice*, hee revokes the *Charters of Liberties*, which now for about two yeeres had beene practiſed through the Realme: pretending, that at *the time of their Grant the King was under age, and had then no liberty either of his perſon or Signature*; though otherwiſe, the royall power of the Engliſh Monarchy never pleads pupillage or minoritie. It ſerved the turne for the time, and all men were faine to pay what *Hubert's* * pleaſure was to aſſeſſe, for obtaining the new Seale. The fortune of ſuch Arts, whereby they were wont to fill Princes *Treaſuries*, was not alwayes without repentance to the *Authors*, and *Authoriſers*. The *Clergy* was compelled, (under paine of Papall Cenſures) to pay the *Fifteenth*, not only for their temporall goods, but alſo for their Eccleſiaſticall; and yet in the end, (after ſo much toſſing of the People,) the Kings Ambaſſadours returne out of *France*, without having effected that which they went about, ſo that the whole enterprize quailed. For Queene *Blanch* by ſwcere and prudent courſes, ſo prevailed among the factious, that there was left no place for *Henry* to take ſure hold upon. The Duke of *Britaine*, (who expected the Engliſh ſuccours not till the Spring,) was ſo neerely preſt, and almoſt oppreſt, with a Winter warre, that hee thought himſelfe beholding to his

The Popes croſſings are ranked with ſea-ſoldings.

* *Matth. Paris.*

* The Earle of *Gasconoigne*, and the Popes Legate, were publikely charged of Adultery with eyther his Queene. *Apud Matth. Paris.*

* *Rogr. Wend. Polydor. Virg. &c.*

* *Reg. Wi. M.S. Matth. Paris.*

* *Paul. Æmil. in Ludou. 8.*

Æmilius.

An. Dom. 1227. The King begets enimies at home by raiſing money to make warre abroad.

* *Reg. de Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.* The King perſwaded this ſumme for the things which *Fathers* ſaith he graunted. The Charters of liberties revoked and cancelled.

Matth. Paris. Peace in *France* inſtantes the *Engliſh* diſſignes for *France*.

brother *Robert* Earle of *Druex*, for procuring his peace, though it were with such a condition, as ever after left upon him, the by-name of *Mauclerke*, or *Male-doctus*. *Hee * acknowledged the Dutchy of Britaine, to be the Fee of the Crowne of France, and that by right it ought to hold thereof*; this acknowledgement, because against all apparant truth, and record, procured to him that *By-name*. Such conclusion at this present had King *Henries* French desiignes. Our * ancient *Authors* write, that this dishonourable homage was done long after, and with an halter about his necke, at such time as the King of *England* refused to goe in person to his succours, but offered foure Earles, and other competent Forces, which hee refused, as harbouring a revolt in his bosome, and turned Pyrate.

(24) The evill will which the other great Lords secretly harboured against *Hubert*, (whose Envy the Kings favour in * creating him Earle of *Kent* had lately encreased,) now openly discovered it selfe, upon this occasion. *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, the Kings brother, (lately returned with honour out of *Gascoigne*,) had seized into his hands a certaine Manour, then in the tenure of one *Waleran* a Dutch Gentleman, (to whom King *John*, for his good services had formerly given it,) which hee alleaged was parcell of his Earledome of *Cornwall*. The King hereupon directs his letters to his brother, commanding him to come immediately, and shew a reason of his fact. He doth so, and without any pleaders helpe defended, as just, the seisure which he had made, concluding, among other words, *that hee was ready to stand to the judgement of the Kings Court, and Peeres of the realme*. When the King, and the *chiefe Iusticiar* heard him name the *Peeres of the Realme*, they (suspecting his bent that way) were exceedingly offended; *and* (said the King) *either restore the Manour to Waleran, or thou shalt depart out of the Kingdome, never to returne*: at which peremptory sentence, the Earle boldly (but too rashly) answered; *that hee neither would give his right to Waleran, nor without the judgement of the Peeres depart the realme*. The * Earle in this heate returnes to his lodging; thence (upon surmise that *Hubert* had perswaded the King to lay hold on him) he posts to *Marlebourgh*, were finding *William Marshall* the young Earle of *Pembroke*, hee enters into a fast confederacy, ratified by oath; and *Ranulph* Earle of *Chester* is easily drawne to make another. Letters thence flying about to all their friends, at *Stamford* there assembled unto them, the Earles of *Glouceiter*, of *Warren*, of *Hereford*, of *Warwicke*, Earle *Ferrars*, many Barons, and an huge multitude of armed men. Their strengths being in likelihood able to beare out their darings, they addreste a bold message to the King, by which they require him in Iolty Phrase, *to make present amends to his brother for the wrong hee had done*; *the fault whereof they imputed not to him, but to the chiefe Iusticiar: and that if hee did not without delay restore the Charters of Liberties, which hee had cancelled at Oxford, they would drive him by dint of sword to give them therein competent satisfaction*. The King seeing it no safe time to deny their requests, appoints to meet at *Northampton* in *August* next; where the Earle of *Cornwall* (upon his *Associates* resolute demand of the King) had large amends of any injury sustained, his Patrimony being augmented with large accessions. The moderation and equanimity of the King, (terrified by his Fathers example) peaceably finished this contention, (the matter of the Charters being for the time husht, as seemeth) which might otherwise have cost many thousand lives, and have hazarded the ruine both of King and Kingdome.

(25) That danger was not a little augmented by the insurrections of the *Welsh*. The King had given the Castle of *Mountgomery* to his most trusty Counsellor *Hubert de Burgo*; the Garrison of which place, issuing out, meant to flocke up the Trees, and shrubbes, which grew neere upon an high-way leading through a great wood of * five leagues long, that travailers (ordinarily there spoyled) might passe more safely. The *Welsh* not suffering that waste, violently assailed the worke-men, and not without slaughter on both sides, drave them into the Castle; which drew the King (who even in little matters used to make one,) to come thither in person, who, with a competent strength, gives not over, till hee had with fire, and other force, consumed the whole Forrest. From whence hee pierceth farther into *Wales*, and consumes with fire a place called * *Crida*; where whiles the King is building a *Castle* to bridle them; * *Lewelin* drew thither his forces, where many were slaine on both sides, and a man of speciall worth *William de * Braussa*, (or *de Bruce*) by the *Welsh* intercepted, as hee went to forrage in the Countrey; * *Many great persons there in the Kings Army being secretly confederated with Lewelin*. By which treacherous practise, victuals grew so scarce, that the King was compelled to yeeld to a very dishonourable peace, the conditions whereof were: *That the King should raze to the ground the new Fort now almost finished*; that * *William de Bruce should still remaine Prisoner till the Welsh thought good*; that *Lewelin should give the King toward his expenses three thousand Marks*.

(26) These home-bred garboyles thus appeased; whereas Ambassadours had formerly repaired to the King out of *Gascoigne*, *Poictou*, and *Normandy*, to offer him their services for recovery of those his inheritances, if himselfe would come in person with a royall Army, hee about *Michaelmas* is now ready at *Portsmouth* for the exploit; whither all his Nobles were come with so great a multitude, not onely out of *England*, but out of *Ireland*, *Wales*, and *Galloway*, as none of his Ancestors ever had. Many were the motives which encouraged the King to this attempt, but none greater then the busie workings of Queene *Dowager* his Mother. *Lewis* King of *France* had created his brother *Alphonse* Duke of *Poyctou*, commanding the Lords of that Countrey to doe their Homages to him; one of these was *Hugh* Earle of *March*, now husband to Queene *Isabel*, who because shee had once beene the Wife of a King, and now the *Mother*, disdained that even her present husband, though but an Earle, should doe homage to a *Subject*, and thereby her selfe, (bearing the stile of a Queene,) seeme inferiour to the Lady *Ioan*, Wife or Duke *Alphonse*. The Earle was heereupon drawne to a refusall of Homage; and the like spirit shee had breathed into the hearts of the princely family of *Lusignian*, whose Ancestors had beene Kings of *Ierusalem* and *Cyprus*. Nor thus contented to have plotted a party, for her Sonne among the *French*, shee is charged to have sought by poyson to make riddance of *Lewis* himselfe, and that her Agents for that purpose were discovered, and executed. But *Aemilius* shall pardon us, if wee herein credit not his judgement, as also in thinking her the Author of suborning *Assasines* to murther the King; for that wee finde him singular therein, the * received opinion being, that they were sent under-hand by the *Saracens* out of *Asia*, to take away the danger which they fore-saw was comming, in regard King *Lewis* was so devoutly addicted to Christian piety, and the hatred of *Mahomets* Infidelity. There were also at the same time great Divisions among the *French*, Nobility; but the *English*, (saith *Aemilius* himselfe) wrought not by treachery; but after the manner of faire warre, which they first by defiance denounced, and then did openly prosecute with sword in hand.

(27) The King of *England* being thus provided of men, munition, and other necessaries fit for the Field, and now ready to embarke; there was not shipping sufficient to transport halfe the Company. Which enraged the King so farre, that turning himselfe to Earle *Hubert*, (upon whom hee charged the blame,) hee called him *ranke old Traytor*, affirming, *that*

* Matth. Paris. ad An. 1214. Seriptores 8. impos. Vasl. Æmil. in Lud. 9.

* Reg. de wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. at An. D. 1234.

* Yet matt. Paris names him Earle of Kent before that Ceremony of giving him with the Sword.

* Reg. Wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.

The Barons in Armes at Stamford.

The Barons rebellious message to the King.

The Welshin Armes.

* Quincy or Leicester. Matth. Paris.

* wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. Ceri saith D. Powel in his Hist. Camb.

* Matth. Paris. * Hist. Cambr.

* wend. M. S. Matth. Paris.

* This William was afterward hanged in Lincoln for lying with his wife, as is reported in Matth. Paris. ad An. 1216. though elsewhere he saith it was by reason of Hubert de Burgo Letters to Lewelin. Matth. Paris. ad An. Dom. 1231.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 16. saith but forty.

* Matth. Paris.

* Paul. Æmil.

* Reg. de wend. M. S. Matth. Paris. Thorn. Wig. in Ypodig. Neustr.

The Irish attempting to recover their Country from the English, miscarry.

Queene Isabels practises for her Sonne against the French.

Queene Isabel fatally charged.

* Mich. Guillim. Chron. Franc.

* Matth. Paris.

* Idem ibid.

The double forme of wrot among the old English prefixed by strangers.

Earle Hubert in the Kings displeasure.

that hee had of purpose beene slacke heerein, as in other things, in regard of five thousand Markes, with which the Queene Dowager of France *had (as he said) embribed him*, and withall ranne at him in great furie with his drawne sword: but *Ranulph* Earle of *Chester* and others stept betweene, and saved the King from so foule a blemish, who soone after received him into grace againe. But that assembly was dispersed by the arrivall of a * great man out of *Britaine*, a principall confederate with the *English* against *Lewis*, who shewed the unseasonable time of the yeare, and other reasons; and the enterprize thereupon adjourned to the Spring. So after Easter hee transports from *Portsmouth* with a full Armie into *Britaine*. The * fame day in which he set saile from *England*, himselfe did in person *visite the poore and feeble, and dealt large Almes, not refusing to kisse the sicke and leprous*. The successe of this voyage is so diversly reported, that without prejudice to an observant Reader, it might bee all left out. Much certainely was not done. The King of *Englands* purpose * was to have marched through *Britaine* (where many received him) into *Poictou*; and as * some write hee did so, and rooke homage in *Gascoigne*. To empeach this passage, the King of *France* lay with a great Army at *Angiers*, and the King of *England* at *Nants* in *Britaine*, expecting the repaire of more force. *Fulke Paganel* a noble *Norman*, with about * sixty valiant Knights perswaded the King of *England*, it was easie for him to reduce *Normandy* to his obedience; but *Hubert de Burgo* diverted the King from acceptance of that enterprize. The *Normans* therefore made an ill journey and an unlucky, for * they prevailed not with King *Henry*, and for their conspiracy were disseised at home by King *Lewis*. But whether it were by losse in battle (wherein, if any battle were at all, some say the * *French* had the better, taking about foure thousand of the *English*,) or otherwise, this is agreed on, that after the waste of infinite Treasures, and the great diminution of his numbers, the King of *England* returned * without accomplishment of his purpose; leaving for the defence of *Britaine*, the three great Earles of *Chester*, *Pembroke* and *Aumarl*, with forces answerable.

(28) It is not unlikely that the dangerous rebellion of the *Irish*, hastned his returne; for the King of *Connaught* and his *Irish*, seeing the King and the Earle of *Pembroke* (who as Heire to the great *Strangbow* had goodly possessions in those parts) wholly embusied in the enterprise of *Britaine*, had invaded the Kings people, with a purpose and hope, utterly to expell and amove our Nation from among them: but their devises proved mischievous to themselves, that rebellious King himselfe being taken prisoner, not without the losse of many thousands of the *Irish*. The *Welsh* also soone after brake out againe, whose Prince *Lewelin*, (in revenge of those *Welshmens* heads, which *Hubert de Burgo* had cruelly caused to bee strucken off in cold bloud, and presented to the King,) had burne certaine Churches and Gentlewomen in them; for which, at * *Oxford* in the presence of the King, all the Nobility, and Clergy, he was solemnly Excommunicated; and the King there gathering a great Army, in person went to represse the *Welsh*, though not without losse.

(29) Another Garboyle therafter no lesse disturbed the whole land, the * *Insolency of the Romans* (who were charged to *have wrought immemorable confusions and infinite grievances to the King, his Kingdome, Peeres and people*) stirring up multitudes through the Land, by a *common consent*, to seeke by force to shake off the importable yoke of their oppressions. It was alleadged by these reformers, * that they had under-hand the kings *Letters Patents*, the *Lord Chiefe Iustices* assent, the *Bishop of Londons* countenance, and the *Sheriffes* aide in sundry Shires, whereby the armed troupes tooke heart every where, violently to seize on the *Romans* Corne, and their other wealth; which booties they imployed to * *good purposes, and for relieefe of the poore*, the *Romans* the while hiding their heads, for feare of loosing them. And though the King, on the Popes complaine thereof, seemed to mislike the outrage, yet had the King himselfe no lesse cause to bee mooved with the *insolency* of the *Pope*, then were his subjects of those Popelings. For that very time the *See of Canterbury* being voyd, *Ralph Nevill* Bishop of *Norwich* was elected by the *Monkes*, and gladly approved by the *King*, whose * *most faithfull Chancelour hee was, an unshaken pillar of truth, doing right to all without deleyes, especially to the poore, without declining to the right hand or the left*. But the Pope being told he was a Royalist, and *one that would joyne with the King and whole kingdome (who now all strugled to shake off the* Popes *servitude,) and would to the death sticke to that law, and those Appeales, which Stephen Langton solemnely before the Altar in Saint Pauls Church urged against king Iohns submission to the See of Rome*; his Election (as being a person very dangerous) was presently pronounced voyd. Whereupon the *Monkes* chose a second, and him the Pope misliked, for being too olde, and soft spirited, then a third was *elected, a man of eminent learning, a Student in the Vniversity of Oxford*, and him also the Pope rejected; never resting till they had chosen *Edmund of Abington*, a man more pleasant to the *Romane* palace. But the King seeing the *Great Emperour Fredericke*, even this very time whiles hee was winning the *kingdome* of *Ierusalem* from *Infidels*, so Turkishly in his absence deposed from his owne *Empire* by the Pope, upon a private spleene; no marvaile, if in this his unripe age, and distracted government, he feared to draw on himselfe by any opposition, so mercilesse an enemy. So that for the time these indignities were winked at in these parts: in *France* also by the wisedome of * Queene *Blanch*, and mediation of the Archbishop of *Reims*, and *Phillip*, Earle of *Bolein* of one part, and the Earles of *Britaine* and *Chester* on the other, a three yeeres cessation from mutuall hostilities was ratified by oath, between the *French* and *English*.

(30) *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, *Chiefe Iusticiar of England*, having with few rubbes hitherto, enioyed the most inward love and favour aswell of this King, as of King *Iohn*, seemes now to have run the Stage of his best fortunes. For the King (upon occasion of such inrodes and spoyles, as the Prince *Lewelin* continually made in the Marches of *Wales* being advertised by *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, and certaine other of the Councell, once for all to give an end to those braves and insolencies of the *Welsh*, complained; *that he was not able, in regard of his wants*; saying, *that his Treasurers told him, all the rents of his Exchequer would doe not more then scarce maintaine apparell, houshold and ordinary Almes-deeds*. This was not unknowne to the Bishop, and the rest of that faction, who watched this opportunity of purpose to lift the Earle of *Kent* out of favour: wherfore they boldly answered the King: *that if he were poore he might thanke himselfe, who gave away to others such Honours, Custodies, and Dignities, as were vacant, alienating them from his estate; that he was onely to be called a king in name, rather then for any riches which he had*; *that his Ancestors, magnificent Princes, abounding in all sorts of worldly glorie and wealth, heaped to themselves inestimable treasures, out of no other means, but the Rents and Profits of the Kingdome*.

(31) The King stung with this just reprehension, beganne (by their instructions) to call the Sheriffes of Shires, Bayliffs, and other his Officers to a strait account, for all such receits, as appertained to the Exchequer, thrusting some out of their places, and wringing out of all their full * spunges, store of coyne, till hee satisfied himselfe both for the arrerages and intereſt. Out of *Ralph Briton* * Treasurer of his Chamber, hee screwzed a thousand pounds, and

* Reg. de wend. M. S.

* Matth. Paris.

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 16. reprehendens. M. S. * Matth. Paris. Fuller. 5. b. lib. 16.

and also put him from his place, into which (by the Bishop of *Winchesters* suggestion, who now predominated in Court) hee substituted *Peter de Orivall* a * *Poictovine*, the Bishops * Nephew or sonne, if *Paris* say true; and so, saith hee, *The Kings coffers otherwise empty and leane, were by these meanes stuffed again, though not to their full surfet.* For these were but preparatives to a farther scrutinie and ransacke, intended against the Earle of *Kent*, whom (upon the * Bishops suggestion) the King removed from the * *Prato-Justiciarishp* (or high office of his *Chiefe Justice*) and put in his place Sir *Stephen Segrave*, a Knight onely in name. Then is a strict and captious account demaunded of the Earle of *Kent*, for all such things as hee was in any sort chargeable with; as 1. For such receipts or debts, as were due to King *John*, or to this King *Henry* himselfe: 2. For the meane profits of such lands, as the King was seised of, from the day of the death of the first great *William*, Earle of *Pembroke*, his Iusticiar and Marshall, whether those lands were in *England*, *Wales*, *Ireland*, or *Poictou*: 3. For such Liberties or free Customes which the King had in Forrests, Warrens, Counties, and elsewhere, and how they were kept or alienated: 4. For such things as the King lost by *Huberts* negligence) 5. For the wrongs and dammages offered to the *Romane*, and *Italian* Clerkes, and to the Popes *Nuncios*, against the Kings will, by authority of *Hubert*, who would take no order to correct the mis-doers, as by vertue and nature of his place hee was obliged: 6. For the many escuages comming by Carriages, gifts and presents, or for the rents of Custodies belonging to the Crowne.

(32) To all which heads, the Earle answered; that hee had the Charter of the Kings Father, by which he was freed from giving any account either for things passed, or to come, and that he had *given such proofe of his fidelitie unto King Iohn, as hee would not endure to heare him make an accoumpt. Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* replied hereunto, that *such a Charter after the death of King Iohn had no force, and therefore the Fathers Charter, and graunt of Priviledge, was no reason why he should not stand accountant to the Son.* This defence for *many* dangers in this sort traversed or avoided, they laboured to draw him in for his head, by charging him with sundry Articles sounding treasonable; as 1. That *Hubert* had disswaded the Duke of *Austria* from matching his Daughter with the King, who sought it: 2. that he had hindred the King from entring upon forrain lands to him belonging, whereby the King, Peeres, and people consumed their Treasures vainely: 3. than hee had enriced the Daughter of the King of *Scots* (whom King *Iohn* had entrusted to his custody, meaning himselfe to marry her) and traiterously desiled the noble young Lady, whom he married in hope to be King of *Scotland*, in her right, if shee survived her Brother: 4. that he had stolne out of his Iewel-house a precious stone of wonderfull value, whose vertue was to make him who had it, invincible in Battle, and that hee gave that stone to *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, the Kings enemy: 5. that he by his letters had caused *Lewelin* to hang *William de Brouse.*

(33) The Earle much perplexed with these accusations (whether true or false) could hardly obtaine a short respite to make his answere: *Thus*; that *Hubert* (say the * Monkes) *who for love of the King, and defence of the Kingdome, had provoked the hatred of all the great Lords, now being forsaken of the King, is left sole and solitary, without friends or comfort:* Onely *Luke* Archbishop of *Dublin*, never forsooke him, but with prayers and teares besought the King on his behalfe, but could not be heard against so great opposites, on so great pretences. When the cry was thus up, and that the world saw it was no superficiall displeasure, into which the Earle was falne with the murable King, there rise forth many accusations (favouring of much malignity) round about, upon hope to oppresse and bury *Hubert* under them for ever; as, 1. *that hee had poisoned the two noble Earles of Salisbury and Pembroke*; 2. *that he had also procured* Falcasius de Brent, and Richard *Archbishop* of Canterbury to be *made away*; 3. *that by Sorceries and Enchantments, he had drawne the King to favour him above all other*; 4. *that in the victory gotten against the French by Sea, he forceably tooke many Prisoners from the Kings Sailers, and made his benefit of their ransomes, contrary to right, and that he had spoyled and disinherited many*; 5. *that he had without triall unjustly put to death* Constantine, *for which excesse the Citizens of* London *required Iustice against the said* Hubert. The King hereupon makes Proclamation through the Citie, that all such as could charge *Hubert* with any wrong, should repaire to Court, and there receive immediate redresse. This strange course of proceeding did so appale and terrifie the Earle, that he forthwith fled to the Priory Church of *Morton* in *Surrey*, where among the Channons, he sheltered his head for a time.

(34) The King with his Prelates and Peeres meeting at *Lambeth*, at the * day appointed for *Huberts* answere, hee (being made to beleeve that the King would put him to a most fowle death) durst not appeare, or peepe foorth of his sacred refuge. The *Londoners* were assembled in Armes (by the Kings commaund) to the number of about twenty thousand, under banners displayed, to dragge the Earle out of Sanctuary: but upon the Earle of *Chesters* wiser Counsell, the prey was taken out of the hands of a bloudy multitude (who mortally hated him for *Constantines* death) and they returned againe to their City. The Archbishop of *Dublin* still performing the office of a true friend, over-flippes not this occasion, and by his importunity obtained day for *Hubert*, till about Twelfe-tide then next ensuing, and the King for his affiuance, during the *Interim*, gives him letters Patents. *Hubert* thinking himselfe secure for the present, is now upon his way toward his wife at the Abbey of Saint *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, but his enemies so prevailed by their suggestions, that Sir *Godfrey de Crancumb* Knight, with three hundred armed men, was sent to apprehend the Earle in *Essex*. Hee having intelligence of their approach, fledde into a Chappell at * *Brentwood*, which adjoyned to his lodging; from whence those rough Souldiers haled him (hee holding in one * hand a Crucifixe, and in the other the Sacrament) and sent for a Smith to make for him shackles of.yron. But when the Smith understood, that it was for *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent*, hee refused, uttering such words (if *Matthew Paris* doe not Poetize) as did well shew that honourable thoughts are sometimes found in the hearts of men, whose fortunes are farre from honour; for having first drawne a deepe sigh, hee said; * *Doe with mee what yee please, and God have mercy on my soule; but as sure as the Lord lives, I will never make yron shackles for him, but will rather die the worst death that is. For is not this that most loyall and courageous* Hubert, *who so often hath preserved* England *from being destroyed by strangers, and restored* England *to* England? *Hee who faithfully and constantly served his Soveraigne Lord King* Iohn *in* Gascoigne, Normandy, *and elsewhere, that hee was compelled to eate the flesh of Horses, whose high courage even enemies admired? he, that so long defended* Dover *Castle, the Key of* England, *against all the exquisite sieges of the French, and by vanquishing them at Sea, brought safetie to the Kingdome? What need I rehearse his excellent doings at* Lincolne, *and* Bedford? *Let God be Iudge betweene him and you, for using him so unjustly and inhumanely, repaying good with evill, nay, requiting his most excellent deserts with the worst recompence that can bee.* But Sir *Godfrey*, and his blacke band, regarded not such speeches, but otherwise binding the Earle hard, they set him on Horse-backe, and so convayed him to the Tower of *London.*

(35) This

* *Avesd. M. S.*
* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Ibid. M. S.*
* *Matth. Paris.*

Other malicious Articles objected.

The Earle forced to the Sanctuary from whence he was taken.

The hanging of Constantine objected.

The Archbishop of Dublin a faithfull friend to Hubert.

The Earle of Kent takes Sanctuary.

* *On Holy-rood day, Sept. 14.*

The Earles treasure delivered to the King.

The King returneth towards the Earle, and will not take his life.

The Earle againe takes Sanctuary.
* *Pals cont. M. S.*

* *Roger stood M. S. Matth. Paris.*

The bonest and noble mind of a poore fisherfisher.

* *Addition M. Paris ad annum decimum.*

A pithy speech of these Antithesis.

The principall cords in the scourge prepartion for the Earle of *Kent.*

The Earle of Kents defence and answere.

Articles or examinations of treason objected.

A precious stone wo makes a man invincible, if you list, believe it.

* *Interdum. Matth. Paris.*

(35) This breach of Sanctuary being made knowne to *Roger* Bishop of *London* (whose Diocesse it was) he confidently tels the King, that if the Earle were not restored to the Chappell, hee would excommunicate all the Authors of that outrage. The Earle is accordingly restored: but the Sheriffes of *Essex* and *Hertford*, at the Kings commandement, with the powers of their Counties, besiege the Chappell so long, that at last (they having cast a trench about it, that none might goe in or out) the Earle was compelled to come forth and render himselfe; bearing all things with an equall minde, *as one that had a cleare conscience before God*, which hee professed to have. While the Chappell was thus beset round, the Kings indignation was so violent, that hee forbad all men once to make mention of *Hubert* in his hearing. No marvaile then if it bee faid, that *the Princes indignation is death.* The Archbishop of *Dublin* nevertheless was not dejected, but with prayers and teares besought the King, who remained as yet inexorable, *Huberts* enemies possessing his soule and senses. *Hubert* therefore is againe imprisoned in the Tower. There was no sacrifice as it seemes could appease the Kings ire, but that of the Earles Hoord of Gold, and other riches, which the *Knights Templars* had in their custody upon trust, and without *Huberts* consent refused to deliver. *Hubert* therefore willingly yeelds; which when the *Depositaries* did give up, the value seemed incredible. This hoording perhaps was *Huberts* crime, whereof being thus purged, he had hope to recover out of these deadly pangs and convulsions of fortune, and himselfe to bee made capable of curing. Well, the King obtaines this precious booty, but his enemies would have his bloud also; saying, *sith hee was convicted of theft and fraud, it was meet hee should dye a most shamefull death.* It seemes, they thought, that the very finding of so much treasure was a conviction of fraud in the getting, and that the King must bee interpreted to have lost, whatsoever the Earle had gained. But the displeasure of the King was mollified with this golden balme, for he answered them thus; *Hubert from his childhood hath (as I have heard) faithfully enough served my Uncle King* Richard, *and my Father King* Iohn, *and if he have done ill towards me, hee shall never therefore dye an evill death. For I had rather bee reputed a foolish or a negligent King, then a cruell Tyrant, or a bloody man toward him, who hath long served mee and mine ancestors; nor will I weigh more his evill deeds, which are not as yet manifested, nor prooved true, then all his good deeds, which are plainely knowne to the Realme, and to us all.* Hereupon *Hubert* had all such lands granted unto him, as either King *Iohn* had given, or himselfe had purchased. There undertooke for him to the King (as sureties) the Earles of *Cornwall*, and *Warren*; *Marshall*, and *Ferrars*, and himselfe was committed to the * *Castle of Devises*, there to abide in free Prison, under the Custody of foure Knights, belonging each of them to one of these foure Earles. This *Court-storme* thus in part over-blowne, let us take our standings, to view what other weather followed, and what countenance of things in this Kingdome did next present it selfe to the world.

(36) The King being naturally, as it seemes, addicted to repose himselfe upon some one mans counsell, was now wholly swayed by *Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*, who had therefore wrought the Earle out of grace, that hee might foly raigne, and the predominate in the gentle King. Which the better to effect, the Bishop procures him to displace the * *English* Officers, and in their roomes to surrogate *Poictovines* and *Britons*; who comming over to the number of about two thousand, hee stuffes his Castles with them; and (in briefe) did as it were wholly entrust himselfe, his *treasures*, *strengths*, and the *Realme* to them. *So that* * *Iudgements were committed to the unjust, Lawes to the Out-lawes, Peace to Wranglers, and Iustice to wrong-doers.* Such as would have prayed redresse for these abuses, were interrupted, and put off by the *Bishop of Winchester.* Among them who were removed from their places in Court, was one *Sir William de Redune* a Knight, and Deputy Marshall to *Richard* Earle of *Pembroke.* This was to the Earle very displeasant, which joyned with a consideration of the publike cause and danger, hee aggravates unto him certaine of the great Lords (as was the fashion of those Lording times, upon every difference,) and in the Company of them advanceth confidently to the King, whom in the hearing of many hee reprooveth; *for that hee had, through sinister advise, called in the Poictovines, to the oppression of the Realme, of his naturall subjects, of their Lawes and Liberties: humbly therefore hee beseecheth him that hee would speedily reforme such abuses, which threatned the imminent subversion both of the Crowne and Kingdome: which if hee did not, himselfe and other Lords, would so long withdraw their attendance, as hee entertained Strangers.* The Bishop hereunto makes answer; *That the King might well and lawfully call in what Strangers himselfe thought good, for the defence of the Crowne and Realme, and such, and so many of them, as might bee able to compell his proud and rebellious people to due obedience.* When the Oracle would speake no otherwife, they departed from Court greatly discontented; firmely promising one to the other, that in such a cause, which did so touch them all, they would like men stand together while any breath was in their bodies.

(37) Those who were now most potent about the King, nothing sorry for the discontentment of so great a Peere as the Earle *Marshall*, but counting it a part of their strengths, to use the regall power toward the weakning of the *English*, nourish in the King his aversion. The mindes of men sufficiently inclining of themselves, to doubt the worst upon such divisions, had their feare increased by sundry prodigies of strange thunders and raines, but especially of foure red *Parhelions* (or resemblances of the Sunne) besides the Sunne it selfe, (appearing about the parts of *Hereford* and *Worcester*) from morning till night in the Skies: and indeed much trouble immediately ensued aswell in *England* as *Wales*, and *Ireland.* The *Poictovines*, and other Strangers thus bearing the sway, so as the Kings person went guarded with troupes of such, the Earles and Barons being by the Kings command summoned to another Parliament at *Oxford*, refused to come. While the King was there, one * *Robert Bacon*, who used there to preach before the King and Prelates, freely *told him, that if hee did not remoove from him* Peter *Bishop* of Winchester, *and* Peter de Rivallis, *hee could never bee in quiet.* The King did hereupon a little come to himselfe, and *Roger Bacon a Clergy-man* also of a pleasant wit, did second *Roberts* advise, telling the King that * *Petre* and *Rupes* were most dangerous things at Sea, alluding to the Bishops name, *Petrus de Rupibus.* The King therefore (as hee had the happinesse in his mutability, to change for his more security) taking that good aduise of *Schollers*, which hee would not of his Peeres, fumaons a Parliament to bee holden at * *Westminster*, giving the world to know wirhall, that his purpose was *to amend by their advice, whatsoever ought to bee amended.*

(38) But the Barons, considering that still there arrived sundry strangers, men of warre with Horse and Armour, and not trusting the *Poictovine* faith, came not, but presumed to send this traiterous message from the King, that if out of hand hee *removed not* Peter *Bishop* of Winchester, *and the Poictovines out of his Court, they all of them, by the common assent of the Kingdome, would drive him, and his wicked Counsellors together out of it, and consult about creating a new Soveraigne.* The King (whom his fathers example made more timorous,) could easily have beene drawne, to have redeemed the love of his naturall Liegemen, with the disgrace of a few strangers; but the Bishop of *Winchester* and his friends, infused

more

An. Dom. 1223. An. Reg. 17.

* *Avesd. M. S.*

* *Matth. Paris. Roger stood. Indicis convictus, tantæ infamiæ, tam exitiosus, tam diffamatus, tam publicis infamiis.*

The King by advancing strangers discontents his Nobles.

The English Peeres confederate against the strangers.

Five Sunnes in the ayre in April. Avesd. M. S. Matth. Paris.

The Barons contemne the Kings tournament.
* *Paris calls him Bacon. The former speech of a Preacher.*

* *That is, Rocks and Stones.*

* *In July.*

The Barons second contempt of the Kings command.

The traitor un-errandes the King.

more spirit unto him. Whereon, to all those whom hee suspected, the King sets downe a * day, within which they should deliver sufficient pledges to secure him of their loyalty. Against that day the Lords in great numbers make repaire to *London*, but the Earle Marshall (admonished of danger, by his sister the Countesse of *Cornwall*) flies backe to *Wales*; and chiefely for want of his * presence nothing was concluded. The King not long after is at *Glocester* with an Army, whither the Earle and his adherents required to come, refused; the King therefore burnes their Mannors, and gives away their inheritances to the *Poictovines*.

* In August next.

* Reg. de Wendover. 5.

(39) This Rebellion had not many great names in it, but tooke strength rather by weight then number: the knowne Actors were the *Earle Marshall*, the *Lord Gilbert Basset*, and many other of the inferiour Nobles. The Bishops Arts had plucket from him, the *Kings Brother*, and the two *Earles of Chester and Lincoine*, (who dishonourably sold their love* for a thousand Markes,) and otherwise, as it seemed, secured the rest: nevertheleſſe, these may well bee thought, not to have borne any evill will to their now-forsaken confederate, the *Earle Marshall*, who tooke himselfe to handle the common cause; certainely hee handled his owne safety but ill, as the event shall demonstrate. The Earle hearing these things, contracts strict amity with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whose powers thus knit together, by advantages of the Mountaines, were able to counterpoize any ordinary invasion. To the Kings ayde, *Baldwin de Gisnes* with many Souldiers came out of *Flanders*. The King now at *Hereford* in the midst of his Forces, sends from thence (by *Winchesters* counsell) the Bishop of Saint *Davids*, to defye the Earle Marshall; how farre soever this word *defie* extends it selfe, sure it seemes that the Earle hereupon understood himselfe discharged of that obligation, by which hee was tyed unto the King, and freed to make his defence. The King notwithstanding after some small attempts, and better consideration, did promise and assume, that by advise of his Councell *all that was amisse should (as a * day appointed) bee rectified and amended.* About which time, *Hubert de Burgo*, having intelligence that the *Bishop of Winchester* (who was a *Poictovine*) * plotted his death, escaped out of the Castle of *Devises* (where he was prisoner) to a neighbour Church, but was haled from thence by the *Castle-keepers*. The Bishop of *Sarisbury* (in whose Diocesse it happened) caused him to bee safe restored to the same place, from whence by the Earle Marshall, and a * troupe of armed men his friends, hee was rescued and carried into *Wales*.

The Earle Marshall in Armes.

* Matth. Par.

Confederates himselfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*

Reg. Wend. M.S. Matth. Paris.

* The Sunday after *Michaelmas* *Hubert de Burgo* escapes into *Wales*.

* Thom. Wikes. Roger Wend. Matth. Paris.

* Ypodig Neust.

(40) The King, at the day and place appointed holds his great Councell or conference with the Lords; but nothing followed for the peace of the Realme; it was not an ordinary passage of speech, which hapned there betweene the Lords, and the Bishop of *Winchester*. For, when the English Bishops and Barons humbly befought the King, *for the honour of Almighty God to take into grace his naturall Subjects, whom (without any tryall by their Peeres) hee called Traytors:* the Bishop (offended it seemes, at Peeres) takes the words out of the Kings mouth, and answers; *That there are not Peeres in England, as in the Realme of* France, *and that therefore the King of* England, *by such Iusticiars as himselfe pleaseth to ordaine, may banish offenders out of the Realme, and by judiciall processe condemne them.* The English Bishops relished his speech fo harshly, that with one voyce *they threatned to excommunicate and accurse by name the Kings principall wicked Counsellors*; but *Winchester* appealed; then they accursed all such as alienated the heart of the King from his naturall subjects, and all others that perturbed the peace of the Realme.

(41) The Earle Marshall, this while had by force resumed a Castle, which hee had a little before surrendred to the King, which stirred the King to gather his forces at *Glocester*, and thence to advance towards *Wales*. But the Earle had politickely barred the Country of all Provisions for man and beast, that the King was faine to strike aside to *Grosmont* Castle; where the Earle, with his Confederates and the * power of *Wales*, so awaited their time, that affailing the Kings Campe unawares, there were taken about five hundreth Horſe, with the Sumpters, riches, and carriages of the Army; upon which losse (his men also greatly scattered) the King leaving * two noble Gentlemen with the *Poictovines*, to make good the Marches against the *Welsh*, returned more empty and inglorious then before. The Earle found them worke, whom the King had left behind; and (as hee was a man of no lesse courage then deepe wit,) whereas *Baldwin de Gisnes* (the valiant *Flemish* Knight) with a thousand Horsemen, thought to have surprized him, who having but a tenth part of that number, came to view the Castle of *Monmouth*; the Earle alone defended himselfe against twelve of his enemies; and when his Horse was cowardly slaine by them, he pitcht one of them by the legge out of the Saddle, and leapt into it himselfe, never giving ground till his Army came to the rescue, and obtained a faire victory, with the slaughter and captivation of many *Poictovines*, and others. His other exploits in and about *Wales*, were not few nor unfortunate; if it were not onely in this, (as what indeed could bee more grievous or unglorious to a noble mind?) for that his Soveraigne was upon the contrary side.

* Dugd. Baron. Vol. Camb. p. 185.

* Wm. Iohn de Monmouth, Ralph de Tony.

* Reg. Wend. M.S. Matth. Paris.

The Earles great courage and vigilice.

(42) The King about this time, to strengthen his life and State, with the prayers of *Beneficiaries*, and other devoted affections, founded the * house of *Converts*, where such as forsooke the Iudaicall Superstitions, had provisions for maintenance under a sober rule and ruler; hee also erected and endowed a * *famous Hospitall at Oxford*, both for the entertainment of Forrainers and Pilgrimes, (who thither much frequented,) and for relieſe also of such as were diseased: So that *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, (the Earles chiefe confederate) when hee was threatned sore, if he would not live in quiet, did not speake more magnificantly of *charity*, then honourably of the King; *I more feare* (quoth hee) *the Almes deeds which the King doth, then all the men of warre which hee hath, and the whole Clergy, put together.*

Alexander Bishop of Coicheſter doth teach himselfe from dishonesty.

* Now the Rolles in Chancery Lane, Stowes Survay.

* Saint Iohns Hospitall by Magdalen Colledge, the first stone whereof was laid by the King himself, Rosius. Leiens opinion of it. Henries Almesdeeds. Matth. Paris. D. Pyenn Hist. Comb. 1231.

(43) The Earle *Marshall* encreasing in strength and hatred against such as were the Kings reputed Seducers, makes spoile and booty on their possessions, and joyning with the power of *Leoline*, puts all to fire and sword, as farre as *Shrewsbury*, part whereof they burnt to Ashes, and sacket the residue. The * King then at *Glocster* for want of sufficient Forces, departed thence (greatly grieved) to *Winchester*, abandoning those other parts as it were to wast and ruine. It therefore seemes, that hee was not growne stronger or richer, by the displacing of *Hubert* Earle of *Kent*, and the rest, and by taking new into their roomes, who commonly bite and sucke hard till they have glutted themselves, (if at leastwise there be any satiety in avarice) whereas the old officers, having provided in a sort for the maine chance, have the lesse reason to be grievous.

An. Dom. 1234. An. Reg. 18.

* Roger Wend.

The King gives way to the fury of the rebellious.

(44) Therefore the Lyons skin not being large enough for the *Bishop of Winchester*, and his factious purposes, they peece them out with the Foxes case; an inevitable stratageme is deviſed. The Earle *Marshall* had in *Ireland* all the ample Patrimonies of his Grand-father, the famous *Strongbow*. To make that member of his strengths improfitable, if not also pernicious, they devise certaine letters, directed to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* (Deputy Iustice of *Ireland*) and other principall men, who held of the Earle. In them they signifie, *that* Richard, *once Marshall to the King of* England, *was for manifest treason by the iudgement of the Kings Court, banished the Realme,*

The treasurance of the Marshall-lists fashion.

A practise to ruine the Earle Marshall.

The pestilent treasure of the letters.

Realme, his Lands, Townes and Tenements consumed with fire; other his Hereditaments destroyed, and himselfe for ever disinherited; that if upon his comming thither, they did take him, either alive or dead, the King did give them all the Earles lands there, which now were forfeited by vertue of his Attainture; and for assurance that the said gift should continue firme and good, they, by whose advise the King and Kingdome were governed, faithfully undertooke. To these letters, (which the Monkes call *bloudy*) they caused the King to set his Seale, as they themselves also (being eleven) did theirs; upon receit of which lines, the parties signifie backe *under the Seale of secresie*, that if the Contents of those letters were confirmed by the Kings *Letters Patents*, they would performe that which was defired. The Letters Patents be made accordingly, and * having fraudulently gotten the Great Seale from *Hugh* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord *Chancellour*, who knew not thereof, they make them authenticke with the Impreſſion.

* Reg. apud M. S. Matth. Paris.

(45) The Kings mind therefore being still exulcerated towards the Earle *Marshall*, he grievously charged *Alexander* Bishop of *Chester*, that hee had too much familiarity with the Earle, affirming that *they sought to thrust him from his throne*; the Bishop to cleare himselfe from so hainous a scandall, put on his Episcopall habite, and solemnely pronounceth all those accurst, *who did but imagine a wickednesse of so fowle a nature, against the Majestie or person of the King:* and thereupon by the intercession of other Prelates, he was received into Grace. The King was then at *Westminster*; where *Edmund* the Archbishop of *Canterbury* cleet, with other his Suffragan Bishops, bewailing the estate of the Kingdome, presen themselves before him, telling him, as his loyall Liegeman, "*that* "*the Counsell of Peter Bishop of Winchester, and his* "*Complices, which now he had, and used, was not sound* "*nor safe, but cruell and perillous to himselfe and his* "*Realme. First, for that they hated and despised the* "*English, calling them Traitours, turning the Kings* "*heart from the love of his people, and the hearts of* "*the people from him; as in the Earle Marshall,* "*whom (being one of the worthiest men of the Land)* "*by sowing false tales they drave into discontentment;* "*2. That by the Counsell of the same Peter, his Father* "*King Iohn first lost the hearts of his people, then Nor-* "*mandy, then other lands; and finally, wasted all his* "*treasure, and almost England it selfe, and never af-* "*ter had quiet; 3. That if the Subjects had now beene* "*handled according to Iustice and Law, and not by their* "*ungodly counsels, those present troubles had not* "*hapned, but the Kings lands had remained unde-* "*stroyed, his treasures unexhausted; 4. That the* "*Kings counsell is not the Counsell of Peace, but of* "*perturbation; because they who cannot rise by Peace,* "*will raise themselves by the trouble, and disinheri-* "*son of others; 5. That they had the treasure, Castles,* "*Wardships, and strengths of the Kingdome in their* "*hands, which they insolently abused, to the great ha-* "*zard of the whole estate, for that they, made no con-* "*science of an Oath, Law, Iustice, or the Churches cen-* "*sures. Therefore we, O King,* (said they) *speake these* "*things faithfully unto you; and in the presence both* "*of God and man, doe counsell, beseech, and admonish* "*you, to remove such a counsell from about you, and* "*(as it is the usage in other Realmes) governe yours* "*by the faithfull and sworne children thereof.* The King in briefe answered hereunto, that he could not sodainely put off his *Councell*, and therefore prayed a short respite, till their accounts were audited. Meane-while the behaviours of the *Marshallne* faction (having this backing at Court) grew more and more intolerable: for while the King was at *Huntingdon*, the Lord *Gilbert Basset* and others, set fire upon *Alkmunbury*, a Towne belonging to *Stephen de Segrave*, the flames whereof were seene of the owner, being then with the King at *Huntingdon*. They also tooke prisoners upon the *Welsh Marches*, and according to the *Law of Warre* (which, saith one, is **lawlesse*) did put them to their *Ransomes*.

* Quo warranto. Matth. Paris.

The King feasile in taking and leaving favourites.

Of Princes Councellors and Favourites.

(46) Nothing had hitherto preserved the King more, then that he could, without great griefe forgoe any favourites, if he were neerely prested; the contrary quality whereof hath been the cause of finall desolation to so many Princes. For albeit the choice of *Counsellours* ought to be free, yet by common intendment they should be *good*; or howsoever they are, or are not, it is madnesse to hazzard a Crowne, or leese the love of a whole Nation, rather then to relinquish or diminish a particular dependant. The rights of amity ought nevertheleſſe to remain inviolable, but in such distance that the publike be not perverted, nor interverted for a private. The King therefore in this point not unfortunate, commanded Bishop *Peter* to betake himselfe to his resident at *Winton*, without once meadling in affaires of State, but against *Peter Rivallis* his *Treasurer*, he was so vehement, that he sware he would plucke out his eyes, were it not for reverence of *Holy Orders*; commanding also their *Poictovines* to depart the *Realme*, never to see his face more.

The King removes the Bishop of *Winchester* and others from his Councell.

England purged from Poictovines.

(47) Then are the *Archbishop of Canterbury* with the Bishops of *Chester* and *Rochester* sent into *Wales* to pacifie things there. But the invincible Earle *Marshall* had now croſt the Seas into *Ireland*, to take revenge for the spoiles and disseisures, which his hired enemies had made in his lands there; by whose plots, according to that secret agreement, hee was finally taken, and dyed of a wound given him in the backe, as he with admirable manhood defended himselfe. His *Body* was buryed in *Kileennie*, (which pleasantly-situated Towne, our Soveraigne King *Iames* erected into a City,) where himselfe in his life had appointed, in the *Oratory* of the *Minorites*: in which Towne, as yet some small tokens of this great name are remaining; for in the East window of the Abbey-Church of S. *Iohn Baptiſt*, and in the Abbey of S. *Dominicke*, the ancient Armories of * *Marshall, Lord of Kilkennie*, are yet extant. The Patrimony of this Earle was shared by the Contractors, according to the purport of the Letters patents: but when the King heard of his death, hee (to the wonder of all that were by) brake forth into teares, bewailing the losse of so brave a Knight, affirming *that he had left no Peere behind him in the Kingdome.* A blessed King, saith *Paris*; *to love even those who had offended him.*

The Earle Marshall dieth in Ireland.

* Parties per pale Or & vert, once all a Lyon rampant, gules.

The King laments the Earles death.

Ann. 1235.

(48) The Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the other Bishops, repaired to the King at *Glocester* upon their returne from *Leoline* Prince of *Wales*, who pretended hee could not conclude, till the King had received into grace such of the banished Nobility, with whom himselfe had beene Confederated during the late displeasures. The King hereupon mooved with Pittie, sends forth his Proclamations, that all such as were out-lawed or proscribed, should bee at *Glocester* upon a certaine day, there to bee received into the Kings favour againe, and to have restitution of their inheritances; but lest they might suspect any evill meaſure, it was ordered that they should be in the Churches protection, and come under the safe conduct of the Arch-bishop and the other Prelates. Thither at the time and place limited doth *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* (and lately chiefe Iusticiar of *England*) repaire; upon whom, by mediation of the *Bishops*, the compaſſionate King lookes graciously, receiving him in his Armes with the kisse of peace; in like fort was the Lord *Gilbert Basset*, and all other of that fellowship, received into favour, their severall livings and rights fully restored; and both *Hubert* and *Basset* admitted to bee of his Counsell. And, that nothing might bee wanting to make the joy universall; *Gilbert*, Brother to the late Earle *Marshall*, had the whole Earledome conferred upon him, with all the lands and rights thereof wheresoever, notwithstanding the forefaid treacherous conveyance; whom also the King made Knight at *Worcester*, and delivered into his hands

The King recalls home his rebels.

Hubert de Burgo is reconciled.

Gilbert brother to the late Earle Marshall hath his brothers lands and honours.

the *Rod of the Marshallship*, according to the custome. Howbeit in all these poynts the King may seeme but to have temporized (as thereto driven by overbearing inducements) or else greatly afterward to have changed his judgement, because he openly at one time [a] called the said *Richard a bloudy Traitour*, and caused this *Gilbert* to be forcibly kept out of the *Court* upon a *Christmas day*.

[a] *Mat. Paris ad Ann* 1239.

The practise to destroy the late Earle Marshall openly read.

(49) Vpon this reconcilement, the practise, by which the late great *Marshall* was destroyed, and his possessions dismembred, came to light; the copy of the letters which had beene sent into *Ireland*, being by commandement of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, openly read in the presence of the King, the Prelatse, Earles and Barons: It mooved teares in all of them; the king with an [b] *Oath* affirming that he knew not the contents of the said letters, though by the urging of the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Rivallis*, *Segrave*, *Passelew*, with other of his Councell, hee had caused his Seale to be put unto them. At the sound of Summons to make their severall appearances, the Malefactors take *sanctuary*, the *Bishop* and *Peter de Rivallis* in *Winchester* Church, *Segrave* in *Leicester Abbey*, *Passelew* in the *New-Temple*, and others otherwhere. In the end, upon the intercession of *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who piously endeavoured to extinguish all occasions of further dissention in the Kingdome, and undertooke they should have a lawfull triall, the delinquents appeared at *Westminster* before the King, *who*[b] *sate in person with his Iusticiars upon the Bench*. *Peter de Rivallis* was first called (for the Bishop came not,) whom the King shot through with an angry eye, saying; *O thou Traitour, by thy wicked advice, I was drawne to set my Seale to these treacherous letters for the destruction of the Earle Marshall, the Contents whereof were to me unknowne; and by thine and such like counsell, I banished my naturall Subjects, and turned their minds and hearts from me. By thy bad counsell, and thy Complices, I was mooved to make warre upon them, to my irreparable losse, and the dishonour of my Realme, in which enterprize I wasted my treasure, and lost many worthy persons, together with much of my royall respect. Therefore I exact of thee an account aswell of my treasure, as of the custodies of Wardes, together with many other profites and escheats belonging to my Crowne. Peter* denying none of the accusations, but falling to the ground, thus besought him. *My Soveraigne Lord and King, I have beene nourished by you, and made rich in worldly substance, confound not your owne Creature, but at least-wise grant me a time of deliberation, that I may render a competent reason for such poynts as I am charged with. Thou shalt* (said the King) *bee carried to the Tower of London, there to deliberate till I am satisfied*: He was so. *Stephen de Segrave*, the Lord *Chiefe Iustice* (whom the King also called *most wicked Traitour*) had time till *Michaelmas* to make his accounts, at the Archbishops and other Bishops humble entreaty; and for other matters, hee shifted them off from himselfe, by laying the blame upon such as were higer in place then he: into whose office of Chiefe Iustice, *Hugh de Pateshull* is advanced. The like evasion *Robert Passelew* had, by leaving the fault upon *Walter* Bishop of *Carleil*, who was above him in the Exchequer: and thus were these civill enormities reformed, not without reducing store of Coyne to the King.

[b] *Reg. de stratud. M. S. Matth. Paris.* The King sits in *resplendent* with the Iudges on the Bench.

The king himselfe gives sentence on the Bench.

The Bishop of *Winchester* went to Rome, for he was in Pope *Gregories* Army against the emulated Romans by both *Wendouer* and *Paris ad An.* 1235.

(50) As those continuall turmoiles, and *plagues of the Sword*, much afflicted the land, so this was the third yeare, wherein God inflicted also for sinne, the *plague of Famine*, whereby the poore did miserably perish, there being no *Samaritan* to pay for their harbouring, or to annoynt their wounds with the oyle of consolation. Our Authours, to make manifest how odious the mercilesse heart is in the sight of God, relate a storie of that time with protestation, that they doe it, lest so memorable an example should be in time forgotten. Certaine [c] poore, while as yet the Corne was greene, pluckt the eares in the common fields, to sustaine their lives; whereupon the Owners call on the Priest, to curse all such as had so done: but one in their company adjured the Priest in the name of God to exempt his corne from the sentence, saying, *it pleased him well, that the poore driven with famine, had taken his corne*, and so commended that which they had left to God. The Priest, compelled by importunity of the rest, was entred into the sentence, when by a terrible interrupting tempest of thunder, lightning, winde, haile, and raine, all the Corne-fields about were desolated, as if they had beene troden downe with Horse and Carres; that no kinde of Beast or Fowle would feede upon the Corne thus layd. But (as say our Authors out of the [d] Scripture) seeing [e] *they who are pitteous, finde mercie*, that honest and compassionate-hearted man, found all his corne and grounds (though interlaced with theirs,) altogether untouche and unharmd. Whereupon (say they) *it is more cleare then any light, that as glory to God on high is sung of Angels, so there is peace on Earth to Men who are of good-will.* This dearth was in [e] *Fraunce* and *Gascoigne* aswell as in *England*. *A Iewish impietie* may well bee annexed to want of *Christian Charitie*. There were brought before the King at *Westminster* seaven Iewes, who circumcised a Childe, and purposed (in contempt of Christ and Christianitie) to have crucified him in Easter at *Norwich*.

A miraculous confusion of bard-hearted-nesse toward poore Christians.

[d] *Mat. 5. 7.* [e] God hath a care of the Ibirall.

(51) These now calmer times, were made more happy, by the marriage of the Emperour *Fredericke* with the Lady *Isabel*, the King of *Englands* sister, a beauteous young Lady, about twenty yeares of age. The messengers arrived in *March* with the Emperours letters, closed under a Seale of gold; and there were sent to conduct her over, the Archbishop of *Collein*, and the Duke of *Louain*. The King brought her to *Sandwich*, with about three thousand horse in his traine; and being imperially furnished with all worldly abundance, shee tooke shipping in *May*, and in one dayes and one nights space arrived at *Antwerpe*, a City of the Empire, and was every where most magnificently entertained: her sweet humility, and excellent beauty, drawing all to love and honour her. At the solemnity of her [g] marriage were present three [h] Kings, eleaven Dukes, thirty Marquesses and Earles, besides the number of great *Prelates*. On whether superstition, or observation, of the Emperour is noted at this marriage, that hee forbare the Empresses company, till a certaine houre, which his *Wisards* or *Astrologers* had assigned, and in the morning hee caused her to be carefully tended as a Woman with childe, and sent word to his Brother the King of *England*, that he should have a Sonne, so skilfull or confident hee was; and God did favour his judgement, for it proved so. This Imperiall affinity gave a [i] worthy Historian occasion heere to display and emblazon the Majestie and glorie of the English Princes; but amongst them all, none were higher advanced then the Children of King *John*, one of whose Sonnes was now a [k] King, the other afterward chosen to be an [l] Emperour, and one of his daughters a [m] Queene, this other (here mentioned) an [n] *Empresse*. And here doth *Wendouer* end his History, to whom wee have hitherto beene beholding for his labours, sorry we can enjoy his good company no longer.

The Emperour marrieth the Kings sister.

The magnificence of the Nuptials.

[g] *Ex epistola Augustin.* [h] *Reg. de stratud. M. S. Matth. Paris.*

Marriage consummated by calculation of the Starres.

[i] *Matth. Westmonasterien Londoni.*

[k] *Matth. Paris. Prodigiosis Ingeniis & portentosis.*

(52) There were spread through *England* about this time certaine *Romane Vsurers* called [o] *Caursini*, who had entangled the King himselfe, most of the great men, and all others as had to deale with the Court of *Rome*, in their cunning snares. The first entrance into *England* was some few yeares past, when the Pope requiring the *tenth of all moveable goods in England, Ireland and Wales*, towards his wars against the Emperour *Fredericke*, sent *Stephen* his Nunce hither to collect it, [q] who brought with him that race of devouring-Monsters under humane shape, called the[r] *Popes Merchants*, under colour of

[o] *Quasi cepiones usurarij dicentes* ring Beasts, *quasi* [illegible] *Paris.*

[l] K. Henry 3. of England. [m] Raimond King of the Romans *en Jean* Queen of the Scots. *en Isabel.*

[p] *Mat. Paris.*

[q] *Idem ad An.* 1229.

[r] *Ibidem.*

[n] *paris ad an.* 1234.

[o] *Matt. Paris.*

A zealous course corresponsive cruell Vsurie.

[d] *Mat. 5. 7.* [e] God hath a care of the Ibirall.

A time when Londoners sweate Vsurers. *Matt. Paris. Paris.*

[f] An. Do. 1235. *An. Reg.* 19. The Iewes conspire to crucifie a child.

An. 1236. *An reg.* 20. The King married.

Tyrrel, Rouls. Matt. Paris.

[t] *Paul. Emil. in Ludo.*

The Queenes other three Sisters had Kings to their Husbands.

[u] *Mat. Til Crons.*

[x] *Tyrrel, Rouls.*

Westminsterin London.

Matth. Paris. Prodigiosis Ingeniis & portentosis.

of supplying with mony such as wanted present pay. The [n] *Popes continuall angariations and extortions*, under colour also of the Turkish warres, kept these men (if men) still in vse here in *England*, to the [o] *extreame beggering of infinite members, who were inveigled (either by perswasion, or craving, or commanding, or committing, or excommunicating,)* to give way to the Popes *unsufferable extortions, all men wondering into what bottomelesse gulfe that huge Masse was put, which the Popes Factors had gathered*, wherewith all mens hearts were *deeply wounded, for that all this unvaluable treasure never was imployed to any publike use, or honour of the Church*. *Roger* Bishop of *London* (a learned and religious Prelate) burning with zeale of Christian charity, seeing the numbers and mischiefes of these execrable *Vsurers*, thus still to encrease, first admonished them (whom hee repued no better then Schismatickes) to repent, & leave that wicked trade of life. But when he found them deafe to all advice, armed with the weapons of spirituall justice, he openly pronounceth them accursed, precisely commanding them to packe out of LONDON, WHICH TILL THAT TIME KNEW NOT WHAT SVCH A PLAGVE MEANT, *least his flockes should be infected therewith*. But so Apostolicall and holy a remedy tooke not such effect as it deserved; for they *swelling with pride and presumption on the Popes patrocine, easily procured from the Court of* Rome, *that the olde sickly Bishop should be peremptorily cited to appeare in the remote parts beyond the Sea, there to answere for that injury which he had offered the Popes Merchants*.

[o] *Quasi cepiones usurarij dicentes* ring Beasts, *quasi* [illegible] *Paris.*

[p] *Mat. Paris.*

(53) The King, being now in the best strength of his yeares, tooke to wife the Lady *Elenor*, second daughter of *Raimund* Earle of *Province*, which hee had by the Daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Savoy*. A Lady about twelve or thirteene yeares of age, and altogether as beautifull and princely, as shee was young. Her Father, by [p] reason of warres which he had with the *Citizens* of *Massilia* his subjects (who upon pretence they were oppreſt, fought to drive him out of all his territories) was but a poore Prince. Neverthelesse it was the happinesse of his foure Daughters (whose Parentage adorned with rare beautie, and fashioned with excellently-vertuous education, made them fit Brides for any Princes in the world) that each of them had [q] a King to her Husband. The Eldest was married to *Lewis* the ninth King of *France*, *Elenor* to the King of *England*; *Santia* (or *Cynthia*) to *Richard* his brother king of *Romans*; *Beatrix* to *Charles* the *French* kings brother, King of *Sicilia*. The Nuptials were accomplished at [r] *Westminster*; where also shee was crowned Queene, with incredible state and splendor, the King himselfe wearing his Crowne also. The *Citizens of London* are noted of much serviceable forwardnesse and magnificence at this royall feast. The Citie was adorned with Silkes, Banners, Crownes, Pals, Tapers, Lamps, and with [s] certaine *wonders of wit*, and strange shewes; the *Citizens* richly attired and well mounted, met the King on horse backe. At the Nuptiall dinner, the Trumpets sounding before them, they came in, carring three hundreth and threescore Cups of Gold and Silver, to serve the King and that noble Company with Wine, according to their duties at Coronations. The King had twice or thrice before attempted to marrie, but God ordained otherwise till now; and it was a match made principally after the manner of honest private persons, for love; and not as heads of publike bodies use to do, for seeming worldly strengths and profits. It was also begun and concluded without the privity of the Sates. The Emperour soone after requested the King to send him his Brother *Richard*, Earle of *Cornewall*, to make him *Generall* against the *French*, whereby the *English* also might recover their right: but the *Emperour* was desired to choose any other; for him the States of his Realme, (which were assembled to consult thereupon) would not forgoe, because he was but young, and next heire to the Crowne, if the king should die without children. This answere was given to the Emperours Ambassadours at *Merton* neere *London*, where also the Statutes, called of *Merton*, were at the same time enacted.

[q] *Paul. Emil. in Ludo.*

The Queenes other three Sisters had Kings to their Husbands.

[r] *Mat. Til Crons.*

[s] *Tyrrel, Rouls.*

Westminsterin London.

(54) The humorous Lords beganne now againe to relapse into their wonted giddinesse, taking it in great indignity, that the king was so much ruled by his wives uncle, *William de Valentia*; in so much that the king with drawing himselfe into the *Tower of London*, thither none of the Lords would come. Vpon better advice therefore he returnes to his Palace; where some great Officers, and others, were put from the *Privie Councell*, and their places, not without the admiration of many. But the Bishop of *Chichester*, chosen Lord *Chancellor* in the kings minority, being required by the king to deliver [t] up the *Seale*, refused, alleaging, more stourly then loyally, that *as he had received it with the publike allowance of the Parliament, so without the same assent hee would not resigne it*. Which thwartings of his Peeres & Prelates, incited the king (it seemeth) to resume againe into his favour some of those his Counsellors which hee had formerly dis-courted, as *Peter de Rivallis*, and *Stephen de Segrave*. But (whether on discontent hereof or no) *Richard* the kings brother (whose service was formerly denied to the Emperour,) the Earles *Marshall*, *Chester*, * *Lincolne*, and *Sarisbury*, with many other honourable Souldiers assumed the vow to fight in *Palistine* against Gods enemies, for accomplishment whereof they departed thither * the second yeere after. Meane-while the king, to secure himselfe from dangers neerer home, travailes toward *Yorke*, to settle a peace betweene himselfe and *Alexander* king of *Scots*; who, the rather upon Confidence of *Leolines* amity, (which toward the *English* was but * shadowie, and alwayes suspected) demanded *Northumberland*. Neverthelesse, by the wisedome of friends, and moderation of both the Princes, they parted in peace, the king of *England* being eſſewhere to lay out lands to a certaine * value, lest he should dismember his kingdome by forgoing so great and necessary a frontire. The *Scottish* king claimed that County from king *John*, who by his deed enfeoffed him thereof, as in portion with his Daughter, which king *Alexander* had married.

[t] *Tyrrel, Rouls. Matt. Paris.*

(55) *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* (removed formerly from Court by the working of the *English* Bishops and Lords) being crased and sicke in body, returned about *Michaelmas* from forraine parts; soone after which (as if that Bishop had brought them with him) *Paris* notes, there ensued great raines, and extraordinary land-flouds: Though * indeed hee was a man of great wisedome, and dexterity in handling weightiest affaires: he also built sundry Monasteries, and besides other his worthy deeds, hee left his Bishopricke so furnished at his * death (a prefident which few of his succeſſors have followed) *that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his entrance, as the very* * *Cattle which served to draw the plough*.

(56) The king whose treasures where exhausted with paiment of his Sisters portion (* thirty thousand Markes to the Emperour, and otherwise) called a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtaine any * supplies from the States, but upon * *confirmation of the Nationall Priviledges of* England *formerly granted, and upon acceptance of the Earles of Warren and Ferrars, and* Iohn Fitz-Geoffrey into his most inward Counsels; whom the king (meerely enforced to satisfie his People) caused to sweare to give faithfull Counsel, and to forswear all corruption or sale of *Iustice*; and finally hee conditioneth, *to relye wholly upon his naturall Subjects for advice, leaving all others*. The *money* gathered (the fevereſt and most misſtruſtfull point of all,) was not to be payd into the *Exchequer*, but to be depositted in some religious house, or forttreſſe of every *Countie*,

Now corruptly called *Beatrix Abbey* in Surrey.

New alterations in Court.

Matth. Paris.

Rivallis and Segrave taken againe into grace.

* *Hist. Comp. pag.* 296. *Matth. Paris.*

* *Pandg. Mens.*

* *Symbotilla & flower Softbella. Matth. Paris.*

*Four score marks yeerely saith *Paris* in one place, but in another, three hundred pounds lands (or all sie.)

* *Hollinsh. p.* 233.

* He died An. Do 1238. having beene Bishop 19 yeares. * Then belike he left very poore and old Cattle.

A. Dom. 1237.

* *Iohn Stowes Annal.*

* *Trivelsmum bonorum portem.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

The divine vertue of charity actually commended by God.

[c] *Of Alsolde* a village in Cambridgeshire.

The King for supply of mony drawn to severe conditions.

to bee expended in the generall services of the Kingdome, as occasion required; so that if the king failed to performe his part, every man should have backe what hee had disburſed. One great and ordinary cauſe of waſte, ſeemed now taken away, for that *Leoline* (who had * firſt taken homage of all his owne Barons) did * voluntarily yeeld to hold his whole Principality of the *Kings of England*; moved thereunto (though with much miſlike of the *Welſh*) to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt his Son *Griffin*, who greatly infeſted him, being alſo aſſailed with a palſie.

Leoline Prince of *Wales* makes voluntary homage. * *Mill. Lamb. pag. 197.* * *Matth. Paris.*

Complaint of the kings raigne more grievous then juſt.

(57) There is in *Mathew Paris* much complaine of the State of *England* at this time, which by the Kings flexibility (ſaith he) was become the ordinary prey, ſometime of one ſort of ſtrangers, and ſometime of another, *Poictovins, Italians, Almaines*, and *Provincios*. Indeed the *Genius*, and common humor of a Nation, is not eaſily alterable: and our *Miſoxenie* (or hatred to ſtrangers) was no new qualitie; for * *Horace* noted it before, or about, Chriſts birth: and Engliſhmen can hardly ſee when they are well to keep them ſo. But no kind of *Strangers* at that time more infeſted *England* (ſaith our * Monke) then the Romans, of which here ſwarmed three ſorts, *Vſurers, which were the Popes Marchants, Italian Clerks, moſt vile and illiterate perſons, which armed with the Popes Bulls, poſſeſſed themſelves (againſt all right of Priviledges) of ſpirituall revenues, and if any withſtoode them, they were by the Popes owne warrant excommunicated; laſtly, the * Farmers and Proctors for the Romans, who cunningly ſcraping together whatſoever was of price in the Land, ſent it over Sea to the Maſters, who there lived in deliciouſneſſe on the Patrimony of him that was crucified, and in pride on other mens goods.* Inſomuch, *that holy men with heart-breakings, teares, and deadly * groanes*, profeſſed it *was better for them to dye, then to ſee thoſe miſeries on their Nation and holy men.* So that *the daughter of Sion was become like an impudent Harlot.* And as theſe Papall Engines dealt here in *England*, ſo did they with others * at *Rome, the Governours of that Church not ſeeking to winne mens ſoules, but their money, oppreſſing the religious by puniſhments, uſuries, and Simonie, without any care of juſtice and honeſty. Which made the Greeke Church at this time to fall quite away, and oppoſe it ſelfe againſt the Romane.* Doubtleſſe *England* had no leſſe cauſe ſo to doe, then had the Greekes; but as Pope *Gregory* knew that his onely way to keepe *England* faſt, was to hold cloſe with the King; ſo the King alſo ſaw no way to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt his Barons, but by holding in with the Pope, though with ſo many unſufferable miſchiefes. And for ſome ſuch purpoſe of the Kings, newly now arrived Cardinall *Otto*, the Popes Legate, *greatly againſt the liking both of the Peeres, and of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who not onely reproved the King thereof, as of a thing dangerous to the Kingdome*, but ſoone after alſo tooke his journey to *Rome*, to make ſome complaints, neither *would hee ſtay, though the Legate recalled him by his authority, which ever after cauſed much hatred betwixt them.* Yet ſundry good offices were at firſt performed by the Legate. The treaty of peace begun betweene the two Kings of *England*, and *Scotland* at *Yorke*, was againe reſumed in the ſame City, where *Otto* interpoſed himſelfe toward making a finall agreement, which enſued. There were alſo aſſembled, the Earles and Barons, who by the princely offices * of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, were reconciled to the *King* their *Soveraigne*, if this be the time which *Boetius* meanes, and not the next yeare. *Otto* had formerly accorded many of them among themſelves, whoſe diſagreements had emperild the State of the Realme, ſo that for a time nothing but calmneſſe and amity appeared. Yet ſoone after they ſtormed to ſee the King ſo * *addicted to the will of the Romans, eſpecially the Legate*, for which *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* reproved him, as carrying himſelfe *more like the Popes Penſioner then a King.* Notwithſtanding the King was ſo provident of his State, that the Legate calling his * *Nationall Councell*, thither came from the King, *John* Earle of *Lincolne*, *John Fitz-Geoffrey*, and *William de Kele* a Canon of *Pauls*, to forbid the *Legate* on the behalfe of the King and Kingdome, *not to attempt any thing againſt the Crowne or royall dignitie.*

Britanni hoſtibus ſeri.

* *Paris. hiſt. ma.*

* Firmavit & procuratores Rom. Paris.

* Singulti crudentia Patris.

* A Monkes teſtimony of Romes tiuges.

Matth. Paris.

(58) *Simon de Mountfort* (afterward created Earle of *Leiceſter*) had now wrought himſelfe into ſuch favour, that the *King* with his owne hand ſecretly gave *Elienor*, (widdow of the laſt *William Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*) to him in mariage, notwithſtanding that ſhe had vowed her ſelfe a Nunne. When this was once knowne to *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and the angry Lords, they all tooke ſuch ſnuffe thereat, becauſe they were not firſt conſulted with, in regard the King had promiſed to doe no weighty matter without them, that none but *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* adhered to the forſaken King. The head of this defection was the Earle of *Cornwall*, of whom men generally *had hope, that hee would now free the Land from the miſerable oppreſſions both of Romans and other Strangers.* Him therefore the *Legate* undertakes, but found him ſtiffe and untractable at firſt. For when he truely and fatherly told him: *That if all the people of the land roſe againſt the King, yet hee being his owne brother ought alwayes to ſtand faſt with him againſt the whole world, and not to make himſelfe Captaine of the enemie, &c.* The Earle roundly replied; * *That none ought to marvaile, if he being the only Heire apparant, had a care of the Kingdomes Hate, when there was no treaſure in the publike ceſſers for defence thereof, though it were environed with enemies: That it was moreover wondred at, for ſomuch as the king his brother did moſt ſtand in need of helpe, and good diſcretion, that he would not take example by ſuch as were wiſe; as neither of the Emperour, who having married their ſiſter, retained her with him, but ſent backe all that attended her, not giving to any of them either lands or money, although himſelfe did abound in both; nor the example of the king of* France, *who tooke the ſame courſe, though hee married the eldeſt ſiſter of the Engliſh Queene, &c.* The Legate upon theſe and many other ſhrewde ſharpe ſpeeches, takes with him *Peter* Biſhop of *Winchcſter*, and deales with the King, who required time to anſwere; which the Lords granted, and met at *London* ſtrongly appointed upon the day. There, while the quarrell hung in ſuſpenſe, *Simon de Mountfort* had with money, faire words, and much entreatie of Mediators, reconciled himſelfe to the fierce young Earle, and ſo alſo had *John* Earle of *Lincolne*, another marke of the publique envie. This practiſe (which Earle *Richard* entertained without his Confederates privity) had profitable effects; for the controlling Lords loſt thereby their *Generall*, and hee greatly weakened himſelfe in the opinion of the *Lords* and *People*; both which were poyats of advantage and ſafetie for the King. But *Simon* feeling himſelfe as yet upon no ſure ground, leſt his Wife with-childe at *Kenilworth*, not ceaſing, till by the favour of the Emperours letters, and * *exceſſive bribes, (by which juſtice was overcome, and made captive to the Romane avarice)* he had obtained at *Rome* a diſpenſation for that marriage, which yet was * doubted, whether it could be lawfull, becauſe ſhee had taken the * Ring, though neither the *habit* of a Nunne, nor the *vaile*. Howſoever, the King did afterward ſodainely breake with him, objecting that *Mountfort* had * firſt corrupted her, and hee to cover his Sifters ſhame, was content to give her in Marriage.

Complaine of the Kings raigne more grievous then juſt.

* *Paris. hiſt. ma.*

* Firmavit & procuratores Rom. Paris.

* Singulti crudentia Patris.

* A Monkes teſtimony of Romes tiuges.

Matth. Paris.

(59) While the King and his Queene abode at *Woodſtocke*, a Traitor was apprehended, who upon examination, confeſt that others had vowed the ſame, and that hee was ſent out of *Ireland* from *William* the Sonne of *Geoffrey de Marſico* (one of thoſe Patentees, which hoped to ſhare in the lands of

* At Poule, in craſt Offic. Martini. The King forbids him to touch the rights of the Crowne.

An. Dom. 1238.

Tyrrell. Manſ. ad ann. D. 1239.

The Earle of Kent onely ſtands for the King.

* *Matth. Paris. p. 451.*

Idem.

Imprisoning of the Caſtle.

Infamy, London, Paris.

The coalition, or union of the Lords broken.

* So ſaid the king himſelfe of that diſtraction. *Paris.* * *William de Alendurt, & Peter Leodar. apud Matt. Par.* * *Matthias Paris. eodem. a.*

* *Matth. Paris. p. 480.*

The King in danger to have beene murthered.

of *Richard* late Earle Marſhall) to commit that [a] aſſaſſinate upon him. This execrable wretch having been a Courtier, and one of the Kings [b] Knights, ſuppoſing to have found the King in his owne retiring Bed, had about mid-night gotten in at the Chamber-window; but God (in whoſe ſpeciall protection the lives of Princes are) diſappointed him, for the King was elſe-where in bed with the Queene. Nevertheleſſe he gave not over, but with naked knife in hand, ſought up and downe in ſome other Chambers One of the Queenes [c] Gentle-women (ſitting late and very devourly at her booke by Candle-light,) at ſight of the furious villaine, with her ſhriking noyſe wakened the Kings ſervants, who ſtarting out of their beds, laid hands upon him; and afterward hee was drawne in peeces with Horſes at *Coventree*. And worthily: for (as [d] a vulgar Chronicler hereupon faith truely,) *in wounding and killing a Prince, the Traytor is guilty of Homicide, of Parricide, of [e] Chriſticide, nay of* Deicide. *William de Marſico*, who was faid to be the Inſtigator of this Treaſon, knowing his danger, became a Pyrate, and fortified the Iſle of *Lundey* in *Severne*, where he did much miſchiefe, the ſituation of that little Iland being ſo inexpugnable. At length he was ſurpriſed therein, and ſixteene of his Complices, who all of them after conviction were put to death at *London*. *William* to the laſt gaſpe denying his privity to the former treaſonous attempt of killing the King. About the time of the Kings danger at *Woodſtocke*, the Legate was in very little better caſe at *Oxford*, where being at firſt *honourably by the Vniverſity entertained in Oufney Abbey*, the pride of his Romans there proved ſo intolerable, that a troupe of the younger *Students*, provoked therewith to arme themſelves, not onely ſlew the *Legates owne Brother*, but would have done the like with the Legate himſelfe, whom they tearmed an *Vſurer, Simoniſt, Rent-Raker, Moneythirſter, perverter of the King, ſubverter of the Kingdome, enriching ſtrangers with ſpoiles of the Engliſh; but he lurking in the Belfrey, at mid-night eſcaped over the River (not without danger of drowning) and fled to the King for his protection.* For which outrage, the King ſending the Earle of *Warren* with an armed band, [h] impriſoned about 30. of the offenders, and the *Legate* interdicted the Vniverſity; till *all the Biſhops of England (purpoſely [i] meeting in a Synode) pleaded for the Vniverſity, as being the ſecond of Chriſtendome*: to whoſe importunity the proud Legate would not condeſcend, unleſſe all the *Biſhops would yeeld to goe on foot with the Students from Paules-Church to the Legates houſe, (which was about a mile,) who there ungowned and unſhod, ſhould humbly crave abſolution; which accordingly they performed.*

a Matt. Paris affirmeth this word. b Polyd. Virg. lib. 26. Annales quidam Anglicani, apud Paris, but pag. 166 the ſame M. Paris ſaith his name was Clement, and a Clerke.

c Margaret Piſet.

The Traitor drawne in finder with Horſes. d Matth. Weſtmonaſter. an. 1239. e Becauſe Kings are anointed. f Becauſe in holy Scripture they are called Gods. g Matt. Paris. ad A.D. 1248.

Paris.

Idem.

Imprisoning of the Caſtle.

Infamy, London, Paris.

An. Dom. 1239. Matt. Paris.

Great ſtudies in the Lords reconciling the King.

Worthy juſtice done upon a Court Rat, or Promoter.

Matth. Paris.

Allegations for Antiochs Primacy above *Rome.*

Hubert Earle of Kent toſs with a new Court-ſtorme.

Strabo.

A ſtrange deſcription of a King.

himselfe was also present. But howsoever the Earle answered, hee was condemned to give to the King [a] foure his [b] deerest Castles, *Blanch* Castle, *Grosmount* in *Wales*, *Skenesfrith* and *Hasfeld*; and then also (as it seemes) he was [c] deprived of his Title of *Earle*.

a Yeerly, Neuſtr. b death Paris.

c Cambd. Brit. in Yorkſh. this man dyed An. 1245.

An. Dom. 1240.

(62) After so many mischiefes patiently brooked, at last the King, upon receit of Letters from the Emperour (whom as his brother in law, he was loath to offend,) commanded *Otto* the Popes Legate, in regard of the great enmities betweene the Pope and Emperour, to depart out of *England*. There was also strait commandement given to the *Italian Vsurers*, to leave the most [d] *pure earth* of his Realme, (meaning that his owne people was most innocent and free from such a sinne,) but (saith * one, who durst write any thing he thought) *by giving the King money, which is too much used to justifie the wicked*, they for a great part *remained still, as loath to forsake such fat Pastures*. And the Legate himselfe also stayed so long, till the Pope by wily inducements and [e] *forged calumniations* had drawne the King, both to relinquish the Emperour his brother in Law, and to suffer the Papall Excommunication to passe here against him, and money also to be gathered to his impeachment. A briefe taste of all the Popes proceedings against this glorious Emperour, wee may take from the *Nobilitie* of *France*, who (when the Pope offered the Empire unto *Robert* the *French* Kings brother) in their grand Counsell refused to accept it, *charging the Pope with the Spirit of audacious rashnesse, for deposing the Emperour, not convicted of any fault*, and whom a *Generall Councell nicely ought to censure, not the Pope, to whom no credit ought to be given, being his Capitall enemie. For that themselves knew hee was a vertuous and victorious Emperour, and one who had in him more religion then the Pope had.* Our Legate *Otto* (who now at length is gone) was no sooner departed, but *Peter* of *Savoy*, the Queenes Vncle, arrived, to whom the King gave the *Earledome* of *Richmond*, and entertained otherwise most magnificently. This and the like largesse to strangers, drew on the King much evill will, who also in favour of his Queene, procured her Vncle *Bonifacius* to bee chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury* in place of [f] *Edmund*, who *weary of his life in England, by reason* that hee could not redresse the Popes *detestable exactions and oppressions*, made choyse of a voluntary Exile at *Pounmey* in *France*, where hee dyed with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

c Imperatoria literæ apud Paris.

An. Dom. 1241.

f Edmund a Saint, though dying in Exile in detestation of the Popes oppressions.

An. Dom. 1242. *An. Reg.* 26.

(63) The Kings imployments hitherto have (almost wholly) beene taken up either in the impatiencie of civill disturbations, or in the too patient sufferance of some forraigne grievances, nourished within his kingdome; which gave him perhaps little leasure, minde, or meanes, to pursue any transmarine designe. But now better provided with money, then with men, (and yet not sufficiently with money) hee takes ship immediately after Easter towards *Poictou*, where the Earle of *March* (now husband to Queene *Isabel* his mother) expected his arrivall. Hee committed the Government of the Realme in his absence to the Archbishop of *Yorke*. Thirtie Hogsheads, or 5 Barrels fraught with sterling money were shipt for that service. There also went with him *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, (who was returned, with much honour, out of the Holy-land not long before) and seaven other Earles, with about three hundreth Knights, besides other souldiers. To resist the English, the King of *France* (who had given *Poictou* to his brother *Alfonse*) assembled an Armie royall of foure thousand men of Armes, excellently well appointed, and about twenty thousand choyse Souldiers; with a thousand Carts to carry their other necessaries. King *Henry* understanding that the King of *France* lay before *Fromtenay*, (Castle belonging to the Earle of *March*,) seeking to force it by assaults, sent a messenger of defiance to him as a breaker of Truce. *Lewis*, a most just and valiant Prince, denyed that ever hee brake the Truce, but *that the King of England, by maintenance of his Rebels, did rather seeme to infringe the peace.* Nevertheleſſe he offered (so as the *English* would not protect his enemies, the Earle of *March* and others) to give him *Poictou*, and a great part of *Normandy*, in satisfaction of his [h] *Fathers Oath*, and moreover, *to enlarge the last Truce with a longer terme of yeares.* These so honourable, safe, and profitable conditions, by the practise of the *Poictovines* (who feared the *French* Kings indignation would proove too heavie for them to beare, if the *English* abandoned their cause) were unfortunately refused.

g Cadsan.

The French Kings preparations to resist.

(64) When the *French* King heard hereof, it repented him that he had humbled himselfe so farre; telling his Lords, that he neither feared his Cousen of *England*, nor all his forces, but onely that *Oath*, (for restoring of the Lands in *France*) which his father made when he was in *England*. This scruple did so trouble the Kings minde, on the behalfe of his dead Father, that hee would admit no comfort, till one of his Lords told him, that the King of *England*, by putting *Constantine Fitz-Arnulf* to death, for having spoken some words in honour of King *Lewis* (his Father) had first broken the Truce. This satisfied the *French*. That whole businesse is thus concluded by [i] *Tilius*; *Hugh Earle of March overcome with the pride and perswasions of his wife Isabel, would not doe homage to Alfonse the French Kings brother: for Ihee was a cause to draw the English thither, where things thriving on his part but meanely, Hugh is constrained in the end to doe both homage and fealty unto Alfonse.* This onely must be added, that he did unfaithfully provide for his private safety, without the knowledge of the King of *England*, at such time as he * pretended otherwise.

h Hee is with Isabel, Queene Dowager, to get weithgh to draw her Sonne the King into France. Chron. Dunst. 170.

(65) This treachery loft the King all *Poictou*, for whereas he principally took care for money, presuming upon the Earle for men, when it came to the point, the Earle was not only not provided, but sware by the throat of God, *hee never promised any such matter, and denyed he had set his Seale to any writing concerning such promises, and that if any such sealed writing were (as the King and his brother the Earle of Cornewall affirmed) their mother his wife had forged it.* They were now in sight of the *French* Host before *Taillbourg* in *Xaintfoing* when this improvident expostulation was made. The King of *England* manifestly seeing his perill, and having by his brother Earle *Richards* mediation (whom many of the *French* did greatly honour, because he had by compostition been a meane at his arrivall to free them from the *Sarasens* in the Holy-land,) raised his Campe by night, and retreated with much more haste then good speed. Not long after this, the faire City of *Xaintes* in *Xaintfoing*, upon displeasure conceived by the Citizens against the king, because he had given the same to the Lord *Hugh* his halfe-brother, (sonne to the Earle of *March*) first contrived a perfidious revolt so closely, that if first the said Lord *Hugh*, & then *Guy de Lusignian* his elder brother, had not in good time signified the danger, the King and all the *English* had beene surprized by the *French*. There was none, (among all the mutable *Poictovins*) found respective of honour and loyalty, but onely one called *Herold*, Captaine of the famous Castle of *Mirabell*, who in great sorrow repaired to the King of *England*, praying counsell and assistance, where the King with a downe-cast looke gave him this answere: *Thou dost see (O Hertold) that my forces are scarse sufficient to defend my selfe. Our Lord and Saviour was betrayed by his Disciple Iudas, and therefore who shall besafe? Behold the Earle of March, whom I tooke and reverenced as my Father, hath given a pernicious president. I have trusted in a staffe of reed, and the splinters thereof have wounded my hand. Thou art the onely man who hast behaved thy selfe honestly: whatsoever therefore thou doest possesse of mine, by any just Title, take it to thee as thine owne, I give it thee: Provide otherwise*

i Ex Tilio Cirm.

A most Christian testane of the Christian King.

* 1000 liberating besides the Earle of Marches huge summes.

The Poictovins policy in this last turne to deceive the King of his money.

k Matt. 26.

* The King lands at Portsmouth in October.

The prodigality of Kings, ends in the ruine and spoile of the Subject.

Poictou lostby the English.

Xaintes lost and Xaintfoing.

The French Earles of most command by the King of Navarre.

otherwise for thy selfe, as thou dost thinke it most expedient. The King of *France*, in whom all magnanimity, bounty, and Christian vertues did shine, hearing what *Hertold* had said and done, commended the man, and manner so highly, that saying, *He loved and allowed such as he*; The Castle was entrusted backe to the same Captaine, when with many teares and other signes of sorrow, hee had surrendred himselfe and it to *Lewis*. The farther prosecution of that Warre was impeached by sickneſſe and penurie, which sore afflicted the *French* Armie. An overture therefore for five yeares truce being made, *Lewis* returned into *France*, and *Henry* to his City of *Burdeaux* in *Gascoigne*; where his Queene *Elianor* (who bare him Prince * *Edward* about two yeares before) bare to him a daughter called *Beatrix*.

It Wise sayes, at his departing from England.

The great Lords recourne and leave the King.

* Prince Edward borne at Westminster, An. 1239. in July.

An. Dom. 1243. *An. Reg.* 27.

(66) Meane while the King looking carefully into the double-dealings of the *Poictovines*, who were the limitanie or border-subjects of the English dominions in *Aquitaine*, and by a nature proper to free March-men, which lie betweene the hammer and the Anvill, are enured to all sorts of devices how to save themselves, and delude others, wisely withdrawes his * large Pensions, which they by deep dissimulations and improfitable shewes of assistance had shared among them, for which they repayed nothing but secret scoffes of their Patron and Pay-master. The Earle of *March* whatsoever his Fees were from the King his Sonne in Law, made but an evill bargaine in the end: for, besides that the *French* King tooke from him no small portion of his Estate, he was openly appeached of Treason in the *French* Court, by a valiant Knight, who offered to proove the truth of his accusation by Battell. *Isabel*, whom the *French* in paſſion called *Iezabel*, because her pride and turbulent practises had procured all those evils, fled upon the newes to a Nunnerie. In the end yet her husband being aged, by the diligence and care of friends avoyded the Combate, and was suffered to returne home. The King (whose comming had beene long expected in *England*,) having ordained one Sir *Nicholas de Molis* his * Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, is now under Saile, although the *Gascoignes*, because his presence was greatly beneficiall, had fought all the wayes they could to detaine him longer. Being returned, by reason of that unadvised and lossefull voyage into *France*, hee was compelled to be burthenous to his Subjects, as well by the levie of Escuage, as of loane and otherwise. The Iewes also felt the gripe of his wants so farre, that even Christians commiserated: whose Gold hee received with his owne hands, but their Silver by others. These and other importunate corrasions, were not made onely to fill up such breaches as the *French* affaires had produced, but also to spend in entertainments and showes.

The Poictovins policy in this last turne to deceive the King of his money.

The free assistance of his Subjects, Lords to the Kings demand for money.

(67) Neither will the Majestie and honour of the Kingdome permit, that such kindes of expense should be wanting, when publique occasions doe require; in which respects they are not onely usefull, but absolutely necessary, because Common-weales are partly founded upon the opinion which Subjects and Neighbours have of their power and riches, and their estimate is commonly made by that which is outwardly seene at such times. This care, besides the great love hee bare to his Wives kindred and Countrey-men, made him purvey for money in this manner; for in December the Lady *Beatrix* Countesse of *Province*, * mother to the Queenes of *England* and *France*, having with her the Lady *Cincia*, *Cynthia*, or *Scientia*, (for by all those names she is called in Authours) and a princely traine, in all points excellently well furnished, landed at *Dover*, where innumerable of the best sorts gave her welcome and attendance. *London* was hung with rich Ornaments, from the Bridge thereof to *Westminster*. This Noble young Lady *Cincia*, was brought hither to bee married to *Richard* the Kings brother

* Stow in his Survey, p. 297. saith she was mother to five Queenes, according to the 4. here mentioned, Joan married to Philip King of Navarre.

Richard the Kings brother marrieth the Queene Sister. * Fœtulis. A mortifying truth concerning the worlds vanity.

The Catalogue of pecuniary aides in 28. yeares raigne.

They grant him new supplies.

Eale of *Cornewall*: At whose Nuptiall Feast, there were thirty thousand * Messes provided in the Cookery onely, and of all other things there was incredible plenty. All which notwithstanding did manifestly prove (as *Paris* saith most truly) *that the world is but a very Iugler, and the pompe thereof but an idle shadow, seeing the next morrow, blew away the whole varietie of so great preparations, like as if it had beene a cloud.* Nor much unlike is the life even of greatest Princes, which hangeth on very untruſty tearmes, as *Griffin* eldest brother of *David* Prince of *Wales* did finde, when hoping by a chaine of Blankets, and such like ſtuffe, to escape out of the *Tower of London*, where the King had imprisoned him, the line breaking, hee pitcht upon his head, which the weight of his great body drave (as it were) into his shoulders, and miserably slew him. The King therefore punishing the Keepers for their sloath, commanded that the sonne of *Griffith* (prisoner with his Father) should from thenceforth bee more narrowly watched. Not long after the which, *David* Prince of *Wales* provoked by wrongs, (chiefly done by the * Earle of *Hereford*) invaded the *English Marshes*, whom the Earles of *Glouceſter* and *Hereford*, and other mighty men in those parts, having the Kings consent and assistance, did withstand, yet fighting but with variable fortune. It was Prince *Davids* purpose to have freed himselfe from the obedience or tenure which he had acknowledged to the King; for which purpose he exhibited his * complaint to the pope, pretending that the King of *England* compelled him unjustly to hold his Principality and Lands of him. But the Kings credit, cause, and workings, easily over-weighed the Prince of *Wales*, and prevailed.

Richard the Kings brother marrieth the Queenes sister.

An. Dom. 1244. *Griffith*, elder brother to the Prince of Wales casually brake his necke.

* Matt. Paris. p. 618. Troubles upon the Marches of Wales.

* D. Powel in hist. Cambr. p. 308.

(68) The States of the Realme were in those dayes nothing supple, when the King sought to handle them for money: for hee about this time labouring to draw some from them, upon faithfull promise to keepe and obserue the Liberties, unto which *hee had sworne at his Coronation, and whereof hee had granted his Charter*, they besought him to remember, *how often hee had wrung from his faithfull Liege-people, (whom hee ought to cherish, not utterly impoverish) without performing his promise.* "That forthwith after the taking of *Bedford*, he had "*Carmuage*, that is, two shillings upon every Plough-"land; the next yeare after, a *fifteenth* of all their "Moveables: upon his passage into *Britaine*, no "*small summes of money* from the Prelates, Religious "orders, Burgesses, and Iewes: after his returne, hee "had Escuage, that is, upon every Shield (or knights "Fee) three markes: then a fortieth part of all their "Moveables: within a while after a thirtieth part; "By and by, for the marriage of the Lady *Isabel* "to the Emperour, two markes upon every plough-"land; at his sonnes birth, hee by *Presents* heaped "no small store of money. Againe, when hee "went into *Gascoigne*, hee raised almost infinite "heapes of money from all sorts of Subjects: upon "his returne, where hee had beene deluded and "dishonoured, hee fleeced all manner of Subjects. They now also (under the name of ayde for the marriage of his Eldest Daughter,) graunted him upon every Knights Fee, which held of the King in chiefe, twentie shillings, the one halfe to bee paid at Easter, the other at Michaelmas. *But* (say they) *how well the King will keepe and fulfill his undertakings and promises, in requitall of the past and present contributions, hee onely knowes to whom nothing is unknowne.* But such as travelled to strengthen the popes designes, with collections of money among the English Clergy, found a sterne and constant opposition, not onely for that they were unwilling, but also for that the Emperour had written to the King in plaine phrase, that if he suffered any such matter, hee would not faile in grievous sort to punish all the *English* hee could get, in revenge of that partiality.

(66) About

a *Hist. Burton 1. 1. c. 40 cap. 1. in Bellind. transf.*

Matth. Paris.

Ingelram de Cowcy hanged in his stirrop, drawn, and run through with his owne sword all at time.

b *At Newcastle upon Tine.*

Welsh troubles.

The King freakes in vaine to draw the grant of more contribution.

The Kings wants supplied by rapine.

An. Dom. 1245.

Matth. Paris.

Idem.

(69) About which time, many seditious persons were in the Court of *England*, which a hoped that warre with *Scotland* would bring them this commoditie, that the oppressions they did to the people should rest unpunished; *for Lawes and Iustice have no place in time of battell.* Their hope thus tooke beginning. *Alexander* King of *Scots* had married the Lady *Mary*, a goodly Gentle-woman, daughter to the Lord *Ingelram de Cowcie*, who (as all *Frenchmen*) being a deadly enemy to the King of *England*, had laboured to weaken that strength of amitie, which was betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scots*, as a point necessary or profitable for the tranquilitie of *France*. Their hope thus had ending; the said *Ingelram* by the stumbling of his Horse in a Foord, being cast out of the Saddle, and pitchr into the depth of the River, while his foote hung fast in the stirrop, his sword at the same time falling out of the sheath, and running him through, did moft strangely end his life by a triple death, with whom it seemed the humour of battell between the two Sister Nations likewise dyed: for not long after (notwithstanding the great preparations on both sides) all quarrels were absolutely b concluded, with relation to such *Articles* as had been formerly made betweene them at *Yorke*. The King of *England* had with him five thousand horse-men most fairely armed and appointed; besides a most puissant number of serviceable men on foote. The *Welshmen* feared and expected, that upon this agreement, the King would turne all his forces against them; but hee knowing it needlesse to use such numbers for that service, sent onely three hundreth men of Armes, under the Conduct of Sir *Hubert Fitz-Matthew*, to represse their attempts, but through their owne rashnesse, and the *Welshmens* valiancie, he and his people were with losse at that time scattered. The newes of this bad successe troubled the King neerely, for finall remedy whereof, he resolved to lead a full Army thither. But when to furnish this desigue hee prayed more Subsidie of the States of this Realme, they *with one voyce and with one minde contradicted*; though also his debts to Merchant-strangers for Wines, and other necessaries, were so many and continually called for, as hee could scarce passe abroad without their clamours. Nevertheless, the newes which hee received out of *Aquitaine*, where his *Seneschall Nicholas de Molis* had wonne the day in battell against the King of *Navarre*, did somewhat mitigate the sowrenesse of these over-thwarts; and for replenishment of Coffers, *Robert Passelew* so ordered the matter, by fining such as had encroched upon the Kings Forrests, that he unexpectedly beganne againe to make them over-flow.

(70) The great helpes which the King found by the new supply of his Treasure, made him daily consider, how to augment the same; and how to stop all undue Out-lets, by which it was ordinarily impaired. Vpon the departure of *Otto* the Popes Legate, who had well stuffed his owne and his Masters Cofers (and had no lesse filled the peoples hearts with repinings, and their mouthes with curses of him) there was some hope the Romish *horse-leaches* would for a while had left sucking the best juyce of the Land; but it proved otherwise, new Agents, Legats, and Factors, still comming over, *as if England had beene a Well which could never bee drawne dry, and Rome a bottomelesse Gulfe which could never be filled full.* Whereupon, before this, the King writ his letters both to this Pope, and to his Predecessor *Gregorie 9.* desiring them to *surcease from thus afflicting England with their exactions; but neither one nor other of them would vouchsafe to bridle their owne wilfull motions, as if God and S.* Peter (*whose steps they follow not*) *had even bent their bowes against that Church of Rome.* With which contempt the King had the more reason to be incensed, because the Pope had endeavoured to free *David Prince of Wales* from his homage made to King *Henry*, pretending that *if it were done by feare or force, it was of no force, but utterly void.* Notwithstanding the Pope seeing the King and State resolved to the contrary, was desirous not onely to hold fast the Kings goodwill, but also to come into *England; to which purpose hee caused his Cardinals to write their perswasory Letters to the King, as a thing tending much to his safety, and to his Kingdomes immortall glory, to enjoy the Lord Popes presence, who did long to see the delicacies of Westminster, and the riches of London*: but the Kings Counsell told him, that *the Romans Rapines and Simonies had enough stained Englands purity, though the Pope himselfe came not personally to spoile and prey upon the wealth of this Church and Kingdome.* The like deniall of entrance he had found both in *France* and *Arragon*, it being said, that *the Pope was but like a mouse in a Sachell, or a Snake in ones bosome, who did but ill repay their Hosts for their lodging, and the infamies of the Popes Court deserved no other, whose filth* (saith our Monke) *sent forth a steme and stench as high as the very clouds.* The Pope, though he could not come himselfe, yet he had his pipes and conducts to convay this stench into this land, and the wealth of it back in lieu thereof. Which was now so factioured by his Chaplaine *Martin*, that *certaine of the Peeres commiserating the incessant depredation of the Land*, tooke order for strickt watch at all the Ports in *England*, that all letters, comming daily from the Pope to picke mens purses, should be stopt. But soone after, a more generall redresse was intended against so unmercifull tyranny: the King finding by *diligent inquiry, in every Shire, that the annuall revenues here, wherewith the Court of* Rome *had fraudulently and violently enriched Italians, amounted to threescore thousand Markes, to the great both wonder and anger of the King; which made him now begin to detest the insatiable greedinesse of the Court of Rome.* Hereupon, for that the Pope had now summoned a Generall Councell at *Lions*, Ambassadors were thither sent, *there publikely, in the name of the whole Kingdome, both to complaine and crave redresse* of the Popes too long suffered extortions, (which were particularly there rehearsed, and *which as being detestable to God and Man, they would no longer endure*); and to disavow all subjection unjustly pretended from King *Iohn*, *as whereunto both the then Archbishop openly contradicted, and the Nobles and State never consented, nor ever would.* The Pope, (ashamed be like to be so taxed in so great an Assembly) is noted to have fate *long silent, not so much as lifting up his eyes from the ground*, till at length hee cut off their importunity with this briefe answere, *That so difficult a matter would aske longer deliberation*; which vaine delay enraged Earle *Bygod*, and *the rest of the Kings Agents, that with threats and terrible oaths*, they sware to remedy that themselves, which the Pope would not. And indeed the *Nobles* at home had already begun so to doe; having commanded *Martin* (the *Popes Agent*) *to depart out of hand, for if hee stayed, he and all his company should be cut in pieces*; who presently packing away, (*the King also wishing the Divell to take him, having thus preyed upon his land*) so enraged the Pope with tidings of this usage, that his *Holinesse* said; *It is high time that we make a quicke end with the Emperour, that so wee may crush these petty Kings* (*meaning the English and French, who both denied him entrance into their land*) *who spurne against us; for the great Dragon being once crushed, those lesser poore Snakes will soone bee troden under.*

(71) The Welsh affaires, by reason of the casuall death of *Fitz-Matthew*, growing daily lesse tractable then other, the King againe prepares to represse their insolencies in person. Before he sets forward hee came into *London* to the Church of Saint *Paul*, to the intent that before his departure hee might take his leave of the Citizens in a popular and loving manner. And because neither warre nor want could make him forget his magnificence, and bounty, he caused the East-part of the great Church at *Westminster* to bee taken downe, and by advise of expert Worke-men newly to be builded and joyned to the West. The effect of the Kings expedition into *Wales* was, that after he had fortified the Castle of *Gannocke* in *North-Wales*, upon the passage into *Anglesey*, and by the *Irishmen* wasted that fertile Iland, hee was himselfe enforced by sharpenesse of the weather, and for want of victuals, to returne about the end of *October*, having taken all courses he could to starve the *Welsh*, forbidding the *Irish* upon paine of death to bring any reliefe into *Wales*; and left that they of *Cheshire*, or the neighbour parts should give them any succour, bee so spoyled them of all their provisions, that they were scarce able to feede themselves; and if the *Welsh* compelled by famine ventred out of their strengthes or fastnesses, in or about *Snowdon*, the Garrison Souldiers of *Gannocke* were ready to intercept and kill them; and on the other side, the Lords of *Brumfield* and *Powys*, though *Welsh-men*, held with the King, so that they were miserably straitned. The King pawned his Iewels to his brother *Richard* at this journey for three thousand Markes, which holpe to piece out the charge thereof. *Paris* hath a long list of great names, which dying about this time, left neither name, nor issue to preserve the memory of their Greatnesse; but none so strange as of the *Marshals*, five Brethren of them successively Earles of *Fembroke*, and all dying issueless; which hee attributeth to the judgement of God, for the iniquity of their Father, and of themselves, who would never restore certaine Manours, which their Father in warre time had taken in *Ireland* from the Bishop of *Ferns*, an holy *Irish*-man, who often required restitution, and for want thereof, did put them under Gods curse and his. * One doth indeed observe, that the *Irish-Saints* are vindicative; but certainely the examples of punishments for *Sacriledge*, and violent extortions are terrible in *holy Scripture*; and most fearefull was the sentence it selfe which Gods Prophet pronounced against *Ahab* for * *Naboths* Vineyard; agreeing with the very plague which this yeare fell upon the house of the *Marshals*.

(72) The Popes fury was now so much inflamed against King *Henry* and the *English*, for so disgracing him publikely in the Generall Councell, * that hee *used lofty threats, if once the Emperour were quelled, to tame England also*; and *whetted on the French King, to enter on the Land, promising him all the helpes of the Church, and Papall power.* But the just King, not onely refused so unjust an offer, (*as having no title to England, themselves also knit by kindred, and by truce, their Queenes being sisters, the attempt bloudy for Christians, &c.*) but further ratified the former truce, and enlarged it with the addition of more yeeres, because King *Lewis* was prepared to make warre against the *Infidels*, which voyage King *Henry* would not hinder, but advance. And that nothing might disturbe the peacefull life, with which the King of *England* was most delighted, *David Prince of Wales departed out of the vale of the dying*, (*as Paris elegantly saith*) *into the vale of the dead.* The King seeing all things quiet and safe about him, doth now convert his whole cares to the reformation of the inward maladies of his dominions, calling the estates of the Land together for that purpose. To whom hee there delivered in writing, sundry * *Articles of the grievances and oppressions of his Kingdome, and the Church.* 1. *That the Pope extorts great Contributions of the Clergy, without the Kings assent, against the rights and liberties of the Kingdome.* 2. *That Patrons cannot bestow Church-livings on fit men; but the Pope gives them to his Romans, who can speake no English, (nor celebrate divine service, nor preach, nor keepe hospitality, nor care for soules, &c.) but onely beggar the Land with carrying away the Coyne.* 3. *That the Popes Provisions and Pensions are unsufferable.* 4. *That Englishmen are drawne forth of the land to end their causes.* 5. *That the Pope by his* Non obstante *overthrowes Oathes, Customes, Charters, Grants, Statutes, Priviledges, Rights, &c.* Whereupon, the *King, Bishops, Nobles, Abbots*, and *Priors*, did all write * their severall complaints to the *Pope*, requiring speedy redresse of those infinit wrongs to the *King*, *the Kingdome, the Clergy, the Nobles, and the People, who would rather dye, then thus daily endure those oppressions.* Notwithstanding sundry Prelates (either out of ambition or feare) under-hand furthered the Popes desires, when secretely hee craved an annuall tallage of the Clergy for maintenance of his Souldiers; and that the State should take no notice thereof, the Pope caused his Agents to make them * *sweare, not to reveale this their Contribution to any man living, for the space of halfe a yeere.* Yet the King came to the knowledge thereof; and sent forth his writs, *Forbidding under great penalty that the money should bee carried forth of the land.* This the Kings displeasure was much augmented upon the returne of his messengers from the Councell of *Lyons*, who related *how proudly the Pope rejected the just complaints of the State, saying, the King himselfe did Frederixe, and holding his people as Schismatickes.* Which incensed the King to publish his Proclamation in every City and Towne, *That none of his subjects should dare to contribute any money to the Pope*: but it came to no effect, for that some * *Popizing Bishops and ambitious Clerkes* (*of his Councell*) *fearing the Papall threats, where no cause of feare was, drew him to leave his purpose womanly, which hee manfully undertooke.*

(73) The Bishop of *Worcester* (a principall worker heercin) was said to * *have had authority from the Pope to interdict the land*, which perhaps was it which the King so greatly feared, and which the Monke said, was not worth the fearing. The Earle of *Cornemall* also with others (who favoured not the Emperour *Fredericks* cause) laboured to change the Kings mind, so that the wonted extortions were as current as ever; insomuch that a * Cardinall truely told the Pope, that *England was to the Pope as Balaams Asse, which being so often wronged, spurgalled, and cudgeled, it was no marvaile, if at length shee opened her mouth to complaine: and for themselves and their Roman Court, they were like* Ismael, * *every mans hand against them, and theirs against every man.* But if we should so often insist on the relation of this Kingdomes distresses, as the Popes endlesse Corasions from yeere to yeere, and the States remedilesse complaints, give us occasion, wee should but cloy the Reader with rufull matter, which * Monks themselves have mournefully and copiously endited unto us, and set forth the too servile affections of our owne Ancestors, who still entred new consultations about the disease, but never brought the medicine unto a perfect receipt. For upon fresh angariations from *Rome*, the King * againe assembles his State to thinke of redresse, * *the Common-wealth, as well of Laity as Clergy, being brought to the point of utter desolation, as the like was never heard in any age*, whereof they againe made *their lamentable complaint to the King, whose duety it was to protect the Land from such wrongs and dangers.* Their onely remedy was, againe to write letters to the Pope, which slender meanes hee could as sleightly put off; and though (to stop the clamour for the present) hee promised never to send any Legates into *England*, but on entreaty of the State, yet daily did he send his raking Clerkes, *with the power, though not the Title, and Enlignes of Legates*, both into *England* and *Ireland*, so to delude the King, and still purloyne his Subjects.

(74) The State of the Kingdome still requiring reformation, there assembled againe at *London* certaine Prelates, Earles, and others, at the Kings commandement, where after so much purloyning by others, now the Kings owne errand and affaires was to get money for himselfe. But they (who gave such way to the Popes collections) were now all close-

Theeff. Rod. the Kings journey into Wales.

Matth. Paris.

Idem.

*Iisd. Camb.

Matth. Paris.

A judgement of God on a withholder of Church-lands.

* Gyrald. Cambren.

* 3. Reg. cap. 1. versus 2.

An. Dom. 1246. *A. Reg.* 30.

* Matth. Paris.

The French King rejecteth the Popes motion, as unchristian.

David Prince of Wales.

* Articuli super Grauamina apud Paris.

The King preparing to invade Wales, useth the Londoners familiarly.

* See their several Letters in *Paris.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

* Pandulfus Episcopus Veronen. *Matth. West.*

* *Matth. Paris.*

* *Iohannes Anglorum England* the Popes Asse.

* *Gen.* 16. 12

An. Dom. 1247.

* *Matth. West. Matth. Paris. Iohn. London, &c.*

* *Ingressus Parisiensium.* * *Ibid. m.*

An. Dom. 1248. *A. Reg.* 32.

The seditious Nobles expostulate their grievances with the King in stead of granting money.

close-handed, and open-mouthed; for, besides their undutifull upbraiding the King with some oversights they untruly and seditiously charged him to have done contrary to the example of his magnificent Predecessors, *In that his chiefe Iustice, Chancellor and Treasurer were of his owne chusing, and not by the Common Councell of the Realme, as they ought.* The King inwardly touched herewith, yet seeing no other helpe, promiseth redresse and change for the better. Whereunto they answered; that *they would expect a while with patience, and as the King shall carry himselfe toward them, so will they performe their obeysance to him.* So the meeting was adjourned from that Candlemas till Midsummer; at which time also there was nothing done, but all parts rose discontented. The cause of that discontentment was, for that the King, in stead of satisfying their audacious demands, answered them, *That they sought to bridle him at their surly pleasures, proudly forbidding that in him, which was lawfull for themselves. For that every private man may use, what, and whose Counsell he list; every master of a family preferre or remoove what officers in his house he list; which yet they sancily denyed unto him, their Lord and Soveraigne, as if servants and vassals were to rule their Lords; whereas indeed hee is no King but a servant, who must bow at others becke. That therefore hee would neither place nor displace either Chancellour, Iustitiar, or Treasurer, as they thought good. Neverthelesse he required money at their hands, to recover such forreine lands as concerned as well them as him, to see it done.* Hereupon the Parliament brake up, and the King was left to furnish himselfe otherwise so well as hee could, even by sale of his Iewels, Plate, and other precious stuffe, after a dishonourable manner.

The King driven to sell his Iewels and Plate to the Londoners.

An. Dom. 1249. *A. Reg.* 33. Simon Earle of Leicester returnes with honour out of Gascoigne.

(77) The affaires of *Gascoigne* (which one *Guasto de Biard* had greatly troubled) by the manhood and wit of *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* were now brought into better quiet, which made his presence (being returned, as it seemeth for more supplies, which went again with him) very acceptable in the Court of *England*. The King intending to furnish that enterprise afresh against the comming Spring-time, left no meanes unthought of, which either by Art or strong entreaty he could use, to replenish his exhausted Coffers. In which he embased too much the Royall name and dignitie, telling some (and perhaps truly) whose bountie hee craved, *that it was more almes to aid him with money, then one that went begging from dore to dore.* Meane while the King neglects not his administration of Iustice; for, whereas the whole Countie of *Hampshire* swarmed with Felons and murther ous Robbers, himselfe so ordered the matter, sitting in person in *Winchester*-Castle, that the infamie and danger of those places were cleared by hanging the Offendors; many of which were very wealthy, and some the Kings owne Servants: *Walter de Clifford* also (a Baron of the *Marches* of *Wales*) for enforcing an officer (whom he had otherwise handled badly) to eate the Kings Writ, Waxe and all, ranne so farre into the Kings displeasure thereby, that while he lived, he was made the lesse able to feede himselfe; paying to the King a very great summe of money, and hardly escaping without confiscation of his whole patrimonie. The King desirous to be friends with the Citizens of *London*, to whom of late he had beene overhard, publikely reconciled himselfe unto them, whom for that cause he had commanded to appeare at *Westminster*, and there immediatly received the badge of the Crosse at the hand of *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but whatsoever his intention was, it never came into action on his part. In the meane time, contrary to his Fore-fathers example, hee so much abridged the expences of his house, and his Almes, that he under-went some dishonourable imputation. Neverthelesse he wisely wound himself out of many a Merchants debt; whereto he wrung great helpes from the *Iewes*, (as the ordinary Clippers and defacers of his Coyne,) and the forgers of Seales and Charters; from one of whom hee had at times drawne thirty thousand markes Sterling, besides two hundreth markes in Gold.

Hamshire purged of Theeves by the King himselfe sitting in judgement.

An. Dom. 1250. *A. Reg.* 34. Walter Clifford makes an officer eate the Kings Writ, (waxe and all).

(78) It seemeth an inseparable quality in his nature, to be extreamely violent, in doing whatsoever he had a minde to doe, and that sometime without the due respect to secular Majestie; as in the course hee tooke for advancing his halfe-brother *Aethelmare* to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. For not contenting himself to have sent his messengers to the Covent by them to worke the election, hee came thither in person, where the *Chapter* being set in the Cathedral Church, he entred, and placing himselfe in the *Presidents* seat, makes to them a speech in the nature of a *Sermon*, taking for his Theme those words of *David: Iustice and Peace kisse each other.* Whereon hee shewed them, *That, whereas Iustice belonged to him, and to such as had the rule of Nations, and to the Clergie calmenesse and Peace, both these should that day kisse together, if they elected his brother for their Bishop:* For which he gave them many reasons, but concluded, if they did otherwise, they should feele his Princely displeasure. When therefore they publish ed to the King their Choise, they did it with this reservation, (because *Aethelmare* was to remaine under the title of the Elect of *Winchester*, for that hee was not a Priest) *if such an election might stand by Law, or lawfull favour.* But the Pope, who meant to make his advantage hereof, as well as the King, exacted of him for confirmation of the same election, five hundreth Markes of Church-revenewes, to bee passed over unto the Earle of *Burgundies* Sonne a Childe; which makes * the Monke to breake forth into this bitter lamentation; *O Pope, the Chiefe of Fathers, why dost thou suffer thus the Christian world to bee defiled? worthily, therefore art thou* * *driven out of thine owne City and See, and like a runnagate and another* Cham, *art inforced to wander up and downe. O God, thou God of just revenge, when wilt thou draw forth thy sword to imbrue it in the blood of such oppressors?* Though in these universall abuses, the Pope would neither redresse himselfe nor others, yet God raised up a stout and learned Prelate, *Robert Grosseste* Bishop of *Lincolne*, who undertooke to reforme the Monkes and Friars; but they (who knew *Rome* was from the beginning * *Asylum Latronum*) appealed to the Pope. Whereupon the aged Bishop going to his Holinesse, *tolde him that all offenders escaped, by his opening his bosome to such as brought him Bribes*; who snapping him up with angry countenance and speech, sent him home with reproach. The Pope was at this time at *Lyons*, where not long after the Councell breaking up, Cardinall *Hugo* made a *Sermon of farewell to the Citizens*: *wherein, amongst other benefits which the Popes lying in their City had brought them, hee told them this was a* * *Principall, that whereas at their comming there were three or foure Whore-houses in Lyons, now at their departing they left but one, but indeed that reached from the East-Gate of the City to the West.* Whereby we see, *France* had some part of the *Popes* Almes, as well as *England*.

Thirtie thousand Marks wrung from one Iew in a few yeeres.

* Notwithstanding any former commandements.

* Or former priuiledge.

* Matth. Paris.

The King persecuteth the Covent.

Sir Philip Darcy appeacheth Sir Henry Bath, a lurking Iudge, of Treason.

* Matth. Paris.

* The Pope was now fled from Rome, for fear of the Emperour.

The disorderly, rude, and violent carriage of tryals.

* Lucis.

The King prohibites Sir Henry Bath.

* He calles it a profitable Almes-deed. Paris.

Sir John Mansfell leaves the Kings servants, from killing Bath.

(77) The King now wholly intented upon encrease of treasure, neither gave any rich presents according to the ancient Custome of *England*, nor robed himselfe in royall estate, but shortned yet more the allowances of his household and entertainements, without any regard to Majesty or rumour. And to spare his owne charge the rather, he invites himselfe sometime to this man, and sometime to that, but no where contenting himselfe with his dyet and hospitage, unlesse both hee, his Queene, and Sonne *Edward*, yea and chiefe favourites in Court, were presented with great and coftly gifts, which they tooke not as of Courtesie, but as due. This was the unhonourable face of the Kings estate at that time. But in the depth of his wants and rigour of his Parsimony, hee could not shut up himselfe against the suits and advancement of his *Poictovines* and *Provincois*, so that it was become a common murmur in *England*; *Our inheritance is*

* Two thousand Markes.

* Additam. ad Matth. Paris.

An. Dom. 1252.

An. Dom. 1251. A strange description of the Kings parsimony, or poverty.

is converted to aliens, and our houses to strangers. The matter seemed the more grievous, for that their pride and violence were intollerable. About this time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up in *England* by the King, in his grants and other writings, as * *Non obstante priore mandato, Non obstante* * *antiqua libertate, &c.* This our ancient Author cals an *odious and detestable clause:* and *Roger de Thurkeby* Iustitiar, fetching a deepe sigh at the sight thereof, cryed out both of the times and it, saying, * *it was a streame derived from that sulphurious fountaine of the Clergy.*

Alexander the third King of Scots, espouseth the Lady Margaret.

(78) Another of the Kings Iusticiars, and a learned Knight, Sir *Henry de Bath*, (whose Lady, because her selfe was well descended, filled him with pride,) was so confidently greedy, the better to satisfie her ambition, that in one circuit, hee appropriated to himselfe above two hundreth pound lands, Corruption in Iustice *(which must needs bee suspected to be there, where excessive wealth is gotten by the Officers of Iustice)* is but a sandy ground worke of a vainely hoped greatnesse, and may well bee reputed in the number of *crying sinnes*; and this mooved a Knight, Sir *Philip de Arci*, to appeach him before the King, both for unfaithfulnesse in his office, and treason against the King. The King had no hold of himselfe, after hee was once throughly kindled. *Bath* knowes it, and therefore writes to his Wives friends to come strong in his defence, that the King should not dare to call him to his tryall; yet withall hee feekes all secret meanes how to appease the King; who understanding of this combination, was the more enflamed. The Earle of *Cornewall* his brother could not appease him; no, not though hee knit up his interceffion with these minatory words; *Wee must not forsake Gentlemen in their right, nor in preserving the peace of the tottering Kingdome.* In March there was holden a Parliament at *London*; there the King caused *Bath* to be sharpely prosecuted. Thither Sir *Henry Bath* repaires, strongly attended with Knights and Gentlemen of his owne friends, and his Wives, to daunt the edge of Iustice, which hee deservedly feared. The accusations were many, (for all men were called to say what they could against him,) and among all, these two, most haynous: *That hee troubled the whole Realme, and stirred all the Barons thereof against the King, so that a generall rebellion was to be feared,* (which one of his fellow-Iustiiars did openly testifie:) *That hee had for reward discharged a convicted Malefactor out of prison without punishment, in prejudice of the King, and to the perill of his associate Iustitiars.* The King was so enraged herewith, that seeing no other way to punish him, being so strongly backed, he mounted into an higher place then before, and cryes out, *Whosoever kils Henry de Bath shall bee quit of his death, and I heere doe acquit him*; and presently departs. Nevertheless, although hee left behind him many men, who would have readily executed the Kings terrible doome; yet by the wisedome of Sir *John Mansell*, (one of the Kings private Counsellors) they were restrained. His words are worthy to be remembred; *Gentlemen, and friends, it is not necessary for us to put that presently in execution which the King hath in his anger commanded. It may bee when his wrath is over-blowne, hee will bee sorry hee said it. Moreover, if any outrage bee done to Bath, loe heere are his friends, who will take all sorts of revenge.* Sir *Henry* escaping thus from so present a danger, found meanes upon promise of * money and great mediation of friends, to obtaine his peace and safety; for at this time, Iustice and all things grew saileable. The North-East part of *Wales* was committed to *Alan de Zouch*, who had it in Farme for eleven hundreth Markes yeerely, whereas *John de Gray* (whom he supplanted in the place) paid but five hundreth, *so* * *miserable Wales was het out to such as would give most.*

Sixe hundreth Oxen spent at one meale. * Matth. Paris.

The young King of Scots is suiter to the King for bringing Philip Lovell into favour againe.

* Circumstantium.

The most witty and princely intimations of the young King, to the King his father in Law.

Philip Lovell reconciled to the King.

(79) *Alexander* the third, succeeding his Father in the Kingdome of *Scotland*, comming in Christmas to *Yorke*, there espoused, though very young, the *Lady Margaret*, daughter to King *Henry*. There were present the two Kings in person, with a most choise multitude of either Nation, the English being in number above a thousand Knights, besides greater States, as Prelates, Earles, and Barons, and of the Scots about sixe hundreth Knights and Gentlemen, all of them well appointed. There was also two Queenes, the Mother of the Bride, (who was to be Queene) and the Widow, or Queene *Dowager* of *Scotland*, who for that cause was returned out of *France*, attended upon in royall manner with many Lords and Gentlemen of *France*. The Scots were lodged in one place of the City by themselves. Vpon Christmas day the King of *England* gave the order of Knighthood to the King of *Scots*, and at the same time to twenty others richly apparrelled. Vpon the next day the princely couple were espoused. Take a scantling of the cheere and multitude of guests by this. The Archbishop of *Yorke*, who was Prince (as it were) of the Northerne parts (and the common hoft of all that most noble fellowship, which cost him about foure thousand markes) gave toward that Feast sixe hundreth fat Oxen, all which were spent in the first generall service; and whatsoever the *vaine* * *Stage-play of the World* might affoord, either for pompe or delight, was there all enjoyed. More worthy to bee remembred, then that magnificent gluttony, (the naturall vice of these our Nations) was the orderly and no childish action of the young *Bridegroome*, in reconciling *Philip Lovell* (whom King *Henry* had lately fined and discourted for taking Bribes) to the King his Lord. King *Alexander* undertaking the businesse, and finding a fit time, presents himselfe to the King of *England* upon his knees, holding up his hands, neither would he rise, though earnestly requested, but with a gesture which seemed to draw teares of joy and love from the eyes of such as * late round about, professing his intent, saith; *My Lord King, your Majesty knowes, that though I my selfe am a King, and through your goodnesse honoured with the Girdle of Knight-hood, yet that I am withall both a Child, as well in age as in Knowledge, and also an Orphan, my father being dead, and my mother leaving mee; though at your sending for, hee is now pleased to bee present, therefore from henceforth, and for ever after, I heere doe take you, both for Father and Mother, that you may supply both their wants, and with your paternall care, helpe and protect all mine insufficiencies.* The King scarce able to refraine from tender teares, or to hold downe his throbbings, said no more but onely this one word, *Willingly.* The princely Child replyed thereupon: *I will make experiment of that, and know it by proofe; seeing you have graciously heard mee hitherto, in trying whether I shall reape the effect of my first suit.* Then hee declared his request, and had it; so that *Lovell* was afterward Treasurer.

Simon Earle of Leicester rather to bee called *Simon*, as the *Gascoignes* faid.

(80) The State and fidelity of the *Gascoignes* was so desperately shaken and plunged by the revenges which *Simon de Montfort* (to whom the King had given the government of their Country for sixe yeeres,) had exercised upon them, for that they had accused him to the King of tyrannous and proditorious dealing, and affirmed, *that his name ought rather to be Simon then Simon*, that but for the vent of their Wives, (in which respect their subjection to *England* was very beneficiall to their Common-weale) it was thought they would generally have revolted. But the King though ready thus to leese *Gascoigne*, would yet needs hope to obtaine *Normandy*, and his other Lands in *France* without blowes. The King of *France* (whose conscience was wonderfully tender and sincere) had indeed written out of *Palestine* to that purpose, as thinking King *Henries* title was better then his owne: but the *French*, among whom their Kings misfortunes in the losse of *Damiata* in *Ægypt*, which was wholly * ascribed to *the Popes avarice*, *who for money released those who*

* Per Papæ avaritiam totum exercitū infortunium. Paris.

The Kings hope to recover *Normandy* frustrated.

should have ayded him,) had brought him into the lesse regard then his excellent vertues merited, did universally and constantly refuse, adding, *that before the King of England should have any more Land among them, hee must passe through a thousand sharpe Lances, and a thousand bloudy Swords when the Lances were burst.* On the other side, the King of *England* was but in little credit with his people; for, whereas (by an agreement betweene the Pope and him,) the *Tenths* of the Clergy through *England* during three yeeres should have beene received towards his charges in his preented journey to the Holy-land, yet in a generall Assembly at *Westminster*, very few were drawne to give their names to that service, notwithstanding that two Bishops and the Abbot of *Westminster* laboured in their Sermons all they could to stirre the people to that martiall Pilgrimage, and though the King himselfe in all their view tooke a most solemne Oath, that within three yeere hee would set forward; the onely reason of their unwillingnesse growing upon suspition, *that he onely sought* (as the Pope had given him example) *to draw by this colour the treasure of the Realme into his hands.* This their diffidence of sincerity in him, made him the rather incline to foster and favour strangers, and that with a kind of pervicacy, though himselfe by manifold neglects of his word, had worthily bred that diffidence.

The common opinion of the Kings defigne for the Holy-Land.

(81) The King could more hardly finde followers in such an enterprize, for that his people had no conceit of his valour, but faid: *What reason encourageth him, who was never trained up in Martiall discipline, nor hath mannaged an Horse, nor drawne a Sword, nor charged a staffe, nor shooke a Target; to hope for a triumph over the Saracens, against whom the Chevalry of France hath miscarried? or wherefore dreames hee of recovery of more Land, who could not keepe that which hee had in forraigne parts? concluding, that hee was a man onely borne to draine their purses, to empty his owne, and to multiply debts.* This was the opinion of men, and behind his backe; but not onely of men, for *Isabell* Countesse of *Arundel*, Widow of *Henry* Earle of *Arundel*, a young Lady, receiving the repulse at the Kings hands in a matter which shee alledged to bee hers in equity, durst say thus to his face: *O my Lord King; why doe you turne away from justice? wee cannot now obtaine that which is right in your Court; you are placed as a meane betweene God and us, but you neither governe us, nor your selfe, neither dread you to vexe the Church diversly, as it hath not onely felt in present, but often heretofore. Moreover you doubt not manifoldly to afflict the Nobles of the Kingdome.* The King fired at so free a speech, with a scornefull and angry countenance, answered with a loud voyce; *O my Lady Countesse, What? have the Lords of England, because you have tongue at will, made a Charter, and hyred you to bee their Orator and Advocate?* whereunto the Countesse replyed: *Not so my Lord, for they have made to mee no Charter, but that Charter which your Father made, and which your selfe confirmed, swearing to keepe the same inviolably and constantly, and often extorting money, upon promise that the Liberties therein contained should bee faithfully observed, you have not kept, but without regard to honour or conscience, broken. Therefore are you found to bee a manifest violater of your faith and oath. For where are the Liberties of England so often fairely engrost in writing? so often granted? so often bought? Therefore though a woman, and all the naturall loyall people of the Land, appeale against you to the Tribunall of the fearefull Iudge, and Heaven and Earth shall beare us witnesse, that we are used unjustly, and God the Lord of revenges right us.* The King abashed at these words, asked her, *If shee did not looke to obtaine her suite upon favour, in regard shee was his Kinswoman?* whereunto shee answered: *That seeing hee had denyed that which the Law gave, how could shee hope to obtaine her suite by favour? Therefore* (said shee) *I doe appeale to the presence of Christ, against those also your Counsellors, who bewitch and dull your judgement, and draw you out of the path of truth, gaping onely after their owne commodity.* But the King (saith *Paris*) remained incorrigible, and the Lady lost both her charges, hopes, and travell.

A perillous bold dialogue betweene the Countesse of *Arundel*, and the King.

An. Dom. 1253. *A. Reg.* 37.

(82) Thus harsh were the former yeeres to the King and Kingdome: let us see what more gentle or rougher accidents rise unto us in the next. But it then at the first little better appeares; for the King having bought out the time which *Simon de Montfort* had in the government of *Gascoigne* (which now hee gives to Prince *Edward*) was truely advertised, that *Guasto de Biard* was turned *Spanish*, and laboured by all the meanes hee could to plucke that part from the *English* obedience. *Alfonse* King of *Spaine*, claimed the same by vertue of a Charter made thereof by *Henry* the second; confirmed by *Richard* and *John* Kings of *England*. *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* thus displaced, to let the World see that hee would not for any preferment incurre the suspition of disloyalty, refused most honourable offers, which (after the death of Lady *Blanch*, Queene Dowager, and Rectrix of *France*,) the *French Nobility* made him, if hee would with his counsell and Force helpe to sustaine that Monarchy, while *Lewis* their King was absent. In the meane time the King of *England* (all old matters being buried in oblivion, upon hope of future amendment) for advancement of his martiall Pilgrimage, had large aydes granted him in Parliament; but upon condition that hee should now at last, once for all, submit himselfe to governe by a Law, not at his pleasure, confirming the Charters of Liberties, against the breakers whereof a most solemne curse was pronounced by the Kings assent. The Archbishop, Bishop, and the rest of the Prelates pontifically apparelled, pronounced that curse with Tapers burning, which when they had throwne away upon the pavement, where they lay extinguished and smoaking, the King (having layde his hand on his breast all the while,) sware to keepe all Liberties upon paine of that execratory sentence; *as hee was a Man, a Christian, a Knight, and a King annointed and crowned.* The businesses of *Gascoigne* soone after called him to a neerer warre, whither upon his promise made to the *Gascoignes*, he set faile, leaving his sonne Prince *Edward*, and his Kingdome to the government of his Brother, the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Queene his Wife: his arrivall there giving a light and stay to all the affaires thereof. Such holds as held against him, hee reduced to obedience, but with too faulty a Clemency, sparing most open Traitors, whereas if an English-man had offended, hee was sure to smart for it, and that rather more then lesse.

The King of Spaine claimes *Gascoigne.*

Simon Earle of Leicester, refuseth high honour in France to avoide the suspition of disloyalty to England.

(83) His fearenow was, lest the *Gascoignes* should draw in the *Spaniards*, and relinquish his soveraigne-ty. To prevent this, hee very prudently and seasonably sent Ambassadours to *Alfonse* King of *Spaine* and *Castile*, to desire that the Lady *Eleanor* his Sister, might bee given in marriage to Prince *Edward*. The motion was well approoved, and besides that, they brought Letters Patents from the King of *Spaine*, in which, among all other Clauses it was contained, that the *King of Spaine did quit his claime and whole right, which by vertue of any Grants from Henry, Richard, and John, Kings of England, he had, or ought to have.* Hereupon hee sends both for his Sonne, (whom the King of *Spaine* desired might bee convayed to him, onely with a noble intent to see and doe him honour) and for his Wife the Queene. Among other Acts of sincerity and love, *Alfonse* sent to the King of *England* good advice: that, *after the example of good Kings and Princes, hee should bee a Lambe toward his subjects, and Servitors, and a Lion to Aliens and Rebels. Simon* Earle of *Leicester* with a gallant Troupe of Souldiers offered his service to the King, who admiring the Earles charity, received him with all joy possible: at which reconciliation, the

Magna charta confirmed, helps the King to money.

The King of Spaine quitteth his claime to *Gascoigne.*

The King of Spaines advice to the King of *England.*

* Matth. Paris. * Sabellicus Ibid.

* Remorum multos & corruptor. Paris.

* This letter is set down in Paris.

* Matth. Paris.

An. Dom. 1254. Prince Edward married the King of Spaines sister.

The effect which the King gave him in jewels. The Kings date.

The King of England treateth honorably entertained in France.

the *Gascoignes* * who feared him like lightning, were so appalled, that they came * droppingly in, and became good Subjects. That valorous Earle was thereunto mooved by that great, free, and noble Prelate, *Robert Grosted*, called *the * Maull of the Romans*, as being a great curbe in those dayes of the Popes ungodly courses towards his State of *England*; against which he writ a * famous letter to his Holinesse, learnedly proving, *that his detestable, abhominable, soule-murdering actions, did evince him to bee an Heretick, worthy of death, to bee Antichrist, and to sit in the Chaire of pestilence, as next to Lucifer himselfe, and that hee had no power to excommunicate such as resisted those his actions.* With which Catholike Letter, *the Pope was besides himselfe for rage, swearing by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, that hee could finde in his heart to make that doting Prelate a mirrour of confusion to all the world for his sawcinesse.* But some wiser Cardinals *advised him from any sharper* course against him, telling the *Pope that all was true hee said of their Courts abuses; that hee was Holier then any of themselves, and one who had no Peere amongst all other Prelates for sanctitie or learning; and therefore it were best to hush the matter, for feare of stirring coales, especially sith it was knowne, that at length there would bee a departure from their Church.* This noble Prelate dyed this very yeere, with opinion of a Saint in despite of the Pope, *(who would have had his bones throwne out of the Church)* leaving this * *Prophetical farewell at his very last gaspe*; that the *Church would never bee set free from such her Egyptian servitude, but by the dint of bloody sword.*

(84) Soone after the Queenes arriving in *Gascoigne*, when all things were rightly prepared, Prince *Edward* was thence sent into *Spaine*, where, at the Citie of *Burgos* hee married the Lady *Eleanor*, sister to the King, with great honour, having first received Knight-hood at his hand; which done, hee returnes with his Bride to *Burdeaux*, from whence they all together came safe thorow *France* into *England*. What treasure this noble young Princesse brought in portion to her Husband, wee cannot say; but the King forthwith gave his Sonne *Gascoigne*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. Hee had drawne upon himselfe a debt, in this and other his actions, of above three hundred thousand Markes; the King of *France* being not long before returned from the Holy-Land, gave them both safe-conduct in their passage, and did to him, and his whole noble company all the honour which the wit of man, or the most goodly Kingdome of *France* could affoord. There were at *Paris* in this entertainment *Beatrix* the Countesse of *Province*, and foure Queenes her Daughters. The King of *England* had in his owne Housshold traine, a thousand choice and excellent Horse, beside Carriages, Sumpters, and Coursers. He was lodged in the Pallace of the old Temple, being an house almost capable of an Armie, where the next morning he commanded that all forts of poore should bee releeved with his charitie and Almes. The magnificence of the great Feast of the Kings, at the King of *Englands* charge, shall be expressed in our Authors owne words, who is bold to affirme, that *Assuerus*, *Arthur*, *Charles* the Great, had never any such. After dinner, the King sent to the *French* Lords, and men of Armes, Plate, Buckles of Gold, and other royall presents. The King of *England* sate at the Table on the right hand of the *French* King, and the King of *Navarre* on the left. But the *French* King contended much in curtesie to the contrary, till King *Henry* obstinately refused saying, *the King of France was his Lord, and should be, for there was reason*, meaning, because hee held his Lands in *France* of him. To whom the most just and gratious King *Lewis* with a soft voice answered; *Would to God every one had his right without offence*, meaning such other lands as the *English* Crowne had right unto. At another time he gave the reason why the Peeres of *France* would not consent to the restitution of *Normandy*, *for that the Normans would never learne to keepe their Borders in quiet.* The *English* King did to himselfe, and to the *English* name great honour, in his whole behaviour and carriage, which was full of *Charity* towards the poore (a vertue for which in those dayes Kings chiefly fought to be commended) of *Majestie*, *Magnificence*, and all sorts of royall liberalitie and gentlenesse. The King and Court of *France* brought him an whole dayes journey upon the way. Hee staid a while at *Bologne* for a winde, but returned safe, having peaceably meatured a way thorow *France*, out of *Gascoigne*; which his Martiall Nephewes, Kings of *England*, trode afterward in another manner, drawing lines of blood and fire over all *France*, the most pleasant, rich, and spacious Realme of Christendome.

An. Dom. 1255. Edmund the Kings second Sonne King of Sicilia.

(85) *Eleanor* Prince *Edwards* wife landed at *Dover* in great State. On the other side, *Edmund* the Kings second sonne, by a *Ring*, which the Pope sent (so to ingage King *Henry* in his warres against *Manfredus*, the Sonne of the late Emperour *Frederick*) was solemnly invested in the Kingdome of *Sicily*. The Ambassadour was a Bishop, who forthwith departed, for indeed his errand was in shew glorious, but in truth both delusory and unprofitable, aswell because the King had already unreasonably interessed himselfe in this quarrell, (the Pope having changed his vowe against the Turkes, into this against Christians,) as also, for that the *Roman Armie* which (by the Popes fetches) warred most at his charge; was (notwithstanding the Popes blessings) utterly overthrowne, before this ayrie honour could be setled in the Lord *Edmund*, whom yet his Father (whose credulity the Pope for his owne ends had shamefully inveigled, by drawing him into obligarions of * two hundreth and fifty thousand pounds) openly tearmed and used as the *King of Sicilie*, (for which also hee used this annexed Scale) highly pleasing himselfe in the variety of a wastfull Title, to his owne, and *his whole Kingdomes * extreame impoverishment.*

* Paris.

* In totalem regni exterminium irreparabile. Paris.



Edmund King of *Sicil.*

An. Dom. 1256. *A. Reg.* 40.

(86) The Calamities of the Kingdome in these exhaustings, was the more lamentable, because they were countenanced by the King, who should have repelled them. But the Pope having no so easie way to bee supplied as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King were well accorded to grinde the people each for the others uses; the King to satisfie the Popes Avarice; the Pope to advance the Kings Ambition. The gayning of the Kingdome of *Sicilie* must bee the colour, for which the King was resolved to goe in person; and therefore *Rostandus* (the Popes Agent) sent to gather the Tenth of all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Popes use: and the Kings, indifferently, had

called

called a great Councell the former yeare, and adiourned it * till this; where he also required all the Prelates to binde themselves to the Popes Marchants, as having received of them a great summe of money, which was imployed to the use of their Churches. At which guilefull and untrue devise, the Prelates replyed they would rather dye then suffer such oppression, and that they held it a manifester Martyrdome to dye in such a cause, then was the death of *Thomas Becket*. The Nobles also peremptorily refused either to recover *Sicilie*, or to beare the charge thereof, being both impossible; the one for the strength of *Manfredus*, the other for the present poverty of *England*. And indeede soone after the Pope and *Manfrede* were made friends, and so King *Henry* and King *Edmund* beguiled, one of his great expences, the other of his high hopes. The King was herewith wakened out of a sweete dreame wherein till then he continued, feeding his minde with the hope to leave to either of his Sonnes a Kingdome; though neither so hee rested quiet till hee had almost throwne the Crowne into the gulphes of irrecoverable debts and usury. The young King of *Scots* and his Queene, about this time came into *England* to visite their best friends, the King and Queene of this Kingdome, which lay wholly open to their honour and uses. The King, to let his Sonne in law see how welcome hee was, did bestow upon him the Earledome of *Huntingdon*; They, and their Queenes, with almost all the great Lords and Ladies of *England* met at *Woodstocke* by *Oxford*, from whence they came to *London*. The King was unwilling to deny his Sonne in law and Daughter any thing, for at their earnest suit he pardoned Sir *William de Lile* Knight, Sheriffe of *Northamptonshire*, who was prooved to have practised by most fowle suborned treacherie to spoile another Gentleman of his estate: for which the said *Lile* had dyed a shamefull, but a worthy, death by drawing and hanging, had not his Wives teares and prayers made the King and Queene of *Scots* their intercessors. Thus the young Princes returned into *Scotland*, worthily well contented.

(87) The King, much the fresher to undergoe serious affaires, by reason of the late comfort he had in his Childe the Queene of *Scots*, bestirres himselfe and comes in person into the *Exchequer* among the Barons thereof, when the Court was set, and made sharpe orders against all Sheriffes and Bayliffes of Townes incorporate, who did not yeerely appeare at the Exchequer, to pay such money of the Kings as was come to their hands. At the same time all the Sheriffes of *England* were emerced, because they had not distreined all those which had such estates in Land, as the law limiteth, to take the order of Knighthoode, or pay their fines. Which of the Lords could say now, that the King would not proove a good Husband? Howbeit the case of the people seemed nothing relieved, for (saith *Paris*) there were so many petty Tyrants, by the negligence or connivence of one, that the auncient State of *England*, when it had many Kings, seemed to be brought in againe.

(88) Occasions of expence, like the heads of Hydra, daily encreased. The Welsh (oppreſt by *Geoffrey de Langley*, an officer upon the Marches) rose in armes, and ministred one of those occasions, but that Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had given *Wales*, was left therein to himselfe, for his Father could spare no money. The Prince therefore borrowes some thousands of Markes of his Vncle *Richard*, and with his owne and them wageth Souldiers; his servants behaved themselves most violently every where, taking without paiment, or paying with blowes; and it was the humour also of their young Master, who had store of martiall and stirring fire in his bosome. The Welsh therefore would not for any perswasions bee drawne to lay downe weapons, but having about ten thousand of their countrey horsemen, and many more on foot, tooke a solemne Oath, *that they would stand together for their libertie and ancient lawes, holding it better to die with honour, then to live a wretched life in shame and servitude.* And indeed they did great things under Prince *Lewelyn ap Gruffith*, by whose meanes they valiantly recovered all the Inland-countrey of *North-Wales*, with other places; and in one fight slew above two thousand Englishmen, and drave the rest out of the field. They also spoyled the land, to the very * gates of *Chester*. This they had the greater opportunitie to doe, for that the King, while he built kingdomes in the Clouds, and plunged himselfe into the Abysses of Vsury, suffered some few, his Sonne, his Brother, the Earle of *Gloucester*, and his halfe-brothers, with their families, to trample right and reason underfoot, and with his hatred to enrich themselves, his owne meanes daily consuming, and mens minds more and more alienated from him, as men that despaired of redresse and justice. The Welsh also persisting in their enterprise, made Prince *Edward* retire in a battaile, and he complaining to his Father, had no other comfort but this: *What is that to mee? the land is thine of my gift. Put forth thy strength at first, and get honour in thy youth, that from thenceforth thy enemies may stand in feare of thee. As for me, I have somewhat else to doe.*

(89) The greatest worldly forreine honour that (since *Constantine*) ever fell upon any *English* subject, was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, derived and tendred to *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, brother to the King, to whom was sent an honourable Ambassage out of *Germany*, who, in humble manner declared, that the Princes of the sacred *Roman* Empire had elected him King of *Romans*, beseeching him to accept of that their common choise. In testimonie whereof the Archbishop of *Collein*, high Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of *Almaine*, had sent their writing under seale, affirming, *That never was any one with so generall consent and universall good liking elected to that place as hee, his name carrying it clearely without any contradiction among them.* Vpon receipt of this most honourable invitation and offer, there was much debatement in the Chappell, where they sate upon the Earles behalfe, whether he should accept thereof, or no; but while all of them stood in doubt, the King puts in a deciding voyce, saying: *Least my Brother bee thought faint-hearted, my opinion and requeſt is, that hee would not refuse to accept this honour, which God and man have tendred unto him.* This made the squadron of the negatives to give way, and at least-wise to become Neutrals, till all objections were answered, as they were all of them by one or other, concluding in their speeches to the Earle; *That he should bee warned, and withall stirred up to the Service of God, in acceptance of this highest place, by the example of* Robert Curthose *Duke of Normandy (eldest Sonne of* William *the first, King of England) to whom the Kingdome of Ierusalem, for the intent to rule the inheritance of Christ, was offered; which hee refusing to accept, did afterward feele the grievous wrath of God, and never had happy dayes after.* To these and many other reasons, the King, his halfe-brothers, and specially the Elect Bishop of *Winchester* encouraged him, with one voyce, affirming, *that this honour would exalt the English name for ever:* The Earle therefore putting on the man, with a free and cheerefull voyce, answered: *And I relying upon the goodnesse of Almightie God, though I am insufficient, and unworthy, to avoid the note of faintnesse, doe thankfully accept this burthen and honour, which Heaven (I hope) hath put into my hands.* And then turning himselfe to the Bishops who were present, among which *Richard* Bishop of *Bangor* (from whose mouth our * Author wrote those things) was one, he concluded and said: *Let mee before I depart out of this Chappell die, and suddenly be burnt with the fi. of Hell; if I doe accept thereof either for ambition, or avarice; but only to restore the Empire (which God grant) to a better estate,*

Alexander King of *Scots* and his Queene highly entertained in *England*.

Practise to compasse anothers estate wickedly, judged worthy of death.

The King comes in person to the Court of Exchequer and makes orders there.

Prince Edward having no help of the King for his Welsh wars borrowes of his Vncle *Richard*.

The high and noble resolution of the Welsh.

* *Ad festum S. Hilarii. Paris.*

* *Ypodig. Neub.*

An. Dom. 1257.

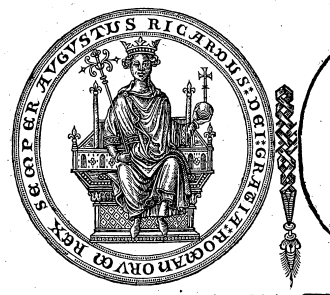
estate, and to governe them, who have willingly elected mee for their Lord, in modest, just, and honourable manner. These words exhaled joyfull teares from many of the hearers, and the Ambassadors returned to deliver the newes of this acceptance, who from thenceforth was King of *Romans*, that is, Emperour Elect, which title is used till they receive the Crowne Imperiall; though to all other purposes he is Emperour: so that King of *Romans* seemes to answer to the Title of *Cæsar*, which under the ancient *Roman* Emperours was given to the heire apparant of the Empire, or Coadjutors. After the *German* Ambassadors were gone, the King permitteth his Brother to send some over to sound the truth of the Electors and Peoples affections, which (in regard the *English* were originally *Germans*, and by late affinity incorporated, and for that *English* (saith *Paris*) was in a sort agreeable to the *Almaine* tongue) they found entire, and with that certitude returne. The King of *England* heereby seemed to have his desiges for recovery of *Normandy*, greatly strengthned, the *Almaines* and *French* hardly brooking one the other; but howsoever, sure it is that his Brother then ew King, had occasion to spend the golden Oyle, which was so long in gathering, to maintaine the light of this Imperiall lampe; and without question hee might bee liberall, for hee was reputed to possesse so much ready coyne, as would every day for tenne yeares afforde him an hundreth Markes upon the maine stocke, without reckoning his rents and revenues in *Germany*, and the English dominions. The Earle * was soone after crowned King of the *Romans* at *Aquisgrave*, by *Conrade* Archbishop of *Collein*, with great pompe and solemnity.

The King of *Romans*, what and who.

The English tongue in the dayes of *Matth. Paris* agreeable to the Dutch.

The huge sums of ready money which *Richard* King of *Romans* had of his own at his Election.

* *Cal. Jun. die Ascensionis.*



(90) In the meane time, while his brothers royall preparations were in hand, the King being for a weekes space at the Abbey of S. *Albans*, certaine Masters of *Oxford* brought a great complaint against the Bishop of *Lincolne*, for some encroachments upon the * ancient Liberties of that *Vniversitie*, to whom the King was gracious, and assigned a day; and *Matthew Paris*, whom the King in honour of his learned paines, admitted every day to his Table, and Chamber, said to him upon this Complaint; * *My Leige, for Gods love have a care of the shaken state of the Church. The Vniversitie of Paris (the Nurse, and mother of so many holy Prelates) is not a little disquieted. If at the same time the Vniversitie of Oxford should be disturbed, which is the second Schoole of the Church, yea, the fundamentall base thereof, it is greatly to bee feared, least the whole Church doe fall to ruine.* Whereunto the King made answer, *God forbid that should happen at all, but chiefly in his dayes.* Which in the Parliament then at hand, he accordingly provided for, to their contentation. The memory of the King seemes by this to have been excellent, for beside that he recounted to *Paris* all the Kings of *England* which had beene Canonized Saints, all the Princes Electors, and great Princes of *Germany* and *France*, hee called to minde the names of about two hundreth and fiftie Baronies in *England*.

(91) At this Parliament, (which was exceeding great) holden at *London*, the King in sight and view of all the people, brings forth his younger Sonne *Edmund*, attired like an Italian of *Apulia*, (which Country is a member of the Kingdome of *Sicilia*) and used this speech: *Behold here good people, my Son Edmund, whom God of his gracious goodnesse hath called to the excellency of kingly dignity; how comely and well-worthy he is of all your favours, and how cruell and tyrannicall they are, who at this pinch, would deny him effectuall and timely helpe, both with advice and money?* The sum of all was to draw a vast contribution from the Clergy for atchievement of this shadow (it proved no better) into his Coffers. Nevertheleſſe he obtained a grant of above fifty thousand Markes, upon covenant that the liberties of the Realme should bee really and finally once for ever established: which was done. There were present in this Parliament six Archbishops, *Canterbury, Torke, Dublin, Collein, Messana* in *Sicilia*, and *Tarentum* in *Apulia*. The politike *Germans* knew what they did in choosing *Richard* their King, for they saw a cloud of gold and silver would dissolve it selfe into showres among them at his arrivall; and all elections of strangers turne to their profit, because none is chosen that relies wholly upon the rents of the Empire.

(92) It was a worthy care in this King, that when by the provision of his Brother *Richard* King of *Romans*, there arrived in the River of *Thames* fifty saile of *German* Ships, laden with Corne, to relieve the great dearth, which then raigned through the Land, hee caused proclamation to be made, *That no Citizen of London should buy any of that Corne to store up, which they were wont to doe, to the intent they might sell it the dearer afterward, to such as wanted.* But no warning, prayers, advices, nor sense of wants were able to make him frugall of his expence; whereby he was miserably streightned, neither would the Laity in Parliament contribute any thing, but (hammering some great attemps in their thoughts) in plaine words concluded, *That they neither would, nor could any longer endure such (as they called them) extortions.* Moreover, they there uttered many grievances, and *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* complained of the dishonor and injury done him by *William de Valence*, calling him *Traitor*; so that against the Session to be holden upon prorogation, hee, the Earle of *Gloucester*, and Marshall, confederated themselves and (pretending the feare of strangers, the Kings favorites,) determined to come strong to *Oxford* at Saint *Barnabas* day. They also sent Messengers to the King of *France*, praying at least so much assistance, as that hee would not hinder the good purpose which they held of ordaining

* *Intra antiquitates & libertates Paris.*

* *Matth. Paris. in vita. major.*

The Vniversity of *Oxford* the second Schoole of the Church, neer Paris, provoked by the King.

An. Dom. 1258. *A. Reg.* 42.

The practise of *Londoners* to engrosse corne forbidden by the King.

The Barons combine.

The King commends the care of his Sonne Edmund for the kingdome of Sicilie. Note that by this it appeares Edmund was not deformed as Stow, &c. did afterward allodge.

The Earle accepts the election.

* *Matth. Paris*, who had also many hiſtorical Dictates from the King himselfe, pag. 915 edit. Wat. His most noble protestation.

ordaining and setling the troubled estate of *England*. They had also taken order to watch the * Ports against strangers. Thus they prepared to abate (as it seemed) or banish the loftinesse and insolency of the *Poictovines* and of other Forreiners, by whom the King was powerfully led, for they despaired of redresse at his hands, who like another *Proteus* (*Paris* saith) tooke all shapes upon him to serve his turnes, and then slipt out at his pleasure, no promises, or ties, being strong enough to hold him. These were the beginnings of bloudy evils, and the seed-sparkes of those factious fires which afterward brake forth, from the sight and sense whereof, many thousands were taken by death, whose mortall stroake of pestilence raged over *England*, specially among the poore, through scarcity of food.

(93) When the time appointed for the Parliament at *Oxford* was come, the seditious Earles and Barons (with whom * sundry *Bishops had taken Counsell against the King, the Lords annointed*) repaired thither, and sternely propounded sundry traiterous Articles to the King, to which they required his assent. The chiefe poynts were, *That the King would unfainedly keepe and observe the Charter of liberties, which hee had so often granted, and sworne to maintaine inviolable; That such a one should bee in the place of Chiefe Iustitiar, who would iudge according to right, without respect to poore, or rich, &c.* Then they renewed their confederacy, solemnely swearing, *That neither for life, nor death, nor love, nor hate, they would be drawne to relent in their purpose, till they had cleared England (in which themselves and their fore-fathers were borne) from upstarts and aliens, and had procured laudable Statutes*, Those turbulent Nobles had yet a further plot, then all this; which was first broached (saith *Mat: Westminster*) by the disloyall Bishops, which was, *that 24. persons should there be chosen, to have the whole administration of the King and State, and yearely appointment of all great Officers, reserving onely to the king the * highest place at meetings, and salutations of honour in publike places.* And because they would not be crossed in their purposes, they *came exquisitely armed & appointed, that so the King & his Aliens should be enforced, if they would not willingly assent.* To all these *their ordinations, the King and Prince Edward, was enforced to sweare, for feare of perpetuall imprisonment, the traiterous Lords having, by an Edict, threatned death to all that resisted.* Whereupon all the Peeres and Prelates tooke their Corporall Oath *to bee faithfull in this their infidelity, and made all who would abide in the Kingdome, to sweare they would stand to the tryall of their Peeres:* the Archbishops *and Bishops solemnely accursing all that should rebell against it.* The * Monks themselves detesting this impudent treason, aske, *with what forehead, especially Prelates, durst thus impaire the kingly Majesty, expressly against their sworne fidelity to him:* This conjuration they so prosecured, that when *William de Valence* the Kings halfe-brother, denied with Oaths to render up any Castle which was given him, the Earle of *Leicester*, and the rest of the Barons answered, *they would either have his Castles or his head.* This violent proceeding so terrified the *Poictovines*, that sodainly they left *Oxford*, and shortly fled into *France*, where also the Barons had made them odious. *Hugh Bigod*, brother to the Earle Marshall, was made chiefe Iustitiar. The people seemed wholly theirs, which made the Barons so rough and peremptory in all their conferences, that when the Lord *Henry*, sonne to the King of *Almain*, refused to combine or take their oath, without his fathers consent, they roundly bad him know, *That if his Father himselfe would not hold with the Baronage of England, hee should not have a furrow of earth among them.* And least any thing which might tend to their securitie should seeme to be omitted, they using the kings name, commanded *London* to stand upon her guard, by keeping their Citie gates carefully shut, and by maintaining strong watches night by night, upon pretence of danger to the Realme through the practises of strangers; and after they dispatched thither certaine fit Agents, who in the Guild-hall made knowne their commission, which was directly to understand, *Whether they would immutably adhere to the Barons and obey their constitutions, by manfully aiding and effectually supplying them in the common cause.* Whereunto the Citizens condescended, binding themselves thereunto under the publike Seale of *London*.

(94) The Barons did as yet forbeare to declare, what those reformatorie Provisions should bee, because the Earle of *Gloucester* (a principall man among them) was in danger of death, whose sicknesse did perplex and suspend their proceedings, and the manner of his maladie did put them in doubt of their owne safeties, making them grow in distrust of their Cooks, their Butlers, and Sewers, for the Earle his body breaking out into *pustules*, and his haire, nailes, teeth and skinne it selfe, falling away, was (as many others, of which some died) thought to be poysoned. But whether they were or no, the *Poictovins* and strangers had the blame laid upon them, to make them the more odious to the Commons. But the Earle partly recovered his health in time, by the benefit of medicines and diligent attendance. The * poisons were said to have beene tempered in the house of *Elias* a Iew, afterward baptized. The King himselfe perhaps would not have beene sorry, if that he, *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, and some few others of the Barons had beene with God, for how soever his body was among them, yet his heart was not at quiet, which in this wise well appeared. For being in the moneth of *Iune* upon the river of *Thames* in his Barge, the aire sodainely grew darke, and there ensued a terrible shower with thunder and lightning, of which the King impatient commands himselfe to bee set on land at the next place which was *Durham* house, whereas then, the Earle of *Leicester* lay. The Earle being ther of certified came out to entertaioe him, saying, Sir, *why are you afraid: the tempest is now past*: whereunto he answered with a severe looke: *I feare thunder and lightning above measure, but by the head of God, I doe more feare thee then all the thunder and lightning of the world.* Whereunto the Earle replied: *My Liege, it is injurious & incredible, that you should stand in feare of me, who have alwaies beene loyall both to you and your Realme, whereas you ought to feare your enemies, such as destroy the Realme, and abuse you with bad Counsells.* The Barons therefore remaining firme in their first purpose, send messengers abroad to will all such as had beene wronged by the Kings halfe-brothers, and other *Poictovines* and strangers, to present their grievances to the Barons, and to prosecute them. Moreover (because sundry other petty-tyrants of the English nation, encouraged by their example, had exceeded their limits, in oppressing their inferiours) they procured the King to appoint foure *Knights Commissioners* in every Shire, to enquire of all such injuries, and certifie the same under their seales within a certaine time limited.

(95) The Barons in the meane time neglected not their enterprize, at whose instance (principally of *Hugh Bigod* the new chiefe Iustitiar) *Philip Lovel* the Kings Treasurer, for abuses committed in the Kings Forrests and game, about *Stony-Stratford*, and many Officers of the Exchequer, were likewise removed, to give roome to such as the Barons better liked. The Sheriffes likewise of Shires, their practises, and extortions, were diligently seene into, and it was ordained, that as well the givers as the takers of bribes should bee severely punisht. The Welsh seeing these round proceedings in *England*, the peace and reformishment whereof they feared, laboured for reconciliation but could not then obtaine it.

(96) *Richard* King of *Romans*, having a desire to see the King his brother, and his lands in *England*, not without a purpose to bring an Army, or such a number of men as might greatly strengthen the King against the Barons, as they suspected, was advertised that

* *Matth. Paris. pag. 940.*

* *Pontifices, ut dicam Pharisæi, &c. Matth. West.*

The Barons take an oath among themselves.

Matth. West.

* *primos accubitus in cœnis, &c. Matth. West. Thidem.* The provisions at *Oxford.*

* *Matth. West. Matth. Paris.*

The City of *London* joynes with the Barons to reforme the kingdome.

The King not suffered to enter his owne Castles.

* *Matth. Paris pag. 951.*

Then the Barons too.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.*

The King feares the Earle of Leicester more then thunder and lightning.

Commissioners to certifie what oppressions in every County.

Officers put from their places.

The abuses of Sheriffes censured and punished against.

that they provided for his resistance as well by Land as Sea. This made him, his Wife, and Sonne, to lay aside that purpose, and to arrive in a private manner at *Dover* with a small traine, in which there were onely two Earles, and about nine Knights. The King met him with great congratulation at the Sea side, but nor King, nor hee could bee suffered to enter into *Dover* Castle, because (forsooth) it was the principall Key of *England*; for the safegard whereof they openly exacted an Oath of him at *Canterbury* in this manner. The holy Gospels being laid upon the Pulpit in the Chapter-house at *Cantrbury*, the Barons reverently brought in thither the Kings of *England* and of *Almaine*; then *Richard* Earle of *Glocester* (for *Simon* Earle of *Leicester* was gone with others into *France*, to deale with the King and States thereof about a perpetuall league) standing in the midst openly, and in humble sort, cals *Richard* King of *Romans* unto him, by the name onely of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, who obeyed accordingly, to whom he distinctly minisired the Oath following: *Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall sweare upon the holy Gospels, to be faithfull and forward to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the counsell of wicked men too much deformed. And I will be an effectuall Coadiutor to expell the * Rebels and troubles of the Realme, from out the same. This oath will I observe upon paine to forfeit all the lands I have in England.* On the other side (had the King knowne how to use it) there fell out such dissention betweene the Earles of *Glocester* and *Leicester*, that *Leicester* departed from *England* discontented, saying, he tooke no joy to live among men so mutable and deceitfull. Nevertheless such meanes were used, that these two chiefe Captaines of the Barons, brake not forth into any farther division. Thus whiles the Barons using the Kings name, disposed of all things, and *Simon de Montfort* Earle of *Leicester*, was gone with others to transact with the *French* about an indissoluble league, the King himselfe through desire not to * be interrupted with forraine matters, if warre should rise at home, or through want of money or better advice, was induced (if not betrayed) to an act of little honour, though it carried with it the face of profit and setled quiet.

(97) For (the affaires of the realme thus strangely managed) the King in person sailes over into *France*, there to demand a peaceable restitution of such Signiories as *Philip* and *Lewis* (Father of this *Lewis*) had injuriously withdrawne from his Father King *John*. The *French* replied, that no restitution was due for many respects, specially, because the * ancient grant made to *Rollo* the first Duke of *Normandy*, was not voluntary, but extorted by feare and force of Armes, in the daies of the weake state of *France*. The King having * no disposition to recover his claimes by battle, and destitute of money wherewith to wage an Army, but principally for that his owne Peeres and people stood on their guard against him, did * unwillingly ratifie a conclusion; the Articles whereof were, that the King of *France* should quietly hold the Dukedome of *Normandy*, and Earledome of *Anjou* (* *Main* also, *Touraine* and *Poicton*) for * three hundred thousand small pounds of *Tourain*, and upon promise to receive other lands to the yearely value of twenty thousand pounds. *Polydor* saith, that the reputed limits of the *English* Pale in *France*, were from thenceforth the river of *Charent* in *Xanctoing*, and the mountaines *Pyrenes*; and that hee should peaceably have *Angoumois*, *Quercy*, and *Limain*, being Countries marching upon *Gascoigne*, in lieu of the rest, yet so as the King of *England* should * hold them of the Crowne of *France* by homage and fealtie. Vpon these Articles the King acquitted, and for ever renounced all his challenge to *Normandy*, and the other lands, and thenceforth abridged his Stile, and changed his Seale, using a Scepter in place of a *Sword*: whereon these Monkish and mockish verses were written,

Est M: CC LIX. utinam concordia felix,
Andegavis, Pictavis, Neustria, gente relicta
Angloram, dantur tibi France, Sigilla revuantur,
Nomina tolluntur, fugit Ensis, Sceptra gerumtur.

M. CC LIX. God grant firme peace thou fix,
Poictou, Angiou, Normans, to France range you,
New Seales are made, old Styles forsaken,
Downe laid the Blade, Scepters up taken.



The King sailes over into *France* to demand restitution of *Normandy*.

* *Guil. Gemet.*

* *Radig. Neubr.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.*

* *Paul. Æmil. John Tilius. Tyrrit. Neubr. Matth. Paris.*

* *Polydor. Virg.* saith 150000. Crownes in hand, and 10000. Crowns yeerely, in the name of Tribute.

* *John Tilius.*

An. Dom. 1260. *A. Reg.* 44.

(98) The King (at these unworthy rates) having secured himselfe from the *French*, labours to vindicate the Regall power out of the usurping Barons hands (whose over-toppings at home had driven him to those forraine indignities,) alleadging, that the *Oath* which his Sonne and hee had taken at *Oxford*, was voide, in regard it was compulsory, that the Barons also, who pretended the profite of the Realme, fought onely their owne honour and gaine, contrary to their decrees. For his more securitie * he takes the Tower of *London*, preparing force by the helpe of his Brother King of *Romans*. There followed a grievous perturbation of the Realme, although at this time it brake not forth into the extreamitie, Armes being laid downe for a little space. *Edward* the Kings eldest Sonne would not traverse the oath he had made at *Oxford*, but held with the * Barons for the present. The King, the Queene, and his selected friends, still remaine upon their guard in the Tower; where he (in the yeare before) had burst up the locks of the ancient *Depositum*, or dead stocke of the Crowne, to employ against the Barons. Peace

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.*

* *Radig. Neubr.*

An. Dom. 1259. *A. Reg.* 43. The King of *Romans* lodged out of the Barons, arrives in *England* and takes an oath.

An. Dom. 1261. *A. Reg.* 45.

An. Dom. 1262. *A. Reg.* 46. The King setteth the ancient stocke of the Crowne.

was notwithstanding brought about againe by the Queenes speciall diligence; and *Dover* and *Rochester* Castles (whither hee went in person) are delivered vnto him. This makes him resolve to pursue the Barons; the rather also for that the *French* King (who much condemned the Barons vnjust courses) had promised his assistance. *Henry* therefore thrusts out the Barons Chancellor, and Chiefe Iusticiar, placing *Walter Merton* and *Philip Basset*, men of much more loyall affections in their roomes. The Barons hearing of this, hasten in Armes to *Winchester*, where the King was, who (having intelligence by his faithfull Clerke, Sir *John Mansell*) got backe into the Tower of *London*. The King of *France* was made Vmpire in the quarrell. The * cause was heard at *Amiens*, where he gave iudgement with the King of *England* against the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at *Oxford*, to be vtterly void: provided nevertheleſſe, that the Charter of Liberties which King *John* had made to the *Engliſh* nation, ſhould in no ſort bee thereby infringed. This proviſo animated *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Barons, to maintaine all the Statutes of *Oxford*, (becauſe they were pretendedly founded upon that Charter) notwithſtanding that juſt judgement which King *Lewis* had given. The ſecret confederacie with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, miniſtred to the Barons no little encouragement; who about this time waſted the Dominions of Prince *Edward* in the Marches of *Wales*. This judgement of the *French* King did much diſadvantage the Barons, of whom divers being drawne with perſwaſions, gifts, and promiſes, revolted from *Simon Montfort*. There was now a taking of Townes and Priſoners on all hands. Prince *Edward* (who now was wholly for his Father, in deſpite of the Barons) takes the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, and fines the Citie at a thouſand pounds. *Simon Montfort* executeth his greateſt revenges upon the Queenes friends which were Aliens, not ſparing the Kings. Marching forward, he recovers *Glaſter*-Caſtle, enters *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*; laſtly, ſurpriſeth the Ile of *Ely*, ſubduing that faſtneſſe or ſenny ſtrength to the Barons uſe. Sir *John Manſel* the Kings Councellour, fearing the event of things, flies ſecretly from the Tower where the King was. *Henry* ſonne to the King of *Almain*, was after this taken by the Barons. Meane-while Prince *Edward* fortifies *Windſor*-Caſtle with Strangers: Mutuall wearineſſe at length begat a deſire of Peace, and the * King had yeelded that the *Statutes of Oxford* ſhould ſtand: but the Queene was vtterly againſt it, not without cauſe; for it did enfeeble the arbitration on which the *French* King had made. The Queenes oppoſition in this point was knowne to the *Londoners*; which put the baſer ſort into ſo lewd a rage, that ſhee being to ſhoote the Bridge from the Tower toward *Windſor*, they with dart and ſtones and villanous words forced her to returne. Prince *Edward* under the conduct of the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, came from the Caſtle of *Briſtol* (by reaſon of quarrell betweene his men of warre and the Burgers) and contrary to his promiſe entred into *Windſor*-Caſtle; but afterward going forth to meet *Simon Montfort* at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, with purpoſe to offer peace, the ſaid *Simon* got *Windſor*-Caſtle, and would not permit him to depart. At *London* yet in a Parliament, matters were pierced againe, and the Kings ſide grew ſtronger daily.

(99) There were with him his brother King of *Romans*, his Sonne *Edward*, *William de Valence* (whom Prince *Edward* had brought out of *France*) *John Comyn* of *Scotland*, with a multitude of valiant *Scots*, (whoſe King was *Henries* ſonne in law,) *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert de Brus*, *&c.* with whom hee marcheth from *London* to *Oxford*, where the Rendevou of his friends and forces was appointed. The King meaning to make that place (where his chiefe blow was given him) his chiefe ſeate to conſult for remedies, diſmiſſed thence all the Students, by reaſon of their multitude, [b] being *above* 15000. (ſaith *William Riſhanger* who then lived) *of thoſe only whoſe names were entred into the Matriculation booke*, amongſt whom being ſo many young Nobles, the King doubted how they might bee affected to the Barons. Whereupon many of them went to *Northampton*, where then the Barons were ſtrong; and thither the King comming with his hoaſt, and breaking in at the Towne-walls upon *Paſſion-Sunday*, encountred his enemies, amonſt whom the [c] *Students of Oxford had a banner by themſelves advanced right againſt the King, and they did more annoy him in the fight, then the reſt of the Barons:* which the King (who at length prevailed) had vowed ſharpely to revenge, but that *his Councellors told him, thoſe Students were the ſonnes and kindred of the Great-men of the Land, whom if he puniſhed, even the Nobles who now ſtood for him, would take Armes againſt him.* The King there tooke *Simon Montfort* the younger, and fourteene other principall Barons and [d] Knights Banerers, fortie other Knights, beſides Eſquiers, &c. Encouraged with this ſucceſſe, hee advanceth the Standard royall toward *Nottingham*, burning and waſting the Barons Lands whereſoever he came. To divert this tempeſt, *Simon Montfort* haſteneth to *London*, and attempts the taking of *Rocheſter*-Caſtle, which *John* Earle of *Warren* defended for the King: who comming to raiſe the ſiege, takes *Kingſton*-Caſtle, which belonged to the Earle of *Glouceſter*; then unexpectedly falling upon ſuch as maintained the ſiege of *Rocheſter*, while *Simon* was abſent, kils very many, and ſcatters the reſt. Then ſeiſeth he the Caſtle of *Tunbridge*, and therein the Counteſſe of *Glouceſter*, whom, notwithſtanding he nobly ſet at large, as profeſſing not to warre againſt Ladies; from thence the Cloud of power borne upon the wings of indignation, ſpeeds to *Winchelſea*, and receive the Cinque-Portmen to grace, ſeeling at laſt in *Lewis*, where himſelfe reſted in the Priorie, and his ſonne in the Caſtle, whither the Barons ſent Letters to him, proteſting *their loyall obſervance to his perſon, but all hoſtilitie to their enemies which were about him.*

(100) But the King flaming with deſire of revenge, ſets ſlight by theſe vowed (but fained) fidelities; and returnes a full defiance *as to Traitors, profeſſing that he takes the wrong of his friends, as his owne, and their enemies as his.* The King of *Almaine*, Prince *Edward*, with other of the Kings chiefe friends, ſent their like letters of defiance. The Barons, loath to let it come to the hazardous and unkind triall of Steele, (though they then encamped about ſixe miles from *Lewis*,) not acquitting themſelves in this repulſe, iterate their meſſage, with an offer to pay to the King thirtie thouſand pounds, in ſatisfaction of ſuch hurts as their people had done through the Realme; ſo *as the Statutes of Oxford might ſtand.* The King of *Almaine* (whoſe honour they had toucht, and ſpoiled part of his inheritances) hindred all harkening to any their offers.

(101) It came to a battell; wherein *Simon de Montford* commands his trayterous Army to *weare white Croſſes on breaſt and backe, to ſhew they fought for Iuſtice*; great was the effuſion of bloud on both parts; chiefly of the *Scots* upon the Kings ſide, and of the *Londoners* upon the Earles ſide; whoſe Battalion, (lead by the Lord *Segrave*,) Prince *Edward* moſt furiouſly charged, and had the execution of them for about foure miles, which he purſued the more bloudily, in revenge of the extreame diſgrace which they had offered upon *London-Bridge* to the Queene his Mother, and after that the Garriſon of *Tunbridge* followes, and ſlew many at *Croyden*. But while the Prince ſpent himſelf in that revenge, his Father (who, having his Horſe ſlaine under him, had yeelded himſelfe priſoner to *Simon de Monfort*) his uncle the King of *Romans*, and others great Peeres were taken, and the whole hope of that day loſt. There fell in all on both ſides, about five thouſand. Prince *Edward* returning from the ſlaughter of the *Londoners*, would

The Barons drive the King from *Winchester*.

An. Dom. 1263. *A.Reg.* 47. * *Addit. ad Par.*

Simon Montfort in apparant fault.

An. Dom. 1264. *A.Reg.* 48.

* *Additum, ad Matth. Paris.*

An intollerable villany offered by Rascals to the Queene.

The Scots side the King.

The King takes *Northampton*, and many chiefe men.

[b] *W. Riſhanger Mr. S. in Vit. Henrici D. Robert Cotton. Baronetti.*

[c] *Chron M.S. Fox in Query-ring, Hollingſh.*

[d] *Milites vexillifores.*

* *Gilbertus Sanforſon.*

* *Matth. West.*

The Barons Letters.

The Kings Letters.

The King of *Almaines* Letter, and Prince *Edwards*. The Barons ſend the ſecond time.

Prince *Edward* having eſcaped ſpyes with the Earle of *Glocester*.

* *Nich. Trivet. apud Hollingſh.*

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* takes the Kings of *England*, and of *Almaine* in the battell of *Lewis*.

Prince *Edward* and liberty from the King of *Romans* yeeld by compoſition.

An. Dom. 1265. *A.Reg.* 49. The Earle of *Leiceſter* carries the King about till he had gotten all the chiefe ſtrengths of the Realme.

would have re-enforced the Battaile, but the Barons offered peace; which upon the next day was concluded for the preſent, ſo that Prince *Edward*, and *Henry* Son to the King of *Romans*, ſhould alſo render themſelves priſoners, and the two Kings, till ſuch time as all quarrels might receive an happier concluſion by calme deliberation. Thus was *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter* in poſſeſſion of both the Kings and of their elder ſonnes; ſo fortunate may Treaſon and Rebellion bee for a time, but in the end it ſpeeds as it deſerves.

(102) By this advantage this Kingly Rebell got all the chiefe Caſtles of the Kingdome into his hand, leading his Soveraigne as his Priſoner about the Country (yet with all outward reſpect and honour) the rather to procure a more quiet ſurrender. The King of *Romans* he impriſoned in the Tower, Prince *Edward* and the Lord *Henry* in *Dover*. The Earle feeling now his owne greatneſſe, began to be leſſe tractable; neither could the Popes authority, interpoſing it ſelfe for the King, prevaile. For as the Pope by *Apoſtolike* cenſure before *had abſolved the King and others from his Oath to the Proviſions of Oxford*, ſo now hee ſent his * *Cardinall Legate to excommunicate all the favorers of thoſe Acts, and impugners of the King*; but theſe men * *leaving the materiall ſword to truſt unto, made no reckoning of the Spirituall*, pretended *they appealed to the Pope, or to better times, or a generall Councell, or to God himſelfe*: ſo great account made theſe croſſed ſouldiers of the Popes curſe. Notwithſtanding the loyall bloud of *Roger de Mortimer*, and many other high-ſpirited men of Armes, could not brooke their Kings ſo baſe uſage and dangerous eſtate, but make head in vaine. For *Simon* treacherouſly combines himſelfe with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, and with their joynt forces takes *Hereford* Caſtle; thither they remove Prince *Edward* from *Dover*. The loyall band was hereby compelled to capitulate, and deliver hoſtages. O the fearefull point, to which *England* was brought at this preſent, but God (in whoſe protection it was) delivered it. *Simon* and the Earle of *Glouceſter* fall at debate about their *dividing* and ſhares in the ſpoiles, (for what ever they pretended for the Kingdome, their owne greatneſſe and gaine was the motive,) and ſomewhat alſo the unequall altitude of his ſaid partner the Earle of *Leiceſter*, together with the perill of his Countrey mooved him. Who thereupon confederates with *Roger Mortimer*, and his aſſociates, to whom not long after *John* Earle of *Warren*, *Surrey*, and *Suſſex*, and *William de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke* with others are joyned; and not long after Prince *Edward* by eſcape from the Caſtle of *Hereford*, commeth in ſafety to *Wigmore*. There were that laboured to attone the two Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Glocester*, but offence and indignation had taken too deepe roote. Meane while thou, O *Henry*, art ſhewed up and downe by the Arch-rebellious Earle of *Leiceſter*, to countenance thine owne deſtruction.

(103) The Prince therefore ſeeing that he muſt reſolutely ſtand for the liberty of the Realme and of his Father, friends and poſterity, raiſeth an Army, confederates himſelfe with the people and Counties of *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Shropſhire* and *Cheſter*. *Glocester* he enters by force, and drives the defendants into the Caſtle, which after yeelds. *Simon Monifort* with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, doe in the meane time ſpoile their enemies lands in * *Monmouth* and *Glamorganſhires*, the King in perſon, not in ſpirit, being preſent. Prince *Edward*, and the Earle of *Glocester* on the other ſide, ſpeed to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, kept againſt them by *Simon* ſonne of the Earle of *Leiceſter*; there they intercept the Earle of *Oxford* with about thirteene Knights Banneres before they could reach the Caſtle, (whither they were haſtning, Newes came then that the Earle of *Leiceſter* was returned with the King in his company out of *Southwales*, neere to *Worceſter*. Thither the Prince advanceth to fight with him. The Earle hearing of his approach, encampes at *Eueſham* with his whole power. Vpon the third of *Auguſt* the noble *Edward* ſets out of *Worceſter*, and ſtrikes betweene *Simon Montfort* and his way to *Kenelworth*, and the next day turnes backe toward *Eueſham*; the Earle of *Glocester* with his force, and *Roger de Mortimer* (as they had agreed) with his battalion, drawing thither by two other wayes; ſo that *Simon* thus ſhut up and incloſed, muſt either fight or yeeld. They joyne in battell in a goodly large field before the Towne of *Eueſham*; where the Earles hoſt being aſſailed on all ſides, was with much ſlaughter (of the *Welſh* eſpecially) utterly in the end diſtreſſed and diſcomfited. At the houre of his death it thundered and lightned, and ſo great a darkneſſe ſpread the skie, that men were amazed. The Earles head, (which was ſent to *Worceſter* Caſtle to the Ladie *Mortimer*) his hands, and feet, were chopt off. In this cruell battell the King himſelfe (being wounded unawares with a Iavelin) was almoſt ſlaine. Let us now behold how this victory is uſed. The King being thus reſtored to liberty, cals a Parliament at *Winchester*, by authoritie whereof hee ſeiſeth into his hands the Charters and freedomes of the Citie of *London*, and of many other Towns for their Rebellion. Thoſe that were taken in the battell, are committed to ſafe cuſtody, and all ſuch as had beene upon the Earles ſide were diſinherited, a rateable diſtribution being made of their eſtates to the Kings well-deſerving friends. *Simon* and *Guy de Montfort*, the Earles ſonnes, were chiefe of the attainted; their mother the Counteſſe with all her goods was ſent in ſafetie out of *England* never to returne. *Simon* the eldeſt brother fought to preſerve himſelfe, and the remaines of his Fathers miſfortunes in the Ile of *Axholme*.

(104) The King meaning to take all refuge from him, is together with his brother the King of *Romans*, *Ottobon* the Popes Legate, (who was lately arrived) and a puiſſant armie, at *Northampton*, with purpoſe to oppreſſe him by warre. *Simon* had friends about the King, but the Earle of *Glocester* maligning his reſtitution to full grace, it was concluded (upon his ſubmiſſion) that he ſhould live in exile, and for his maintenance receive onely five hundreth markes by the yeere. But the Caſtle of *Kenelworth* would not yeeld, driving the King to an halfe yeares ſiege; who alſo in the end was content to give the garriſon pardon for life and limme, licenſing it to part with bag and baggage. In the meane while, the other outlawes, and diſinherited men, made ſundry excurſions out of the *Ile of Elie*. Temperate men, deſirous to pacifie all theſe evils, would gladly have had the King to pardon thoſe tranſgreſſions, and reſtore their lands upon reaſonable fines. This propoſition found a ſowre enemie of *Roger Mortimer*, who had by the Kings gift gotten much of their Land, which mooved the Earle of *Glocester* (who favoured the other courſe) to indignation and diſtruſt, ſo that he withdrew himſelfe. Not long after which, hee by his meſſengers beſought the King, to remove ſtrangers from about him, to ſee that the *Statutes of Oxford* were obſerved through the Kingdome, and to keepe ſuch promiſes as he had made at *Eveſham*: Otherwiſe the King muſt not marvell, if he did that which himſelfe thought beſt. The Legate Cardinall *Ottobon*, about the ſame time (to hinder the growth of any new rebellion) excommunicated the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Worceſter*, *London* and *Chicheſter* for having adhered to *Simon Montfort*, and alſo declared that the Clergie were to pay their tenths, for ſeven yeares next enſuing, to the King. On the other ſide, all the undone and diſinherited men (except the ſonnes of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Earle of Derby*) were offered to be put to ranſome, and for certaine fines to be reſtored to their Lands; but they required to have them without redemption, expoſtulating with the King and Legate many grievances. When words had no better operation, the King and Prince *Edward* beſiege the Ile of *Elie* on all ſides. This being knowne to the Earle of *Glocester*, who (although he had under his ſcale promiſed never to take armes againſt the King and Prince, but only in his owne defence) gathers a force

Simon Earle of *Leiceſter* enclo-ſed by the Princes Armies, is ſlaine, at *Eueſham* in Worceſterſhire.

An. Dom. 1266. *A.Reg.* 50.

An. Dom. 1267. *A.Reg.* 51. The Earle of *Glocesters* meſſage to the King.

An. Dom. 1268. *A.Reg.* 52. The Earle of *Glocester* in armes againſt the King, taketh *London*

force in *Wales* in favour of the disinherited, marcheth up to *London*, and taketh it, the Citizens favouring him. Then commands he the Popes Legate, who lodged in the Tower, to yeeld up the same; but he, as taking no knowledge of any such matter, repaired quietly to *Pauls*, there, by preaching to stirre up people against the enemies of Christ in the *Holy-land*. Peace ensued not long after, by mediation of the King of *Romans*, and the noble Lord *Philip Basset*, the Earle binding himselfe in ten thousand markes to the King, never to moove any tumult. *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*, who had greatly supported the Earle of *Leicesters* rebellion, for *thirty two thousand pound sterling was restored to foure Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the warre, and reconciled.

* *Histor. Comb.* saith but 30.000 marks. The Prince of *Wales* reconciled to the King.

An. Dom. 1269. *A.Reg.* 53.

(195) Domesticke peace now beginning to shine in the English *Hemisphere*, Prince *Edward* his brother, the Lord *Edmund*, the Earle of *Glocester*, with many other Noblemen of *England*, *with intent of a more honourable warfare*, take the Crosse upon them at *Northampton*, by the delivery of *Ostoben*, who not long after returned into *Italie*. Then was the kings peace proclaimed through *England*, all men being upon paine of death commanded to forbeare to make spoyles, or take booties violently, as they of late had been accustomed. The Prince, seeing the Realme thus acquitted, doth the more willingly (having his Fathers consent) yeeld to goe with *Lewis* King of *France*, into the *Holy-land*, who, toward his furniture in that voyage, lends him thirty thousand markes: for assurance whereof, the Prince morgageth *Aquitaine* unto him. But what true setled peace may we judge it, when *John de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, the kings halfe-brother, (upon the increase of words betweene them) durst kill *Alan le Zouch* the chiefe Iustice, with his owne hand in *Westminster* Hall? A plaine and fearefull example of favourites potency. That all things yet might not run out of square, the King held a Parliament at *Marlborough*, where the Statutes called of *Marlborough* were enacted. The old king and his Queene henceforward enjoyed the blessing of a quiet estate at home, with the more leisure to pray therein for their Sons faire successe in *Palestine*, whose vertues had there raised an admiration of him among the *Infidels*. That quiet nevertheless was a little interrupted by an incendiary outrage at *Norwich*, where the Citizens set on fire the *Priorie Church*. The king being kindled with another kinde of fire, sware hee would in person see a revenge taken; and dispatching first away Sir *Thomas Trivet*, (before whom a great multitude were found guilty, and condemned to be drawne and hanged) himselfe, having in his company one Bishop and the Earle of *Glocester*, followed; where beholding the deformed ruines, he could hardly refraine from teares. The Bishop having therefore excommunicated the nocent, and the King condemned the Towne in three thousand markes, toward the re-edification of that Church, as also to pay one hundreth pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in gold, he purposed to returne toward *London*. This publike act of zeale to *religion* and *Iustice*, was the last which he did, as a *King*; for now he was come to that, which hee was to enter into as a *mortall man*: At the Abbey of S. *Edmund* in *Suffolke*, he fell grievously sicke, where while he lay, * he caused the Earle of *Glouceſter* to be sworne to keepe the Realme for his Sonne; the Prelates, Earles, and Barons of the Land, being assembled to be present at his departure. Therefore after he had in Christian manner prepared his soule, by acknowleding his sinnes, and receiving it spirituall consolations, he rendred up the same to his *Redeemer*. His *Will* was short, for his *Creditors* and the *Poore* shared all his goods. The space of time which he raigned, is almost an old mans age, and absolutely the longest number of yeares, that ever any King of *England* raigned, not excepting *Ethelbert* the first *Christian* King, if (which is * written by some) he raigned fifty six yeares, and as many dayes more, as are between the feast of *Simon & Iude*, and * Saint *Edmund* the Archbishop, which are about twenty. A Prince whose * devotion was greater then his discretion, as wee see in his permitting the depredation of himselfe and his whole kingdome by Papall over-swayings, the errour of whose Government, concurring with the tumultuous treasons of his Nobles, did precipitate him into many mischiefes, out of which yet God almighty did strangely deliver him; for if he had not beene divinely protected, there is no cause for a reasonable man to doubt, but that his end had proved as headlong, as some of his owne, and his Barons actions seemed to threaten. The royall remaines of this happily-dying Prince were with all the due pompe of exequies interred in *Westminster*, the great and sumptuous new worke whereof he began, but finished not; the description of whose life, being full of diverticles and abrupt passages, as a maze or labyrinth, here at last hath found a place of rest for it selfe and us.

* Rainulf Bish. * Polydor. Virgil. Matth. Westm.

The State of *England* setled againe.

The chiefe Iustice slaine in *Westminster* Hall.

The Kings late yeares spent in quiet repose. An. Dom. 1270. 1271. 1272. 1273.

The Priory Church of Norwich burnt in a tumult.

Note the proportion then, betweene the value of gold and silver.

* *Liber. Trivet. apud Iohn Stow. annal.*

King Henry the third dyeth, having raigned fifty six yeares, and twentie daies.

* *Addition. Matth Paris*

His Wife.

(196) *Eleanor* the wife of King *Henry*, was the second of the five daughters of *Raymond* Earle of *Province*, sonne of Earle *Alfonse*, sonne of *Alfonse* the first King of *Arragon*; her mother was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Savoy*, sister of the Earles *Amee*, and *Peter*, and the Archbishop *Boniface* of *Canterbury*. She was married to him at *Canterbury*, *Ianu.24. An.* 1236. *Reg.*20. Crowned at *Westminster* the 19. of the same moneth: was his wife 37 yeare, his widow 19. died a Nun at *Almesbery*, the 25. of *Iune*, in the 20. yeare of her sonnes raigne 1291, and was buried in her Monastery, the 11. of *September* following.

His Issue.

Edward their eldest son was borne at *Westminster*, the 28. day of *Iune*, the 24. yeare of his Fathers Raign 1239. he was surnamed *Longshancke*, of his tall and slender body, made knight in *Spaine* by *Alfonse* King of *Castile*, created Earle of *Chester* by his Father, after the issue male extinct of the former Earles, and succeeded his Father in the kingdome of *England*.

(197) *Edmund* their second sonne, borne *Ian.* 26. A.1245. and of his Fathers raigne, 29. was surnamed *Crouched-backe*, of bowing in his backe, say some, but more likely of wearing the signe of the Crosse, (anciently called a **Crouch*) upon his backe, which was usually worne of such as vowed voyages to *Ierusalem*, as he had done. He was invested *titular King* of *Sicilia* and *Apulia*, and created Earle of *Lancaster*, (on whose person originally the great contention of *Lancaster* and *Yorke* was founded) and having of the grant of his Father, the lands of *Simon Montfort* and *Robert Ferrers*, (disinherited in the Barons warres) was by vertue of the same grant Earle of *Leicester* and *Derby*, and high Steward of *England*. Hee had two wives, the first was *Avelin*, daughter and heire of *William* Earle of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no issue, the second was Queene *Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*, (brother of Saint *Lewis* King of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne*, King of *Navarre*, and mother of *Ioane* Queene of *France* and *Navarre*, the wife of *Philip the faire*. By her he had issue three *sons* and one *daughter*. *Thomas*, who after his Father was Earle of *Lancaster*, and having married *Alice*, daughter and heire of *Henry Lacie* Earle of *Lincolne*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without issue: *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earle of *Lancaster*, and Father of *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*: *John*, who died without marriage: and *Marie*, married to *Henry* Lord *Percie*, Mother of *Henry*, the first Earle of *Northumberland*. This Earle *Edmund* died at *Bayon* in *Gascoigne*, *Iune* 5. *An.* 1296. and of King *Edward* his brothers raigne 24. when hee had lived fiftie yeares, foure moneths and nineteene daies; whose body halfe a yeare after his death, was convaied into *England*, and lieth entombed at

* So we call the wooden supporters of impotent men, made like a crosse at the legs: and crouched-Friers for wearing a *Crosse*.

at *Westminster* on the North-side of the high Altar, under a faire monument of stone, with his Portraiture, and the armes of him and others of his house, and many noble houses of that time.

(198) *Richard*, the third sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of his Uncle *Richard*, King of *Romans Almaigne*,) deceased in his youth, and lyeth at *Westminster*, enterred on the South-side of the Quire.

(199) *John*, the fourth sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, (bearing the name of King *John* his Grand-father,) deceased yong, and at *Westminster* his bones lye enterred with his brother *Richard*.

(200) *William*, the fift sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, is mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, (a Priest of the monastery of *Whitby* in *Yorkeshire*, who lived in the time of King *Henry* the fixt, and wrote a large Genealogy of the Kings of *England*, and their issues,) and that hee dying in his child-hood, was buried within the *New-Temple*, by Fleete-street in *London*.

(201) *Henry*, the sixt sonne of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, is also reported by the same *Pickering*, to have dyed young, and to be buried at *Westminster*.

(202) *Margaret*, the eldest daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, borne the twenty sixt yeere of her Fathers raigne, 1241. was the first wife of *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, married to him at *Yorke*, *Ann.* 1251. by whom she had issue, *Alexander* and *David*, (who dyed both before their Father without issue,) and *Margaret* Queene of *Norway*, wife of King *Erike*, and mother of *Margaret* the heire of *Scotland*, and *Norway*, that dyed unmarried: she was Queene twenty two yeeres, lived thirty three, deceased before her Husband, in the twenty third yeere of his Raigne, the first of her brother *Edwards* in *England*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Dunfermling* in *Scotland*.

(113) *Beatrice*, the second daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Burdeaux* in *Gascoigne*, *Iune* 25. *An. Dom.* 1242. of her Fathers raigne 27. At theage of eighteene yeeres, she was marryed to *John* the first Duke of *Britaine*, (sonne of *John* the last Earle of the same,) and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny*, *John* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip*, Son of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*; *Eleanor*, a Nunne at *Almsbery*, and *Mary* married to *Guy* Earle of Saint *Paul*: when she had beene his Wife twelve yeeres, and lived thirty yeeres, she deceased in *Britanny*, in the first yeere of the Raigne of her brother King *Edward*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the *Grey-Fryars* within Newgate.

(114) *Katherine*, the third daughter of King *Henry* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *London*, *An.*1252. of her fathers raigne 37. *Novem.*25. being Saint *Katherines* day, whose name was therefore given unto her, at the font, by *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, her mothers Vncle, who christned her, and was her God-father. She dyed young, and at *Westminster* her bones lye enterred, with her brother *Richard* and *Iohn*, in the space betweene the Chappels of King *Edward*, and Saint *Bennet*.

EDWARD

Edward I.

EDVVARD THE FIRST, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SEVENTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 47.



CHAPTER X.

An. Dom. 1273.

EDVVARD, who followed King *Henry* in wearing the *English* Crowne, but farre out-went him in all regall vertues, was abroad at the time of his fathers death, ſtill purſuing his high deſires for the *Holy Wars*: wherein what he performed, (being yet but a Prince) againſt the publique enemies of *Chriſtians*, it ſhall not be impertinent to touch, before we come to his actions as a *King*; having already remembred, with what valour and felicitie he had ſubdued his Fathers domeſticke enemies, ſetled the peace of his kingdome, and re-eſtabliſhed the raignes of Soveraignty in his Fathers hands, which thoſe potent Rebels had formerly extorted.

(2) King *Lewis* of *France*, whoſe perſwaſions had enflamed this noble-ſpirited Prince to aſſociate him in this glorious quarrell, having firſt ſet forth for the enterpriſe, lay now in ſiege of *Tunis* in *Africa*, where Prince *Edward* with all his forces arriving, the *French King* (greatly rejoycing in his wiſhed preſence,) together with the *King of Navarre*, and other Princes of his Army, went forth to meet him, and received him in the kiſſe of Peace. This place which they beleaguered, was (as then) not great, yet by reaſon of the ſituation, it * greatly impeached the *Chriſtians* in their paſſages through thoſe Seas; being built out of the ſcattered ribs, and waſted ruines of that mighty and famous City *Carthage*, rivall once in *Majeſtie* and *Ambition* with ancient *Rome*, as contending with her about the *Empire* of the World. Therefore to ſecure the Mediterranean Seas, it was thought neceſſarie to beginne that enterpriſe for *Aſia*, with this in *Africa*; but not long after *Lewis* yeelding up his holy Soule to GOD at the ſiege, and ſickneſſe (by reaſon of the heats in thoſe Regions, for it was Auguſt) raigning in

Prince Edward at Tunis in Africa.

* Paul. Æmil. in Lud. 9.

Continu. Mat. Paris.

in the Chriſtian Campe, *Charles* King of *Sicille*, whom *Lewis* (before his deceaſe) had ſent for, to take charge of the whole enterpriſe, arrives; and after ſharpe re-enforcement of the ſiege, (where *Edward* gave frequent proofe of his great valour and prudence,) *Charles* is content to forbeare extremity, (to which the *Sarazens* were brought) upon capitulations with them, contrary to *Edwards* minde, being wholly ſet to ſubdue, convert or roote them out.

Prince Edward unwilling to any peace with the Sarazens.

Paul. Æmil.

(3) Yet the points of the treaty and truce (though granted for many yeeres) carried ſhew of honour, being theſe: 1. That all Chriſtian Captives ſhould be ſet free without ranſome: 2. That in the Cities of that Kingdome, the Chriſtian faith might freely bee taught: 3. That all ſuch as were willing, might freely receive ſacred Baptiſme: 4. That the *Sarazens* ſhould repay to the Chriſtian Kings, their charges: 5. That the King of *Tunis* ſhould remaine tributary to the King of *Sicilie*. The ſiege hereupon was raiſed, to the griefe and indignation of *Edward*, who would not (as is reported) partake nor ſhare in any of the Treaſure, which by reaſon of the truce was payed by the *Sarazens*, as accounting it to bee wickedly gotten, and contrary to the Tenour of the vow, which for the honour and advancement of Chriſtian Religion had beene made. The event alſo ſeeming to confirme no leſſe; for the wrath of Heaven (ſaith our * Author) purſued King *Charles*, brother to the late King *Lewis*, and finding him out upon the Sea in his returne toward *Sicilie*, tooke ſeverer revenge by terrible weather, as well upon him, as almoſt his whole Army, which periſhed in the waters, together with the impious treaſure brought from *Tunis*, and all other his furniture of State and Houſhold. Which when Prince *Edward* underſtood, hee ſware, *By the Bloud of our Lord, that though all his Companions in Armes and Country-men ſhould abandon him, yet hee and* Fowin *his* * *Lackey alone would enter into* * *Ptolomais, and keepe the vow which hee had made, whiles ſoule and body held together.* A noble reſolution, and as faithfully performed; but not with ſo ſmall attendance; for the *Engliſh* hearing his fervent aſſeveration, promiſed with one heart to accompany him, and that (in all likely-hood) the more willingly, becauſe it is not obſerved, that the tempeſt had any way damnified *Edward*, or his fellowſhip. Hee forthwith therefore ſets ſaile toward *Acon*, into which he entred ſafe not above foure dayes before the City ſhould have beene yeelded to the *Sarazens*, from which precipitation theſe ſuccours out of *England* withheld it. The Sultan of *Babylon*, who lay about *Acon* with a puiſſant hoaſt, and had begun to aſſault the breaches, hearing this, not long after raiſed his ſiege, and without the fruition of his deſire withdrew to his owne Dominions.

* continuatio gualth. Paris.

Prince Edwards high reſolution upheld on his enterprize.

* Calles Peſtoſt. * Acrop. Acon.

He arriveth ſafe at Acon.

(4) *Edward* undoubtedly was not more tall of perſonage, then ſtout of courage, and upon truſt thereof, doing ſome things, which perhaps a Prince of his hopes, and fortunes, might with good reaſon have forborne. His undaunted courage againſt thoſe *Infidels* may be geſſed by the like againſt a domeſtick Rebell. Among thoſe who were out-lawed for Rebellion and Treaſon, after the Battell of *Eveſham* for partaking with *Simon* Earle of *Leiceſter*, was one Sir *Adam Gurdon* a Knight of the parts about *Winchester*, who with certaine his Complices kept out of the way of the Kings officers, but made the Kings high-way betweene *Wilton* and *Fernham*, (which by reaſon of woods and windings was fit to ſhelter enemies) very dangerous for ſuch as meant to paſſe, but doing moſt miſchiefe to the lands and goods of ſuch as were the Kings friends. *Edward* hearing of this mans ſingular courage, gets intelligence of a fit time, and comes upon him with a ſtrong band of followers, but hee, nothing terrified, prepares himſelfe to fight for his life to the laſt gaſpe. The Prince hereupon commands that none of his men ſhould dare to interrupt their combate, and forthwith with

Edwards voluntary ſingle fight with Sir Adam Gurdon.

* Paul. Æmil. in Lud. 9.

equall courage exchanged mighty blowes without winning ground each of other. *Edward* delighted with the bravery of *Adams* ſpirit, and proofe of his manhood, *had him yeeld, promiſing him life, and his Lands againe*; who preſently throwing away his weapons, enjoyed the full benefit of Prince *Edwards* promiſe. The happineſſe of that age, wherein *Sword* and *Shield* were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much aſſurance in fight, might ſomewhat excuſe the Prince from the note of temerity, which otherwiſe, in hazarding his Princely perſon againſt a private Gentleman, hee could hardly have eſcaped. But here at *Acon* hee refuſed no occaſion of putting forth the naturall ſtrengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreat the moſt honourable opportunities were ſubtracted.

(5) All this while did that renowned and vertuous Lady, *Eleanor* Wife of Prince *Edward*, endure with him an inſeparable companion of all his fortunes, and was at *Acon* delivered of a Daughter, baptized there by the name of *Joan*. But if God had not better provided for him, ſhee was not likely to have enjoyed any longer the deare company of her loving Lord and Husband. Amongſt that bloudy Sect of *Sarazens*, called *Aſſaſſini*, who, without feare of torments, undertake (upon command of their * *Superior*) the murther of any eminent Prince, impugning their irreligion, was one *Anzacim*, often uſed by the *Sarazen* Admirall of *Ioppe*, as a Meſſenger betweene him and *Edward*, whom the *Admirall* pretended exceedingly to honour for his heroicke parts of minde and body. The deſperate wretch by this employment getting credit and acceſſe, upon his inſinuation of certaine ſecrets to bee imparted, Prince *Edward* commanded all men to voyde the Chamber, when looking out of a window, the *Aſſaſſine*, ſodainly with a poyſoned Kniſe gives him three wounds, two in the arme, and one neere the arme pit; whom *Edward* preſently with his foot threw to the Earth, wrong the Kniſe from the Traytour, (not without wounding himſelfe in the hand,) and with the treſſell of a Table ſmote out his braines. Then calling in his people, hee commands that the body of the Villaine ſhould be hanged up over the Cities Wall, and a live Dogge with him. The Admirall hearing of this Trayterous attempt, is * ſaid to have ſighed for ſorrow, for that hee never know thereof, but meant himſelfe to have become a Chriſtian. But when the Chriſtians underſtood of this curſed aſſault upon the perſon of ſo renowned a Prince, they meant in revenge thereof, to have forthwith invaded the Pagans whereſoever. But the Prince (whoſe firſt care was the ſafety of Chriſtians) ſaid, *I forbid you on the behalfe of God, that none of you yet preſume to infeſt the Pagans Army, becauſe many of our people are gone to viſit the holy Sepulchre, who ſhall every one of them bee murthered by the Sarazens, if they ſhall now ſuſtaine any (though but ſmall) vexation at our hands.* The ſecond care was of the wounds, which by reaſon of the envenomed blade were feared to be mortall; wherein the Lady *Elenor* gave ſo rare example of conjugall affection, as her immortall memory doth juſtly impart glory to that whole Sex. For when no medicine could extract the poyſon, ſhe did it with her Tongue, licking daily, while her Husband ſlept, *his ranckling wounds, whereby they perfectly cloſed, and yet her ſelfe received no harme*; *ſo ſoveraigne a medicine is a Wives Tongue, annointed with the vertue of lovely affection.*

Edwards Wife delivered of a daughter at Acon.

Reade Turkiſh Hiſt. pag. 120.

* Or Senior.

Prince Edward treyterously wounded by an Aſſaſſine.

* Continu. Mat. Paris.

A rare example of wifely affection.

Rodericus Toletan. lib. Combd. in Gaſtdiction. fol. 432.

(6) Thus while *Edward* abode in forraine parts for the generall ſervice of Chriſtianity, againſt the encreaſing Enemies thereof, (contending then to that lamentable Greatneſſe, wherein our unhappy times behold them;) his Father King *Henry* dyes, and Prince *Edward* had the deſeaſt of his preſence ſupplyed by the faith and care of ſuch venerable and noble perſons, as his Father left behinde him at his death. Therefore *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester*, with other the chiefe

The wayſtraight.

chiefe Prelates and Peeres of the Land, assembling together at the *New-Temple* in *London*, acknowledged and proclaimed absent *Edward* for their Soveraigne Liege Lord; and by the assent of his Mother, the *Queene Dowager*, provided for the common affaires of the King, and the good estate of the Kingdome. The first newes of his Fathers death were brought unto him, when after his returne from the Holy-Land (which service he was * enforced to forsake, having long in vaine expected the promised aydes of Christians, and Tartars,) hee rested himselfe in *Sicilia*, with *Charles* the King thereof; where to the immortall commendation of his piety, and filiall affection (rare in Princes) it is recorded, that the death of his *Sonne* and Heire, comming first to his eare, and afterward of the King his *Father*, hee much more sorrowed his Fathers departure, then his Soanes: whereat King *Charles* greatly marvailed, and demanding the reason, had of him this answer; *"The losse of Sonnes is but light, because they "are multiplyed every day: but the death of Parents is "irremediable, because they can never bee had a-"gaine.*

* Paul. Æmil. in Lud. 9.

An. Dom. 1274.

(7) Now, whether it were the terrour of such revenge as followed the captivation of his valiant Predecessor King *Richard*, or his owne wiser carriage, or the calmer condition of the times, or all of them together, which secured him in his returne: certaine it is, that hee travelled in great safety and honour over-Land from *Sicilia* to *Rome*, where he was met upon the way with all the Cardinals, gratulating the honourable successe of his Chevalry against the Turkes, his safe returne, and new Kingdome. At his instance, Pope *Gregory* * excommunicated the bloudy-handed *Guy Monfort* (because * his person could not easily be gotten, by reason of his Greatnesse, and power) with all his receivers, and (untill amends were made) put their whole Dominions under interdict, for that the said *Guy*, (sonne to *Simon*, late Earle of *Leicester*, slaine at the battle of *Evesham*) in revenge of his Fathers death (* for which he mortally hated all King *Henries* race,) had most butcherly murthered * *Henry* of *Almaine*, King *Edwards* neere Kinsman, upon his returne toward *England*, in the raigne of the late King *Henry*, as hee was devoutly serving God in the Church at *Viterbo* in *Italy*: which horrible act induced a * Iudicious Author to suspect, that *Guy* also had a hand in that *Assassination* on *Edward*, who had slaine his Father. This *Guy* being afterward taken by the Admirall of *Arragon*, to gratifie King *Edward*, was kept in prison, and the death of *Henry* revenged * with his. From *Rome* hee journyed through the Cities of *Italy*, where he was generally entertained with exceeding joy and honour; and as hee was * entring into *Savoy*, at the stoope, or descent of the *Alpes*, very many of the *Princlates*, and *Peeres* of *England* met him, acknowledging their gladnesse for his safety, and their duties to his Soveraignty. In his passage, hee gave notable proofe of his great prowesse and strength at a Turnament (or rather * battell) against * the Earle of *Chabloun*, and his Burgundians: for the said Count being a gallant man at Armes, after many blowes with the Sword betweene King *Edward* and him, throwing away his weapon, grasped the King about the Gorget, and hung upon him with the weight of his masse body, in hope to cast him to the Earth; but the King, sitting upright, without any bending, put Spurres to his lusty Horse, and lifted the Count so hanging about his necke, quite from his Saddle, carrying him away, till hee had forceably shooke him off to the ground, who recovering himselfe, and comming to redeeme his disgrace, had such entertainement, as hee was contented to yeeld. In our effeminate and degenerous age, to omit such an atchievement of a King of *England* in his owne person, had beene haynous and *piaculum*. Thus his renowne encreasing with his progresse, hee had magnificent e nterrainement in *France*, of *Philip* the King, to whom (upon condition to have such territories restored, as were promised to his Father King *Henry*, when hee sold *Normandy* to the *French*) hee did homage for such Signiories, as he held of the Crowne of *France*.

* Thom. Walsing. * Polydor. Virg. lib. 17.

* Pont. Æmil. in Vit. lip. ii.

* The Sonne of Richard King of Rom. &c.

* Paul. Æmil. in Lud. 9.

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 17.

* Ypodig. Neustr. per Tho. Walsing.

* All and Mem. pag. 124.

* Tho. Walsing. Edward I. Themaxvailous strength of Bordyn King Edwards.

(8) And as well to shew his owne moderation and princely temperance, *(a vertue which makes every man a King in himselfe, and Kings like to Gods)* as also his reverence to the Crowne of *France*, whose homager hee was for his transmarine Dominions, *Guasco de Biern*, a valiant man of Armes, being in actuall rebellion against King *Edward* in his Dutchy of *Gascoigne*, was admitted to appeale for tryall of his pretended causes to the *French King*, as the supetior Lord. Many of King *Edwards* friends and Counsellors were utterly adverse to this favour; as well because the said *Guasco* had drawne the King to no small charge, and labor, as also for that now he was brought by strait siege to such extremities, as that he could no longer hold out, and himselfe, having all that while put his confidence in wals of stone, and the weapons poine; there was also little reason to allow him an ordinary civill tryall of his pretexts for taking armes; and many perhaps, both thought the example prejudicious to King *Edward* and his Successors, by giving way to such appeales, and distrusted the justice of the *French* Court: contrary to all which, the King decreed, and it was fortunate with him; for *Guasco* (not long after) was condemned in *France*, and sent with * an Halter about his necke, to prostrate himselfe to justice, or mercy, at King *Edwards* feete in *England*, who pardoned him the forfeiture of life, and (when hee had for certaine yeeres kept him prisoner at *Winchester*) set him at liberty, and sent him backe to his owne, who remained for ever after gratefully firme and loyall.

* Ypodig. Neustr per Tho. Walsing. Mercy well placed.

* Or in Gascoin some use the word.

(9) King *Edward* (his transmarine affaires thus being setled) arrived in *England*, where he was after so long desirings most joyfully welcome, and there, in the Church of *Westminster* (the magnificent new worke of his deceased Father, who had with great cost, and after above fifty yeeres spent therein, almost finished the same) he and his deareft *Eleanor* were annoynted, and crowned by * *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. There were present at this solemnity Queene *Elenor* the Kings mother, * *Alexander* King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Britaine*, with multitudes of Peeres and others: where (as * one faith) for the more royall celebration of this great feast, and honor of so martiall a King, there were five hundreth great Horses let loose, every one to take them for his owne, who could.

* David Powel. p. 336.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Hoveden. transl. lib. 19. Ran. Higden, in Polych. lib. 6. * John Stow.

(10) The finall abolishment of succession of the *Welsh* bloud in the *principality*, or chiefedome of *Wales* now ensued: but yet (as great matters use) not first without some time, and certaine degrees. The originall was this; King *Edward* having sent for *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales* to his Coronation, there to doe him homage; he, excusing the same, was againe (for that cause) admonished to repaire to the Kings Parliament at *Westminster*: whither likewise he forbare to come, pretending it was danger to his person, but * directing his excuse to the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, and *Yorke*, and their *Suffragans*, professed his readinesse, if it would please the King, *either to send a Commission for taking his oath, and fealty*, (who bare him a deepe displeasure, ever * since *Lewelin* had put him, being then but Earle of *Chester*, to the worse) *or else, to appoint some indifferent place, or give to him for hostiages the * Kings sonne, and Robert Earle of Glocester, with Robert Burnell the Kings Chancellour*. But King *Edward* dissembling the arrogancy of the demand for the present, went forward in his Parliament, where the first Statutes, called of *Westminster*, and among them the Statute of *Mortmain* were enacted. But after the Parliament, the King repaired to his city of *Chester*, being very neere to *Wales*, and *Lewelin* fore-flowed his comming thither also; whereafore the King, resolving (for denial of

The meanes of salem, and destruction of their government.

The Prince of wales summoned to doe his homage and service

* Pol. Powel. pag. 331.

* Idem pag. 338. in his History of Wales.

* Thom. Walsing.

Scottish aydes promised not to be sent of Edward King Edwards, but of love.

The Statute of Mortmain first enacted.

of Homage) to seize upon the whole Fee of the said Prince, marcht with an Army into *Wales*; his good fortune there was accidentally augmented by a Prize, which foure ships of *Brissol* tooke about the Isles of *Sillie*, wherein the daughter of *Simon Mountfort* late Earle of *Leicester*, (who, according to a secret contract betweene their friends, went to be given in marriage to *Lewelin*) and *Aimericke* her brother, were surprised, but she found honourable usage of the King her neere kinsman.

An. Dom. 1278.

* Alias, Camarvicia.

* Longust in English. ex Thomas Walsingh. Hist. Angl. 127.

* Fabian.

* David Powel, pag. 336. & 341.

* Tho. Walsingh. in Edw. 1. and in Ypodig. Neustr.

(11) Meane-while, *Lewelines* affaires, by the manhood and diligence of *Pain de * Camoisis*, and others, who had taken *West-Wales* in, and brought it to the Kings peace, thriving but poorely, and the said Prince feeling the foundations of his safetie beginning manifestly to fayle, and shrinke from under him, * fued for peace, and had it upon such termes, which in likely-hood were not (as * *Polidor Virgil* would have it seeme) granted by King *Edward*, *lest he should leese his cost, and care, by warring against bogs and mountaines*. In the conditions of Peace (which was procured * with great difficulty) the most remarkeable (as carrying the shew of a farre greater riches in the possession of the *Welsh*, even at that time, then some prejudicated can easily beleeve) * were these. 1. That the Prince should pay to the King for his peace and good-will, fifty thousand pounds sterling, the * payment whereof should be in the Kings will and grace; that is (as we conceive it) how much thereof the Prince should pay or not pay, and when. 2. That the said Prince should have the Isle of *Anglesey* in Fee-farme of the King, to him, and to the lawfull issue of his body in generall taile, for five thousand Markes ready money, for * *gressom*, or a fine in hand paid, and the yeerely rent of a thousand Markes. The reft of the Articles (being about eight,) amounted to so much as a plain Conquest, or diffolution of the *Principality of Wales*, after *Lewelins* death, who was to enjoy the same, during his time upon conditions.

* Polidor. Virg. lib. 17.

* Pol. Virg. l. 17.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Rutilius. Dunelm. pag. 137. * Archiv. Cant. apud Jac. Powel. pag. 359.

(12) Now whereas the said *Lewelin* had three Brethren, *David* (whom King *Edward* favoured) *Owen*, and *Rodericke*, it was enjoyned to him at this conclusion, (made by the Lord *Robert Tiptoft*, and certaine other * Commissioners, upon either side appointed) that hee should appease and satisfie his said Brethren: but because *David* was afterward a principall Actor in the calamities which fell upon himselfe, his house, and his Country, wee must not neglect to speake somewhat particularly of him. This Gentleman for some causes, * flying into *England* from his Brother *Lewelin*, for his faithfull service to the State of *England*, was there honoured (contrary to the manner of his Nation) with the order of *Knight-hood*, and received also, by the bountie of King *Edward*, for his maintenance, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with lands to the yeerely value of one thousand pounds, and the Daughter of the Earle of *Derby* (being then a *Widow*) to wife: *with all which bountie, the King did but entertaine a revealer of his secrets, as * some* (not improbably) *doe affirme*. The State of *Wales* thus composed, and the Castle of * *Aberistwith* (which seemes to be the same, that by * another is said to have beene built in *West-Wales* at *Lanpader Vaur*) being built by King *Edward* for assuring those parts, the King (as hee was munificent, and royall) the more to rye *Lewelins* faith, gave unto him the Lady, of whose surprise at Sea we have mentioned, to be his consort, honouring the Nuptials with his owne presence, and his Queenes. And whereas *Alexander* King of *Scots* came about the same season into *England* to treat with *Edward* concerning important affaires, and had formerly sent to the *Welsh* wats, certaine aides of the *Scots*, the said *Alexander*, being jealous (on his countries behalfe) that those aides might be interpreted to have beene sent upon duties, obtained Letters testimoniall from King *Edward*, declaring *that they were not sent of duties, or in respect of service due*.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Rutilius. Dunelm. pag. 137. * Archiv. Cant. apud Jac. Powel. pag. 359.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Dun. Pow. pag. 336.

* Tho. Walsing. * Antiq. Britan. in vita Anth. Beckam. * Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

An. Dom. 1283.

* Tho. Walsingh. King Edward repulsed by the Welsh.

* Dun. Pow. p. 374.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Pag. 374.

(13) Though King *Edward* were thus desirous to gaine the *Welsh* Nation rather by his largesse, then puissance, having so honourably used *Lewelin*, hee could not yet retaine their hearts; for whether it were (which * some, to amove the note of ingratitude, and turbulency from them, affirme,) for that there was partiality used by the *English* officers in distribution of justice upon the Marches, or (which seems to some as likely) *for that they aspired in vaine to their ancient libertie (being miserably seduced with certaine * blind prophesies)* the *Welsh* betooke themselves afresh to Armes: for *David* himselfe, whom the King had laden with so many benefits and graces, became to them a principall leader, and to give them full assurance of his faithfulnesse to their cause (reconciling himselfe to his brother the Prince) he sodainely and treacherously upon Palme-Sunday seised the Castle of * *Hawardin*, surprising *Roger de Clifford*, a noble and famous Knight, whom the King had dispatched into those parts, as Iusticiar of all *Wales*, and slaying such unarmed men as offered to resist that violence: whence marching, he laide siege, together with the Prince his Brother, to the Castle of * *Rodolan*, doing many outrages, and killing all such as they could reach, yea some (as it is said) whose ransomes * they had taken, though against *Lewelins* mind. And while King *Edward* spent his Easter at the *Vises* in *Wiltshire*, and afterward visited the Queene his Mother, who lived in the Nunnery at *Almesberie*, the *Welsh*, under divers Captaines, had taken sundry of the Kings * strengths and Castles in divers parts. There are extant the * Copies of certaine grievances, exhibited to *John* Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the *Welsh*, at such time as of his owne accord (so say the said Copies) hee interposed himselfe (without the Kings leave) to settle their quiet; which Articles in shew, (for the answers of the English are not set downe) containe indeed sundry great abuses; but the sate of *Wales* had now involved them all in a desolating warre, and made them uncapable of reliefe. For after the Arch-Bishop had traveled in person to the Prince of *Wales*, being then in * *Snowdon*, and returned, without any Conclusion made, * comming unto *Oxford*, hee there sent out the lightnings of * excommunication against him and his followed adherents: We say *seduced*, because they did capitulate in such fort, as if they had beene able to make their party good.

* David Powel. pag 336.

* Pol. Virg. l. 17.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Dun. Pow. p. 374.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Pag. 374.

(14) But though the old *British* Principalitie was now to expire, yet it must be confessed, that as *Lewelin* had an end unworthy of his bloud, being rather unfortunately slaine, then otherwise; so on the other side the same hapned not without revenge: for at one encounter in open field, *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester* lost *William Valence*, (a younger Cosen of the Kings) slaine in the fight, and foure other Knights, though at the same time also, many of the *Welsh* left their bodies dead upon the earth, together with the victory to the English: but the day certainly which they had of King *Edward* himselfe, may not be forgotten, in which the *Welsh* slew the * Lord *William de Audeley*, and the Lord *Roger Clifford* the younger, and got foureteene Ensignes from the English Army, King *Edward* being enforced to enter into the Castle of *Hope* for his safetie. These things, though not contemptible, but rather, certaine deceitfull favours, usuall when the ruine of a Nation is by God decreed, could not uphold the cause. For first the Prince, having upon some occasion withdrawne himselfe with some few others from his Army, which then was in the Land of *Buelth*, was set upon by two principall Gentlemen, *John Giffard*, and *Edmund de Mortimar*, with their Forces, and there by the hand of one * *Adam Francton* was runne through with an Horsemans staffe, who at the first being unknowne, had his head strucken afterward off, and presented to King *Edward*, at whose commandement it was * crowned with Ivie, and setup for a certaine time upon the Tower of *London*.

* Tho. Walsingh.

(15) This (saith the * History of *Wales*) was the end

end of *Lewelin*, betrayed by the men of *Buelth*, who was the laſt Prince of *Britaines* blood: and with him (* whom one *Verſifier* calleth *the Captaine, the praiſe, the law, and light of Nations*, and another defaceth with as many ignominious attributes) the liberty of that people did alſo dye. For it was not long but that King *Edward* ſubdued in a manner all *Wales*, and referring to himſelfe the Coaſt-Townes and ſtrengths toward the Sea, diſtributed the In-Land Countries to the Lords his followers: therein prudently *following the counſell of* Auguſtus, *who thus under pretence of defence for the Provinces, had the bridling of all their forces at his pleaſure.* Nevertheleſſe the whole flame was not as yet extinguiſhed, for *David* the *Princes* Brother, and * chiefeſt fire-brand in this fatall combuſtion, was at large: who being taken and brought to King *Edward* at the Caſtle of *Ruthlan*, could not obtaine admiſſion to his ſight or ſpeech, but was amanded, and ſent Priſoner to *Shrewsbury*. Thither the King, having ſettled the State of *Wales*, repayring to a Parliament which he had ſummoned, there to be kept after *Michaelmas*, cauſed *David*, having firſt had a Legall triall * before certain Iuſticiars for that cauſe appointed) to be severely put to death, by * hanging, heading, and quartering, whoſe head was ſet up at *London*, and his quarters in foure other principall Cities of *England*, to the terrour of all ingratefull and diſloyall perſons. The *Welſh* Line thus thruſt from the Principalitie, King *Edward* upon Saint *Markes* day had a Sonne borne unto him in *Wales* at *Caernarvan*, who alſo was called *Edward*, and raigned after him; and that with the birth of a new Lord, the *Welſh* might be inured to new Lawes, the King eſtabliſhed (by example of King *John* his Grand-father in *Ireland*) the Engliſh Lawes and Offices among them.

(16) But the King, that he might not ſeeme forgetfull of his French affaires, repaired into *France*, where hee obtained ſundry favours, though they continued not long; and fate in perſon there with the French King in his Parliament at the Citie of *Paris*, as a Lord or Peere of that Realme, in reſpect of ſuch Lands as he had in thoſe parts. Nor may here be forgotten an Act of ſingular munificence, and charitie in this renowned King, for the redemption of *Charles* Prince of *Achaia*, ſonne and Heire of *Charles* King of *Sicilia*, who had ſome yeeres before beene taken in a barrell at Sea before *Naples*; by the Gallies of *Sicilia*, fighting on the behalfe of the King of *Arragon*: for whoſe ſpeedier enlargement, King *Edward* diſburſed thirtie thouſand pounds Sterling, and gave his owne Knights in hoſtage, till *Charles* had ſent in his two Sonnes, *Robert* and *Lewis*, as pledges to *Alfonſe* King of *Arragon*: which done, King *Edward* returned into *Gaſcoigne*, and there tooke upon him the Croſſe, in full purpoſe to finiſh the journey which once he had undertaken, and had in part performed againſt the *Saracens*.

(17) In the meane time, to purge *England* (whither hee was now returned) from ſuch corruptions, and oppreſſions, as under which it groaned, and not neglecting therein his particular gaine, he baniſhed the *Iews* out of the realm, confiſcating all their goods, leaving them nothing but money to beare their charges. And whereas they by their cruell uſuries had one way eaten his people to the bones, and his Iuſticiars (like another kind of Iewes) had ruined them with delayes in their ſuites, and enriched themſelves with wicked corruptions, he (like a father of his Country) *put all thoſe from their offices who were found guiltie* (and they were * almoſt all) *and puniſhed them otherwiſe in a grievous manner, being firſt in open Parliament convicted.* The particulars whereof, by reaſon of the moſt juſt and commendable example, we will not thinke needleſſe (the order of naming them only changed) to recapitulate here. *Sir Ralph Hengham, Chiefe Iuſtice of the higher Bench, 7000. markes. Sir John Lovetot, Iuſtice of the lower Bench, 3000. markes. Sir William Brompton Iuſtice, 6000. markes.*

S. Salomon Rocheſter, chiefe Iuſtice of Aſſiſes, 4000. M.
S. Richard Boyland, 4000. Markes.
S. Thomas Sodentone, 2000. Markes.
S. Walter de Hopton, 2000. Markes.
S. William Saham, Iuſtice, 3000. Markes.
Robert Littelburie, Clerke, 1000. Markes.
Roger Leiceſter, Clerke, 1000. Markes.
Adam de Stratton (beſide otherriches incredible)
32000. *Markes.* But with one Sir *Thomas Weyland* the Kings * chiefe Iuſtice, (being found beſike moſt falſe) he deale farre more ſternely; for he not only feiſed upon all his moveable goods and Iewels (which he had done to others) but alſo upon his immoveable, and baniſht him moreover out of the Kingdome. At which time the King conſtrayned all his Iuſtices to ſweare, that from thenceforth they would take no penſion, fee, or gift of any man, except onely a breakfaſt, or the like preſent. *O divine and ſtill neceſſary ſeverity, onely able to breake the pernicious combination of men, that under the profeſſion of Law and offices of Iuſtice, make merchandize of honour, juſtice, Law, and conſcience, which cannot in the end but bring forth ruine and confuſion.*

(18) That tempeſt now, which * *Thomas Erſilton*, a *Scottiſh* Rimer, is ſaid to have obſcurely propheciſed, alluding to the troubles of *Scotland*, by reaſon of King *Alexanders* death, hapned about theſe times; which raiſed ſo great, and bloody contentions, that it had almoſt blowne up the regality of that Kingdome by the very roots. For when, by the violent fall from his horſe, King *Alexander* had moſt unfortunately loſt his life, that Realm was wofully deſtitute of any apparent heire, ſundry perſons ſtanding in competition for the ſame. Theſe things were thought to be fore-ſhewed from heaven by many * fearfull preſages, as extraordinary Mereors, Flouds, Fires, and Peſtilence. But King *Edward* intending to ſway that affaire, and being upon his way toward the borders, the death of his royall conſort and Queene, which he lamented while himſelfe did live, called him backe to the celebration of her funerals, as her excellent vertues did well deſerve: To our Nation ſhee was a loving mother, and (ſaith * one) the Columne, and pillar (as it were) of the whole Realme. In her honour the K. her husband (who loved her above all worldly creatures) cauſed thoſe many ſimous * trophеis, or croſſes to bee erected, whereſoever her noble Coarſe did reſt; as it was conveyed from *Lincolneſhire* to buriall in *Weſtminſter*. Nor could any thing, but the reſpect to other weighтie matters, now preſently in hand, with-hold our pen from paying to her memory a farre more copious commendation.

(19) Thoſe mourning offices as mournfully performed, the King repaires into *Northumberland*, whither the greateſt, and ſageſt perſons of the *Scottiſh* nation being come, * themſelves having ſought to him, *Edward* makes claime to the ſuperiority of *Scotland*, and requires that the Competitors would quietly aſſent to his award, alleadging that the Crowne of that Realme was held of him: for more credit to which aſſerion he vouched ſundry * books, and acts, whereunto the Scots replied, * *That they were ignorant, that any ſuch ſuperioritie belonged to the King of England: neyther could they make anſwere to ſuch things without a King, the head, upon whom it lay to beare ſuch a denunciation, and proteſted, that other anſwere they ought not as then to give, in regard of their Oath, which after the death of* Alexander *their King, they had made one to the other, and the ſame to keepe under paine of excommunication.* Whereupon the King delivered to them his Letters Patents, in which he acknowledged, that the comming of thoſe *Scots*, on this ſide the Water of *Twede*, ſhould not be at any other time urged to prejudice them, for comming againe into *England*: *that is, That their example ſhould not ſo bee drawne to an argument of King* Edwards *right over them; as if they were to come againe upon duty; ſo prudently jealous were thoſe Patriots of their Countries libertie.*

(20) The

(20) The names of the *Competitors* were theſe, according to *Walſingham*: *Ericke, King of Norway*, who appeared by his Attorneys; *Florence, Earle of Holland*; *Robert le Brus*, Lord of *Annandale*; *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galoway*; *John de Haſtings*, Lord of *Abergevenny*; *John Comin*, Lord of *Badenaw*; *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earle of *March*; *John de Veſci*, on his Fathers behalfe; *Nicholas de Sules*; *William de Roſſe*. Theſe all peaceably ſubmitted themſelves, *for ſo much as concerned their ſeverall Titles to the Scottiſh Crowne*, to the finall award and arbitration of King *Edward*, paſſing thereof an authentick inſtrument unto him; who having given caution to reſtore the Realme of *Scotland*, (within a certaine prefixed time,) to that partie to whom the *Crowne* thereof ſhould be adjudged, had ſeiſin delivered to him, the better to put the ſentence in execution, or (ſay the Writers of that nation) they giving him power to conſtraine the parties to ſtand to this ſentence. The whole carriage of which weightie buſineſſe, being ſo diverſly related and cenſured by the Writers of both Nations, (though for the preſent it bee not materiall, both Kingdomes now bleſſedly acknowledging one abſolute *Superiour*) we will ſo trace the ſteps of truth in a midle way, as reſolving neither to impeach the action of that glorious Vmpire, not prejudicate the right of our noble Siſter-Nation. The State of *Scotland* now was not without manifeſt peril; for the *Scots* * denying that their Kingdome was in any point ſubalterne to the Crowne of *England*, and King *Edward* either perſwaded that it was, ſo, or reſolving and plotting now to make it ſo, would not neglect the advantage of this* *Akephaliſis*, or *want of a knowne head in Scotland*.

(21) Vpon full ventilation therefore and ſcanning of all rights, the maine doubt reſted upon Lord *Brus* and *Baliol*, for the reſidue might ſeeme rather to affect the honour of having pretended title in blood to a Diademe, then to have colour to contend with either of them. Great was the adviſe, and deliberation (as there was cauſe) which King *Edward* tooke therein, for not truſting to his owne judgement, he cauſed (ſaith * *Hector Boetius*) twelve of the beſt Clerkes or learned men of *Scotland*, and twelve of *England* to concurre, as Aſſeſſors, with him in that great deciſion.

(22) While this weighтie cauſe was in debatement; there fell out deadly ſtrife betweene the *Engliſh* and *Normans*, occaſioned by one of them caſually ſlaine by the *Engliſh*; which miſchiefe the King of *France* forwardly nouriſht, as thirſting for the *dutchie of Gaſcoigne*, which beſt he might attaine by troubling the forreine affaires of King *Edward*, whom they ſaw now entangled at home in ſo weighty employments. Whereupon the *Normans* flew ſundry of the *Engliſh*, and hung up one upon the maſt of a Ship, whom they had taken at Sea: but, ere long after, threeſcore *Engliſh* thips encountring with two hundreth ſaile of *Normans*, laden with wines, after a moſt bloudy battell (wherein many * thouſands of the *French* were ſlaine) tooke, with their whole fleet, their full revenge and brought them into *England*.

(23) At laſt yet King *Edward* returning to *Berwicke*, having with him the ſaid twenty foure Aſſeſſors, as it were a Iury of either Nation, * and with the good will and aſſent of the *Scottiſh* Lords, gave ſolemne judgement with *Baliol*, as being deſcended of the eldeſt Daughter of *David*, Earle of *Huntingdon*, a younger ſonne of *Scotland*; whoſe iſſue (the line of the elder brother being extinct) was to inherit without queſtion. But the ſtrife being betweene the deſcendents of the ſaid *David*, of which the Lord *Robert Bruce* was alſo a principall, reaſons of importance were produced, which drew many mens judgement to incline to him, as having a neerer intereſt to that Crowne. But according to the ſentence, *Baliol* was ſolemnely crowned King of *Scotland* upon Saint *Andrews* day, and, in *Chriſtmas* following, repaired to King *Edward*, at New-caſtle upon *Tyne*, and * there (againſt the minds of many *Scots*) did homage unto him for the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*.

(24) Meane time the *French* King purſued the revenge of the *Normans*, demanding reſtitution, and citing King *Edward* judicially to appeare to anſwere ſuch wrongs as were done in *Aquitaine*; who, (deſirous to ſettle his owne affaires at home, or, as ſome write, * eager upon a march for himſelfe in *France*) while hee diſcovered either his unwillingneſſe to appeare in that kinde, or to warre, ſuffered himſelfe by a French device, to be meerely deceived, and put out of his poſſeſſion of *Gaſcoigne*, to the great miſcheife, and diſadvantage of the Engliſh: whereupon King *Edward* highly incenſed, called a Parliament at *London*, where *John* King of *Scotland* was preſent; *and had the full conſent of the whole Realme, to re-gaine that honeſtly by the ſword, which was craftily gotten away by a cunning tricke*; * renouncing to the French his homage for *Aquitaine*. *Wales* alſo was at the ſame time full of troubles; but the fires of rebellion, there raſhly kindled, were, not long after, quenched with the bloud of the Actors, and thouſands of their Complices.

(25) *Baliol* having thus obtained the Crowne of *Scotland*, and finding his party, by the homage which hee had made to King *Edward*, much empaired among the Scots, who greatly repined thereat; for re-gaining their loves, * attempted a ſecret combination with the French againſt the Engliſh; which *Edward* ignorant of, and * requiring him by vertue of his homage to ayde him with all his powers againſt the King of *France*, * diſcovered (by *Baliols* delayes, and traverſes) the ſaid conſpiracy. Whereupon he advanced forward againſt the King of Scots with a puiſſant Army to *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*: The firſt bloud which was drawne was of the Engliſh, of whom, the Scots * ſlew almoſt one thouſand in a village under the leadrig of one *Robert de Ros*, who had fled from King *Edward*. The City of *Carlile* likewiſe was aſſaulted, and the County of *Cumberland* ſpoyled by ſeaven Earles of *Scotland*, and their companies, which to *Edward* was not greatly diſpleaſing, (as was ſaid) for that the firſt hoſtile acts were done by them, whom he had a full purpoſe to ſubdue, *that at laſt hee might bee ſole in Albion*; which, had not God reſerved for other times, wee might wonder he effected not.

(26) King *Edward* therefore preſented himſelfe before the ſtrong Towne of *Berwicke* with a mighty hoſt, there to auſpicate his entrance to a conqueſt of *Scotland*; and, after ſummons ſent to the Towne, a-bode one whole day without offer of violence: The Townesmen refuſing to render, had a victory of the Engliſh Marriners, who raſhly entring, with twenty and foure Ships into the harbour, were repulſed, with the loſſe of foure of their veſſels, which was ſoone revenged by the forceable taking of *Berwicke*, where * *Hector Boetius* ſaith, there was exerciſed great cruelty by the Engliſh. In the Towne, the Flemiſh Merchants (who were ſmothered by the Engliſh with fire) had a very ſtrong houſe in the manner of a Tower, from whence they leveld, at the entring of the Engliſh, with darts, & javelins, one of which caſually ſlew *Richard* of *Cornewall*, a gallant Gentleman, brother to the Earle of *Cornwall*, which, in an army heated with former contumelies, for the Scots upon the ſlaughter and repulſe which they had made of the Engliſh marriners, publiſhed certaine rimes in deriſion, as

(* *What wemys King Edward with his Longſhanckes; To have wonne Berwicke, all our unthankes, &c.*)

together with the remembrance of many freſh ſhrewd turnes, might ſtirre up bloudy effects. After the Towne was thus taken, the Caſtle after ſtood not long out, but rendred it ſelfe. * Sir *William Douglas*, captaine thereof, was detained priſoner, and (as * ſome write) Sir *Robert Cruce*: others were ſuffered to depart, upon oath, to beare no armes from thenceforth againſt the K. of *England*. The loſſe of this important

* Polych. lib. 7. Tho. Walſingh.

Cambden in Comitat. Flint.

An. Dom. 1284.

* Polych. lib. 7. cap. 38.

* Tho. Walſing.

* Ranul. Ceſtr. in Polych. lib. 7.

An. Dom. 1285.

An. Dom. 1287.

An. Dom. 1289. Tho. Walſingh.

Fol. Orig. l. 17.

King *Edward* confiscates the Iewes, and fines his Iuſticiars.

An. Dom. 1290.

An honourable way to enrich a King.

* Tho. Walſingh.

Iohn Stow ex Adam. Murim. Chr. Dunſt. &c.

* Stow in Edw. 1.

Tho. Walſingh. Ran. Higd. Polych. lib. 7.

Pallendens trans. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

Scottiſh affaires.

* Hect. Boet. tranſlib. 13.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

* So Boetius exhit in his Letters to King Edward.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 13.

An. Dom. 1291.

* Tho. Walſingh

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

* At Glaine, Croſſe, not in tranſlation, S. Albans, Dunſtable, &c.

An. Dom. 1293.

An. Dom. 1292.

Admonis Sea fights of the Engliſh againſt the Normans.

* Tho. Walſingh. ſixth 1500.

Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

* Edwards letters ad Papam apud Thom. Walſingh. Iudgement given by King Edward.

lib. 14 Cap. 2.

An. Dom. 1294.

* Hect. Boet. tranſl. lib. 14. cap. 2.

* Polydor.

An. Dom. 1295.

An. Dom. 1296.

* Tho. Walſing.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

* Tho. Walſing.

* Tho. Walſing. Polydor. Virg. lib. 17. faith but one hundreth.

An. Dom. 1297.

Lib. 14.

* Tho. Walſing. Rerum of Scotland by King Edward.

* Fabian.

* Tho. Walſing.

* Fabian.

Towne, and Castle was very great, for it was the key, and common Bulwarke of *Scotland*.

(27) While the English, at this place, were busie to cast a very deepe ditch, to hinder the foaine inroades of their enemies, *Iohn* King of *Scotland* sent two religious men to the King of *England* with * letters; in which, *alledging that hee was by Oath bound to defend his owne Kingdome and people, hee renounced his homage and fealty, as extorted by violence, and voyde in it selfe, being made without assent of the three estates of his Realme.* The resignation was admitted, King *Edward* commanding his *Chancellor* to record the same for perpetuall memory, as a justification of his proceedings.

* Tho. Walsing.

(28) The Scots hereupon, under the conduct of the Earles of *Bucquhan, Menteth, Strathern, Ros, Athol, Marr*, and other of their nobility, made an incursion into *England*, whence with the spoiles of two religious houses, and other booties they returned: But *Patricke* Earle of *Dunbarre* came to King *Edward* submitting himselfe; and the Castle of *Dunbarre* (by this submission being under King *Edwards* protection) was re-gained by Scots: for recovery, or lisu-re-gaining whereof, the King sent *Iohn* Earle of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, and *William* Earle of *Warwicke*, who were entertained with battell by the Scottish Nation, of whom the English, * after cruell fight, obtained a victory of great importance, the Chase holding about eight miles, in which the slaughter was not small. The siege of *Dunbarre* being re-inforced, King *Edward* had it yeelded unto him, at his comming, wherein were taken three Earles, sixe or seaven Barons, besides many Knights, and Esquires, which were all sent prisoners to divers Castles of *England*, and (if some say true) not put to the sword (as *Hector* transported perhaps with hatred to *Edward* writes) contrary to his word, and faith given.

* Tho. Walsing. Hector Boetius lib. 14. Fabian.

(29) King *Edward* knowing as well how to use a victory, as to get it, having a present spirit upon all advantages and turnes of fortune, takes the Castle of *Rockesbrough*, and (for a finall end to this affaire) marcheth to *Edenburgh* it selfe (the chiefe Towne of *Scotland*) which * was shortly rendred: Then tooke they Striveling also, and drave *Baliol* to the * Castle of *Forfar*: where *Iohn Comin* Lord of *Strabogy* submitted himselfe to King *Edward*. About this time there came to the English campe great numbers of Welsh Souldiers, with whom he releeved many of the English foote-men, tyred with service, sending them back into *England*. Thither also came the Earles of *Vlster* with bands of Irish.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.
* Polydor. Virg. lib. 17. Tho. Walsingh. Bellind. franc. of Hect. Boet. lib. 12. Welsh ayde against Scotland. Irish ayde against Scotland.

(30) The King of *England* prospering thus, passeth with his Army over the * Scottish Sea, where while he kept the feast of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt* at *Perth* (or Saint *Iohns* Towne) there came messengers from *Baliol*, and the Lords his Factors, to sue for mercy, which was granted, upon condition, that they should render themselves to him as his subjects. * *Hector Boetius* saith, that after this agreement (wherein * *Anthony* Bishop of *Durham* was used) *Iohn Comin* brought *Baliol*, voyde of all Kingly habiliments with a white rod in his hand, to the English campe at *Montros*, where hee resigned his whole right that hee either had, or might have to the Crowne of *Scotland*, into King *Edwards* hands, and made thereof a formall Charter in *French*, and at the same time also (for feare of life) gave his sonne *Edward* for hostage, and assurance of his fealty; by which finall disclaime, the Lord *Bruces* right might seeme now unquestionable. But this resignation being thus made, King *Edward* returnes to *Berwicke*, where * all the Nobles of *Scotland* (at a Parliament there holden) were sworne to be loyall, and true subjects to King *Edward* for ever after: and * hereof a solemne instrument was sealed by the said Lords (of whom *Iohn Comin* of *Badenaw* was first) bearing date at *Berwicke* in the twenty fifth yeere of the reigne of their Soveraigne Lord King *Edward*.

* Tho. Walsing.
* Lib. 14.
* Tho. Walsing.
The Baliol resignes.
* Bellind. franc. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14. cap. 3.
* Tho. Walsing.

(31) *Iohn* the late King, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and there was honourably attended, having liberty for twenty miles about. The Scottish Lords were confined within *Trent*, over which *River* they might not passe toward *Scotland*, upon paine of life: The custody of *Scotland* was committed to *Iohn de Warren*, Earle of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, and the *Treasurership* thereof to *Hugh de Cressingham*, but *William de Ormesby* was ordained *Iusticiar*, with this particular commandement, that hee should take the Homages and Fealties of all such as held Lands of the King. And the more to shew his purpose, utterly to dissolve the distinct Regality of *Scotland*, and to unite it to the English Monarchy, as hee had done *Wales*, hee tooke out of *Edenburgh* the *Crowne, Scepter*, and *Cloath* of *Estate*, offering them up at * Saint *Edwards* shrine in *Westminster*, if the Author mistake not, for at Saint *Thomas* at *Canterbury*, * hee offered up *Baliols Crowne* saith another; and (besides many other Acts tending to the abolishment of the Scottish Name, which * *Hector* relates, *as the burning their Records, abrogating their lawes, altering their formes of divine service, and transplanting all their learnedst men thence unto his Vniversity of Oxford*) hee tooke out of the * Abbey of *Scone* the *Marble Chaire*, in which the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to bee crowned, and sent the same to *Westminster*, for Priests to sit therein at Celebration. This *Chaire* is the same upon which was engraven, the famous Propheticall *Diſtichon*:

* Fabian.
* Tho. Walsing.
* Bellind. franc. lib. 14. cap. 3.

Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem,

If Fates goe right, where ere this stone is pight,
The Regall race of Scots shall rule that place.

Tho. Walsingh. Camden in Scotland. pag. faith it was a stone inclosed within a wooden chaire.

Which by whomsoever it was written, we who now live, finde it happily accomplished. But these great Acts of this yeere brought to the Commons of *England* small commodity, upon whom the charge of the warres lay heavily: *And it is not often found, that the people gaine much by their Princes Conqueſts.*

(32) The force of *Scotland* with a greater force being thus for the present broken, who would suppose that it could once againe have lifted up the head, and that *chiefely by the particular vertue of a private man*, as it after hapned? which hee had the more opportunity to doe, for that the King of *England* was diverſly diverted by occasion of warres in *Gascoigne* for recovery of his owne, and for ayde of his friends in *Flanders*, whom the *French* did afflict in hostile manner. The Captaine of the revolted troupes in *Scotland*, was one *William Walleys* (the sonne of * Sir *Andrew Walleys* of *Cragy* Knight, though some * upon heare-say, write contemptibly of his course of life, as of a publike Robber) who, by the assistance of such as were out-lawed, for refusing to doe their Homage to King *Edward*, drave *William de Ormesby* (the Kings Iusticiar) out of *Scotland*. Which King *Edward* hearing, discharged *Iohn Comin of Badenaw*, and the Earle of *Bucquhan* from their confinement, to the intent that hee might by their endevours, the sooner settle matters, but withall hee gave *Iohn de Warren* Earle of *Surrey* commission to levy an Army: and the King (loath to bee hindred from his other destinations) easily yeelded to such requests as were propounded on the *Scots* behalfe for that time. The voyage which hee had then in hand, was to transport from *Winchelſey* an Army, to assist the Earle of *Flanders* his Confederate.

An. Dom. 1298.

* Bellind. franc. of Hect. Boet. l. 14. cap. 4.
* Thom. Walsingh. Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

(33) *England* at this time was not without great discontentments, which *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Constable of *England*, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of *England*, did countenance; for present satisfaction whereof, the King yeelded (among other things) to confirme *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, and *that there should no Subsidie nor taxation bee levyed upon the people, without the consent of the Prelates, Peeres,*

Peeres, and people. But before this time, and while the King was absent out of the land, the Scots, under the leading of *William Walleys*, put to * flight the Earle *Warren*, and all the English forces which were with him, taking them at advantage, as they were passing over a narrow Bridge, neere unto the Castle of *Stirveling*: the slaughter of the English was not small. There *Hugh de Cressingham* Treasurer of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, fell in battell, whose dead body for speciall hatred borne unto him, the Scots did flea, dividing his skinne among them. The King hearing of this overthrowe, commands the Lords of *England* by his letters to bee ready to assist the said Earle *Warren* (his *Custos* or *Guardian* of *Scotland*) with their Forces, in the *Octaves* of Saint *Hilary* at *Yorke*, and also to proclaime such of the Scottish Lords as came not thither, enemies of the State; but they kept themselves within *Scotland*, and came not. Whereupon the English Captaines marched to the rescue of the Castle of *Rockesborough*, whence *William Walleys* fled upon notice of their approach to raise his siege. But King *Edward* (advertised of these accidents) having taken a truce for two yeares with the King of *France*, by mediation of *Bonifacius* the Pope, who interposed himselfe (*non tanquam Iudex, ſed amicabilis Compoſitor*, saith *Walſingham*, *not as a Iudge, but as a friendly Composer*) made haste into *England*, where his presence was extreamely wanting: but in his way home, at a Towne called * *Ardeburgh*, all the Scots almost, which hee had brought with him to serve in the Flemish Wars, forsooke him and went to *Paris*.

* Tho. walsingh. to Hollinsh. l. 14. Polyd. Virg. 417.

An. Dom. 1299.

* Tho. walsingh.

(34) After his arrivall in *England*, he summoned a Parliament at *Yorke*, giving the Scots a day to appeare thereat; *which they not doing, nor acknowledging that they ought to doe*, hee entred with a mightie Armie into their Countrey, his Navy laden with victuals coasting along; which by contrary winds being holden off for a time, put the Scots the rather in hope of victory, by reason of the scarsitie of provisions among the English; but three dayes before the Scots appeared, the ships came, and plentifully refreshed the fainting souldiers. Hereupon the King led forward his people, and upon the next morning, a terrible showt being heard from the Scottish host, the English ranne to Armes; but the Kings Horse (affrighted with the sodaine tumultuous noise) as hee was putting foot in stirrup, threw him to the earth, and striking with the hinder heeles, brake two of his ribs; who nevertheleſſe upon the same horse proceeded in person to the battell. *William Walleys*, who had wonne to himselfe, by many his hardy enterprises a singular opinion among the Peeres, and people, having set his Scots in array (whose numbers farre exceeded the English) used every where this short speech unto them in stead of Orations, *I have brought you to the King, hop gif yee kun.* For their more securitie, hee had * fixed betweene them and the English, certaine Pales or stakes, bound together with ropes, which the English Vauntguard brake downe, and came to strokes. The first which fled, were the Scottish Horsemen, leaving their Infantery, or battels of Foot, open to that great destruction which followed, the victory resting clearely to the English.

* Tho walsingh. The bloody overthrow at Bannock.
* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

(35) Our Scottish * Author writes, that by reason of emulation against *Walleys*, the Scots burning in mutuall hatred, made the enterprise easie to their enemies; which as it may be very true, so certainly there was scarse any battell betweene the two Nations, in which more Scottish blood was spilt then in this, for thereof * *Sebaſtian Munſter* seemes to meane, saying, that there were slaine threescore and ten thousand, which though we take not to bee the true number, (for some have * threescore thousand, * others not so many) yet shewes it that the slaughter was vast, as it could not otherwise bee, the Scottish footmen valiantly * fighting as it were to the last man. *Blood worthy to have beene shed on*

* Polidor. Virg. lib. 2.
* Tho. walsingh. Tyrrel. Hect. Boet. Cesl. Pont. lib. 7.
* Fabian. & Hardyng.
* Polyd Virg. l. 17. Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

both sides, against another kinde of enemy, then Christians; the deformitie of which effusions may justly represent to us the blessed estate of our now settled union. This victory was obtained by the English upon Saint *Mary Magdalens* day, at a place called *Fankirke*: from which *William Wallays*, opening his way with his sword escaped. The Welshmen deserved ill of the King at this journey, for that they fore-slowed to charge upon the *Pallisado*, or fence of the Scots, in hope (the English being vanquished, which by the inequalitie of their numbers, they presumed would happen) that themselves might joyntly with the Scots, *execute upon King Edward the hatred*, which they bare him for the * evils hee had brought upon their Nation. After this victory the King tooke sundry places, and returned into *England* by *Carlile*.

* Tho. walsingh.

An. Dom. 1300.

(36) The two yeares truce formerly taken betweene the English and French, was now, by the interceding of *Boniface* Bishop of *Rome*, turned to a fettled peace, who (among other things) brought it about, that King *Edward* should marry the French Kings Sister *Margaret*; and *Edward* the Kings Sonne, the same Kings Daughter, *though* saith *Walſingham*) *he advanced not the good of his Realme by this match in any point.* To this affinity were added the greater strengths of a domestick quiet; for the King (whom warres had together made renowned, and aged) graciously and wisely yeelded to confirme such grants of lawes and liberties, as the Earles and Barons (the pretended Conservators of the Peoples interest) did declare, were by his promise to bee confirmed to them at his returne from *Scotland*: and which hee accordingly did, in a Parliament holden at *London*, upon prorogation, in *Quindena Paſche*, where for their fuller satisfaction hee * left out this Clause in the end, *Salvo jure corone noſtre, saving the right of our Crowne*: and what at this time was wanting, he made up afterward in a Parliament at *Stamford*.

* Tho. walsingh.

The Baliol set at libertie.

(37) But that hee might not seeme willing to deny the Pope any just request, or not to know the sweetenesse of anothers freedome, hee delivered to the hands of the Popes *Nuntios*, *Iohn* the late King of *Scotland*, (upon their assuming for King *Edwards* indemnity,) whom they conveied to his inheritance in *France*, where (upon every side unfortunate) he remained as under the nore of a false seducer, and of a perjur'd person in King *Edwards* judgement, and without any part of his regall office over the Scottish Nation; who found that the peace which King *Edward* made in other places, did but turne to their more grievous affliction; for albeit they had gotten *Striveling* by surrender of the English, and began with an immortall desire of their ancient Liberty, to assemble againe under *William Walleys*, yet the time was not come of their deliverance; for King *Edward* (according as it was formerly appointed,) having accomplished his marriage with the French Kings sister at *Canterbury*, made it his whole affaire, to finish the annexation of *Scotland* to the Crowne of *England*.

(38) He therefore accompanied with his sonne, and a dreadfull Army, pursued the matter so close, that whereas the Scots had gotten together againe in exceeding great numbers, under their severall Captaines, (whose * Envie had caused *Walleys* to give up all such authority, as the Common-wealth of *Scotland* had formerly granted unto him, for preservation of their freedomes,) and flying before King *Edward*, whose fortune in warre had worthily made him terrible; *that day* (in *Walſinghams* judgement) *had beene irrecoverably fatall to the Scottish name, if the English had beene able to have followed them in their Armour, over their bogges and mountaines; or that the Welsh had with their naturall nimblenes supplied the same.* Sure it is, that *Edward* held himselfe so fast in possession, that hee neither would grant the Scottish Lords their *Baliol* to raigne over them, (which they

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14.

they requested faith *Walsingham*) not suffer them to redeeme such lands of theirs, as he had given to the English among them.

The Pope interposeth his authority for the release of Scotland.

(39) Armes failing, and the Scots having made their way in the Court of *Rome*, procured inhibitory Letters from the Pope, which were brought by one *Lumbardus* into *Scotland*: but the King swearing a * terrible oath, said, *that he would not desist.* Nevertheless the Scots, after a few dayes, requested the King to let them live in peace, till they had taken counsell of the Peeres, and of the King of *France*, threatning that otherwise the Pope would take the matter upon him. But the King with a disdainfull smile, answered: "*have you done homage to mee (as "to the chiefe Lord of the Kingdome of* Scotland) "*and now suppose that I can be terrified with swelling "lies, as if (like one that had no power to compell) "I would let the right which I have over you to slip out "of my hands? Let me heare no more of this, for if I "die, I sweare by the Lord, I will consume all* Scotland "*from Sea to Sea.* On the other side the Scots did boldly enough reply, *That in this cause they would shed their blood for defence of justice, and their Countries libertie.*

* Per Angliam Dei.

The constancy of the Welshmens love to the first English Prince of Wales.

(40) About this time the King made his sonne *Edward*, (who was borne at *Caernarvon*) Prince of *Wales*, and Earle of *Chester*, which so greatly contented the Welsh, because (in regard of his birth place) they held him as one of theirs, that when all friends did afterward forsake him (as the following Raigne will shew) they alwayes stucke most loyally unto him, expressing wonderfull love and affection, and bewayling his heavie fortunes in woefull songs, *which neither the dread of his enemies, nor length of time could ever make them to * forget.*

* Thom. Walsing.

(41) But, in the matter of *Scotland*, the King not to seeme altogether to neglect the Court of *Rome*, addressed thither the Earle of *Lincolne*, and the Lord *Hugh de Spencer* with manifold complaints against the Scots, and justification of his owne proceedings; howbeit at the Popes request, he granted them truce from *Hallowmas* to *Whitsontide*. This very yeere, *Cassan* King of *Tartars* gloriously slew one hundreth thousand Turkes in a battell upon the plaine of *Damascus*, and was baptized thereupon, as *acknowledging the victorie to come from the Sonne of God*: the joy whereof filled *England*, as other the parts of Christendome.

An. Dom. 1302.

(42) The justice of the English Armes against the Scots, being now againe directly impugned by the Papall letters, comprehending sundry arguments on the behalfe of that Nation, King *Edward* in a Parliament at *Lincolne* published their contents, and by consent of the whole representative body of the Realme, returned a copious defence of his whole proceedings, with protestation, first, *that hee did not exhibite any thing as in forme of judgement, or triall of his cause, but for satisfaction of his holy Fatherhoods conscience, and not otherwise.* But whereas the Pope had required the King to stand to his decision for matter of claime, hee writes, that thereunto he would make no answer, as having left that point to the Earles and Peeres of his Land: who with one "minde directly signifie, *that their King was not to "answer in judgement for any rites of the Crowne of* "England *before any Tribunall under Heaven: and "that (by sending Deputies or Attourneyes to such an "end) he should not make the said truth doubtfull, be-"cause it manifestly tended to the disinherison of the said "Crowne, which with the helpe of God, they would reso-"lutely, and with all their force maintaine against all men.* That the resolution of these worthy pillars, thus in case of their Countries Crowne, and dignities, may be imitated in their following posteritie, and celebrated in our everlasting remembrances; We hold it here fit to record their names, subscribed in their answers unto Pope *Boniface*, dated at *Lincolne*, the yeere of our Redemption 1301. and 29. of King *Edward* the first.

John Earle *Warren.*
Thomas Earle of *Lancaster.*
Ralph de Monthermer, Earle of *Glocester* and *Hereford.*
Humfrey de Bohun, Earle of *Hartford* and *Essex.*
Roger Bigod, Earle of *Norfolke.*
Guy Earle of *Warwicke.*
Richard Earle of *Arundell.*
Admar de Valence, Lord of *Monterney.*
Henry de Lancaster, Lord of *Monmouth.*
John de Hastings, Lord of *Bergevennie.*
Henry de Percie, Lord of *Topclife.*
Edmund de Mortimer, Lord of *Wigmore.*
Robert Fitz-Walter, Lord of *Wodham.*
John de S^t. John, Lord of *Hannake.*
Hugh de Veer, Lord of *Swanestampe.*
William de Breuse, Lord of *Gower.*
Robert de Monthault, Lord of *Hawarden.*
Robert de Tateshall, Lord of *Wokeham.*
Reinold de Grey, Lord of *Ruthin.*
Henry de Grey, Lord of *Codnore.*
Hugh Bardolfe, Lord of *Wormegay.*
Robert de Clifford, Chatellaine of *Appelbie.*
Peter de Malowe, Lord of *Mulgreene.*
Philip Lord of *Kime.*
Robert Fitz-Roger, Lord of *Claverings*,
John de Moham, Lord of *Dunestar.*
Almericke de S^t. Amound, Lord of *Widehay.*
William de Ferrers, Lord of *Grobie.*
Alane de Zouch, Lord of *Asshie.*
Theobald de Verdon, Lord of *Webbeley.*
Thomas de Furnivall, Lord of *Schefield.*
Thomas de Multon, Lord of *Egremont.*
William Latimer, Lord of *Torbie.*
Thomas Lord *Barkley.*
Fowlke Fitz-Warren, Lord of *Mitingham.*
John Lord *Segrave.*
Edmund de Eincourt, Lord of *Thurgerton.*
Peter Corbet, Lord *Caus.*
William de Cantelowe, Lord of *Ravensthorpe.*
John de Beauchampe, Lord of *Hache.*
Roger de Mortimer, Lord of *Pentesklin.*
John Fitz-Reinold, Lord of *Blenlevenie.*
Ralph de Nevill, Lord of *Rabie.*
Brian Fitz-Allane, Lord of *Bedale.*
William Marshall, Lord of *Hengham.*
Walter Lord *Huntercombe.*
William Martin, Lord of *Cameis.*
Henry de Thies, Lord of *Chilton.*
Roger le Ware, Lord of *Isfeild.*
John de Rivers, Lord of *Angre.*
John de Lancaster, Lord of *Grisedale.*
Robert Fitz-Paine, Lord of *Lainnier.*
Henry Tregoze, Lord of *Garinges.*
Robert Hipard, Lord of *Lomford.*
Walter Lord *Fauconberge.*
Roger Strange, Lord of *Ellesmere.*
John Strange, Lord of *Crookin.*
Thomas de Chaneys, Lord of *Norton.*
Walter de Beauchampe, Lord of *Alecester.*
Richard Talbot, Lord of *Eccleswell.*
John Butetourt, Lord of *Mendesham.*
John Engain, Lord of *Colum.*
Hugh de Poinz, Lord of *Cornualet.*
Adam Lord of *Wels.*
Simon Lord *Montacute.*
John Lord *Sulle.*
John de Melles, Lord of *Candebury.*
Edmund Baron *Stafford.*
John Lovell, Lord of *Hackings.*
Edmund de Hastings, Lord of *Elchunbonokes.*
Ralph Fitz-William, Lord of *Grimthorpe.*
Robert de Scales, Lord of *Neusels.*
William Tuchet, Lord of *Lewenhales.*
John Abadan, Lord of *Deverston.*
John de Haverings, Lord of *Grafton.*
Robert la Ward, Lord of *Whitehall.*
Nicholas de Segrave, Lord of *Stowe.*

Walter

Walter de Tey, Lord of *Stonegrave.*
John de Lisle, Lord of *Wodton.*
Eustace, Lord *Hacche.*
Gilbert Peche, Lord of *Corby.*
William Painell, Lord of *Trachington.*
Roger de Albo monasterio.
Foulke le Strange, Lord of *Corsham.*
Henry de Pinkeny, Lord of *Wedon.*
John de Hadelesson, Lord of *Aners.*
John de Huntingfield, Lord of *Bradenham.*
Hugh Fitz-Henry, Lord of *Ravenswath.*
John Daleton, Lord of *Sporle.*
Nicholas de Carru, Lord of *Mulesford.*
Thomas, Lord *de la Roche.*
Walter de Muncy, Lord of *Thornton.*
John, Lord of *Kingston.*
Robert Hasting the Father, Lord of *Chebessey.*
Ralph, Lord *Grendon.*
William, Lord *Leiborne.*
John de Greistocke, Lord of *Morpath.*
Matthew Fitz-John, Lord of *Stokenham.*
Nicholas de Nevill, Lord of *Wherlton.*
John Painell, Lord of *Aseli.*

Pope *Boniface* thus seeing the resolutions of these Lords, and having enough to doe against the French King, proceeded no further in these businesses; but let fall his action, and left the Scots to defend themselves as they could. Meane time Sir *John Segrave*, Lord *Segrave*, a renowned Souldier, was sent Governour or *Custos* into *Scotland*, with an Army, after the Truce expired, which at the French Kings instance, King *Edward* had yeelded unto for a time; *John Cumin*, who had also beene a Competitor for the Crowne, was chosen by the Scots * for their Governour.

An. Dom. 1303.

* Hector Boet. lib. 14.

(43) Wee may not heere over-passe a victory (at *Rosslin*) which the Writers of that Nation celebrate, wherein the English were by them overcome, howbeit there is in our Writers much variety in that relation. It is the saying of *Hector Boetius*, that the *English* were about three for one; our ancient and later Authors say, that the *Scots* had farre the * more people; hee affirmes, that it was in the plaine field: ours, that it was an * Ambush: hee, that the *Scots* did put to flight, and tooke the spoiles of three whole battels, in either of which were * 10000. *English*; ours, that the *Scots* by reason of their multitudes did onely over-beare the Vauntgard, from which the neareft of the other battels was * foure miles off. All agree in this, that the Lord *John Segrave (Ralph Confrey* saith *Hector)* who had the point or vward of the English (whose Generall hee also was) by dividing his Army into three parts for their better reliefe, weakened so his whole force, that thereby, and his unadvised forwardnesse (impatient to stay for his other powers) hee gave occasion to the Scots of such a victory. They had also taken the person of the said Lord Generall, but * Sir *Robert de Neville*, who with others was at divine Service, hearing thereof, came with his troupes of Horse, rescued *Segrave*, slew many, put many to flight, and brought away backe the rest of the prisoners, without * the losse of any one man of his owne. The said Scottish Chronicle makes no mention of *William Walleys*, at this discomfiture of the *English*, but gives the whole glory thereof to *Cumyn*, and to *Simon Fraser*: whereas we attribute all to *Walleys*, and make no mention of the other, with farre lesse wrong to the immortall deserts of *Walleys*; for hee undoubtedly, was the onely man, who kept up *Scotland*, till neere the time of deliverance.

An. Dom. 1304.

* Tho. Walsingh. Knyghton. Fordun. Pitsc. lib. 17.

* Tho. Walsing. * Bellend. transl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 14. cap. 6. * Polyd. Virgil. 17.

* Abingdon.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Bellend. transl. lib. 14. cap. 6.

(44) The Scottish Nation (as * *Hector* reports) "*had for their warrant in conscience, and justificati-"on of resistance, the Popes judgement, who upon "ripe deliberation in their matter, decreed* (saith "hee) *that the* Scots *had just action of battle in "defence of their liberties against King* Edward: who not much esteeming the doome of that Oracle, upon the other side was perswaded hee might proceed to subdue them wholly to his dominion: and therefore, (upon report that the Scots were not onely up in Armes, but encouraged to greater attempts by this late successe,) came in person with a dreadfull host, piercing therewith * through all *Scotland*, from one end thereof to the other; from *Rockfbrough* to *Catnes*, which is the farthest point in the length of that Land, being about three hundreth myles: whither hee marched by small journeyes, not an enemy appearing with power to empeach him. For they, unable to make head, being so continually wasted, did either for their safety betake themselves to the woods and mountaines, with their *Walleys*, or wholly submitted themselves, * swearing to bee true to King *Edward*, there being in all *Scotland* but one Castle (the Castle of *Striveling*) which stood out, and that also (upon King *Edwards* return from *Catnes*) was * absolutely surrendred to him; and therefore no great cause, why *Hector* should call King *Edward* false Tyrant, for committing the Captaine and Garrison of that Castle to sundry Prisons: So that, had not God in his eternall providence, favouring the liberty of that people, ordained some in-accessible places, and naturall strengths, where no Army could march nor bee maintained, the Scots had in all likelyhood perpetually undergone the same fortune, which we the English were brought into, for want of the like, by *William* the first, and his *Normans.*

* Bellend. transl. lib. 14. cap. 7.

* Tho. Walsingh.

"(45) *Therefore let prophane discourses (with their "Father* Epicurus *and* Lucretius) *blush and tremble, "as often as they shall dare to insinuate any thing against "Gods wisedome in the Fabricke of the world, as if "the Craggie, and desert places thereof, had no use "in nature, when (omitting all other reasons of their "being) the conservation of Kingdomes, and Nations, "was thus by them effected. Wee had an* * Herward "*in the Conquerours time, aswell as the* Scots *had a* "Walleys *in this; and wee might perhaps at this houre "have beene without French mixtures, if God had "provided our Countrey of such Wastes, and deserts, "as either they or the Welshmen did enjoy, who for "many hundreths of yeares, after the ruine of their "Monarchie in* Britaine, *upheld, in some sort, "their libertie, when the* English *had twice by "*Danes, *and* Normans, *in the meane time, utterly "lost it.*

* Matth. Paris.

(46) *Scotland* (saith * *Hector*) being in this manner subdued; and all the strengths of buildings, and the Nobility thereof at King *Edwards* disposition, hee having ordered the affaires thereof as himselfe thought best, left the custody thereof againe to * *Segrave*, and in his triumphall returne through *England* from *Dunfermelin* in *Scotland*, where hee kept his *Christmas*, caused the Courts of the Bench, and Exchequer, which had beene seaven yeares kept at *Yorke*, (for the more commodity of his Scottish expeditions) to bee reduced to *London*, their ancient residence. Moreover hee ordained *Justiciars* for *Trailbaston*, who were to enquire of man-slaughters, Ruffians, Dissitors, Boot-halers, Incendiaries, and other perturbers of the common quiet, and them to punish, by fine, death, and otherwise, which brought to the Realme much rest, and to the King much riches.

* Lib. 14.

An. Dom. 1305. After Walsingham's account which wee follow in all his reigne, and so far as he wrote, being till Hen. 5.

* Tho. Walsingh.

(47) But, the more to secure King *Edward* in the Scottish Kingdome, it was not long, but that *William Walleys* (whom an Earle of *Scotland* in the beginning of his resistances had honoured (saith *Walsingham*) with the girdle of * Knight-hood) was brought up prisoner to *London*, being treasonably taken at *Glasco* by * one Sir *John Menteth* (though * *Polydor Virgil* saith, the *English* tooke him in warre) where hee had publike tryall at *Westminster*, and * denying that hee was a Traitour to the King of *England*, was there for other his crimes (as burning of Townes, taking of Castles, killing the English, &c.) adjudged to death, which sentence was executed

An. Dom. 1306.

* Milities.

* Hect. Boet.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 17.

* Read John Stow in Edw. 1.

executed upon him, and his head and quarters set up in feverall places over the Iland, his right * leg at *Perth* or Saint *Johns* Towne in *Scotland*, and his left at *Aberdein*. This was the end of *Walleys*, whom his Countrey had once by common consent chosen for their defender, and * *Capraine Generall*; and, for his deserts towards her, doth place in glory farre above the Starres, as the onely person, by whose example, the Scots had their spirits kept awake, and quicke upon all occasions, by which they might recover the Government out of the hands of the *English*, whose Raigne over them this *Walleys* neither by faire means, nor by force could ever bee drawne to endure, or looke upon with a patient eye; whom though (with * *Hector* Transtatour) we doe not call a *Martyr*, yet must wee thinke his Countrey honoured in him, wishing many the like in our owne.

* Holl. pag. 303.

* Bellend. transl. lib. 14. cap. 4.

* Bellend. lib. 14. cap. 8.

(48) Let no man now make doubt to write up King *Edward* among the greatest of our *English-Monarchs*, for (besides the whole Ilands of *Britaine* and *Ireland*) hee also held *Aquitaine*, which about two yeares before, the King of *France* (entangled with troubles otherwise) did restore, and the City of *Burdeaux* of the owne accord submitted it selfe againe to the English Scepter, as that wherewith it had formerly beene so long, and well acquainted; and to gratifie the same *Edward*, the King of *France* also banished the Scots out of his dominions. Thus was King *Edward* possessed of *Scotland*; which nevertheleſſe (*that the world may see Gods hand in translating of Kingedomes*, being a * point of his prerogative) was not long after pluckt from his Sonne; and the calamities which the Scots had ſuffered, whelmed backe upon the Engliſh. Which peculiar art of divine providence you will more eaſily acknowledge, when you ſhall behold by how naked an inſtrument hee raiſed againe the Scottiſh Common-wealth out of that duſt, in which for a little ſeaſon it ſeemed to lye buried.

King Edward one of the greateſt Engliſh Monarchs.

Tho. Walſingh. ad An. Dom. 1306.

* Daniel, cap. 2. verſe 21.

(49) *Walleys* therefore being taken out of the way, the Lord *Robert Bruce* (betweene whom, and the unfortunate *Baliol* the maine ſtrife lay for the *Diadem*) beholding the ſtate of his Countrey, for which *Walleys*, without intereſt to the Crowne thereof, had ſtood ſo nobly, and deſirous to give it a new head by making himſelfe King (whereto by *Baliols* ſurrender his other right was made more paſſable) had for that purpoſe entered into a conſpiracy with *Cumyn*, whoſe diſcloſure thereof (as Scots doe write) brought into apparent danger the Lord *Bruces* life, who was then attendant in the Court of *England*. King *Edward* upon the firſt diſcovery of the plot not crediting the ſame, *Bruce*, moſt conſtantly denying it, and caſting the accuſation, with good probability, upon *Cumyns* envy, had time, and warning to eſcape. For an Earle (ſaith *Boetius*) ſent unto him twelve Striveling pence, and a paire of ſharpe *ſpurs*, preſently upon his departure from the King, which he wittily interpreted to be a *Symbole of ſpeedy flight*. According whereunto hee forthwith ſped from *London*, where King *Edward* kept *Chriſtmas*, ſhooing his horſes backeward, that he might not be followed by their prints upon the ſnow, and with his owne hand thruſt his Sword into *Cumyn* * in the Church of the *Friers Minors* at *Dunfreis* in *Scotland*, whom two of *Bruces* friends with other mortall thruſts diſpatched. *Bruce* knowing now no way to anſwer the fact, but by open defection, which he did reſolve upon, did thereupon procure himſelfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* about our Ladies day in *March* in the *Abbey of Scone*.

The Lord Rob. Bruce, purſues his right to the Crowne.

* Tho. Walſing. Hiſt. Brev.

King Robert Bruce of Scotland. An. Dom. 1307.

(50) Such an attempt as this could not bee long hidden from King *Edward*, who having at the *Whitſontide* next after honoured *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, his eldeſt Sonne, with the order of Knight-hood at *London*, ſent him againſt King *Robert* into *Scotland*, attended with a troupe of noble young Gentlemen, *Aymery de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*; *Robert de Clifford*, and *Henry de Percy* being gone before with an Army, and King *Edward* preparing to come after, appointing the *Rendevous* of his owne hoſt to bee at *Carliel*. Where, in a Parliament, beſides proviſions for the Warres, ſundry conſultations and courſes were entred, for repelling another kind of enemy no leſſe dangerous to the State; to wit, the Pope, and his * *ſtill continued extortions in this Land, whereof grievous complaints were made in that Aſſembly*; and both the *Clergy there* * *appealed from the Popes Bull*, and his *Cardinall-Legats* exactions: and alſo *the Kings Councell was driven to enact ſome orders* for bridling their exceſſive depilations.

A Parliament at Carlil.

* Matth. Weſt.

* Thilm.

(51) Meane time *Aymery de Valence* at *Perth* in *Scotland* had put to flight King *Robert Bruce*, and purſued him ſo neere, that he tooke his Wife, his brother *Nigellus*, and others, but himſelfe eſcaped into the utmoſt Iles of *Scotland*. This hanſell taken at the entrance to his *Regality*, drave his people into ſuch deſpaire of his future better fortunes, that there remained onely two friends unto him, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*: the reſt, as the Earle of *Athol*, at *London*, (who had twice revolted) and his brother *Nigellus* at *Berwicke*, were put to death, as all others his chiefe partakers were, or elſe kept priſoners in *England*. In which number was King *Roberts* wife (daughter to the Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*) and his daughter, the *Biſhops of Glaſco*, and Saint *Andrewes*, the *Abbot of Scone* and *others*. The Counteſſe of *Buchquhan*, ſiſter to the Earle of *Fife* (then abſent in *England* at his mannor of * *Whitwicke* in *Leiceſterſhire*, whoſe office it was to have crowned the *Scottiſh* King) was alſo taken, and becauſe (in her brothers abſence) ſhee had ſtolne from the Earle her husband, with all his great horſe, to * ſet the Diadem upon *Bruces* head, it was deviſed that ſhee ſhould bee ſet in a woodden cage (made * *Crowne*-wiſe) upon the wals of *Berwick* Caſtle, for all to wonder at. This ridiculous revenge was held ſufficient, without taking her life, though ſhe were a manlike Woman, and did herein but the part of a noble-ſpirited Lady. Thus was King *Robert* (ſaith the *Scottiſh* * tranſlator of *Boetius*) brought to ſuch miſery, *that hee was ſometime naked and hungry, without meat or drinke, ſave onely water and rootes of herbes, and his life perpetually in danger*. Howbeit, *hee never forſooke himſelfe*, but as one that had firme truſt in God, cheriſhed an hope in his minde, at one time or other to recover the Crowne. In which condition he exhibited himſelfe ſo noble a ſpectacle, as in which even the * morall *Heathen* doe teach, that the Gods themſelves tooke pleaſure; how then can Chriſtians looke off? Certainely, all generous ſpirits, whom cruell injuries oppreſſe, have reaſon to dwell in this patterne of Chriſtian magnanimity and patience.

* Hollingſh. pag. 344.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Matth. Weſt.

* Bellend. lib. 14. cap. 8. The landlefſe of the noble Bruce.

* Seneca lib. de Providentia.

(52) King *Edward* alſo on the other ſide (like a Chriſtian Prince) as hee had ſome yeares before, by his ſpeciall Letters (directed to the * Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,) requeſted *that publike prayers ſhould bee made to Almighty God for him, his Realme and people, that the heavenly Majeſty would direct his way and workes to the glory of his holy name, and advancement of the Kingdome*; ſo now repaired hee with his Lords to *Weſtminſter*, after this diſcomfiture of his enemies, there ſolemnely to render unto God his humble thanks for the Conqueſt, whereof he thus held himſelfe aſſured. Which confidence drew him on ſo farre, that now (his turnes being ſerved; as he thought againſt the *Scots*) hee refuſed to ſtand to the confirmation which hee had made to his Barons, of ſuch Lawes and Liberties as have before beene mentioned, pretending that they had forced his conſent: and doubtleſſe, as great was the Kings fault thus to renounce what he had ſolemnely ſworn, (* *though indeed it was on ſome neceſſity and enforcement*) ſo the Popes warranting thereof (which certainely encouraged the King thereunto) is moſt execrable; who afterward abſolved him (as other Popes had done to his Predeceſſors) from obſervance of that oath.

* Epiſtola Edwardi 1. apud Tho. Walſingh.

* Matth. Paris in Vitis.

* Camden in Cimbel.

King Edward recals his Charters of liberties.

* Mat. Paris.

(53) The

An. Dom. 1308. *A. Reg.* 35. & ult. Bruce ſormenes name falſe.

(53) The miraculous deliverance of *Scotland* was now at hand; for the noble *Bruce*, not ſtaying till King *Edward* were dead (who was now about threeſcore and eight yeares of age,) came forth out of the Scottiſh Ilands with ſuch powers as hee had gotten together, taking the Caſtles of *Carricke*, *Inverneſſe*, and many other, doing many things above the opinion of his meanes. To put an end to all which troubles, King *Edward* reſolved once againe in perſon (notwithſtanding his age,) to enter *Scotland* with a mightie hoaſt, which he appointed to attend him at *Carliel* in *Cumberland*, three weekes after Midſommer day: where God viſiting him with his laſt ſickneſſe, he commanded his Sonne the Prince to repaire with ſpeed unto him, unto whom being come, he uttered many admonitions and precepts, the ſumme whereof was * this.

* Tho. Walſing. King Edwards laſt ſpeeches to the Prince.

(54) "That hee ſhould bee mercifull, juſt and "courteous, conſtant in word and deed, *familiar to* "*the good, and toward ſuch as were in diſtreſſe alwaies* "*pitifull*. That after his death he ſhould not haſten "to take the Crowne of *England*, till hee had ho- "nourably revenged the injuries of his Father, and "accompliſhed the preſent ſervice. That hee "ſhould carry his Fathers bones about with him in "ſome coffin, till he had marched through all *Scot-* "*land*, and ſubdued all his enemies, for that none "ſhould be able to * overcome him while his *Ske-* "*leton* marched with him. Moreover, hee com- "manded the ſaid Prince to love his * Brethren, "*Thomas* and *Edmund*; but eſpecially to tender and "reſpect his Mother *Queene Margaret*. * *That* "*upon paine of his malediction, and curſe, hee ſhould* "*not preſume without common conſent to repeale* Piers "de Gaveſton, *who for abuſing the tender yeares of* "*the Prince with wicked vanities, by common decree* "*was baniſhed*. That whereas himſelfe, by the con- "tinuall, and new attempts of *Bruce*, could not in "perſon (according to his vow) make warre in "the Holy-land, therefore he ſhould ſend his *Heart* "thither, accompanied with ſevenſcore Knights, "and their retinues, for whoſe ſupport he had provi- "ded thirty and two thouſand pounds of ſilver. That "his *Heart* being ſo by them conveyed, he did hope "in God, that all things there would proſper with "them. "Laſtly, *That upon paine of eternall damnation,* "*the ſaid money ſhould not bee expended upon any o-* "*ther uſes*.

* Becauſe the care to procure them from enemies would make a Scotiſh fight eaſily. * They were his Brethren by the Queene *Margaret* a ſecond wife of the King. * Piers Gaveſton among his laſt warnings.

(55) With theſe admonitions diſmiſſing the light young man from his preſence, to accompliſh (ſo prouident was he to the very end of his ſtate affaires) the marriage with the French Kings Daughter, which had beene formerly agreed upon betweene the Parents; he advanced neerer to the enemy unto *Burgh upon Sands*, where his lingring *Dyſentery* encreaſing (for that was the ſickneſſe whereof he dyed, though one malevolently ſaith, he dyed ſuddenly, without ſhew of repentance for his ſinnes) hee tooke his * leave of this world, after no leſſe preparation (no doubt) for his owne ſoules health, then carefull promotion for the carriage of his ſonne, and ordering of his Kingdome. Which puiſſant Princes raigne and life, we cannot here ſhut up with a nobler *Euloge*, then that wherewith our * Great and Iudicious Antiquary hath already depourtrayed him, as *a Prince of chiefe renowne, to whoſe heroicke minde God proportioned* (*as a moſt worthy Manſion*) *a body anſwerable, ſo that as well in beautie and goodly preſence, as in wiſedome and valour, hee was ſuitable to the height of his Regall Dignitie, whoſe flouriſhing youth his Deſtinie did exerciſe with many warres and troubles of the State, ſo to frame and fit him for the Britiſh Empire; which, being King, he ſo managed with the glory of his Welſh and Northerne victories, that by due deſert he is to be reputed a chiefe honour of Britannie.*

* Mat. Weſt. Thorn.

* Camden in Cimbel.

His Wives.

(56) *Eleanor*, the firſt Wife of King *Edward*, was Siſter to *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, Daughter to King *Ferdinando* the third, and onely Childe of *Joan* his ſecond Wife, Daughter and Heire of *John* Earle of *Ponthieu*. Shee was married to him at *Bures* in *Spaine*, in the thirtie ninth yeare of King *Henry* his Father, 1254. ſhee was crowned with him the day of his Coronation, and living his Wife (in lovely participation of all his troubles, and long voyages) thirtie ſixe yeares, dyed at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnſhire*, *November* 29. of her Huſbands raigne 19. *An. Dom.* 1290. ſhee is buried at *Weſtminſter*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a faire Marble Tombe, adorned with her portraiture of Copper guilt: * other coſtly monuments of her Husbands love being in every place erected where her Hearſe reſted, as it was conveied from *Herdeby* to *Weſtminſter*.

* The Croſſes at Charing, Waltham, Dunſtable, &c. Stow in Edward 1.

(57) *Margaret* his ſecond Wife, being Siſter of *Philip* the fourth, ſurnamed the *Faire*, King of *France*, and eldeſt Daughter of *King Philip* the *Hardy*, Sonne of Saint *Lewis*, was married to him at *Canterbury*, on Thurſday, *September* 8. of her Husbands raigne 27. *An. Dom.* 1299. after almoſt eight yeares marriage, ſurviving him, ſhee remained a Widow ten yeares, and deceaſing ten of *Edward* 2. *Ann. Dom.* 1317. was buried at the Gray-Friers in *London*, before the Altar, in the Quire which her ſelfe had built.

His Iſſue.

(58) *John*, the eldeſt Sonne of King *Edward*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Windſor*, in the raigne of King *Henry* his Grandfather, before his Fathers voyage into *Syria*, and in his abſence, was committed to the charge of *Richard* King of *Romans*, his great-Vncle, and others, who procured principall men of every Hundred in each County within the Realme, to ſweare their fealtie to his Father and him, but hee dyed ſhortly after, being a Child, and was buried at *Weſtminſter* by the wall, betweene Saint *Edmunds* and Saint *Bennets* Chappell, *Auguſt* 8. in the laſt yeare of King *Henry* his Grand-fathers raigne; there is remaining over him a Tombe of Marble in-layed, with his picture in an Arch over it.

(59) *Henry*, the ſecone Sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, deceaſed alſo being a Childe, the newes of whoſe death was brought to his Father, being then in the Iſle of *Sicill*, in his returne from the Holy-Land, not long before the report of his owne Fathers death came to his knowledge: hee was buried in Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, the twentieth day of *November*, in the firſt yeare of his Fathers Raigne, *Ann. Dom.* 1272. in the ſame place, and under the ſame Tombe where his Brother *John* lyes, with his picture alſo in the Arch above it.

(60) *Alphonſe*, the third ſonne of *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at the Towne of *Maine* in *Gaſcoigne*, as his Father and Mother were in their returne towards *England* from *Ieruſalem*, *November* 23. in the ſecond yeare of his Fathers raigne, 1273. hee deceaſed at *Windſor*, *Auguſt* 4. in the twelfth yeare of his age, 1285. and was buried at *Weſtminſter* in Saint *Peters* Church by Saint *Bennets* Chappell, where his body lyeth under the Tombe of his Brothers, *John* and *Henry*, his Image alſo there portrayed with theirs.

(61) *Edward*, the fourth ſonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne *Aprill* 25. in the the thirtieth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, 1284. at *Caernarvon* in *North-Wales*, and after the death of *Lewelin ap Griffith*, in regard of the place of his Nativitie, was by his Fathers Creation, with the conſent of the *Welſh*, made Prince of *Wales*, the firſt of the Sonnes and Heires apparant of the Kings of *England*, that bare that Title, which afterward became ordinary to moſt of the reſt: hee was

alſo Earle of *Ponthieu* and *Cheſter*, and being made Knight by his Father at *London* on Whitſunday, in the thirtie fourth yeare of his Raigne, 1306. ſucceeded him the ſame yeare in the Kingdome of *England* and *Wales*.

(62) *Eleanor*, the eldeſt daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Windſor*, in the fiftieth yeare of King *Henry* her Grand-father, ſhe was married with all Ceremonies of Proxie to a Deputy for *Alphonſe* King of *Aragon*, ſonne of King *Peter*, who deceaſed, *An. Dom.* 1292. before the ſolemnization of marriage, leaving his Kingdome to his Brother *Iames*, and his new wife to another Husband, who was married at *Briſtow*, in the two and twentieth yeare of her Fathers Raigne, 1293. to *Henry* the third Earle of *Barry*, whoſe Earledome lay in the Eaſt-borders of *Champaigne* in *France*. Shee had Iſſue by him *Edward* Earle of *Berrie*, from whom deſcended the Earles and Dukes of that Countrey, whoſe inheritance, by Heires generall, devolved to the Kings of *Aragon*, and from them againe to the Dukes of *Anjou* that were Kings of *Sicill*. *Henry* another ſonne of hers was Biſhop of *Troys* in *Champaigne*. *Helen* her daughter was married to *Henry* Earle of *Bloys*; and *Ioan* to *Iohn Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, ſhe was his wife five yeares, and deceaſed 27. of her Fathers Raigne, *An. Dom.* 1298.

(63) *Ioan* the ſecond daughter of King *Edward*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the firſt yeare of her Fathers Raigne, 1272. at a City in the Holy-land ſometime named *Ptolomais*, common called *Acon* and *Acer*, where her Mother remained during the warres that her Father had with the *Sarazens*: She was, at eighteene yeares of age, married to *Gilbert Clare*, called the *Red*, Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hereford*, by whom ſhee had iſſue, Earle *Gilbert* ſlaine in *Scotland* without iſſue; *Eleanor*, married firſt to *Hugh Spencer* (in her right, Earle of *Gloceſter*,) and after to *William Zouch* of *Ricards* Caſtle. *Margaret*, firſt married to *Peter Gaveſton*, Earle of *Cornwall*, after to *Hugh Audeley* Earle alſo of *Glouceſter*; and *Elizabeth* Lady of *Clare*, married firſt to *Iohn*, ſonne and heire to *Richard Burgh*, Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, Mother of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlſter*, and Grandmother of *Elizabeth*, Dutcheſſe of *Clarence*, ſecondly, to *Theobald* Lord *Verdon*, and laſtly, to Sir *Roger Damary*. This *Ioan* ſurvived her husband, and was re-married to Sir *Ralph Monthermere* a Baron, Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Mountacute* Earle of *Saliſbury*, of whom the now Viſcount *Mountacute* is deſcended; ſhee lived thirtie eight yeares, and deceaſed in the firſt yeare of her Brother King *Edwards* Raigne, and is buried at the Fryer *Auſtines* in *Clare*.

(64) *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, in the third yeare of her Fathers Raigne, and of our Lord, 1275. When ſhe was fifteene yeares of age, ſhee was married at *Weſtminſter*, *July* 9. in the eighteenth yeare of her Fathers Raigne, *An. Dom.* 1290. to *Iohn* the ſecond, Duke of *Brabant*, by whom ſhe had iſſue Duke *Iohn* the third, Father of *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis* of *Mechlin* Earle of *Flanders*, and Mother of the Lady *Margaret*, the Heire of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*.

(65) *Berenger*, the fourth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the 4. of her Fathers Raigne, *An.* 1276. as *Iohn Everesden* the Monke of Saint *Edmundsbury* in *Suffolke*, hath recorded in his Booke of Engliſh Annales, but other mention there is none, but onely from him: whereby it is likely that ſhe did not live to be married, but that ſhe dyed in her Child-hood.

(66) *Alice*, the fifth Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, is by *Thomas Pickering* of the Monaſtery of *Whitby*, (who wrote the large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their iſſue) reported to have deceaſed without iſſue.

(67) *Marie*, the ſixt Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Windſor*, *April* 22. in the eight yeare of her Fathers Raigne, 1279. and at ten yeares of age, *An. Dom.* 1289. *September* 8. ſhe was made a Nunne in the Monaſtery of *Ambreſbery* in *Wiltſhire*, at the inſtance of Queene *Eleanor* her Grand-mother, who at that time lived there, in the habite of the ſame profeſſion, although her Parents were hardly induced to yeeld their conſents to that courſe.

(68) *Elizabeth*, the ſeventh Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at the Caſtle of *Ruthland* in *Flintſhire*, in the thirteenth yeare of her Fethers Raigne, *An.* 1284. When ſhe was foureteene yeares of age, ſhee was married at *London* to *Iohn* the firſt of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Freezeland*, who dyed within two yeares after without iſſue, and ſhe was re-married to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Brecknocke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, by whom ſhee had iſſue *Iohn* and *Humfrey*, both Earles ſucceſſively after their Father; *Edward*, that dyed in *Scotland* without iſſue; and *William*, who being created Earle of *Northampton*, while his Brothers lived, after their deceaſes, was alſo Earle of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, Lord of *Brecknocke*, and high Conſtable of *England*, and father of Earle *Humfrey* the tenth of that name, and laſt of that houſe, who dyed without iſſue male. Shee had alſo by him two daughters, *Eleanor* married to *Iames Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Margaret* to *Hugh Courtney* the firſt, Earle of *Devonſhire*. Shee was this Earles wife foureteene yeares, lived thirtie three, deceaſed in the ninth yeare of the Raigne of King *Edward* her Brother, *An. Dom.* 1316. and was buried in the Church of Saint *Iames*, at the Abbey of *Saffron-Walden* in *Eſſex*.

(69) *Beatrice*, the eight Daughter of King *Edward* and Queene *Eleanor*, bare the name of *Beatrice* Dutcheſſe of *Britannie*, her Fathers ſiſter: ſhe is by ſome Genealogiſts mentioned to have lived till ſhee was marriageable, but yet no mention being made of her match, it ſeemeth ſhee died unmarried.

(70) *Blanch*, the ninth Daughter of King *Edward*, and the laſt of Queene *Eleanor*, is ſo mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, and ſome others, but not at all by *Thomas Elraham* a Monke, who made a Pedigree of the Kings of *England*, but ſhe is by the reſt reported to have dyed in her Child-hood.

(71) *Thomas*, the fifth ſonne of King *Edward*, and the firſt of Queene *Margaret* his ſecond Wife, was borne at a little Village in *Yorkeſhire* called *Brotherton*, *Iune* 1. in the nine and twentieth yeare of his Fathers Raigne, *Ann.* 1300. he was created Earle of *Norfolke*, and Earle *Marſhall* of *England*, which Earledome the laſt Earle *Roger Bigod*, leaving no iſſue, left to the diſpoſition of the King. Hee had two Wives, of which the firſt was *Alice* the daughter of Sir *Roger Halyes* of *Harwich* in *Suffolke*, by whom hee had iſſue *Edward*, who married *Beatrice* the daughter of *Roger Mortimer* the firſt, Earle of *March*, but hee died before his Father, without Iſſue; and two Daughters, *Margaret* twice married, firſt to *Iohn* Lord *Segrave*, by whom ſhee had *Elizabeth* Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, Wife of *Iohn* Lord *Mowbray* (from whom the *Mowbrayes* and *Howards*, Dukes of *Norfolke*, and Earles *Marſhall* deſcended;) ſecondly, to Sir *Walter Manny* a Knight of *Cambray*, and by him had *Anne* Wife of *Iohn Haſtings* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke*, and Mother of Earle *Iohn* the younger, that dyed without iſſue; his youngeſt daughter *Alice* was married to Sir *Edward Mountacute*, and had by him three daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Ioan* married to *Walter* and *William* two of the *Vffords*, and *Maud* that dyed unmarried. The ſecond wife of this Earle *Thomas*, was *Mary* the daughter of *William* Lord *Ros*, and widow of Sir *Ralph Cobham*, who ſurviving him without Iſſue by him, ſhee was married the third time to *William* Lord *Breroſe* of *Brember*.

(72) *Edmund*

(72) *Edmund*, his ſixt ſonne by Queene *Margaret*, was borne at *Woodſtocke* in *Oxfordſhire*, *Auguſt* 5. in the thirtieth yeare of the raigne of his Father, *Ann.* 1301. Hee was created Earle of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *Iohn*, and Sifter and ſole heire of *Thomas* Lord *Wakes* of *Lydel*, in the Countie of *Northampton*; by her he had Iſſue two ſonnes, and one daughter: *Edmund* his eldeſt ſonne was Earle of *Kent* after his Father, and dyed under age without Wife or Iſſue: *Iohn* the younger was Earle alſo after his Brother, hee married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Duke of *Gulike*, and dyed likewiſe without iſſue; His daughter was *Ioan*, for her beauty called *the faire Maid of Kent*, firſt married to *William Mountacute* Earle of *Saliſbury*, and from him divorced, and re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her right, Earle of *Kent*, and by her, father of *Thomas*; and *Iohn Holland* Duke of *Surrey*; and Earle of *Huntingdon*: and laſtly, ſhe was the Wife of *Edward of Woodſtocke*, the *Blacke Prince of Wales*, and by him, Mother of King *Richard* the ſecond. The Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester* the 19. of *March*, in the fourth yeare of King *Edward* his Nephew.

(73) *Eleanor*, the tenth Daughter and ſixteenth Childe of King *Edward*, and the laſt Child of Queene *Margaret* his ſecond wife, was borne at *Winchester* the ſixt day of *May*, in the five and thirtieth, and laſt yeare of her Fathers raigne, being the yeare of our Lord 1306. ſhee deceaſed in her Child-hood, and was buried in Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*, by her Brother, *Iohn*, *Henry*, and *Alfonſe*, under the monument before named, with her picture over it.

Edward II.

EDVVARD THE SECOND, LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-EIGHTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 48.



CHAPTER XI.

THAT the *Minde* is not derived from *Parents*, certainly the second *Edward* (called of *Caernarvon*) might (if nothing else) abundantly shew, being of a most valiant, wise and fortunate father, an unlike sonne; yet not to begin our description of his courses, with prejudice of his person, we will so temper our stile, that by his owne actions sincerely related, rather then by any verball censures the man may be judged. This cannot bee denyed, that whereas from the Conquest till his time, *England*, though it endured (by Gods just judgements) many bitter, sad and heavie stormes through some headinesse, ambition, or other sicknesses of minde in the Princes thereof, yet had she Men to sway and governe her, and those distempers were as the perturbations incident to vigorous dispositions; whereas under this *Edward*, who could neither get nor keepe, it seemed to endure the levities of a Child, though his yeares, being about twentie and three, might have exempted him from so great infancy of judgement, as his raigne discovered.

(2) Never came Prince to the crowne with more generall applause then hee: so great hopes of doing well, his victorious Father, *Edward* of *Winchester* had left upon him, besides the right of succession, whose last warning and terrible adjurations you have heard: with the * utter contempt and breach whereof, to the destruction of himselfe, and his friends, hee in a manner auspicated his goverenement.

(3) After that *Edward* had in his best manner provided for the affaires of *Scotland*, where (at *Dumfreez*) many of the Scottish * Lords did their homage to him, as they had to his Father; the first taske which he gave of his future behaviours at home, was

a Tho. Walsingh.

b Fabian. A. R. 18. Edw. 1.

c Will. Packington and John Stow. The Abbot of Saint Albans was compelled to pay great summes which he ought to the Bishop, and the King acquitted him. Lib. Memor. S. Alban. MS.

An. Dom. 1309.

The meeting of five Kings and foure Queenes.

d Thom. de la More.

Peirs de Gaveston described.

f Tho. Walsingh.

g Ypodig. Neustr.

h Thom. de la More.

i Hollind. transl. lib. 14. cap. 9.

* Thom. de la More.

* Tho. Walsing.

n Tho. Walsing. in fine Edw. 2.

* Idem Thom. Walsingham in Edw. 2.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.

* Holl. Boet. lib. 14.

* Hollind. his trans. lib. 14. cap. 9.

was a rigorous revenge taken by him upon *Walter de Langton* Bishop of *Chester*, Treasurer of *England*, and principall Executor of the last Will of the deceased King, whose body was not as yet interred, but by the care of the Executors, conveyed with funerall pompe to *Waltham*, and (after sixteene weekes) to *Westminster*, where under a plaine monument the same at this present rests. The Bishops crime was a kind of good freedome, which hee used in the late Kings dayes; in [a] gravely reproving the Prince for his misdemeanors, and shortning his waste of coyne, by a frugall moderation; and particularly, [b] for that he had complained of *Peirs Gaveston*, whereupon ensued Prince *Edwards* imprisonment, and the others banishment, and therefore comming now to the Crowne, hee arrested the Bishop, by Sir *John Felton* Constable of the Tower, and imprisoned him in [c] *Wallingford* Castle, seized upon all his temporall goods and [d] credites, there being not a man in the Realme who durst speake a word on his behalfe, (so great displeasure hee had conceived, seeking utterly to ruine him) till afterward by meanes of the Papall authority, he was restored, and in a faint sort reconciled.

(4) The thing which suited best with his youthfull affections; to wit, the marriage of young *Isabel*, daughter of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, hee performed with wonderfull magnificence at *Bolein*, at which solemnity were present besides all others, The King of *France*, Father to the *Bride*; The King of *Navarre* his sonne; The King of *Almaine*; The King of *Sicill*, *Mary* Queene of *France*; *Margaret* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, her Daughter; The Queene of *Navarre*. There was also present (as no Sunne-shine but hath shaddow) [e] *Peirs* of *Gaveston* the beloved Minion of this *Edward*, whose re-entertainement the dying King had so seriously forbidden, whom notwithstanding, together with his owne new Wife, he brought into *England*.

(5) This fatall favourite of this young King was a Stranger borne, but a [f] Gentlemen, and (in regard of good service done by the Father of *Peirs* in *Gascoigne*, [g] brought up (at old King *Edwards* owne appointment) with this Prince: from whom not to derogate in any point, as if hee had without some appearances of worth and value embraced *Peirs*, it is certaine (by that which a [h] Knight and servitor of this very King hath left written) that he had a sharpe wit in a comely shape, and briefely, was such an one, as we use to call *very fine*; Neither yet was hee unhardie in Armes, but of commendable performance, whereof (saith *de la More*) hee gave proofe against the *Scots*, (to whom [i] he was alike hatefull as to the *English*) till he was recalled to satisfie such as (saith their Courtier) did envy his graces, and good successe; but of his Christian or morall vertues (which onely make men truly commendable) there is great silence in Authors, though not of his Vices, whereof wee shall have occasion enough to speake hereafter.

(6) At the Coronation of the King and Queene, (which the Lords would have impeached, had he not promised reasonably to [k] satisfie them about *Gaveston*) none was [l] neere to *Peirs* in bravery of apparrell, or delicacie of fashion, which (and for that the King gave him [m] S. *Edwards* Crowne to carry in that pompe,) greatly encreased the offence of the Lords against him: But he that (having a King to backe him) knew no other meanes to extinguish hatred, but by daring it to the uttermost, spared not afterwards to scoffe and reproach the principall Peeres, [n] calling *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Stage-Player*; *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Ioseph the Iew*, because he was pale and tall; and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, *the blacke dogge of Ardern*: all whom, and others, he at a * Turneament by him proclaimed and holden, handled vilely.

(7) But King *Edward* was daily more and more possessed with the familiarity of *Peirs*, who to establish

his interest in the unprudent Prince, by sensualities and riotous practises, filled the Court [o] with buffons, parasites, and the like pernicious instruments, drawing *Edward* from the thought of all great enterprises, in accomplishment of his fathers will, or discharge of his particular dutie, to all sorts of unworthy vanities, and sinfull delights; while himselfe in the meane space revelled in all outward felicity, wasting the riches of the kingdome, or converting them to his private uses. For (fearing belike that the time might come againe to undergoe banishment) he transported much treasure into forraine parts, and much he had to transport; for not onely by the [p] sale of his favour with the King, to which there was no speeding approach but by *Gaveston*, (who used to peize the gifts, more then the causes) but also by the Kings prodigality, hee had whatsoever could bee powred upon him: for (though it might seeme incredible) he both gave him his jewels and ancestors treasure, and [q] even the Crowne it selfe of his victorious father; not sticking to professe, that (if it lay in him) hee should succeed him in the kingdome.

(8) The Lords (who for reverence of the King sate downe by their private injuries, in hope there would be a season, in which their Soveraign might by timely and sweete admonitions recover the use of himselfe,) not thinking it tolerable to be now any longer silent, (and the rather, left that *Peirs*, farther abusing his greatnesse, should bring [r] in Forreiners, not onely to the prejudice of the English Lawes and customes, but of their authority also and places,) prevayled so much with the King, in a Parliament holden at *London*, (where sundry provisions concerning the liberties of the people, and execution of Iustice, were enacted, and by corporall oath confirmed by the King himselfe,) that among them, the decree of *Gaveztons* perpetuall banishment, was by the King (overcome with a meere necessity for satisfaction of the Kingdome, to whom the said Earle of *Cornwall* was odious) unwillingly suffered to passe; and the King was thereupon re-gratified with a Subsidie of the twentieth part of the subjects goods. The King also tooke his Oath not to revoke the said Estate of *Cornwall* from banishment (if it may be called a banishment) wherein [s] he had the Kingdome of *Ireland* entrusted to his charge, and for the securing thereof against Rebels, was furnished with men and money by the King.

(9) Yet forgetting, that those affections, which ostentimes deserve prayse in a private person, are subject to much construction in a publike, and neglecting both his deceased Fathers so solemne adjurations, and also his owne Oath, as careleste of the sequell, hee calls Earle *Peirs* home, with whose love hee was most fondly, and most passionately transported, and (as if hee had received some divine benefit) gave him most joyous welcome at the Castle of *Flint* in *North-wales*, and [t] bestowed upon him for wife *Ioan* of *Acres*, Countesse of *Glocester* his Sisters daughter, resolving with himselfe to retaine his *Gaveston*, maugre all his Earles and Barons, or (for the love of him) to put his Crowne and life in qerill when time should serve. In which, whether the King or his favourite shewed lesse discretion, it is not at the first sight easily determinable; it being as unsafe for the one, with so offensive behaviour to affect immoderate shew and use of grace, as for the other, to the injury of his name and Realme to bestow the same.

(10) The contemptibilitie and vanitie of this effeminate argument detaines us longer, then for the qualitie thereof were fitting, did not so much mischiefe issue out of it. For *Peirs*, (of his owne nature insolent) being thus (above reason, or his owne datings) advanced to alliance with the bloud-royal, was so farre from all amendment, as he rather seemed to strive to out-goe himselfe in his former courses, consuming so much of the Kings treasure and meanes, that hee had [u] not wherewith to defray ordinary charges,

o Polydor. Virg.

p Tho. Walsing. lib. S. Alban. Hi. S.

q Chr. Dunstab.

An. Dom. 1312. Peirs de Gaveston Earle of Cornwall, banished for ever.

r Tho. Walsing.

s S. Thom de la More.

The Earle of Cornwall revoked.

t John Stow. Tho. Walsingh. Tho. de la More.

Is the third time banished, and returned.

u Thom. Walsi.

charges, or to pay for the necessaries of his court. The young Queene also tooke her selfe not to be a little wronged by this ungracious mans predominancy, and thereof sent her complaints to the King of *France* her father, which concerned injuries in the highest kinde, as in her bed (the King being drawne by *Gaveston* to [a] Adultery) and in her honour and [b] maintenance. Whereupon the Peeres of the Land, animated by the King of *France*, so confidently dealt with *Edward*, that his Earle now the third time did abjure the Realme: but (the King of *France* and his enemies making forraine parts unsure for him to abide in) he returned in Christmas, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, and to his owne certaine ruine, for that the Barons (his adverfaries) had gotten him banished with this Proviso, [c] that if at any time afterward he were taken in *England*, he should be forthwith apprehended, and suffer death. But an Angel from Heaven could not seeme more welcome, then this most faithfull friend (as that [d] Courtier cals him) was unto King *Edward*, who [e] forthwith advanced him to be his principall Secretary.

(11) Vpon report of *Gavestons* returne, the chiefe Lords, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, (*Walter* Bishop of *Coventree* excepted, [f] who allowed the Kings affections towards *Gaveston*, and procured him to breake the former agreements, which were made and sworne in the Parliament at *London*,) consulted upon a desperate course of reformation in this point, and made choise of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* to be their Leader. This *Thomas* was son of *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Leicester*, and *Ferrers*, second sonne of *Henry* the third, King of *England*, and in right of his wife (after her fathers decease, which hapned about this time) Earle of *Lincolne*, *Salisbury*, and besides many other great Lands in *Yorkeshire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*) he had the Earledome of [g] *Artoys* in *Picardy*, so that without comparison he was the greatest subject of the Kingdome.

(12) The Issue of which combination before we pursue, we may not here in our way overslip a strange alteration both here in *England*, and in all *Christendome*, by the universall extinguishment of the *Order of the Templars*, wrought about this time by the procurement of the *French King*, who being so gracious with Pope *Clement*, that formerly [i] *hee sent Ambassadors to crave of his Holinesse, with great importunitie, that the bones of his Predecessor Pope* Boniface, *might be burnt, as being an Heretike*; so now also he so farre prevailed with him, that in the Councell at *Vienna*, this so highly esteemed order, was upon cleare proofe of their generall odious sinnes, and scarse credible impieties, utterly abolished through Christendome. The *French King* [k] caused 54. of that Order, together with their *Great Master*, to be burnt at *Paris*; and though that King hoped to convert all the Land of that Societie to his Sonnes use, whom he intended to make King of Ierusalem; yet the *Pope* and *Councell* annexed their possessions to the *Order of the Knights Hospitalers*, called commonly *Knights of the Rhodes*. Notwithstanding, in *England* (where such Papall commands went not alwaies for Lawes) the heires of the *Donours*, and such as had endowed the Templars here with Lands, entred upon those parts of their ancient Patrimonies after the dissolution of the Order, and, (saith our [l] Courtier) detained them untill not long after, they were by *Parliament* wholly transferred unto the Knights of the *Rhodes*, [m] or of Saint *John of Ierusalem*.

(13) *King Edward* was now at *Yorke*, and Earle *Thomas*, according to that which had beene concluded among the combined Lords, who resolved to try all extremities, rather then any longer to endure *Peirs Gaveston*, (as being perswaded while that *king-bane* breathed, peace could neither be maintained in the Realme, nor the King abound in treasure, nor the Queene enjoy his love) sent humble [n] petitions by honourable messengers to their Soveraigne, requesting him to deliver the man into their hands, or to drive him from his company out of *England*. But the selfe-wild King, preferring the deareneſſe of one stranger before the love of the whole Realme, would not condiscend.

(14) Afterward, *Peirs* (whom [p] the Earles pursued with an Army) being * entrusted for his safeguard to *Aimerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, was left by him but one night at a Village or Mannour called *Dathington* betweene *Oxford* and *Warwicke*, (being a place neither [q] farre enough off, nor strong enough) pretending to have convayed him on the next day to the Castle of *Wallingford*, the said *Aimery* in the meane space departing to lodge with his Countesse, who lay hard by: but, the said *Aimery* conniving thereat (as our [r] Courtier chargeth him, who also writes, that he tooke a solemne Oath before the King to doe his best to safe conduct *Gaveston*, the King purposing in the meane time to labour his peace with the Lords [s] upon any conditions) *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke* with his people, surprized him the same night, and tooke him to his Castle of *Warwicke*, where in a place called *Blackblow* (afterward [t] *Gavelhead*) his head was stricken off, at the Commandement [u] and in the presence of the Earles of *Lancaster*, *Warwicke*, and *Hereford*, [x] as of one that had beene a subverter of the Lawes, and an open Traytour to the Kingdome. In which bold attempt, themselves (who yet pretended so much standing for the liberties of the Land,) did most unadvisedly infringe a Capitall branch of the same Franchises, in putting to death an Earle, and so deare a friend of the Kings, [y] *without any judiciall proceeding by tryall of his Peeres, which caused a lasting hatred betwixt the King and his Nobles.*

(15) There wanted nothing now to King *Edward* but present meanes to revenge the bloud of his friend, or rather of his halfe-selfe, the lacke whereof did encrease the sorrow he tooke for his death, which being well knowne to the Lords, they resolved not to lay downe Armes, till they had provided for their security, and the performance of all such points, as concerned the temperament of the *Regall power*, that (under colour thereof) the Nobles themselves might finger some part of the Soveraigne government. The King was then at *London*, and the Lords at *Dunstaple*; but by the continuall inter-dealings of the Prelates, and of *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester*, who stood neutrall, the kindling displeasures were for the present allayed, upon condition that the Lords should restore to the King all such things, once belonging to *Peirs Gaveston*, as they had taken at *Newcastle*, which they accordingly did.

(16) King *Edward* nevertheleſſe, as if his Soule were over-cast with some blacke Cloud, continued mourning, till it pleased GOD to enlighten the World with the birth of a young Prince, whose noble Acts did afterward redeeme all the blemishes wherewith his Fathers infelicities had darkned the brightneſſe of the *English* name, and at this present cleared the minde of the sorrowfull King his Father: for [z] upon Saint *Brices* day, *Isabel* his Queene brought forth her first Sonne at *Windsor*, which caused great rejoycing through the Kingdome. Her *French* kindred and friends (which were there in good numbers of either sex) and among them as chiefe, the Queenes owne brother, *Lewis* the *French* Kings sonne, would have had the Infant at his Baptisme named *Lewis*, but the *English* Lords would * not permit, who therefore was after his Fathers and Grand-fathers name, called *Edward*. This was hee who afterward rayſed the honour of *English* Chevalry to so high a point, by his famous victories in *France* and elsewhere.

(17) The evill-will which the King bare in his minde against the Barons for their over-ruling his affections, and the death of *Gaveston*, by sundry bad offices and sycophancies of the * *French* at *Windsor*, was rubd so hard upon, that it grew raw against before it was halfe-healed. Therefore in a Parliament at *London*, the King sharpely charged those presumptuous

o *All. & Mon. pag.* 461. *col.* 1.

p *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 18.

* *Chron. Buckingh. Trivet. in Mon. Thom. Walsingh.*

q *Thom. de la More.*

r *Thom. de la More.*

s *Rom. Cell. lib.* 7. *cap.* 45.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

t *All. & Mon. pag.* 465. u *Thom. de la More.*

x *Tho. Walsing.*

y *Continuator. Nic. Trivet.*

* *Thom. de la More. This according to Heller Boet. lib.* 12. *hapned.* An. D. 1309.

* *Holl. Boet. lib.* 14. *Geo. Buchanan.*

An. Dom. 1314. King Edward with a mighty Army in Scotland.

Edward of Windsor borne.

z *Rom. Cell. p. cap.* 41. *Fabian.*

* *All. & Mon.* 462. *col.* 1.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

a *All. & Mon. pag.* 460. *Fabian.*
b *Tho. Walsing.*

c *All. & Mon.* 461. *col.* 1. *Thom. Walsing.*

d *Thodeus More.* e *Continuator Trivet. M. S.*

f *Tho. Walsing.*

g *John Stow.*

i *Nic. Trivet. Add an.* 1306. In those dayes it was thought the Pope might be an Heretike.

k *Vox Mystery-rolog. pag.* 480.

l *Thom. de la More.*

m *John Stow. Tyndig. Newes.*

An. Dom. 1312.

n *Tho. Walsing.*

presumptuous Lords with their contempt against him in the spoyles they had committed at *Newcastle*, and (which most afflicted his languishing spirit) in taking, and wickedly killing *Peirs Gaveston*. To all which, they stoutly answered, * that they had not offended in any point, but deserved his royall favour, for that they had not gathered force against him, but against the publike enemy of the Realme, &c. Howbeit, to prevent the feared mischiefe of civill Armes, by the working of the young Queene, of the Prelates, and Earle of *Glocester*, the Lords in open Court at *Westminster* humbled themselves to the King, praying grace; and the King granted to such of them, as would desire the same, his gracious pardon. The whole house of Parliament seeing the Kings wants, of their owne accord granted a Fifteenth; and all parts hereupon returned with joy and peace, but not long after the Lord *Guy de Beuchampe* Earle of *Warwicke*, who in this Parliament was appointed to bee of Privy-Councell with the King, deceased, being (as by the Barons wel-willers * it was said) impoysoned by such of the Kings secret friends, as did maligne him.

(18) The mischievous effects of the Kings former mis-governement, began now most perilously to discover themselves. For the *Scots*, his neighbours, who could not bee ignorant of all such griefes and maladies as festred in the heart and entrals of *England*, had long since made their timely use thereof, adhering so to the undaunted *Bruce*, that by degrees hee had gotten a great strength, and was againe publikely received, and obeyed for King of *Scotland*, from most places whereof hee * drave the *English*, and (in contempt of *Edward*) committed great spoyle, by slaughter of People, burning of Townes in *Northumberland*, and other Acts of Hostility. The principall charge of *Scotland* for King *Edward*, had beene entrusted to the Lord *John Comin* a *Scot*, Earle of *Bucquhan*, whom * King *Robert* had vanquished in battle, and was now (while *Edward* sate bewitched with most unworthy languishments) growne potent, sending his brother *Edward Bruce* to besiege the Castle of *Striveling*, which was in the hands of the *English*.

An. Dom. 1314.

(19) The King of *England* awakened out of his slumbers with these Alarums, marched thereupon with a very great Army toward the said Castle. It pleaseth *Hector Boetius* (putting off, as it were, the Historian) to report marvellous things of the numbers of Souldiers which came with King *Edward* in this journey; for (if he say true) there were not fewer then one hundreth and fifty thousand horse-men, and as many thousand foot-men, and that wee may not suspect the multitude to bee farre greater then either the cause required, or the Realme of *England* could well afford, he informeth us, that besides the *English* there were in his ayde at this time, *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, *Brabanders*, *Flemings*, *Picards*, *Boloners*, *Gascoignes*, *Normans*, with much people of many other Regions; and that besides these three hundreth thousand men of warre, there were infinite families with their women, children, servants, and houshold stuffe: but because other Writers doe ingeniously grant, and containe probable matter enough for the honor of the *Scottish* Nation in this journey, we will as neere as we can, (being things to us neither up nor downe, in regard of the long time since these hostilities hapned,) truly and freely, thoug briefely, informe our selves hereof.

(20) The Earles of *Lancaster*, *Warren*, *Warwicke*, and *Arundel* (the greatest Peeres of the land) * refused to attend their King in this service, for that hee had delayed to ratifie the points of their desired liberties, and provisions for the pretended better governement of *England*, by himselfe so often consented unto. In which as their loyall affection cannot bee much admired; so it is certaine, that King *Edward* hereby undertooke that voyage with farre the lesse force either of men or counsell. Nevertheless his hoast was great enough (if numbers did sway in such affaires, more then religion, discipline, and valour,) to have effected more then it selfe did suffer. But King *Edward* and his people rather seemed to goe toward a *wedding*, or a *triumph*, then to a Battle, * adorning themselves with all forts of riches, gold, silver, and the like toyes, in a kind of wanton manner, correspondent to the humour of the Prince whom they followed.

(21) In this journey it was made manifest, what true and sober valiancy could effect, against light bravery and insolency. King *Robert* lodged with his forces (being inferiour in numbers to the *English*) not farre off, where was nothing but a religious, * devout, and modest care, quickned (after manifold calamities) with a most noble desire to recover the liberty of their Country, and to settle the same, into the hope whereof they were the rather erected by a fresh victory, which they had obtained that day upon certaine of the *English* * horsemen. King *Edward* on the contrary part nothing esteeming so sleight a prefage, resolved upon the very next being *Midsommer*, or Saint *Iohn Baptists* day) to take a terrible revenge upon the Scots: but how to effect the same the care was not excessive; for in his Campe, * *Waſtále*, and *Drinke-haile* were thundred extraordinarily, as accounting themselves sure of the victory: which kinde of impious selfe-trust, if God Almighty did not sometime scourge with just and terrible confusions, what out-rages would not bee executed?

(22) Farre otherwise the *Bruces* Army; which by his commandement spent * the evening in making humble confession of their sinnes, that they might (saith our Author) be ready on the morrow to receive the blessed Sacrament, as accordingly they did: Moreover, to leave nothing undone which might advance their cause; the Scots had digged before their Battalions, certaine * Trenches or Dikes * three foote deepe, and three foote broad, which (having fixed * sharpe stakes in them with their points upward) they covered so with * hurdles, that foote-men treading warily) might passe, but not troupes of Horse. Next to Gods anger against the *English*, (whom courtly *Pride* and *Sloth* had now effeminated) this stratageme was the cause of their ruine: for whereas they repofed much upon their *Cavallery*, in these *Pit-falls*, the fury of their charge was intercepted and broken, the riders being miserably slaine by the Scots, whom King *Robert* marching formost on foote, had presented most couragiously to the enemy.

(23) The King of *England* not altogether careleſſe, neither yet by his care able to doe much (as one whom God was not well pleased with) had ordered his battels with some-advice, but upon the dismall and unexpected discomfiture of his Horse in those mischievous holes or ditches, was enforced, (after some troubled resistance) to leave to the Scots the greatest victory that ever they had before or after. * Hardly could King *Edward* be drawne to flye: the courage which it became such a Monarch to have then first discloſing it selfe, till by his friends he was enforced to seeke his preservation by that more necessary then noble meanes, and with him (besides others) the Lord *Hugh Spencer* (whom our * *Courtier* cals, *A faint-hearted Kite*) betooke himselfe to like remedy.

(24) All things prooved unfortunate to the *English* in this journey, for when they perceived their Cavallery thus miserably overthrown in the ditches, they shot their Arrowes compasse, with purpose to kill or gall such Scots as came to the execution, but did them little or no harme, as they who were armed in the fore-parts, and in stead of that, * flew their friends, whose backes being toward them were unarmed.

(25) The losse fell much upon the Nobleſt, for there were slaine in this battle, * *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester* (a man of singular valour and wisdome) the Lord *Robert*

* *Thom. de la More. Tho. Walsingh. Polydor. Virg. lib.* 18. *Bellin. the Scottish translator of Hect. Boet. lib.* 14. *cap.* 12.

* *Hector Boet.*

* *Tho. Walsing. Holl. Boet. lib.* 14.

* *Thom. de la More.*

* *Bellind. transl. lib.* 14. *cap.* 3.

* *Holl. Boet lib. to. cap.* 12.
* *Thom. de la More.*
* *H. Ct. Boet. lo. cap supra.*
* *Thom. de la More.*

The English overthrow at Bannockbourne.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

* *Thom. de la More. Vincent. Millenn.*

* *Thom. de la More.*

* *Holl. Boet. lib.* 14. *Tho. de la More. Tyndig. Newsstr.*

Robert de Clifford, and besides other Lords, about * seven hundreth Knights, Esquires, and men of Armories. Of the rest the slaughter could not bee but great, though much the lesse, in regard the *Scots* fought on foote. *Hector* saith, that there were not slaine fewer then fiftie thousand *English*, no Writer else, that hitherto we can meete with, exceedes the fifth part of that number; the Riches gotten by spoyles and ransomes of the *English*, were doubtlesse very great. Among the number of Prisoners, the principall was *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, but recovered afterward by exchange for King *Roberts* Wife, who all this while was detained in *England*. This battell was fought at *Banocksbourne* neere *Striveling* in *Scotland*.

* Thom. Walsin.

(26) From this over-throw King *Edward* escaping to *Berwicke*, King *Robert* (who to his great glory, as having himselfe been trayned up among the *English*, used such as were taken Prisoners with singular * humanity) sent thither to him the bodies of the Earle of *Glofter*, & Lord *Clifford*, that they might receive honourable interrement among their owne friends. But *Edward* (under whose unfortunate leading the *English* name sustayned so great dishonour and dammage) with-drew to *Yorke*, resolving (therein only *Prince-like*) to assemble new force, and either to be revenged, or to die. But * all enterprises and attempts of that nature mis-carried, for above twelve yeeres after; insomuch that greate feare raigned among the Northerne *English*, who lay open to the first brunts and violences of the *Scots*, over whom many faire dayes shone. And to augment the calamities of the North, many of the dissoyall *English* * conspired with the enemy, and joyntly spoyled the West parts of *Northumberland*, nothing being secure, but that which wals defended.

* Ypodig. Neustr.

* Polyd. Virg. lib 7. cap 42.

An. Dom. 1314.

(27) God, to humble the *English*, who through long prosperities had forgotten both themselves and him, drew not backe his heavy hand so; for seldome hath so terrible a famine beene heard of here, as succeeded to this over-throw: so that for moderation of prices, a Parliament was assembled at *London*: but (saith *Walsingham*) as if God had beene displeased at the said rates (which not long after were repealed) things grew scarser day by day: and the dearth was generally such, that upon Saint *Laurences* Eve, there was scarcely bread to bee gotten for sustentation of the Kings owne Family. This famine which lasted about two yeares, was accompanied with much mortality of people.

* Tho. Walsing. Ypodig. Neustr.

An. Dom. 1315. The woefull estate of England, under the three plagues of sword, dearth and pestilence. Tho. de la More. Tho. Walsingh

(28) But neither the dishonors taken in *Scotland*, nor innumerable afflictions and discontentments at home, made *Edward* suspend the celebration of his *Gavestons* Funerals; whose Body with great pompe hee caused to bee transferred from the place of his former buriall, (which was among the *Fryers Preachers* at *Oxford*) to *Kings-Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, where hee in person, with the Arch-bishop of *Canterbourie*, foure Bishops, many Abbots, and principall Church men, did honour the exequies, but few were present of the *Nobility*, whose great stomackes would not give them leave to attend. Somewhat also to sweeten these generall acerbities, *Lewelin Bren* and his two sonnes, were brought up prisoners to *London*, having burnt many Townes upon the Marches, and committed some murthers with their Welsh adherents.

Gavestons funerals.

An. Dom. 1316.

(27) Meane-while the state of the Kingdome was miserable, there being no love betwixt the King and the Peeres, nor any great * care in him, or them, of the common affaires; nevertheless they assembled at a Parliament in *London*, where no great matter was concluded: for the famine and pestilence encreased. The famine was growne so terrible, that horse, dogges, yea men and children, were stolne for food, and (which is horrible to thinke) the Theeves newly brought into the Goales, were torne in peeces and eaten presently halfe alive, by such as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed, that

* Tho. Walsingh.

Corne should be converted to Brewers uses, which Act the King (mooved with compassion toward his Nation) imitating, caused to bee executed through all the Kingdome; otherwise (saith *Walsingham*) the greater part of the people had dyed with penury of bread. The bloudy flux or dysentery, caused through raw and corrupt humours, engendred by evill meate and dyet, raged every where, and together with other maladies brought such multitudes of the poorer sort to their end, that the living could scarce suffice to bury the dead.

(30) The King was now in so great dislike and distrust with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appeare at *Clarendon*, where hee held a great Councell. To augment this fatall aversion, a certaine Knight belonging to *John* Earle *Warren*, stole away from *Castesord* in *Dorsetshire*, the Wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* (chiefe of the Lords faction) not without the Kings consent (as it was said) and brought her to the said Earle *Warrens* Castle at *Rigate*, with great pompe, and in despight of the Earle; whom one *Richard de Saint Maurice*, a wretched, lame, and bunch-backt Dwarfe challenged for Wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted, and had lyen with her, which she (the greatest and noblest Inheritrix of her time) did openly confesse, to her immortall infamy, incurring alas (saith *Walsingham*) the publike note of a most filthy Strumpet. This deformed Elfe (having mighty Seconds) durst hereupon claime the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury* as in her right, and in the meane time, the name and honor of *Thomas* the great Earle was baffold, as it were, by a light and wicked woman.

An. Dom. 1317.

(31) The parts of *England* beyond *Humber*, were now more and more afflicted; for such as till then had opposed themselves against the *Scots* in defence of the Countrey, perceiving all things left at large, in stead of Protectors became Tyrants, * saith our Authour; of defenders, destroyers; and of valiant Champions, treacherous Chapmen; so that as betweene the hammer and the anvile, the *Scots* upon the one side, and these false *English* on the other, all was lamentable, and brought in a manner to nothing: and this face of things continued there about foure yeeres.

* Tho. Walsing.

(32) Neither did the King seeme to have any will or power to releeve the common calamities, but rather to convert his whole both wits and forces upon revenges against the Lords, who under pretence of their extorted provisions, manifestly withdrew their loves, service and duties from him: wherefore feeling himselfe thus weake and disfurnished, hee besought the spirituall assistance of Pope *John* the two and twentieth; who thereupon sent certaine Cardinals to set all things in quiet without bloudshed. Betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaster*, they established a peace, who, in a * certaine plaine neere *Leicester* met, embraced and kissed each other; but when they could not worke the like with the *Scots*, they put that Country under Interdict.

The Spensers banished.

(33) For that (as it the manner of prosperity) after the victory at *Banockbourne*, which clearely got them Scotland, did begin to bethinke themselves of gaining new Empire in *Ireland*. Thither *Edward Bruce*, brother of King *Robert*, had passed with an Army, procuring * himselfe to be crowned King thereof, by favour of some of the *Irish* Nobility, whom nevertheless of three yeeres from his first entrance, the *English* under the conduct of the Archbishop of *Armagh*, and of *John* Lord *Brinningham* Iusticiar of *Ireland*, valiantly encountred, where together with his late usurped Kingdome, hee lost his life. There were slaine in that battell many honourable Scots, besides the new King *Edward*, and above * five thousand others: his head was cut off * at *Dundalke* (saith *Walsingham*) but *Hector Boetius* writes that hee was slaine in the battle it selfe. Thus did God temper one with another, and the just rejoycement which the Scots had conceived of their so

* Tho. Walsingh.

An. Dom. 1318. *Edward Bruce*, King of Ireland, vanquished by the *English*, and slaine.

* Rolland. mast. lib. 14. cap. 12. Tho. Walsing. Tho. de la More. Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.

so happy victory over the *English* at *Banocksbourne*, was fowred with this losse.

* Hect. Boet. lib. 14. Tho. Walsingh. Polydor. Virg. lib. 18. * cap. 132.

(34) But King *Robert* (as a most expert and vigilant Prince) did not suffer this joy to continue long to the *English*; for by practice with one * *Peter Spalding*, to whom King *Edward* had entrusted the keeping of *Berwicke*, hee recovered it from the *English*, saith * *Harding*, *By treaty*, *with Peace*, *Spalding*, *and treason*; after it had remained twentie yeeres in their possession; which when King *Edward* thought to have wonne againe, the *Scots* diverted him from the siege, with incursions and slaughters of his people in other parts of *England*, not fayling much of surprising the Queene in a Village not farre from *Yorke*, where shee sojourned during the siege at *Berwicke*; the plot being laid, and drawne betweene the *Scots* and some perfidious *English*, whom King *Robert* had moneyed for that purpose. But *Spalding* after the treason done, had the reward of a * Traytour, for *King Robert* put him to death.

* John Stow. Harding. c. 172.

(35) To give some breathings after these so manifold troubles, a truce was agreed upon and confirmed betweene the two Kings of *England* and of *Scotland*, for the space of two yeeres, which brought forth confusion and not refreshment. For thus it hapned; The King upon the commendation of the * Lords themselves, had made *Hugh de Spenser* Lord *Chamberlaine*, who being at the least of equall insolence, vices, and ambition to *Gaveston*, so wrought that hee succeeded in short time to all the graces of familiaritie and power which ever *Gaveston* enjoyed, as in like sort to all his hatred and envy. *Hugh* his father, an ancient Knight, the better to strengthen his Sonnes courses, was likewise employed, and grew in speciall favour with the King, who afterward also created him Earle of *Winchester*: but the Father in manners unlike to the Sonne, was ruined rather by a naturall tenderneſſe, then any malicious will. The sonne, as hee was of shape most lovely, so the very spirit it selfe of *pride*, and *rapine*, carried him to all sorts of intolerable behaviours and oppressions, that *Gaveston* might with good reason seeme to be wished for againe. Against these two, who wholly swayed the unfortunate King, *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, and in a manner all the Barons of the Kingdome, (who meant the King should love none but with their leave, did swell with such impatience, that (not contented with the waft of their lands) they never rested till (by the terrour of civill Armes) those two Favourites (father and sonne) were banished; they thus revenging under publique pretexts both publique injuries and * their owne.

The beginning of civill warres.

* Tho. de la More.

* Tho. Walsingh.

An. Dom. 1321.

(36) In all contentions which hapned betweene the King and his Lords, Queene *Isabel* had ever hitherto beene a maker of Peace, doing therein worthy offices, but the evill starres of the Earles of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* would not suffer her to continue any longer so: for the Queene being denyed lodging one night at the Castle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, which belonged to the Lord of *Badlesmere* (one of the Earles faction) thee with-drew her good conceit; and was an author to the King of presently revenging that dishonour, who upon her complaint, came in person with many thousand Souldiers before the Castle, tooke the * Captaine, and put both him and all the men therein to shamefull death. Moreover, longing to bee righted against the Lords for their late insolencies, marched on to *Circester*, taking many Castles, and besieging others: The Lords (who little suspected any such sudden assaults) providing in the meane time for their defence.

* Hollingsh. pag. 331. col. 2.

(37) Thither repaired to him (at his commandement) *Hugh Spenser* the sonne, who had hovered upon the Sea, expecting from thence the successe of things upon the Land. The Lords, who had false from their, Soveraignes good conceit, and wanting now their wonted Mediatrix the Queene, lay open to all the mischiefe which enemies could worke them by the King, who (as taking his Regall power and authoritie to be in danger) resolved wisely and manfully, to die in the quarrell, or to bring the Lords to be at his commandement. Meane time the judgement given against the *Spensers* was reversed as erroneous, and their revocation decreed at *London* by the * Archbishop of *Canterbury* and his Suffragans.

King Edward pulles the Lords. Polyd. Virg. lib. 2. An. Dom. 1322.

(38) The Lords, not all of a like temper, began to misdoubt, and many of them forsooke their Chiefe, (the Earle of *Lancaster*) and rendred themselves to the King, or were apprehended; among which were the two *Roger Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Castle. The faction weakened by this defection, made head in the North, under the Earle of *Lancaster*, who now was to fight for his life. Thither the King marcheth, and with the onely shew of his Armie, made the Earle to flie from *Burton upon Trent*, whose forces in their retreat or flight behaved themselves outragiously.

* Thom. de la More.

Tho. Walsingh. Yp. de la More.

(39) But Gods heavie displeasure, and the Arme of the Kings power left them not so: for at *Burrowbrigge*, *Humfrey de Bohun* was slaine by a *Welshman*, who thrust him into the body with a Speare from under the Bridge; and the Earle of *Lancaster* himselfe with other principall men, Barons and Knights, to the number of above * foureſcore and ten were taken prisoners, by a man of small fortunes, *Andrew de Herckley* Captaine of the Citie of *Carleil*, and Sir *Simon Ward*, * Captaine of *Yorke*, who with great forces out of those parts, stopt their farther passage at *Burrowbrigge*, as the Kings forces tooke all safegard from them behind.

* The. de la More.

* Tho. Walsingh.

(40) The third day after their apprehension, the * King in person being set in judgement at *Pontfract*, and with him *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, *Aymerie* Earle of *Pembroke*, *John de Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, and among * others, the Lord *Hugh de Spenser* the Father, as also * *Hugh Spenser* his sonne; the Earle of *Lancaster* was brought before them, and had sentence pronounced against him * by the said *Andrew de Herckley* (created afterward Earle of *Carliel*) and the Kings *Iusticiar*, the * Lord *Maplesthorpe*, as against an *Arch-Traitour*; nevertheleſſe, for reverence of his bloud (being the Kings neere Kinsman) drawing and hanging were remitted unto him; but his head was stricken off the same day without the Towne of *Pontfract*.

* Tho. Walsingh. Execution of Nobles.

* Holinsh. pag. 330. col. 2. * Ypodig. Neustr.

* The. de la More.

* Holinsh. pag. 332. col. 2.

(41) Nor satisfied herewith, the King gave full way to revenge, putting to shamefull death, by drawing, hanging, and (as some write) * quartering in sundry places, all the Barons (the Lord *Roger D'amarie* John Stow. Tho. Walsingh. Yp.

* Holinsh. p. 331. col. 2. John Stow. * Ail. & Mat. pag. 463. col. 2. John Stow. Tho. Walsingh.

(42) As for the said *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, there are so many reasons why hee cannot reasonably be judged either a good subject or a good man, that we may worthily wonder why some at that time should repute him a Saint. Certainly, the wise and discreet old Writers are not so opinionated of him; but note his private life for * vicious, himselfe to be nothing * valorous, and of the publike * not well deserving, omitting his contumelious behaviours toward the King his Soveraigne Lord in his discom-

The qualitie of Earle Thomas described.

* Read Stigdons. * Mantell. Chronicles, in vspich 17 c. 42. * S. Tho. de la More. & Polychronicon. Tho. Walsingh.

forts, which as *Walsingham* forgets not to relate, ſo thinks he that the like was worthily uſed toward that Earle himſelfe, who, when hee was brought priſoner to *Pontfract* (his own Caſtle, but then ſurrendred) the whole multitude derided, and called him in ſcorne King *Arthur*: by which name hee was deſigned (as * ſome write) in the *Scottiſh* Cypher intercepted, proving a conſpiracy with *Scots*: but the very ſhop, where his and the other *Barons* originall Treaſons were forged, was the Parliament-houſe, wherein from time to time, they forced on the King preſumptuous and treaſonous Ordinations, whereby the Peeres challenged, * not onely to reforme the Kings houſe and Councell, and to place and diſplace all great Officers, at their pleaſure, but even a joynt intereſt in the Regiment of the Kingdome, together with the King, which *William Inge* (a Iudge of the Common Law) with other like ſticklers, trayterouſly perſwaded them to be according to Law.

(43) Of his ill-deſervings toward the Common-Weale (who for the good thereof could not diſgeſt any indignity) let this bee a kinde of demonſtration: for when king *Edward* having by ſtrait ſiege brought *Berwicke* neere to termes of yeelding, chanced once to breake forth (after his vaine manner) into theſe words, *The Lord* Hugh Spencer *ſhall bee Captaine of the Caſtle, when it is taken*: the Earle forthwith with others of his faction abandoned the ſervice: by reaſon of which departure, it was thought that *Berwicke* was not as then obtained, * and that the enemy thereby had great advantage in all their attempts. The names of ſuch Barons (beſides Bannerets, and ſome few others of ſpeciall note) as periſhed by hatchet and halter for this buſineſſe, as out of ſo great variety of Writers we could now gather them were;

Thomas Earle of Lancaſter.
The Lord Warren Lile.
The Lord William Tochet.
At * *Pontfract*, *The Lord Thomas Mandute.*
The Lord Henry de Bradburne.
The L. Will. Fitz-William the yonger.
The Lord William Cheyney.

The Lord Roger Clifford, ſonne of that Robert Lord Clifford, who was ſlaine by the Scots, with Gilbert Earle of Glocester, at the battell of Bannockbourne in the ſervice of this King.
At * *Yorke*, *The Lord Iohn Mowbray.*
The Lord Ioſceline Deynvile.

At *Glocester*, *The Lord* * *Iohn Gifford.*
At *London*, *The Lord* * *Henry Teyes.*
At *Windſor*, *The Lord Frances* * *de Aldenham.*
At *Canterbury*, *The* * *L. Bartholmew de Badleſmere.*
The * *L. Batholmew de Aſhburnham.*

Never did *Engliſh* earth at one time drinke ſo much bloud of her Nobles in ſo vile manner ſhed as at this, which, whatſoever could bee pretended (as doubteleſſe their offence was capitall) yet all was taken to be done as in the quarrell of the *Spenſers* onely, nor was it unrevenged, as will appeare: in the meane ſpace their enemies not contented with their bloud, procured alſo the * confiſcation of their eſtates and inheritances.

(44) King *Edward* thinking that this exploit had made him terrible as well to the *Scots*, as it had done to the *Engliſh*, marcheth with a mighty hoaſt into *Scotland*, from whence not long after (for want of victuals) he was compelled to returne, without the honour of any atchievement, and being * upon his returne, was ſodainely by *Scots* aſſailed in the night, very narrowly eſcaping in his owne perſon, and with a few ſaved himſelfe by flight, leaving his * treaſure and furniture for pillage, and ſo came forrowfull to *Yorke*. *Iohn de Britaine* Earle of *Richmond*, was taken priſoner by the enemy, and the reſt of the Country defaced, with deſtructions as farre as to the wals of that City.

(45) Thus * paſſed this yeere, to the *Engliſh* full of ſoſſe, reproach, and lamentation, by reaſon of their inteſtine diſcord and the ſhambles of their Nobles; to the King infamous, and hatefull alſo for his unfortunate journey into the Northerne parts, &c. But theſe bloudy and tempeſtuous winds blew profit to ſome; for * during the ſpace of about fiue yeares after, the fortune of the *Spenſers* hugely encreaſed, and the Queenes decreaſed, who (for her relenting toward the Lords, and expreſſing ſome diſlikes of theſe rankely-growing weeds) was growne to beare a ſhare in the perſecution. And that theſe with ſuch like violent men working upon the Kings inclination, were the onely Authors of that ſharpe revenge taken upon the Lords, for their particular and inglorious enrichment (for what elſe can we call the ſame, ſince that they betraide thereby their Soveraignes Crowne and Life, to ſpeedy deſtruction?) let it by this in part appeare, and move the World the rather to pitty the ſeduced.

(46) Among them who were condemned for riſing with the Earle of *Lancaſter*, there was one of a meane Family, for whoſe life neverthelеſſe, becauſe hee had once ſerved in Court, and was pleaſing to ſome of the Grands, or Potent favourites therein, many interceded, and preſſed the King ſo farre on his behalfe, that he brake out into theſe * moſt vehement words, *A plague upon you, for curſed whiſperers, malicious backe-biters, wicked counſellors, entreat you ſo for the life of a moſt notorious knave, who would not ſpeake one word for the life of my neere Kinſman, that moſt noble Knight Earle* Thomas *: Had hee loved, mee and our whole Realme ſhould have had ſpeciall need and uſe of him. This fellow the longer he lives, the more villanies he will commit, as having already filled my Kingdome with his deſperate outrages. By the Soule of God he ſhall therefore dye the death he hath deſerved.*

(47) By this then it is evident, that theſe tragedies againſt the Lords were exploired by others; in which it is plaine that the King (otherwiſe ſo devoute to God, ſo noble and ſo full of naturall good propenſions) was fatally over-wrought by wicked counſell; though hee therein bee inexcuſable, for good nature (as we call it) cannot ſatisfie for publique errours. But the condemned man was forthwith put to death accordingly; the King being moſt highly offended, that none had entreated him on the Earles behalfe, whom (ſaith *Walſingham*) he did inwardly love. Neverthelеſſe, he had not long before created the elder *Spenſer* Earle of *Wincheſter*, and deckt the plume of his fortunes with a top-feather taken out of the ſaid late Earle of *Lancaſters* eſtate, that is to ſay, with the Caſtle and honour of * *Donington*, parcell of the Earledome of *Lincolne*. Having thus farre ſhewed the originall of the miſchiefe, we will haſten now to the laſt Act or Cataſtrophe of our *Edwards* Tragedy, onely we will firſt remember ſome intercurring matters.

(48) You have heard before, how that the Cardinals ſeat from the Pope, had (in favour of the *Engliſh*) put *Scotland* under Interdict, whereſore King *Robert* now at laſt diſpatched the Biſhop of *Glaſcow*, and *Thomas Randolfe* Earle of *Murrey* to *Rome*, for obtaining releaſe and abſolution, but they returned without effecting it. Whereupon King *Robert* moved to have a truce for thirteene yeeres, which King *Edward* accordingly granted, and the Pope * then abſolved the *Scots*. The matters of *Scotland* ſeemed thus to be ſufficiently provided for during that time, and the rather for that ſomewhat before the motion for truce, the King had cauſed the newly created Earle of *Carleil*, *Andrew de Herkley*, to bee degraded, hanged, drawne and quartered for Treaſon, which hee was convinced to have entred into with the *Scots*,

Scots, upon * whom he had before done ſpeciall ſervices, as having for that cauſe the Caſtle and City of *Carleil* committed to his governement. The truce with *Scotland* being thus confirmed, the King makes his progreſſe through the * Counties of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, and the *Marches of Wales*, from whence the late ſeditious had their nouriſhments, taking wiſe and carefull courſes for miniſtration of Iuſtice there, and prevention of like inconveniences, by puniſhing their Authors ſeverely. And Iuſtices * voyd of all corruption, were apointed elſe-where.

(49) In the meane ſpace, the new King of *France* *Charles* the fifth, a moſt earneſt enemy to the *Engliſh* mens poſſeſſions there, ſought occaſions of quarrell with King *Edward*, who while he conſulted at home how to order that affaire, the yong L. *Roger Mortimer*, one whom the Divell (ſaith our * Courtier) reſerved to kindle new diſtention with, and to ſtirre up a moſt miſerable civill warre, having corrupted his Keepers, or (as ſome others write) having potioned them with * a ſleepy drinke, eſcaped out of the Tower of *London*, getting over clearely without any empeachment into *France*.

(50) The *Spencers*, both father and ſonne, the one thus created Earle of *Wincheſter*, and the other Earle of *Glouceſter*, aſpiring to the fulneſſe of command, and deſirous to leave nothing in their eye, which might ſtumble their ſway with the King, failed not to beget immortall enmities both againſt themſelves and the King. The Queene tooke their carriage ſo heinouſly, becauſe (beſides other things) they had abridged her meanes of maintenance, (while themſelves abounded in all riches and magnificence) as ſhee complayned; * That the daughter and ſole heire of the King of *France* was married to a gripple miſer, and that being promiſed to bee a Queene, ſhee was become no better then a waiting woman, living upon a penſion from the *Spencers*.

(51) Thus was the matter, and as it were, the *Embrion*, of their common deſtruction laid, and begun in the impotencie of a womans will, to helpe out the which with ſhrewd drifts and directions, they encreaſe her ſide with *Adam* Biſhop of *Hereford*, by ſtripping him out of all his Temporalties as a Traytour, for that he had ſupported the *Mortimers* in the Barons quarrell. This *Adam* (ſaith our Knight) was a man of moſt ſubtil wit, and in all wordly pollicie profound, daring to doe great things, and factious withall, who for this cauſe conceiving deepeſt hate, and therefore eaſily growing deare to the Queene, made a great ſecret party. To which *Henrie Burwaſh* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, who (for like cauſes) had beene kept from his temporalties (about two yeeres) joyned himſelfe. Neither would the *Spenſers* avarice ſuffer them to weaken the multitudes of their enmies, for they ſold the Kings gracious favour to ſuch as had beene in the Barons quarrell, at ſo great rates, that by graunting away lands and Manours to the ſaid Lords *Spencers* for their pardons, &c. very many of the Nobles were impoveriſhed. To bee ſhort, the royall power being in the hands of the *Spencers*, and *Roger Baldock* Chancellour, or of their Creatures and Pavourites; this other faction had the generall diſcontentments of the Realme to worke upon for their advantage.

(52) The King thus guiding himſelfe, and having ſent his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* (upon notice of the firſt troubles) with Forces into *Gaſcoigne*, who gave ſome little ſtay for a time to the *French* proceedings, till they might otherwiſe bee provided for, it came to this poynt at laſt: that whereas the King had a purpoſe to have gone in perſon into *France*, the *Spenſers*, who were afraid to be ſevered from his perſon, the onely reverence whereof they knew to be their ſafegard, and yet not daring to attend him thither, or ſtay behinde, * perſwaded the King, contrary to the mindes of all the reſt, that the Queene (who ſought it) ſhould goe and negociate her husbands affaire in *France*. Shee did ſo; and whereas before her departure, things were in great extremity betweene the two Nations, inſomuch that all the *French* were baniſhed out of *England*, not they who were attendant on the Queene her ſelfe in neereſt place being ſpared, all matters by her negotiation and ſuite were quieted, upon condition that King *Edward* ſhould give to his Son *Edward* of *Windſor* (afterward King) the *Dutchy* of *Aquitaine*, and *Earledome of Pontine*, for which the King of *France* was pleaſed to accept his faid young *Nephewes* homage.

(53) This was done, and the Prince ſent over for that purpoſe to his mother, to the utter undoing of the King his Father, and of all his favourites. For the heire of *England* being in forraine parts, among the contrary faction, all the conſultation was (under colour of ruining the *Spenſers*,) to accompliſh farther matters. The Prince, having (at *Boys de vincens*) done his homage for that Dutchie and Countie to his uncle *Charles de Valois* King of *France*, was (as alſo the Queene his mother) ſent for backe by the King about *Michaelmas*; but the Queenes conſpiracy being not yet ripe, ſhe deferred to obay, detaining her ſonne ſtill.

(54) There went over with the young Prince, among many others, *Walter Stapleton*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, who perceiving into what familiarity the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was growne with the Queene, which * ſeemed greater then either ſtood with her honour or duetie, and feeing both him and other of the Kings enemies, and fugitives, enjoy that privacie in counſell, which was aſſigned to himſelfe, who was now (as being none of theirs) * excluded, returned ſecretly (though unſent-for) into *England*, faithfully (as it became a good man) declaring his knowledge.

(55) The King now clearely beholding his error, in his dangers, * ſolicited the King of *France* to ſend home his wife and ſonne, but that not ſucceeding, he cauſed them * openly in *London* to bee proclaymed enemies of the Kingdome, baniſhing them with all their adherents out of the ſame. For his more aſſurance alſo hee cauſed the Ports to bee moſt narrowly watcht. Finally, to draw all his dangers to a ſhort diſpatch, there was (as was ſuppoſed) a plot laide for * making away the Queene and Prince, but Gods will was to fruſtrate it.

(56) The Queen, on the other ſide, fearing that the * *Spenſers* Gold had laide traines to blow her whole proceedings up in *France*, kept her ſelfe out of the way, till with the Prince, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and other their adherents, they were ſafely gotten into *Henault*. There might bee ſome other reaſon alſo, and neceſſary, to moue Queene *Iſabel* to depart out of *France*, beſide the doubt of that kinde of corruption in the Peeres thereof: as to turne off a warre from thence being her native Countrey, which for her cauſe was afflicted in the Sea-ſtrengths thereof, for Sir *Iohn Oxurwin*, Sir *Nicholas Kirkeel*, and Sir *Iohn de Felton*, with the Navy of the Ports, and of other places, had by commiſſion from the King ſo ſcowred the narrow Seas, that they within a ſhort time brought into *England*, as lawfull prize * an hundreth and twenty *Norman* Ships or Veſſels. Moreover, whereas thoſe two Biſhops which the Pope had ſent, were returned forrowfull out of *England*, not onely without doing any good on her behalfe, but alſo without hope of doing any, ſhe might eaſily be perſwaded that the ſword moſt doe it, or nothing.

(57) But in *Henault* ſhe found moſt honourable and loving welcome of the Earle, where, therefore (without the conſent or adviſe of the Peeres of *England*) ſhee enſured (ſaith our * Author) that delight and terrour of the whole World, her ſonne, being then about fourteene yeeres old, to *Philippa* the faid Earles daughter, and with the money of her portion waged ſouldiers out of *Henault*, and *Germanie*, to tranſport

* *Hoſpinian. pag. 329. col. 2.*
* *Continu. Mich. Triveti. M. S.*
Tho. Walſingh. ad An. Dom. 1319.
* *Continu. Mich. Triveti. M. S.*
* *Tho. Walſingh. Iohn Stow. Chron. vvill. Rishanger. apud vvalſingh.*
* *John Stow.*
* *Holinſh. pag. 330. col. 2.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Holinſh. pa. 330. and Fabian.*
* *Fabian. Holinſh. pag. 332. col. 2.*
King Edward endangered by the Scots.
* *Thom. de la More.*
Tho. Walſingh.
* *Tpodig. Neuſt.*
* *Thom. de la More.*
* *Fabian.*
An. Dom. 1324. *A. Reg. 17. The Lord Roger Mortimer ſhuteth up the Tower.*
* *Thom. de la More.*
* *Tpodig. Neuſt.*
An. Dom. 1323. King *Edward* moſt bitterly upbraids the Earle of Lancaſters death.
* *Walſingham calls them vvits imparik.*
* *Tho de la More.*
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
* *Polydor. Virg lib. 18.*
* *Thomas Walſingh.*
An. Dom. 1325.
* *Thom. vvalſingh.*
* *Polydor. Virg lib. 18.*
* *Thom. de la More.*
* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 18. The Queene and Prince proclaimed Traitors.*
* *Tho. Walſingh. Polydor. Virg. lib. 18. Fabian. Their death plotted by the King.*
* *M. Fox. Act. & Mon. p. 464. col. 1.*
* *Tpodig. Neuſt.*
The Engliſh ſowre the narrow ſeas.
* *Tho. Walſingh.*
An. Dom. 1326. *A. Reg. 19.*
* *Tho. de la More.*

transport into *England*. There her friends expected her arrivall daily, of which the Bishops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* were not meaneſt. Her men and Navie being now ready, ſhe with her ſonne the Prince, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* his Vncle, * *Aimery de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Iohn* of *Henault*, the Earle of *Henaults* brother, (a valiant Gentleman) the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and many other *Engliſh-men* of name and note, with above two thouſand and ſeven hundred *Henowayes* and *Germans*, under the leading of the ſaid Lord *Iohn*, arrived at *Orwel* in *Suffolke* upon the Friday before Saint *Michaels* day.

* Harding. cap. 176.

The Kings proceedings after the Queenes arrivall.

(58) Her arrivall being reported to the King (who was, poore Prince, not onely deſtitute of friends and meanes, but as it ſeemes, of courage, and counſell alſo) it did not at firſt ſeeme credible. The truth appearing, he demaunded aſſiſtance of the City of *London*, whoſe anſwere was, *That they would honor with all duty, the King, the Queene, and Prince, but would ſhut their gates againſt forreiners, and traytors to the Realme, and with all their powers withſtand them.* In this anſwere the King and his few friends repoſing no aſſurance, hee committed an errour worſe then that former of ſending his ſonne out of *England*, by retiring himſelfe into the Weſt, with his inſeparable favourites the *Spenſers*, *Baldocke* and others there, to raiſe a force againſt the Queene: but before hee went, hee left his other ſonne, the Lord *Iohn* (called of *Eltham*) in the Tower of *London*, with the Counteſſe of *Glouceſter*, the Kings Neece, Wife to the younger *Spenſer* Earle of *Glouceſter*, committing the Tower it ſelfe to Sir *Iohn de Weſton*, who was well provided of men and victuals. Hee commanded all men alſo to deſtroy and kill the Queenes partakers, none excepted but her ſelfe, her ſonne, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, the Kings brother by the Father, and that none, upon paine of death, and loſſe of all that they might loſe, ſhould aid or aſſiſt them: and that he ſhould have a thouſand pound, who did bring the Lord *Mortimers* head. Thus tooke he his laſt leave of *London*, and in a manner alſo of his Rule or Domination.

(59) On the contrary part, there repaired to the Queene the Earle *Marſhall*, and *Henry* Earle of *Leiceſter*, the Biſhops of *Lincolne*, *Hereford*, *Ely*, and of Barons, Knights, and armed Souldiers no ſmall multitude, whom as well to retaine, as to draw more, letters and rumours flew about, declaring (though falſly) that the King of *France* had in the ayde of his Siſter ſent ſo many Dukes, Earles, and others, that *England* could ſcarſe ſuffice to feede them. This, for ſuch whom the opinion of warlike ſtrength would winne: but thoſe whom ſhew of Religion might move, it was as cunningly, and as falſly ſpread, that the Pope had excommunicated all ſuch as did take armes againſt the Queene, and (the more to countenance the fiction) that two Cardinals imployed about the premiſſes, were ſeene in the Queens Campe. Then was it proclaymed, that the cauſes of her comming were to deliver the Realme from the miſ-leaders of the King, which were named to bee the *Spenſers*, *Roger Baldocke* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Lord Chancellor*, and their Fautors; all others to bee ſafe, and that nothing ſhould bee taken from any other ſubject without true payment; but finally, that he who brought the younger *Spenſers* head ſhould have two thouſand pounds. Theſe things firſt thus ordered, the Queene with her ſonne and whole power purſues the King, (as it had beene agreed by the Councell of Warre) taking firſt her way to *Oxford*: where the * whole Vniverſitie being called together, in the preſence of the Queene, the Prince, *Roger Mortimer*, and the reſt of that troupe, the Biſhop of *Hereford* (the Queenes boſome Councellor) preaching to them on this Text, * *My head, my head aketh*, delivered to them the reaſons of the Queenes comming with her army, concluding (more like a Butcher then a Divine) that an aking and ſick-head of a Kingdome, was of neceſſitie to be taken off, and not to be tampered with, by any other phyſicke.

Tho. de la More.

Tpodig. Neuſt.

* Thom. de la More.

* 2 King. 4. 19.

The Londoners for the Queen.

(90) The *Londoners*, in favour of the Queene, and hatred of the *Spenſers*, committed ſundry outrages, beſides bloudy facrileдge in cutting off the biſhop of *Exceſters* head, and ſome others (whom the King had made Guardian of *London*) in their popular fury, among the which one of them was a Citizen of their owne, *John le Marchal*, who had beene of the younger *Spenſers* acquaintance. The Tower of *London* they get into their poſſeſſion, placing and diſplacing the Garriſon and Officers therein at their pleaſure, under the name of the Lord *Iohn* of *Eltham*, the Kings ſecond ſonne, whom they proclaimed *Cuſtos* of the Citie, and of the Land. They alſo ſet at liberty all priſoners, which by the popular Queenes commandement was done through the whole Realme: and all baniſhed men and Fugitives were revoked; who all * flocking unto *London*, brought no ſmall encreaſe to her forces.

* 16. Celand. precomb.

* Ex Hiſt. qua Brut. diuine. M. S.

(61) Whither in the meane ſpace doth woſull *Edward* flye? what force, what courſe, what way takes he poore Prince? O fearefull condition of ſo great a Monarches State, when a Wife, a Sonne, a Kingdome are not truſted, and thoſe onely are truſted who had nothing ſtrong, but a will to live and die with him. The Queene paſſing from *Oxford* to *Glouceſter* (onward to the ſiege of *Briſtow*-Caſtle) grew all the while in her ſtrengths like a rowled ſnow-ball, or as a *River*, which ſpreades ſtill broader from the fountaine to the Ocean, * *vires acquirit eundo*. For thither repayred to her (for the love of the young Prince) the Lord *Percy*, the Lord *Wake*, and others as well out of the North, as Marches of *Wales*. But *Edward* (having left the Earle of *Wincheſter*, the elder Lord *Spenſer*, in the Caſtle of *Briſtol* for the keeping thereof) meditates flight with a few into the Iſle of *Lundie* in *Severne Sea*, or into *Ireland*, & while he wandreth about not finding where to reſt ſafe, his royall credite, name, and power, (like a Cliffe which falling from the top of ſome huge rocke, breakes into the more pieces, the farther it relles) are daily more and more diminiſht as they ſcatter, till now at laſt they are come unto a very nothing. After a weeke therefore ſpent upon the Sea, Sir *Thomas Blunt* forſaking him, and comming to the Queene, he came on ſhore in *Glamorganſhire*, where with his few friends hee entruſted himſelfe to God, and the faith of the *Welſh* (who indeed ſtill loved him) lying hidden among them in the Abbey of * *Neath*.

* Virg. Aen. 3.

* Tpodig Neuſt. Tho. de la More.

(62) Now had the Queene and her ſonne (for his name was abuſed to all ſorts of turne-ſervings) taken the elder Lord *Spenſer* at the Caſtle of *Briſtol*, who (without any forme of triall) was cruelly cut up alive and quarreted (ſaith *de la More* our Knight) being * firſt at the clamours of the people, drawne and hanged in his proper Armories upon the common Gallowes without the City: but his Grandchild *Hugolin* ſtood ſo valiantly in defence of himſelf within the Caſtle of *Kerfilly*, that he had his life and the lives of all his aſſiſtants ſaved.

The elder Spenſer put to death.

* Tho. Walſingh. Hiſtoria quæ Brutí dicitur. M. S.

(63) The King not appearing, Proclamations were every day made in the Queenes Army, declaring, * That it was the common conſent of the realme that hee ſhould returne, and * receive the government thereof, ſo as hee would conforme himſelfe to his people. This (whether Stratagem or Truth) not prevailing, *Henry*, Earle of *Lancaſter* the late Earles Brother, Sir *William la Zouch*, and *Rheſe ap Howell* a *Welſhman*, who all of them had Lands in thoſe parts where the King concealed himſelfe, were ſent with coyne and forces to diſcover and take him. The Queene and her people lay in the City of *Hereford*, the Epiſcopall See of that great * Arch-plotter of her courſes *Adam de Ortlon*, where by adviſe and conſent of the Lords, her ſonne the Duke of *Aquitaine* was made *High-Keeper* of *England*, and they as to the *Cuſtos* of the ſame, did ſweare him fealty. And here alſo the Biſhop of *Norwich* was made Chancellour of

Proclamations re-calling the King.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Add. & Ioan. pag. 465. col. 1.

* Tho. de la More cals him, *omnia boſſa malis archutiam*, but the Author was doubtleſſe Register *Martiniane*.

The Prince *Cuſtos*, or high Keeper of *England*.

of the Realme, and the Biſhop of *Winchester* Treaſurer.

Reaſons to perſuade his Reſignation.

(65) What will not money, diligence and faire words doe with corrupt diſpoſitions, even to everting of all bands of either religious or civill duties? By ſuch meanes therefore the deſolate, ſad, and unfortunate King, * came into his coſen of *Lancaſters* hands, and with him the younger Lord *Spenſer* Earle of *Glouceſter*, *Robert Baldocke* Lord Chancellour, and *Simon de Reding*, there being no regard had to the detention of any other. The King was conveyed by the Earle from the place of his ſurpriſe to *Monmouth*, to *Ledbury*, and ſo to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*, belonging to the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who was appointed to attend him, that is, to keepe him ſafe. The other three, *Spenſer*, *Baldocke*, and *Reding*, were ſtrongly guarded to *Hereford*, there to bee diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of their moſt capitall enemies.

* Tho. de la More.

* Wholoever is libby tormente overcomes the Tormentor. An. Dom. 1327. *A. Reg.* 20. & alit. King Edward yeelds to reſigne his Crowne.

* 2. Tho. de la More.

* Tho. walſingh.

* Polydor. lib. 7. cap. 43.

(66) Before whoſe comming, to ſatisfie *Roger Mortimer*, the Lord *Edmund* Earle of *Arundel*, and two Gentlemen *Daniel*, and *Micheldene*, were beheaded at *Hereford*: The Lord *Mortimer* was ſo high in the Queenes favour, that ſhee could doe no leſſe (as wee may ſuppoſe) then gratifie him with a few hated heads. But (*Mortimer*) there will bee a time, when the cry of this, and other bloud ſacrificed to thy private revenge (while thou abuſeſt the publike truſt) will never give over the purſuit, till it hath deſervedly drawne thine in lieu thereof.

The younger Spenſer put to death.

* Cotton. Nicholſon. Tricott. M. S.

(67) The Lord *Spenſer* and the reſt, * on whom *William Truſſell* the Iudge gave ſentence of death, being now drawne to *Hereford*, the ſaid Lord being clad in his coat-armour, was moſt deſpightfully dragged to the place of execution, where, being firſt hung upon a gallowes fifty foot high, hee was afterward headed, and cut into quarters; they who brought him to the Queene, having the promiſed ſumme of two thouſand pounds diſtributed among them for reward. His head was ſet up at *London*, and his quarters in foure parts of the Kingdome. *Simon de Reding* was hanged tenne foot lower then hee in the ſame place.

M. Vex. Aſt. & Ioan. 465. col. 1.

(68) This Execution (ſaith *Walſingham*) was done upon a Munday, in revenge of the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, whoſe bloud was likewiſe ſhed upon a Munday. *Robert Baldocke* late Lord Chancellor was committed to the keeping of the Biſhop of *Hereford*, who after a time cauſed him to bee brought up to *Hereford-houſe* in *London*, where the tumultuous people (not without the Biſhop of *Herefords* ſecret approvement, as was ſaid) tooke him violently away, and (though hee were a Priest) thruſt him into Newgate, where they uſed him ſo unhandſomely, that albeit they had no accuſation, but onely for being faithfull to his Soveraigne, wherewith to * charge him, hee not long after dyed in private; to whom (ſaith *De la More*) might bee applyed that of *Quintilian*, * *Torquentem vincit quisquis occiditur.*

Tho. de la More.

(69) The mournefull King being at *Kenelworth* Caſtle, there repaired thither the Biſhops of * *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Lincolne*, * two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, * two Iuſtices, three Knights for every County; and for *London*, and other principall places (chiefely for the five Ports) a certaine choſen number, ſelected by the Parliament, which then the Queene and her Sonne held at *London*. The Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Lincolne* (as it was agreed upon) came thither before any of the reſt, aſwell to give the King to underſtand what kinde of Embaſſage was approaching, as to prepare him by the beſt Arguments they could to ſatisfie the deſire, and expectation, of their new-moulded common-weale, which could onely be by reſignation of the Crowne, that his Sonne (whom the body of the then confuſed State had elected) might raigne in his ſtead.

(70) When they were admitted to his preſence, (the Earle of *Leiceſter* being by!) they together ſo wrought him, partly with ſhewing a neceſſity, partly with other reaſons drawne out of common places, throughly ſtudied for that purpoſe, that (though not without many ſobs and teares) hee finally did not diſſent, if his anſwer were truely reported (which * ſome doubt of) unto the Parliament. * For they told "him that the Common-weale had conceived ſo ir- "reconcileable diſlikes of his governement, the par- "ticulars whereof had beene opened in the generall "aſſembly at *London*, that it was reſolved never to "endure him as King any longer. That notwithſtan- "ding thoſe diſlikes had not extended themſelves "ſo farre, as for his ſake to exclude his iſſue, but that "with univerſall applauſe, and joy, the Common- "weale had in Parliament elected his eldeſt Sonne "the Lord *Edward* for King. That it would be a ve- "ry acceptable thing to God, willingly to give o- "ver an earthly Kingdome, for the common-good "and quiet of his Countrey; which they ſaid could "not otherwiſe bee ſecured. That yet his honour "ſhould be no leſſe after the reſignation, then it was "before, onely him the common-weale would ne- "ver ſuffer to raigne any longer. They finally durſt "tell him, that unleſſe hee did of himſelfe renounce "his Crowne and Sceptre, the people would neither "endure him, nor any of his Children as their So- "veraigne, but diſclaiming all homage and fealty, "would elect ſome * other for King, who ſhould not "be of the bloud.

* Hiſt. Brut. M. S. * Tho. de la More.

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 18.

Tho de la More.

(71) The whole Company ſent by the body of State (if it may be called a Body which then had no Head there) from *London*, where it attended their returne, being placed by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, according to their degrees, in the Preſence-Chamber at *Kenelworth* Caſtle, the King gowned in blacke came forth at laſt out of an inward roome, and preſented himſelfe to his vaſſals, where (as being Privy to the errand) ſorrow ſtroke ſuch a chilneſſe into him, that hee fell to the earth, lying ſtretched forth in a deadly ſwowne; The Earle of *Leiceſter*, and the Biſhop of *Winchester* beholding this, ranne unto him, and with much labour recovered the halfe dead King, ſetting him upon his feet. As ruſull and heavy as this ſight was, we read not yet of any acts or effects of compaſſion expreſſed towards him at this preſent; ſo ſetled (as it ſeemed) was the hatred and averſion. The King being now (wee cannot ſay) come to himſelfe, but to the ſenſe of his miſery, the Biſhop of *Hereford* declares the cauſe of their preſent Embaſſie, and running over the former points, concludes as before, ſaying, (as in the perſon of the common-wealth) *That the King muſt reſigne his Diademe to his eldeſt Sonne, or, after the refuſall, ſuffer them to elect ſuch a perſon as themſelves ſhould judge to bee moſt fit and able to defend the Kingdome.*

(72) The dolorous King having heard this ſpeech, brake forth into ſighes and teares, and being (ſaith his * moſt favourable reporter) more ready to ſacrifice his body for Chriſts cauſe, then once to behold the diſinheriſon of his Sonnes, or (through his occaſion) the perpetuall diſturbance of the Kingdome, (as knowing, ſaith hee, that a good ſhepheard ſhould give his life for his flocke,) made at the laſt his anſwer to this effect. * "That hee knew that for his "many ſinnes hee was falne into this calamity, and "therefore had the leſſe cauſe to take it grievouſly: "That much he ſorrowed for * this, that the people "of the Kingdome were ſo exaſperated againſt him, "as that they ſhould utterly abhorre his any longer "rule and ſoveraignty: and therefore hee beſought "all that were there preſent, to * forgive and ſpare "him, being ſo afflicted. That nevertheleſſe * it was "greatly to his good pleaſure and liking, (ſeeing it "could none other be on his behalfe,) that his eldeſt "ſonne was ſo * gracious in their ſight, and therefore "he gave them * thankes for chooſing him to be their "King.

Sir Tho. de la More, his ſervant.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.

* Thom Walſing. Thom. de la More.

* Thom Walſingh. Polydor. Virg. lib. 18. * Thom. de la More. * Tho. Walſingh. * Thom. de la More. Tho. walſingh. Polydor. Virg. lib. 18.

Diademe and Enſignes of Majeſty, to the uſe of his ſonne the new King. Thereupon * Sir *William Truſſell* (as being a Iudge who could fit them with quirkes of law to colour ſo lawleſſe and treaſonable a fact) on the behalfe of the whole Realme renounced all homage and allegiance to the Lord *Edward of Caernarvon* late King.

* Thom. de la More.

(74) The forme of that renunciation, as being obſolete, you ſhall have in the like * obſolete words of *Trevиſa*, which was this; *I William Truſſell, in name of all men of the land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, reſigne to thee Edward, the homage that was made to thee ſometime; and from this time forward now following, I defie thee, and prive thee of all ward now following, I ſhall never bee tendant to thee as for royall power, and I ſhall never bee tendant to thee as for King after this time.* Which being done, Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the houſhold, by breaking his ſtaffe, reſigned his office, and declared that the late Kings family was diſcharged.

* Polych. l. 7. c. 43.

(75) *Edward* being thus de-kinged, the Embaſſie rode joyfully backe to *London* to the Parliament, with the reſigned * Enſignes, and diſpatch of their employment. Here (for that this ſeemes the laſt houre of his raigne and kingly ſtate) wee will make a ſtop, referring you for the reſt to the next Kings life, under whoſe name and abuſed authority they were acted.

* Tho. Walſingh.

(76) Notwithſtanding, we may not forget in all theſe doings to call to minde, who it was that fate at the helme of State, over-looking, and over-ſwaying Queene, Prince and all; to wit, the moſt ambitious and vindicative man living, *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* of *Wigmor*: for, as for the * Queene, when ſhee was (God knowes how farre guilty,) advertiſed of her husbands dethronization, ſhee outwardly expreſſed ſo great extremity of paſſion (notwithſtanding that at the ſame time ſhee was told of her ſonnes ſurrogation) as if ſhee had beene diſtraught in her wits: which the Prince her ſonne (then about fifteen yeares of age) beholding, he made an oath, never to accept of the Crowne againſt his Fathers good will; and thereupon it was (ſaith *Walſingham* a Writer worthy of beliefe) that the ſaid Embaſſie was ſent to *Kenelworth* Caſtle, (where the now no more a King remained) to worke his aſſent, *whoſe anſwer thereunto* (ſaith * another) *was by thoſe Meſſengers related at full, and fuller then in truth it was* ſent by the King; but the Peeres then in Parliament made their uſe thereof, in procuring ſuch a Prince to take the rule of them, whom they hoped, by reaſon of his tender yeares, themſelves ſhould be able to rule and over-maſter.

* Tho. Walſingh.

* Hiſt. Brut. M. S.

His Wife.

(77) *Iſabel*, daughter to *Philip* the Faire, King of *France* (ſiſter to *Lodowicke Hutin*, *Philip the Long*, and *Charles the Faire*, all Kings of *France*) was married to *Edward* the ſecond, at twelve yeares of age, in our Lady Church of *Bulloigne*, the 22. of Ianuary, 1308. Shee was his wife twenty yeares, and his widow thirty, and lived threeſcore and three yeares. She dyed at *Riſings* neere *London*, the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1357. and was buried in the middeſt of the *Gray-Fryers Quire* in *London*, the 27. of *September* following.

His Iſſue.

(78) *Edward* (ſurnamed of *Windſor*) the eldeſt ſon of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel* his wife, was borne at the Caſtle of *Windſor*, the thirteenth of *October*, the yeere of Chriſt, 1312. and the ſixt of his Fathers raigne: He was created Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Aquitaine*, in a Parliament holden at *Yorke*, *Anno.* 1322. and in the troubles of the Realme, and abſence of his Father, in an aſſembly of Lords, met at *Hereford*, and in preſence of the Queene, was made L. *Warden* of *England* by a common decree: unto whom all the Lords made their fealty, in receiving an Oath of Allegiance to be faithfull and loyall unto him as to the Lord *Warden* of the Realme: and ſhortly after, the Father depoſed, hee was crowned King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the third.

(79) *Iohn* (ſurnamed of *Eltham*) the ſecond ſonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel* his Wife, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the 15. of *Auguſt*, and yeare of Chriſt, 1315. and at twelve yeares of age was created Earle of *Cornewall* in a Parliament, *Anno.* 1327. and third yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* his brother: hee dyed in *Scotland* unmarried, in the flower of his youth, the tenth of his brothers raigne, and yeare of Chriſt, 1334.

(80) *Ioan* the eldeſt daughter, and third child of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel*, was borne in the Tower of *London*; ſhe was married being a child at *Barwicke* the eighteenth day of *Iuly*, in the ſecond yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her brother, 1329 to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, ſonne and heire apparent of King *Robert Bruce*, whom he ſucceeded within one yeare after in the Kingdome, being but ſeven yeares of age, and was the ſecond King of *Scotland* of the name of *David*; ſhee was his Wife twenty and eight yeares, and being come into *England* to viſite her brother, ſhee deceaſed here without Iſſue, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his Raigne, 1357. and was buried at the *Gray-Fryers* in *London*.

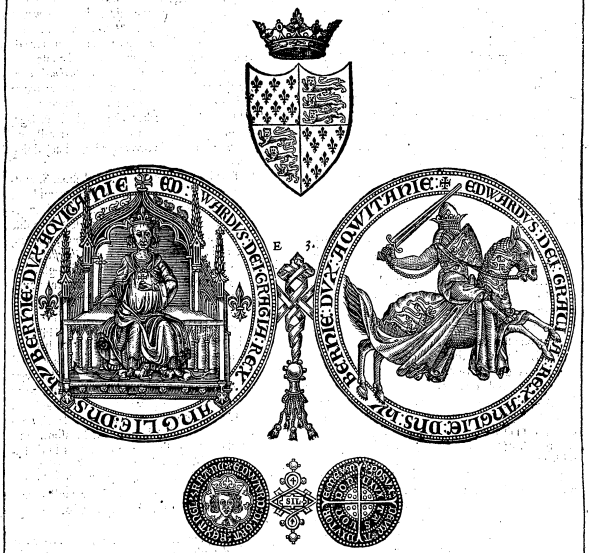
(81) *Elenor*, the ſecond and yongeſt daughter, and fourth child of King *Edward* and Queene *Iſabel*, was the ſecond wife of *Reynald* the ſecond, Earle of *Gelder*, married unto him with a portion of fifteene thouſand pounds, 1332. being the ſixt yeare of the raigne of King *Edward* her brother, who being the Vicar-generall of the Empire, to the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavar*, created him firſt Duke of *Gelder*: ſhee had iſſue by him *Reinald* and *Edward* both Dukes ſucceſſively after their Father, without Iſſue; the latter of them leaving his Dutchy and his wife to his Nephew *William* Duke of *Gulike* his halfe ſiſters Sonne.

EDVVARD

Edward III.

EDVVARD THE THIRD KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, &c. THE FORTIE-NINTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 49.



CHAPTER. XII.

The happy things under King Edward the third.

THe ſickneſſe and wounds which the common welth ſuſtained by the raigne of the late depoſed king, upon the change of her Leach and Phyſician, recovered not onely health and ſtrength, but beautie alſo and ornament; and the elements themſelves, which in the former times ſeemed to ſuffer and ſympathize with the publike grievances of the *Engliſh*, grew * gratious and propitious to the uſe of man, the Aire becomming more healthfull, the earth more fruitfull, as if Nature herſelfe were privy to the worth of the ſucceeding Prince. But this his worth did not diſplay it ſelfe, untill hee had plucked the ſway of things out of the hands of the Queene his Mother, and of that aſpiring danger and tempeſt of *England*, *Roger Mortimer*, who wholly poſſeſſed her.

* Ranulph. Ceſtr. Tho. Walſingh.

(2) This *Edward* of *Windſor*, being not fifteene yeeres of age, when (without any guilty thought in him) his throne was thus eſtabliſhed upon his Fathers ruine, tooke the beginning of his raigne by publike ſanction at the * twentieth day of *Ianuary*, and by direction of ſuch as ſought to colour their treaſons againſt their depoſed Soveraigne, proclaimed "his peace in theſe words: *Edward* by the grace of "God, King of *England*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke "of *Aquitaine*, to *N. N.* our Sheriffe of S. Greeting, "Becauſe the Lord *Edward* our Father, late King of "*England*, by the common Counſell and Aſſent of "the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other the chiefe "men, and the whole Communalty of the King-"dome, did voluntarily remoove himſelfe from the "government thereof, willing and granting that wee "as his eldeſt ſonne and heire, ſhould take upon us "the rule and regiment of the ſame, and we with the "counſell and adviſe of the Prelates, Earles & Barons "before ſaid, yeelding therein to our Fathers good pleaſure,

* Tho. Walſingh.

"pleasure, and will, have taken upon us the gover-
"nance of the said Kingdome, and as the manner is,
"have received the Fealties and Homages of the said
"Prelates and Peeres. Wee therefore desirous that
"our peace, for the quiet and calme estate of our
"people, should bee inviolably observed, doe will
"and command you, that presently upon sight of
"these presents, you cause our Peace to bee openly
"proclaimed through your whole Bailywicke, for-
"bidding all and every one on our behalf, under paine
"and perill of disinheritson, and losse of life and limbs,
"not to presume to violate or infringe our said peace,
"but that every one pursue or follow his actions,
"and complaints, without any manner of out-rage,
"according to the lawes and customes of our King-
"dome: for we are ready, and alwayes will bee, to
"administer full right to all & singular complainants,
"aswell poore as rich in our Courts of Justice. Wit-
"nesse our selfe, &c. in the * Kalends of *February*,
"upon *Sunday* being *Candlemas Eve*.

* 1. February.

King *Edward* provided for warres with *Scotland*.

(3) Vpon the Candlemas day it selfe, the young King receiving the Order of Knight-hood, by the hands of the Earle of *Lancaster*, and upon the same day the Crowne of *England* at *Westminster*, *Walter* Archbishop of *Canterbury* performing the offices accustomed therein, judged nothing to bee sooner thought upon then to recover the honour of his Nation upon the Northerne enemies, whom his unexperienced youth, and their former happinesse had emboldened; in which preparation while hee was busied, the Queene his Mother, and her *Mortimer*, forgat not other things tending to their owne benefit and assurance.

Mortimers high practises.

* *Ypodig. Neust.*

(4) First therefore there was procured for the Queene-mother soe great a Dowry, that the young King had scarce a * third part of the Kingdome left for his maintenance; which excessive estate, in title for the Queenes, in the use was *Mortimers*, and from this treasonable defalcation and weakening of the royall meanes, hee sinewed his owne devises with authority and riches; so that his hatred against *Spenser* was not on behalfe of the Common-weale, but for that any one should abuse it for his private but himselfe. Lastly, when they had certaine intelligence, that sundry great persons and others, as the whole order of Fryers-Preachers, tooke pitty of the late Kings captivity, and seemed to consult for his deliverance, they knowing that by recovery of his former estate, their just confusion must follow, they resolved to strengthen (as men supposed) their other impieties with murther.

(5) For albeit the Queene in her outward gestures pretended nothing but sorrow for her Lord and husbands distresse, yet in stead of bringing to him her person (which the deposed Prince did wonderfully * love) shee onely sent unto him fine * apparell and kinde letters, but contrary to the lawes of God and man, with-drew her selfe from nuptiall duties, bestowing them (as the fame went, which will blab of Princes as freely as of meaner Dames) upon the bloudy Adulterer *Mortimer*, fathering her absence upon the *State*, which (the fained) would not suffer her to come unto him. The desolate Prince was hereupon taken from *Kenelworth* Castle, by expresse order from the * young King, at their procurement, for that the Earle of *Lancaster* (Lord of that peece) was suspected to pitty too much his calamity: He was delivered by * Indenture, to Sir *Thomas de Gournay* the elder, and Sir *John Mattravers*, two mercilesse and most unworthy Knights.

* *Tho de la More.* * *Thorn. Walsingh.*

* *Grafton.*

* *Grafton. Thomas la Moore.*

The late King *Edward* murthered.

(6) These two Instruments of the Divell, having conducted him first to the Castle of *Corf*, then to *Bristol*, and lastly in great secresie, and with more villanous despite, then it became either Knights, or the lewdest varlets in the world, as (out of Sir *Thomas de la More*, you may read at large in the Collections of * *John Stow*) to the Castle of *Barkley*, where after many vile devices, executed upon him in vaine, they * more then barbarously murthered him.

* *Annals.*

* *Hector. Boet. & others.*

(7) Never was the fallacy of pointings, or ambiguity of Phrase more mischievously used, to the destruction of a King, or defence of the Contrivers, then in this haynous Parricide, for it is said that a bloudy *Sophisme*, conceived in these words, was sent;

A bloody fallacy or Sophisme.

* *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est.*

To shed King Edwards *bloud*
Refuse to feare I count it good.

* *Thom. de la More. John Stow.*

Where the Comma or pause being put after *Nolite*, bids them not to make him away, but after *timere*, insinuates a plaine encouragement to the fact.

(8) The *Sphynx*, who is said to be the Author of this ambiguous Riddle, sent by the Lord *Mortimer*, was *Adam de Tarleton*, who * utterly denyed any such intention, when the Murtherers for their owne justification, produced the writing it selfe, under Queene *Isabels* Seale, and the seales of the other Conspirators, and therefore the said Bishop *Adam* was the cause, why *Gorney* and *Mattravers* were with terrible menaces shaken up, pursued and out-lawed, who more pursued with the memory and conscience of so hainous a Tragedy, fled out of *England*. *Gorney* after three yeares banishment, being discovered at *Masseli* in *France*, and approhended, was convayed backe, but had his head taken off at Sea in his passage, * lest he should reveale too much at his arrivall, but *Mattravers* lay hidden in *Germany* a long time, doing pennance.

The Accusation of Syr the Country.

* *Langust. Grafton. Fabian. Tho. de la More.*

The peace with *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Northampton*.

*Tho. Walsing. * *Ab. de Murim. Gest. Buchanan. Boet.*

(9) This Parricide was committed about S. *Matthews* day, and (that you may note what confidence they had in their Art of secret murther, as also an ordinary mockage of the people in like cases) the noble body was laid forth, and * many Abbots, Pryors, Knights, and Burgesses of *Bristoll* and *Glocester* were sent for to see the same; upon which, although there appeared no manifest outward signe of violent death, but the skinne all over whole and unbroken, yet the cry of murther could not so bee smothered, but the meanes and manner came to light. This happinesse certainely the poore Prince had, that after his emprisonment hee reformed his life in so pious and Christian sort, that it gave occasion when hee was dead of disputation, whether * hee were not to be repured a *Saint*, even as (say our Authors) there was the like Question concerning *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, though beheaded for apparent Treasons. His body without * any funerall pompe was buried among the *Benedictins* in their Abbey at *Glocester*, and so (saith * our passionate author) the stately height of the Angels Kingdome received this Scholler, and Disciple of Christ, thus reft and spoyled of his *English* Kingdome.

The murthered *Edwards* body laid to view.

* *Fox. Fabian. Grafton.*

* *Jeruchem.*

(10) The yong King was now upon the borders of *Scotland* with a puissant Army, where also the Queene mother, and *Mortimer*, with many other Nobles were present, and having environed the Scots (who had pierced into *England* with invasive armes) in the woods of *Wiridale* and *Stanhope* Parke, made sure account of a certaine victory; but by the treason of the said Lord *Mortimer* (as afterward was laid to his charge) they were suffered to escape out of that mischiefe, and the young King with griefe returned inglorious, after an huge waste of treasure, and perill of his owne person.

* *Ranulph. Cist. Thom. walsing. Fabian.*

6. 5. lib. 3. contra mortalit. de rebus Gallic. Brit.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

* *Thom. de la More.*

The Scots overcome, escape.

(11) For while the English host thus held the Scots, as it were besieged, Sir *James Dowglasse* in the dead of night, with about * two hundreth swift horse assailed the Kings owne Pavilion, and missed so little of killing him, that a Priest his Chaplaine, a stout and loyall man was slaine in his defence, and Sir *James* escaped backe without hurt, but not without honour for his bold attempt. In the Scots Campe * one noteth, that the English found five hundreth great Oxen and Kine ready killed, a thousand spits full of flesh, ready to be roasted, five hundred Cawdrons made of beasts skins, full of flesh, over the fire seething, and about

* *Trivet. Holinsh.*

Adam Dunbarmouth. Holinsh. Mat. and Mar.

* *Fraissard. Ypodig. Neust. Holinsh. Boet.*

* *Fox in Ass and Stow.*

* *Holl. Boet.*

* *Grafton.*

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

An. Dom. 1328.

* *Thom. Walsingh. in Edw 3. Holl. Boetius* writes that King *Robert* died the 7. Iune, An. Dom. 1329. *& Ao* 34. whom we have therein reason to believe.

* *Langust. Grafton. Fabian. Tho. de la More.*

Tho. Walsing. * *Ab. & Murim. Gest. Buchanan. Holl. Boet.*

* *Thom. de la More. Tho. Walsingh.*

* *Fox. Fabian. Grafton.*

The murthered *Edwards* body laid to view.

* *Jeruchem.*

* *Ranulph. Cist. Thom. walsing. Fabian.*

6. 5. lib. 3. contra mortalit. de rebus Gallic. Brit.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 18.*

* *Thom. de la More.*

* *Trivet. Holinsh.*

The Scots overcome, escape.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(12) About this time dyed strucken with lepry, *Robert Bruce* King, and recoverer of *Scotland*, and the most approved Warriour of the World in that age, by whose losse it was soone found, how much the vertue and fortune of one man are worth in any Nation. But before hee dyed, that peace was made with the *Scots*, by the meanes of the Queene and the Lord *Mortimer*, which is so much dispraised by our Writers, and in the end prooved capitall to the principall Actor *Mortimer*.

(13) For at this treaty it was, that the King (then in his Minority) sealed Charters to the *Scots* at *Northampton*, whose contents were contrived by the Queene, the said Lord *Mortimer*, and Sir *James Dowglasse*, without the privity of the *English*. There was also delivered to them that famous Evidence called the * *Ragman-Roll*, and the King acquited them of all * claime and pretence of right to the Superiority of *Scotland*, rendring backe sundry Iewels taken by the *English* from the *Scots*, among the which was one speciall, called the *Blacke Crosse of Scotland*. There was it also granted, that all * Englishmen should leese their lands in *Scotland*, unlesse they would inhabite upon them, and become Liege men to the King thereof, besides many other things, to the high discontentation (as was the humor of those times) of the English Subiects. Moreover, under the specious colour of restitution of dammages, King *Robert* was to pay to King *Edward* thirty thousand Markes sterling, with which (as the meed of treason) the Lord *Mortimer* was afterward publikely charged, and for the same, and other his crimes, was executed as a Traitour. Finally, upon the seventh of Iuly, *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, a Child of seven or eight yeares old, and sonne and heire to King *Robert*, married *Ioan*, sister to King *Edward*, at *Berwicke*: by which peace the *English* were made obnoxious to some reproaches, the *Scottish* Nation in scorne, calling the said Lady, *Ione Make-peace*.

(14) And therefore saith one of this part of King *Edwards* raigne: *That drawne aside with evill advise, by reason of his age, hee committed many foule errors in State, at the beginning of his Government*: which is also the generall opinion of all our Writers, whereunto this verse is by * some applyed;

Væ puerilis terræ, sæpissimè sunt ibi guerræ.

Where Children Rulers are,
There oft is woe and warre.

(15) There dyed likewise about this time *Charles the Faire*, King of *France*, (to whom K. *Edward* had not long before done homage for his Dutchy of *Gascoigne*) the third and last sonne of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, by whose decease the Crowne of that noble Kingdome, devolved to this our *Edward* King of *England*, in right of his mother Queene *Isabel*: And because upon this * Title King *Edward* did afterward claime the said Crowne, we will here once for all instruct you in the justice thereof.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(16) Three sonnes there were of King *Philip the Faire*, (to wit, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip le Long*, and *Charles the Faire*) who all successively raigned in *France* one after the other; and none of them leaving any Issue, at such time as King *Edward* made his claime, the whole right seemed to bee in *Isabel* the onely Child of the said *Philip* which had any Issue, for an other sister which she had dyed an Infant.

(17) The case thus seeming plaine, was not for such accepted by the *French*, who received to the Crowne *Philip of Valoys*, whose Father *Charles* of *Valoys* was yonger Brother to *Philip the Faire*, advancing the Brothers sonne before the daughters sonne, not following the propinquity or descent of bloud, but the meliority of sexe, upon which ground they had also freshly put by *Ioan* daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, preferring *Philip le Long* her uncle. The French inbarre her interest, pretended a fundamentall law or entaile, by which * *no woman as inheritable to the Crowne of France*, and in defence of that opinion withstood King *Edward* afterward with so much losse and calamity, though that very law made *Edwards* title the stronger (* as himselfe truely pleaded) hee being the *Male*, albeit his right descended by the *Female*.

* *Lex Salica*, which law, as their greatest Lawyers since acknowledge, no whit concerneth the French Crown. *Hottomanni Franco-gallia. cap. 8.* * *Chron. Origin. Ed. 3. de Iure suo in Reg. Gal.* * *Ypodig. Neust. & in Edw 3.*

(18) This Title so so glorious a Monarchy though it accrewed to the *English*, by this march with Queene *Isabel*, yet doth *Walsingham* * freely pronounce; *That neither that affinitie, nor any other contracts with the French, was ever availeable or brought any benefit to England*: which opinion, as it may seeme strange, so will it answer a wise Readers paine in the fruit, to observe through, the course of our Stories, whether the said grave Writer had just occasion so to speake or no. Another conceit there was of this *Edwards* marriage with *Philippa* the Earle of *Henaults* daughter, which about this time was consummated, though *Philip de Valoys* (King of *France*, by intrusion as our Annals repute him) was her uncle, her Mother being his owne sister.

King *Edward* marries Philippe the Earle of *Henaults* daughter.

(19) There stood now at home against the streame of the Queene, and her Lord *Mortimers* absolute sway, some great personages, who did not wholly allow their doings, among which was the Kings uncle, *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, whose death they shortly procured. Meane while, the more to despite and dare their over-lookers, *Roger Mortimer* was created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*, at a Parliament holden at *Salisbury*: at which time also *John* of *Eltham* the Kings Brother, was made Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Lord *Butler* of *Ireland* Earle of *Ormond*. From whence the Lord *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, and sundry other of the Peeres, seeing the King * troden (as it seemed to them) under foot, did absent themselves, meditating civill armes for redresse, who notwithstanding (by the labour of *Simon de Mepham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) was reconciled: This Archbishop very worthily also excommunicated all such as had any hand in the sacrilegious parricide of that * noble and loyall Prelate *Walter* Bishop of *Exceter*, or any wayes violated him, their ayders, complices, or abetters whosoever. But after the Coronation of *Philippa* the yong Queene, in another Parliament at *Winchester*, the said Earle *Edmund* was condemned for conspiring to deliver his brother, late King of *England*, whom (likely enough by *Mortimers* practise) hee was drawne into an absurd beliefe to be still alive. Thus, for devising to set a dead man at liberty, this noble Earle *Edmund* the Kings halfe-uncle had his head strucken off, though from * Noone till five at night, hee stood at the place of death without the Castle-gates, none being found to behead him, till a base wretch of the Marshal-sea was sent, and did it: so litrie conscience did the malice and ambition of his potent adverfaries make of shedding the royal bloud, which by Gods juster judgement was not long unrevenged.

* *Tho. walsing. in Edw. 3.*

* This worthy Prelate founded *Exeter* Colledge, and also *Hartehall* in *Oxford*.

Edmund Earle of *Kent* the Kings uncle put to death by practise.

* *Tho. Walsing. Harding.*

(20) To supply which losse to the regall stemme, with a very large amends, the yong Queene *Philippa* at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, upon the fifteenth of *Iune*, being Fryday, brought forth her first begotten sonne, the amiable and famous *Edward*, by-named (not of his colour, but of his dreaded Acts in battell) the *Blacke Prince*. King *Edward* not long after, with a small company went into *France*, and did homage to *Philip de Valoys* for his Dutchy of *Gascoigne*.

An. Dom. 1329. The Blacke Prince borne. *Adam Murim.*

(21) *Nemesis*, or rather Gods vengeance, with swift

The fall of Mortimer.

pace did now approach and summon *Mortimer* to a bloudy account; for the yong King addicting himselfe to serious thoughts, and putting on the Man before his yeares required, easily saw his owne perill in the others potency. The Queene his Mother (to the common dishonour and griefe of the Kingdome) being generally bruted to bee with child by *Mortimer*, hee upon ripe advice sodainely and adventurously surprised the proud man at a Parliament holden in *Nottingham*; with whom were taken the Lord *Geoffrey Mortimer* his sonne, and Sir *Simon de* Bedford*, who all three were sent prisoners to the Tower of *London*, under a strong guard. Which done, the King by common consent of the Parliament tooke into his hands his Mothers excessive Dower, and put her to a narrow pension of one * thousand pounds by yeare, circumscribing her within as narrow * limits for her abode, but doing her yearely the honour and comfort of once or twice visiting her, though otherwise scarce thinking her worthy of life, in regard of her privacy with *Mortimer*, and his many heinous practises.

* Bedford saith Adam Merim. Beresford saith Hereford. Barford saith Sarum.

* Adam Merim. Tyrrel. Mezeit. * Hollingh.

(22) Oh, what enchantments are Honour and Power to the minds of men! how sodainely, and how strangely doe they blow up the same with the contempt of others, and forgetfulnesse of themselves? Certainely the fraile estate of mans constitution is clearely seene in this high Lord, who drunken with felicity, and fearing neither God nor man, fell into utter confusion when least hee feared. The probable manner whereof is worthy the relating. There was in the Castle of *Nottingham* (and at this day is) a certaine secret way or Mine cut through a rocke, upon which the said Castle is built, one issue whereof openeth toward the River of *Trent*, which runnes under it, and the other venteth it selfe farre within upon the surface, and is (at this present) called *Mortimers hole*; through this, the young King well armed, and strongly seconded, was conducted with drawne swords, by some his trusty and sworne servants, (among which was that brave *Montacute*, whom his vertues under this King raised to the Earledome of *Salisbury*, &c.) up to the Queenes Chamber, whose dore (so feareless is blinded affection) was unshut, and with her was *Mortimer* (the Kings Master, as the rumor spred him) ready to goe to bed, whom with the slaughter of a Knight, and one or two that resisted) they laid hold upon. This was not reputed a slender enterprise, in regard that in *Mortimers* seruice were not fewer (they say) then one hundreth and fourescore Knights, besides Esquiers and Gentlemen.

The manner of Mortimers surprise at Nottingham.

Vide Iohn Stow. Annals.

(23) The causes for which hee was condemned in open Parliament at *Westminster*, these ragged * verses following comprehend, which without any disparagement to their makers judgement, might very well have beene in Prose, but for brevity and change wee have here inserted them.

* Mirr. of Mag.

Five haynous crimes against him soone were had,
1 *First that he caus'de the King to yeeld the Scot*
(To make a peace) townes that were from him got,
And therewithall the Charter called Ragman;
2 *That of the Scots hee had bribed privy gaine.*
3 *That through his meanes Sir* Edward *of Carnarvon;*
In Barkley *Castle most traiterously was slaine.*
4 *That with his Princes mother he had laine,*
5 *And finally with polling at his pleasure,*
Had robd the King and Commons of their treasure.

But the most barbarous murther of the Kings father, and specially the dishonourable peace and contract with the then-professed enemies of *England*, were principally insisted upon, as hainous treason. He was after sentence ignominiously drawne to *Tyburne*, the common place of execution, then called the Elmes, and there upon the common Gallowes was as ignominiously executed, hanging (by the Kings commandement) two dayes and two nights, a publike and gladsome spectacle. There dyed with him Sir *Simon de Bedford* Knight, and *Iohn Deverel* Esquire, aswell for expiation of the late King *Edwards* death, as in complement, as it were of so great a mans fall, whose lives doe seldome, or never perish single.

(24) Now came *Scotland* to turne about to suffer a againe most grievous losses and afflictions, an ordinary effect of *Childrens* government, whether *Children* in age, or in discretion: for the Lord *Edward Baliol* hearing of King *Roberts* death, and the tender age of King *David* as son and heire of that *Baliol*, to whom K. *Edward* the first had adjudged the *Scottish* crowne, with such voluntaries as hee could raise (though his Father the Lord *Iohn* had * released his claime to king *Robert*, and though King *Edward* in favour of his sister *Iohn* Queene of *Scotland*, would not openly at first support him) embarkt himselfe in *Yorkeshire*, and invaded that Realme, where, upon his landing, he slew *Alexander Setoun* at *Kingorn*, and about nine hundred others, putting the rest to flight. Not long after (that no mischiefe might come alone) neere to the water of *Ern*, at a place called *Dupline*, where the Earles of *Mar* and *March*, with two puissant armies of Scots, for the defence of their yong King *David* lay encamped, the said Lord *Edward* (whose small numbers, not exceeding three thousand English, the Earles as fecurely and as fatally contemned, as the English under *Edward* the second had contemned the *Bruce* and his Scots) obtained of them a wonderfull victory, *Bootius* (who never, or rarely, leaves any overthrow purely to the manhood of the English) will needs have this discomfiture effected by a *Camisado*, the *Baliol* and his English with others passing the water of *Erne* by a Foord in the night, when the enemy little suspected it.

* Hect. Boet. Tyrrel. Mezeit. Rudb.

* Hect. Boet.

The Radcliffes victorious against the Scots.

* Adam Merimouthensis. * Tyrrel. Mezeit.

(25) The slaughter even by his report was miserable: for there were slaine (saith hee) the Earles of *Murre* and *Carricke*, and three thousand of the Nobles, beside Commons. Out * Writers agree that this Foord was passed in the night, but that the fight endured from Sunne-rising till three of the Clocke afternoone, and that, besides the Earles of *Murre*, and *Carricke*, three other Earles, *Menteth*, *Athol*, and *Murrey*, twelve Barons, eight hundreth Knights and men of Armes, beside above thirteene thousand other, lost there their lives. Of the English there were only slaine thirty and three * Esquiers: so that not without cause this victory was attributed rather to power divine, then humane.

Berwicke rendred.

The great slaughter of Scots at Dupline or the water of Erne.

* Adam Merim. Tho. Walsing.

(26) Yet this was but the beginning of farther calamities to the *Scottish* Nation, which was in it selfe divided into factions, the one for *Bruce*, the other for *Baliol*. The Lord *Edward* making use of his good fortune, got himselfe to be crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But King *David Bruce* with his Queene fled into *France* to *Philip de Valois*, who raigned there, and entertained them with much compassion and honor, giving them Castle-*Gallard* for the place of their abode, till fairer fortune shone. Meane-time the *Scots* sustained new dammages; for a prime man among them, the Lord *William Douglasse*, was taken prisoner by the *English*, not without losse of many his men. Before which time, by * no honourable meanes, the new King of *Scotland* was driven to seeke his safety by flight into *England*.

Scotsfors.

The Baliol crowned King of Scotland.

* Hect. Boet.

Hector Boet. Geor. Buchan.

(27) King *Edward* considering those foiles which his Father had endured, and the opportunity of the time, neither holding himselfe lyable in honour to that contract made on his behalfe by the predominant sway of his mother and her Paramour *Mortimer*, as wherein hee tooke both himselfe, and the rights of his Crowne to have beene wronged in his minority, which in point of government hee was more bound to respect then his Sisters estate, and for that hee was informed that the Towne and Castle of *Berwicke* belonged to the Crowne of his Realme; hee raised his power, and having with him *Edward* the new-crowned of *Scotland*, hee laid siege to that Towne and Castle in *May*. But before hee did this, there is who writes, that hee summoned his brother

* Adam Merim. Tho. Walsingh.

Berwicke besieged by the King of Scots.

* Hect. Boet.

Edward King of England againe in Scotland with an Army.

* Hect. Boet.

Graston.

brother in law to K. *David*, to doe homage and fealty vnto him, which when *David* would not yeeld to doe, nor confesse he ought, no more then his Father King *Robert*, he made that a ground for the justice of his warre, as reputing the Acts and releases at *Northampton* voide.

(28) To the rescues of *Berwicke*, *Archimbald Douglas* Earle of *Angus*, Governour of *Scotland* for King *David*, came with a puissant Army, and gave King *Edward* battell at *Halydon-hill*, where with a lamentable slaughter of his people he was vanquished and slaine. This battell devoured in a manner all the remainders of the Scottish Nobles which preserved themselves at *Dupline* by retrait, or by absence from that field. There * perished besides *Archimbald*, the Earles of *Ros*, *Sutherland*, and *Carricke*, three sonnes of the Lord *Walter Steward* (whose issue afterward raigned in *Scotland*, when warre and death had made way to that line, by extirpation of the Male-Competitors in the races of *Bruce* and *Baliol*) and at least foureteene thousand others, with the losse (say some) of one Knight, and ten other Englishmen. Our * Writers affirme that the Scots were at this battell, threescore thousand strong, and that there * were slaine eight Earles, 1500. horsemen, and of the common Souldiers five and thirtie thousadd; which is not improbable, for so much as *Hector* confesseth they were stopped in their flight, and put to the sword upon all sides without mercy.

King Edwards victory at Halydon-hill.

* Hect. Boet.

(29) Hereupon *Berwicke* was rendred, which the King of *England* detained as a supposed parcell of his Patrimony; and dismissed the *Baliol* to the government of the Scottish Kingdome, with sundry Lords and others of the English. And now the bloudy tallies and cruell scores seemed even betweene the two puissant (though then unkind) neighbour-Nations, and *Edward* throughly redeemed the dishonour sustained at *Bunockesbourne* by his late Father, delivering his younger yeares from that contempt, in which his enemies might otherwise have holden him, as they had done at the entrance of his raigne, playing upon the English with Truffes and Rounds; of which this one is every where noted;

Falkirk

Long beards heartlesse, Painted hoods witlesse,
Gay coates graceless, make England *thriftlesse.*

(30) As for the subornation of poysoning Earle *Thomas Randall*, and the hanging of Sir *Alexander Setons* two sons, contrary to faith and law of Armes, at *Berwicke*, with the like staines, which * one would faine leave upon this victorious Prince, we have found no colour of warrant but his own liberty of avouching; which therefore our freedome of not beleeving him shall as easily take away and cancell. Neither would we so farre have touched this jarring string of discord betweene these two Nations, but that each out of their owne harmes of old, may have the more true sense of their felicitie, by their new harmonicall concordance.

* Hect. Boet.

An. Dom. 1333.

(31) After that the * Nobles of *Scotland* had unanimously confirmed *Baliol* in the Kingdome thereof, and sworne unto him faith and allegiance at *Perth*, hee repaired to the King of *England* at *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, where hee * submitted to *Edward* King of *England*; as his Father had done to *Edward* the first, and with the like successe; for by occasion of such his submission; our Writers say, the *Scots* (as before they had done) fell off againe. Which aversion, or defection was augmented upon * private quarrels, and titles of inheritance to lands of great value, betweene powerfull Competitors, and by other particular revenges, to which a people so continually exercised in fight and battels were not slowly prone.

* Hector Boet.

* Adam Merim. Tyrrel. Mezeit.

* Hect. Boet.

Edward King of England again in Scotland with an Army.

* Hect. Boet.

(32) Notwithstanding all which (the *Baliols* party having once had all the Holds of *Scotland* at their commandement, * five onely excepted, *Dumbritaine*, *Loughleiim*, *Kildrummie*, *Urquhart*, and the pile of *Lowdon*) *Edward* King of *England* having with him the *Baliol*, and a sufficient Army, prevailed so much, that there was no appearance of rebellion; whereupon hee tooke backe with him the Lord *Edward Baliol* late crowned King of *Scotland* (of whose stedfastnesse he was (saith *Hector*) alwayes jealous, and * returned, leaving * *David Cumin* Earle of *Athol*, governour for the parts beyond the Scottish Sea, with sufficient force and authoritie (as was judged) to take in such strengths as yet stood out, but needed not his royall power or presence for their expugnation.

* Adam Merim.

(33) The King of *England* hoping now that all was wel there, had newes brought unto him not long after, at the Parliament at *London*, that the Scots were out in Armes againe; whereupon hee obtaines ayde of money from his Subjects for repressing their attempts, promising to goe against them in person. * The Lord *Robert Stewart*, sonne of the Lady *Marjorie Bruce*, daughter of King *Robert* (upon whose line the remainder of the Crowne of *Scotland* had beene estated) was the man that first lifted up the head of his Country in this dangerous, sad, and desolate condition (though put into action upon a private injury done unto him by the Earle of *Athol*) to whom divers did adhere, though the quarrell seemed properly to be the said Lord *Roberts*, for that if the *Bruces* were cut off, his hopes perished in them. The Earle of *Murray*, and he, were then chosen governours for King *Davids* party, but by reason of the diligence and power of *David* Earle of *Athol*, they were not able as yet to convene, or effect any thing against the English; nevertheless it was not long before they flew the said Earle *David*. At this Parliament the King of *England* purposed to * goe upon his owne charge into the *Holy-Land*, and to send the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to deale with *Philip de Valois* King of *France*, for appointing a certaine time, wherein they two with their united forces, might take their voyage thither, from which the desire of obtaining the Crowne of *France*, upon the fore-mentioned title, did quickely divert him.

The Lord Robert Stewart against the Baliol.

* Hect. Boet.

* Adam Merim. King Edwards overture for the Holy-Land.

(34) Meane-while, in accomplishment of the Parliaments expectation, King *Edward* after * *Michaelmas* marched againe into *Scotland* with an Armie, and sent his Navie to the *Forth*: The Sea-force whereof spoyled the Coasts on both sides of the *Forth*, or Scottish Sea, and putting on land in Saint *Colmes*, they spoyled the Abbey; which Sacrilege, * *Hector* notes was severely punished, the whole Fleet being battered with tempest, and some of the ships perishing. At another time also the like sacrilege being perpetrated there, (he saith) that the ship wherein the unlawfull prize was, sunke sodainly to the Sea-ground without any tempest. The King himselfe comming to * *Perth*, to order the Scottish affaires, whiles he abode there, the Earle of *Murray* one of the Governors was taken prisoner, who was after * delivered upon Exchange for the Earle of *Namur*, (whom the Scots by like art had taken) or as *Hector* will have it for the Earle of *Salisbury*.

The King of England once more with an Army in Scotland. * Tyrrel. Mezeit.

* Lib. 14. Sacrilege punished.

* Hect. Boet.

* Fabian out of the French Stories. Grafton. Holinsh.

(35) By the mediation of the French, the Scots had a short truce granted them. But about the end of *May*, the King sent his cosen the Lord *Henry*, sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, with a great Army to the aide and service of the Lord *Edward Baliol* King of *Scotland*, which wasted all the Countries about *Perth*, where, while they lay, the King with a very small Company came sodainely unto them, and from thence pierced farther one way then ever his Grand-father *Edward* had done, suffering fire and death (the common furies of warre) to worke upon all that might suffer destruction, to establish a Conquest. He marcht up as farre as * *Elgin* and *Buquhan*, and in his returne to *Marre*, * burnt the Towne of *Aberden*; in revenge for Sir * *Thomas Rosselin*, a Knight, whom the Townes-men thereof had slaine. The Lord *Robert Stewart* had great lands in those parts, for *Murray* and *Buquhan* were his, which also might

An. Dom. 1334.

King Edward the fourth time in Scotland with an Army.

* Adam Merim.

* Hect. Boet.

* Adam Merim.

Rolland transl. of Hect. Boet. lib. 15. pag. 7.

might the rather move this ſevere proceeding: which done, King *Edward* having repaired ſundry Caſtles there, and having *Scotland* to the new King thereof with forces competent, came backe into *England*. But * at this and other times, the *Baliol*, in requitall of this aide and friendſhip, granted to King *Edward* and his Succeſſors ſundry Caſtles, as *Edenbrough*, *Hedſtone*, *Pebles*, and two thouſand pounds yearely rent for the Fee-farme of *Rocksbrough*, *Iedworth*, and other places; laſt of all, his whole intereſt in ampleſt manner, reſerving onely to himſelfe, a certaine yearely penſion from the King of *England*.

* Notes of record taken by Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight.

Creation of States.

(36) Who to enlarge the magnificence of his roiall eſtate and amplitude, as meditating farre greater matters then thoſe unprofitable warres (the bodies and treaſure which were employed and ſpent therein, being able to compaſſe farre more noble atchievements) * created Prince *Edward* his eldeſt ſon Earle of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and at the ſame ſolemnitie ſixe other Earles, and * twenty Knights, one of which Knights was *Thomas de la More*, whoſe name hath beene often cited as an Author.

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Hollinſh.*

The French warre in the yolke thereof or Embrion.

(37) There was in ſpeciall credite with King *Edward*, one Sir *Robert de Artoys*, who being baniſhed by the French King out of thoſe parts, and made (by King *Edward*) Earle of *Richmond*, laboured earneſtly (upon hatred to the French King for his private diſcontentments) to draw him to claime the Crowne of *France* as his moſt lawfull right, and as that which would indeed enrich his people with ſpoyles, and treble his owne greatneſſe by the Conqueſt: The motion, though by reaſon of the highneſſe and difficulty of the enterpriſe, it did not at the firſt prevaile; yet at laſt by the evill fate of *France* wrought out to it ſelfe a wonderfull allowance. Many conſultations paſſing of the matter, it could not be ſo concealed, but that the ſmoake thereof diſcovered the breeding fire. This in the preſent was very happy for the ſtate of *Scotland*, which * (ſaith *Hector*) *was in appearance ſo enfeebled, that if the King of* England *had continued his warres, it ſhould have come without any hope of reliefe to utter ruine.* It was alſo a cauſe, why the French (who hitherto had ſupported the Scots, but not as if it ſo nearely concerned themſelves, put in the more fully and roundly, ſeeking by all meanes to weaken and annoy the Engliſh, aſwell in *Scotland*, as in *Gaſcoigne*, and where elſe ſoever.

Frriſſard. Graſton.

* *Lib. 15.*

The matters of *Scotland* for 9. or 8. yeares ſummarily ſet downe.

(38) That we may with the leſſe confuſion, and fewer interruptions, deliver our ſelves of the French warre, which now approached, wee will here in one view tender unto you the Scottiſh affaires, from this time for ſeaven or eight yeares, till about the ſiege of *Calis* by K. *Edward*, who was ſcarſe alighted in *England* from the former expedition, but the *Brucean* party (under their chiefe leader *Andrew Murray*) iſſued from the Loughes, Mountaints, and other their places of retreat and faſtneſſe, to re-advance their cauſe. King *Edward* once or twice ſent Armies, under valiant Generals to ſupport the *Baliols* poſſeſſion againſt their violence, whoſe ſucceſſe was variable till the death of *Murray*. After whom the Lord *Stewart* tooke charge for the *Brucean* ſide, and (upon the advantage of King *Edwards* ſlackneſſe, to finiſh his Scottiſh affaires, the matter of *France* ſo far preponderating it) endeavoured to prepare a quiet entrance for King *David*. The aide of the Lord *William Dowglas* to that purpoſe was vere available, howbeit not alwayes fortunate, being overthrowne in a ſet battell by Sir *Thomas Berckley* at *Blackbourne*, having there with him King *Edwards* power. To the up-ſhot, and as it were deciding ſtroke of theſe late miſeries, there arrived great ſtore of munition out of *France*, at ſuch time as the Lord *Robert Stewart* having lien ten weeks at the ſiege of *Perth*, was almoſt ready to have abandoned the ſame in deſpaire. *Perth* being rendred, the *Baliol* (whoſe the quarrell was) betooke himſelfe into *England*, having ſmall ſtrength of his owne in the hearts and affection of the Scots, who revolted daily from him. Vpon ſure intelligence of all theſe matters, King *David*, his Queene, and many honourable French, and Scots, returne, and till the quarrell of *Philip de Valoys* put him into unfortunate Armes againſt the Engliſh, the afflicted Realme of *Scotland* enjoyed a kinde of reſt and quiet.

The Lord Robert Stewart.

Hect. Boetius. Geor. Buchan. Fourdun.

(39) It was not now the juſtice of his Title to the Crowne of *France*, which onely made King *Edward* unſheath his conquering Sword againſt the French; for *Philip de Valoys* King of *France* injuriouſly with-held ſundry Townes and places in *Gaſcoigne*. To remedy which violent wrongs the King of *England* had addreſſed * Ambaſſadors, though without any good ſucceſſe.

The firſt proceeding in the French affaires.

Ranulph. Cest.

* *Adam Merim. Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3. and Tyndy. Holl.*

(40) But, that the world might take true notice of his juſt proceedings, the maine cauſes for juſtification of his deſigne upon *France* (whereby the common cauſe againſt the Turke was neglected) himſelfe in a copious Epiſtle, directed to the Colledge of Cardinals, doth * publikely declare to be theſe;

The grounds of King *Edwards* juſtification for making warre.

* In that Epiſtle he doth acknowledge the excluſion of women from Soveraignitie in *France*, and therefore claimes as the neereſt Male.

1. *His Title to the Crowne of* France, *which* Philip de Valoys *unjuſtly detained, for that himſelfe, of any Male living, was the neereſt in blond to the late King* Charles *his Vncle.*

2. *That his Agents and Ambaſſadors deſiring to put the cauſe to civill triall, were not onely not admitted to bee heard, but were driven away with feare of their lives.*

3. *That the Court of the Twelve Peeres, in giving the Crowne from him, (who was then under age,) did therein leave the office of Iudges, and were no better then robbers. And therefore their proceſſe made to his prejudice during his minoritie, was by all lawes voide and fruſtrate.*

King *Edwards* cauſe for the common-good, ſpecially for the ware.

4. *That* Philip de Valoys *invaded the Dutchie of* Aquitaine, *which belonged to the Crowne of* England, *and added ſuch places and lands as he had ſo wrongfully gotten; to thoſe which he had as wrongfully with-holden, detaining all alike.*

5. *That hee had aided and aſſiſted the Scots in their riſings againſt him, when as by reaſon of neere kindred he ſhould rather have holpen him; and finally declared by his doings, that his honour, power, and life it ſelfe, were hated of him.*

Cloth-making.

(41) King *Edward* neverthelеſſe (knowing that words were little worth in ſuch a caſe) to ſtrengthen his quarrell with friends, by the adviſe of his counſel, and of * his Father in law, the Lord *William* Earle of *Henault*, fought to confederate and unite unto him the *High* and *Low Dutch*, Princes and people, which lay moſt commodiouſly for his uſes. But the better to hold them together, he was adviſed to ſeeke the amity of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavare*, with whom he made (as by the event was manifeſt) but an * unprofitable confederation, though for the preſent it ſeemed to ſerve his uſes with the countenance: more to his advantage were the ſingular endeavours of ſome other his private inſtruments, as chiefly of *Iames de Artevile*, a wealthy Burger of *Gaunt*, one of a rare dexterity of wit, and ſo popularly acceptable among the *Flemings*, that he ſeemed to ſway *Flanders* more by far then the Earle thereof, whom they had expelled. By the ſpeciall diligence of this *Iaques van Artevile*, and of one * *Sigar de Courtray*, a Nobleman of *Flaunders*, there was prepared among the Artizans of thoſe parts (whoſe chiefe enrichments depended upon the handling of Engliſh-wooll, as Cloth-workers, Weavers, and the like) a mighty partie for the Engliſh againſt the French. This amitie with *England* (as moſt profitable for the common benefit, and weale of his Country) the ſaid *Iames* moſt conſtantly ſupported to the death.

The French have ſouth-kingers. An. Dom. 1337.

* *From. Wolſtr. in Edw. 3. and Tho. Walſ. 1.*

* *Iohn Stow.*

(42) Meane-while King *Edward* (the life of this high affaire) proceeded in all things with ripe deliberation and judgement. Therefore to let the *Flemings* know the want of his friendſhip, hee had for ſome yeares before inhibited the tranſportation of his Wools; which, and for that the Engliſh were in

* *Graſton.*

* *Pecchy. Holl.*

* *In literis ſuis ad Regni Pares. M. S.*

* *Ia. Meir.*

The league with the Flemings.

Iohn Stow.

* *Proiſſard. Ia. Meir. Tho. Walſing.*

in a manner become all one with them, by King *Edwards* marriage with the Lady *Philippa*, nor a little advanced the practiſe of *Iames* on his behalfe; which was ſped at laſt, by occaſion of * an overthrow given to the French-Flemings, who under the conduct of *Guy*, the Baſtard of *Flanders*, brother to the Earle (both of them being wholly *French*) were placed in the Iſle of *Cadſant*, to empeach the arrivall of the Engliſh, who tooke the ſaid *Guy*, and ſlew the moſt part of his people. This victory was atchieved, in the quarrell of the King of *England*, by the Earle of *Derby*, the Lord *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Reynold Cobham*, the Lord *Walter de Manny* (an *Hennoway*) and other of the Engliſh Captaines: Of the fame and lucky fortune whereof the ſaid D' *Artevile*, and other of the Kings friends, made ſo wiſe and ſeaſonable uſe, by letting them ſee the Engliſh were able to protect them, that the *Flemings* (without any great ſtay) became his firme confederates, in preſence of the Earle of *Gelder*, at *Gaunt*, notwithſtanding that at the ſame time the great K. of *France*, and their owne naturall Lord, the Earle, laboured all they could to the contrary.

(43) But as King *Edward* was (in the mean ſpace) wholly intent, upon furniſhing himſelfe with all convenient things fit for his warre, (having Captaines and Souldiers, ſuch as his owne noble heart could wiſh,) ſo when he found that the induſtrious Dutch by their manuall labours, grew to ſo great ſtrength and opulencie, that their friendſhip bred rivality in puiſſant Monarches, he, like a father, regarding the publike weale of his Country, ordained that all Cloth-workers, who would repaire hither out of forraine parts, and exerciſe their Trades, ſhould have free acceſſe and ſundry priviledges. By which invitation as very many were drawne, ſo was it the principall cauſe of advancing that honeſt, beſt and moſt beneficiall Trade in the Kingdome, to the great enrichment, ſtrength, and honour thereof. The Engliſh Nation was very deſirous to ſet forward this Warre, and therefore contributed plentifully, and the King made bold with Lombards, and the moveable goods of ſuch Priories in *England*, as were Cels to Monaſteries in *France*, thereby to make his coffers fuller.

(44) The warre, which all this while ſeemed but to bee talked of, did now begin to blaze (and indeed a *blazing ſtarre* of thirty dayes continuance, was ſuppoſed by ſome to fore-ſhew it) whoſe firſt torch was lighted by the * *French* at *Southampton*, which they almoſt wholly conſumed to aſhes, but they with loſſe of their Captaine, (a yonger ſonne to the *Sicilian* King) and about three hundreth others, * were driven away the next morrow. The *French* had ſundry ſhips of Warre or Gallies, which under colour of paſſing to the *Holy-Land*, the King of *France* had (with purpoſe to aſſaile our Coaſts) aſſembled, as the * King of *England* chargeth him: which loſſe, yet was not long un-required, either Nation greeving other with mutuall miſchiefes.

An. Dom. 1338.

(45) To appeaſe and extinguiſh this deadly quarrell, there came from Pope *Benedict* the twelfth, two Cardinals hither; but one of them in a ſpeech to the Clergy, ſeeming to favour the French faction; *Iohn* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* immediately ſtood up, and proteſted, that the *Cardinals* Arguments were vaine and frivolous: whereupon they ſoone after departed, and it was every where publiſhed through *England*, *that the King had right to the Crowne of France, which alſo hee meant by honourable force to proſecute.* Notwithſtanding, King *Edward* for avoyding Chriſtian bloud-ſhed, gave inſtructions to the Cardinals, that upon certaine equall conditions, he was willing to make an everlaſting peace with the *French*, and would have beene very glad (the hazards of warre conſidered) to have taken any honeſt or proportionable offers; one impediment whereof was this, that the French would include the *Scots* within the Treaty, whom King *Edward* would not admit thereunto, as purpoſing (when he had ſingled them from ſupplies) to make a full and abſolute annexation of their obediences to the Engliſh Scepter: ſo the labour and hopes of the *Cardinals* proved vaine.

The French Kings real as for reſiſtance.

(46) *Philip de Valoys*, in poſſeſſion King of *France*, had ſundry great and high motives to embolden his ſtanding off. Firſt, the regard of honour, and profit, and the abundant meanes which he had, having the whole puiſſance of *France* (the fureſt Kingdome under Heaven) at his Commandement. Then a confidence which hee reaſonably conceived ſo to divert, or diſtract the Engliſh forces, by the aſſured ayde of the *Scots*, as that it ſhould finally ruine the whole enterpriſe, if not alſo the principall Actor *Edward* himſelfe. Againe, conſidering the vaſtneſſe of the enterpriſe, hee judged King *Edwards* wealth not to be proportionable, but did well hope, that a ſhort dalliance would conſume his treaſures. Moreover, hee judged perhaps, that the very thought it ſelfe of conquering *France*, was no better in *Edward* then a young mans dreame, conſidering the Realme of *England* was farre inferiour in bigneſſe, and multitudes of Subjects, and that there was a Sea betweene, the croſſing whereof muſt double the charge. Laſtly, for the friends which King *Edward* had procured in *Dutchland* with wonderfull largeſſe, he knew, would not bee held together but with infinite coſt and expence, and that by ſome good meanes or other, hee ſhould make them in whole, or in part unprofitable.

(47) For juſtification of his cauſe, he had no ſlender colours, or reaſons. As the before alleadged law or cuſtome of *France*, which they call the *Salick*, by the which the French exclude * *Gynecocracy*, or *Womens Government* in chiefe. Then an Act of the whole *French* State, by which his right was acknowledged and eſtabliſhed. Thirdly, King *Edwards* birthplace, by which he ſeemed to them a ſtranger, and for that cauſe was farre the leſſe capable, or rather was directly incapable of popular good-will among the French. Laſtly, for that King *Edward* in the * beginning of his raigne (though when hee was as yet under age,) did in his owne perſon, both doe his Homage to this very *Philip de Valoys*, as to the King of *France*, for his Dutchy of *Aquitaine*, and alſo * by his Letters Patents under ſeale did teſtifie as much. This homage, (the more to be remembred, becauſe * ſome attribute much of King *Edwards* diſcontentment to the haury manner of *Philip* in taking the ſame) was performed at *Amiens* in *Picardie*. It troubled King *Edward* greatly, to ſee himſelfe making ſubmiſſion to the uſurper of that Soveraignety, which hee thought belonged to himſelfe; but to let the French ſee what kinde of Prince he was, he came in ſo royall manner appointed, as if he meant to have ſtrucken them with feare or admiration: Earles, Barons, and 1000. Horſe hee had in his retinue. At the day, his robe was of Crimſon Velver, powdred with Golden Leopards, his Crowne on his head, a Sword by his ſide, and Golden ſpurres on his heeles. To receive this Duke for the Dutchy of *Guyen*, and Earledome of *Ponthieu*, *Philip de Valoys* ſate crowned in violet Velver, ſemined with golden lillies, with all the other Enſignes of royall Majeſty, but the homage was done onely by word (if * one ſay true) and not in that full manner which *Serres* mentioneth. Probable it is, that the haughty carriage of *Philip* did greatly incenſe the Spirit of King *Edward*, being one of the moſt gallant in the World.

Arguments for juſtification of diſereſidance.

* *Bodin. de Rep.*

(48) There is among Writers much time, and labour ſpent in deſcription of King *Edwards* journey, ſtay and contracts of amity made in *Dutchland*; but in regard that no greater matter was effected thereby, then the purchaſe of an opinion of magnificence and nobleneſſe among the Queenes Countreymen and Dutch-landers; few lines ſhall ſerve to comprehend the narration. The King (having firſt in * Parliament provided for the governance of his Kingdome) with the Queene (then great with Child) the

* *A. Dom. 1339. An. Reg. 3.*

* *Adam Merim.*

* *Fox Act. & Mon. pre 474. ſtimate server. tenant. ibi de Francos ad 500. li.*

* *Proiſſard. Graſton.*

* *At Stane ſtreet in Kent. Iohn Stow in Epiſcopis.*

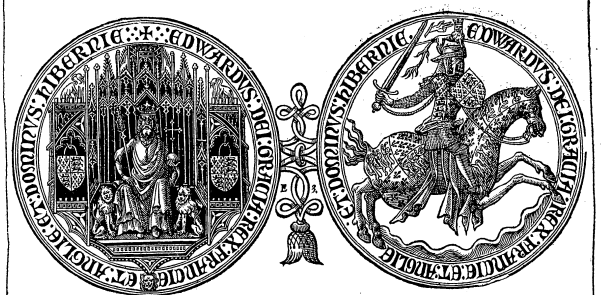
the young Prince *Edward*, many Earles and great Captaines, with a gallant Company of men of warre, * 30 July. * sayled to *Antwerpe*, whom *Lewis* the Emperour met at the City of *Colein*, where amity was confirmed, and King *Edward* was constituted his Lieutenant, with full authority to governe in his name on this side *Colein*. By reason of which Vicegerency King *Edward* * Fabian. made out his commandements, and did many things to his advantage and profit. Howsoever it neither lasted long (for *Lewis* within a while dishonorably revoked it,) and did undoubtedly scarce quit the cost: for the bravery of that meeting was so exceeding great, as *Edward* easily wan the generall opinion of a very noble and puissant King. * *Polydor* * Hist. lib. 19. writes, that *Edward* refused not the office, yet would not exercise the same, because he would not displease Pope *Benedict*, whose enemy the *Bavarian* was.

The King of *England*s prerogative. *Tho. Walsing.*

(49) This Emperour (whom belike the Pope hated, for being as proud as himselfe) tooke it ill, (as report went) that the King of *England* humbled not himselfe (at their meeting) to the kisse of his foote. But it was answered; that the King of *England* was a King annointed, and had life and member in his power, and therefore ought not to submit himselfe, so much as another King that was not annointed. After his returne to *Antwerpe* with his new power, he seriously prosecuted his affaire of confederation with the Lords and people of *Dutchland*, among whom (with great love and favour) hee and his royall family abode above an whole yeare. The principall Nobles which entred into this league against the French, were these: *The Archbishop of Colein Prince Elector*; *The Duke of Brabant*; *The Duke of Gelderland, (who had married the Lady Isabel King Edwards owne sister, and about this season was of an Earle created a Duke*; *The Marquesse of Gulicke, &c. And finally, the Hanse townes.*

(50) The Flemings, being the most necessary part of this association, in regard of their neerenesse to the *French*, would not engage themselves in an offensive warre against the Crowne of *France*, unlesse King *Edward* would first assume the Title and Armories of that Realme, as the onely lawfull King thereof. This Proposition was throughly debated, and the law of Armes allowing it, hee with the common assent of the Flemings and others, tooke the Stile, and quartered the Flower de Lize with the Leopards, or Lyons of *England*, as here we see annexed; albeit we see his former Seale also adorned with two Lize or Lillies; whether in token of his mothers French descent, or as a covert note of his owne right to the French Crowne it is uncertaine.

Polydor. virg. lib. 17. An. Dom. 1328. The first quartering of the French Armes with the English. *Adam Meriin. Tho. walsing. in Edw 3. Tyndg. Holl.*



(51) *Polydor* * *Virgil* must have a wary and fanourable Reader, or he will be thought to be of opinion, that *William* the *Conquerour* bare his Leopards quartered, then which nothing is more untrue, nor more unlikely. Others againe may suppose, that wee have not heere described them according to their right bearing, as certainely according to their present bearing wee have not; but the truth is, the golden Lillies of *France*, which now are borne in triangle, were in those dayes borne, and advanced *Semi*.

* *Jo Gallicl. 1. lib 9.*

The Armes of *England* set before those of *France* at the first. Sir *Robert Cotton* hath such a Seale of Queen *Isabel*.

(52) And whereas the Armories of *France* are placed here in the *dexter* and more honourable quarter, yet there are probabilities, that it was not so at this their first conjunction. For in the * Seale of Queen *Isabel* (this King *Edwards* mother) the Armories of *England*, as being the Armories of the husbands line (and therefore to have precedence) were marshalled where now the Flower de Lizes shine. But whether to gratifie the French, or because that was the more ancient and greater Monarchy, they were in this Kings raigne disposed as here we see.

(53) When King *Edward* had thus assumed the Title and Armes of that Realme, he published the same under his seale, setting the name of *England* first, and sent his *Letters Patents* to the Frontiers of the enemies Dominions, fixing them upon the doores of Churches, as well to declare the right and reason of his doings, as to exempt such from the danger of the comming storme, who upon this notice would acknowledge him their Lord and rightfull Soveraigne. These Proclamations or admonishments thus divulged, he burnt and spoyled the North parts of *France* up as farre as * *Turwin*, though the time of the yeere were very unseasonable, and contenting himselfe therewith for a beginning, gave place to the sharpenesse of Winter, returning to the Queene his Wife at *Antwerpe*, where he kept a royall Christmas. In which City this yeere was *Lionel* (afterward Duke of *Clarence*) borne.

* *Adam Meriin. Tho. walsingh.*

(54) His affaires growing ripe in those parts, hee leaves his Queene and Children in *Brabant*, as an assured pledge of his returne, and about Candlemas Ships himselfe for *England*; where, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, hee obtained liberall aydes for supportation of his intended Conquest. In lieu of which loving assistances, hee granted a generall large pardon both for trespasses, and of all *Aydes* for making his sonne Knight, and for *marriage* of his daughter during all his time; forgiving also all arrearages of Farmers and Accountants till the tenth yeere of his Raigne, and all olde debts due to any of his Predecessors. Finally, hee confirmed that famous *Magna Charta*, and of the *Forrest*, with some other.

* *Serres.*

King *Edward* pardons and grants in lieu of his Subjects contributions.

(55) There was no talke now but of conquering *France*; Musters taken throughout the Kingdome, Armourers and Trades of Warre (to bee cherished even in the securest peace) were full of employment, and the desire of Battle waxt fervent every where. Meane-

* *Polydor. Virg. lib. 19.*

Meane while, to hold the world in suspense of the successe, God distributed the fortune of attempts diversly. *Burdeaux* (the capitall Citie of *Aquitaine*, and then *English*) gave an excellent testimony of her loyalty, nor lesse of martiall wit and valour. For the French Army comming before her, she to abuse their hope, set open her gates, and displayed upon her Towers the golden Lillies, as if she were theirs; but the *French* which securely entred, found little good hospitalitie. Sir *Oliver de Ingham* was Captaine and Lord Warden there for King *Edward*, who with his Garrison-Souldiers, and ayde of the inhabitants, slew of them great multitudes, and preserved *Burdeaux*. But in the opposite parts, *William Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, * after many honourable deeds performed for advancement of King *Edwards* affaires, were by the French taken Prisoners, while presuming too much upon their courages and fortune, they * ran too farre into their danger, at the Towne of *Lile* in *Flaunders*.

A Stratagem of the loyall.

Tho. Walsing.

(56) But King *Edward* being ready now to repasse the Seas, had certaine intelligence that the French lay in waite about *Sluice* in *Flanders*, to intercept him, with a mightie Navie of 400. Ships; who therefore prepared accordingly, intending to open his way by force. Hee set saile from *Herwich* upon Saint *John Baptists Eve*, toward the Coast where his enemies attended, strengthning himselfe with the Northerne Navie of *England*, which the Lord *Robert Morley* brought unto him, so as he had in all about two or three hundreth sayle. His battels having the advantages of winds and sunne, hee set on the French with incredible fury and force, in the very mouth of the Haven of *Sluice* upon Midsommer day, where began a most bloudy and terrible fight, the end whereof set the Garland upon King *Edwards* head. Himselfe was * wounded in that fight, and lost * foure valiant Knights (*Montbermer, Latimer, Boteler, Peyninges*) with sundry other of his English slaine therein. But the slaughters of the French party were lamentable, for thirtie thousand are confessed to have perished, not halfe of their ships escaped untaken or unsunke. A greater glory then this, the English are scarse found to have atchieved at any battle at Sea.

Dagion. Serres.

Tho. Walsing.

A very great victory at Sea obtained by King *Edward*.

* *Serres. Hollinsh.* * *Rich. Southw.*

(57) The Crowne of *France* seemed already to be placed upon King *Edwards* Temples, so much was attributed to this great victory; but such a Conquest was not the worke of one day. Which King *Edward* well understanding, refreshed his victorious Armie, and augmenting it with his Confederates forces (which repaired to him on all sides) marched forth, having one of the most puissant hosts that ever any King of *England* led, as wherein were neere an hundreth thousand Souldiers *English*, and *Dutch*. He had also in his Company the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelder*, and many other potent members of the Empire, and (as * some write) the imperiall Eagles displayed in the head of his Army, as he that was Vice-gerent of the sacred Romane Empire. In this wise he approached the Notherly parts of *France*, where exposing all to spoyle and fire, he sate downe with his whole Forces about *Tourney*, meaning to take in the same, as well to be a seate of Warre, as place of sure retreat and refuge.

* *Serres.*

(58) *Philip*, though justly grieved with his wofull losse sustained at Sea, yet to encounter, and crush so great an evill in the first approaches thereof, had provided such an Army, as beseemed the Majesty and greatnesse of that renowned Kingdome. Writers speake of an hundreth thousand fighting men assembled under his command, and that besides Princes, Dukes, Earles, and other illustrious Persons, there was the valiant old King of *Bohemia*, and * *Lewis* King of *Navarre*. King *Edward* hearing the same, drew forth his people into the open field, with purpose to give battle.

* *Polydor. Virg. lib. 19.*

(59) It may seeme a thing greatly tending to King *Edwards* glory, to remember the * offer which hee sent to King *Philip* before hee laid his siege to *Tourney*. In which, without saluting him by any other title then of *Philip* of *Valoys*, hee challengeth him, for avoyding the effusion of Christian bloud, to fight with him hand to hand in single battle; or (if that misliked) then each to bring an hundreth to the Field, and try the event with so small an hazard; or otherwise, within ten dayes to joyne full battle with all their forces neere to *Tourney*. Whereupon *Philip* made no direct answer, neither with his honour could, alledging that the letters were not sent to him, *the King of France*, but barely to *Philip* of *Valoys*. Nevertheless, he gave him to understand, that his meaning was to beat him out of *France*, having hope in Christ (from whom hee derived his power) so to doe.

* *Tho. Walsing.*

(60) The honour of the warre in those ages cannot be enough commended, in which the noble old formes of hostility were put in practise, by defiances, Heralds, and publique affignations of day and place of fight, and not by skulking surprises and under-hand stealthes, more neerely resembling highway robbers, then lawfull battle.

(61) These two huge hosts (which had they beene united for the good of Christendome, might have worthily made the Turke looke pale) being now in fight, and the Cloud of Warre ready in a manner to dissolve it selfe into showers of Bloud, doe nevertheless without one stroke fall off, and returne to their severall Countries, not without the wonder and rejoycement of peaceable men, but not of the English and German Souldier, who propounded to themselves death with glory, or riches by Conquest and victory, who now had scarse their wages.

(62) It is not meete that the name of that person who did performe so blessed an office, should be concealed. It was a woman of honour (but at that time a professed * Nunne in the Abbey of *Fontenel*) the Lady *Ione* of *Valoys*, sister to this *Philip*, widdow of *William* late Earle of *Henault*, and mother to King *Edwards* wife; her charitable endeavors were strongly holpen by * two Cardinals, who solicited peace together with her. Great interest of mediation shee had in either respect, heere a brother, there a sonne in Law, and she fayled not to ply them both. The Truce was concluded; the rather for that King *Philip* was advised from all parts, not to set his whole fortunes upon the Die and chance of a Battle. And *Edward* (on the other side) meaning nothing lesse, then not to have prosecuted the warre upon the encouragement of his late Sea-victory, was so destitute of money through the fault of his Officers in *England*, as he was the sooner drawne, if not enforced to embrace so honest a colour of returning from the siege of *Tourney*; which nevertheless did but deferre the miseries of *France*, not determine them: and whereas that glory, which the upper hand in this journey would have brought, could not have beene pure and meere unto him, because the *Dutch* (whose ayde he used) would have claimed no small share therein, the English Chevalry onely had the name and burthen of such great Acts as after followed.

* *Serres.*

* *Tyndg. Holl.*

(63) The chiefe Articles of the Truce were; That it should endure till Midsommer day then next ensuing, and that the Prisoners should be set at libertie without any ransome on both sides, upon condition to render themselves againe, or pay their severall ransomes, if peace were not in the meane time concluded. By vertue of this treaty and Truce, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* were delivered. Heere it troubled our * *Walsingham*; that King *Edward* should be left so destitute, and needy, by the avarice or fraud of his Officers at home, as for that respect to give over so faire an opportunitie, by which hee might as it were by a continuall line, and by insisting and pressing upon the steps of his late

The chiefe points of the Truce.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

fœcesse,

succeſſe have happily proceeded, when as yet his friends were uncorrupted, and in preſence; and therefore bemones the unworthineſſe thereof towards ſo worthy a Prince, adding; * *That if in every deed they had ſcanned and exactly weighed with themſelves the Acts of all the Engliſh Kings paſt, from the very firſt Monarch, they would not have found that ever this Iland brought forth a Prince of ſuch excellency as ſo* * *unripened yeares.*

(64) King *Edward* greatly diſcontented with ſuch of his officers, through whoſe default he was thus in a manner conſtrained to let ſlip the preſent proſecution of his deſigne, returned with his Queene into *England*, to take revenge of their miſdemeanors, where hee committed * ſome to priſon, put others from their places, and ſo beſtirred himſelfe, that by occaſion thereof much diſpleaſure grew betweene the King and *Iohn Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, who complained of *manifeſt violences done againſt the Liberties of the Church and Engliſh Nation, comprehended in Magna Charta.* And whereas the King did openly charge the Archbiſhop to have been a principall perſwader of his entring into league with the Almaines, againſt the French, *willing him to take no care for treaſure, becauſe himſelfe would ſee him abundantly furniſhed from England, out of the levy of granted Subſidies, and profits of the Crowne:* and that through defect of the Archbiſhops performance, he was not onely conſtrained to give over his hold for the preſent, but alſo to embogge himſelfe in the Bankers and Vſurers bookes, the Archbiſhop thereunto made anſwer: *That he deſired in open Parliament it might appeare, through whoſe default the Citie of Tourney was not taken, and directly laid the whole blame from himſelfe, and from his, upon ſuch as were daily Courtiers,* (whom *Walſingham* calles *Anglici regii, Engliſhmen for the King*) *who ſerving their owne turnes with the generall abuſe, would expoſe him, and his, unjuſtly to the envy of their fact.* Yea, ſome there are, who more then ſo, will have the Archbiſhop ſeeme to practiſe againſt the Kings farther good fortunes in *France*; which, if it be true, it is no hard matter to find out the principall motive thereunto.

(65) For certainely the Pope (*Benedict.* 12.) was nothing pleaſed with the ſucceſſes of *Edward*, at leaſtwiſe with the war it ſelfe, as pretending it was pernicious to *Chriſtendome*; the blame whereof the *French* charged upon the *Engliſh*, as unlawfully claiming, as the *Engliſh* did upon the *French* for unlawfully detaining. This Pope therefore interpoſeth himſelf, and puts * *Flanders* under *Interdict*, as having diſloyally left their owne Earle, and their chiefe Lord *Philip* King of *France*, contrary to their Oath and Allegiance; but they for their defence and juſtification anſwered, that *Edward* was the onely lawfull King of *France*, and *Philip* (to whom they had ſworne) a meere *Vſurper*, and therefore notwithſtanding that Interdict, or the Papall decifion of the controverſie, they perſiſted ſtill in their adherence.

(66) But the more to draine and weaken the mighrie ſtreame of the *Engliſh* ſupportations, *Lewis* of *Bavar* the Emperour, ſodainly (by ſuch practiſes as were uſed on behalfe of the *French*) re-called his Vicar-ſhip or delegation, which he had made to *Edward*, to exerciſe imperiall power in lower *Germany*, offering his beſt helpe notwithſtanding, (as having power from *Philip* to that purpoſe,) to procure him honourable conditions, as a Mediatour betweene them. The pretence of his falling from King *Edward*, and concluding amitie with his enemy, was for that King *Edward* without his privity, had conſented to a Truce at the City of *Tourney* with *Philip*.

(67) To theſe revocatorie lines King *Edward* "made this wiſe and noble anſwer; That the Em- "perours zeale to make attonement, he could not but "greatly commend, wiſhing, that at the inſtance of "ſo potent a Mediatour, an honourable Peace (if that "were poſſible) might be made; but his Title being "cleare enough, he meant not to make doubtfull by "putting it to any arbitration. That it could not but "be admired, why he ſhould now enter amitie with "*Philip de Valoys* the wrong-doer, fith, having ſeene "his apparant right, hee had entred with him into "league, againſt the ſaid *Philip*: That it was alſo a- "greed, that hee might conclude any temporary "Truce (though not a finall accord) without his con- "ſent, if need ſhould be, as in this caſe at *Tourney* it "was. That this revocation ſeemed to bee made "ſomewhat abortively, for ſo much as the *Imperia-* "*liſts* had promiſed the Vicar-ſhip ſhould ſtand good "till he had conquered *France*, or the greater parti- "on thereof. Dated thus, *Londini, Anno regni noſtri Franciæ, 2. Regni verò noſtri Angliæ, 15.* But *Lewis* of *Bavar* to *Edward* thus * inconſtant, and faith-breaking, continued toward *Philip* ſtedfaſt, without either amending *Philips* fortunes thereby, or himſelfe increaſing in Iuſtice or honeſtie, that it might eaſily be ſeene he was endued with qualities, which ill became the Imperiall height.

(68) You have heard a part of great King *Edwards* victorious fortunes in battle, both by Land and Sea; be not ignorant of his *Pietie* (the ſoveraigne ornament and faſetie of Soveraigne Princes,) whereof in one act of his, we will tender unto you in the ſtile of that age an Eſſay and taſte. He having a purpoſe to purſue his enterpriſe for *France*, after ſundry Chriſtian and holy conſiderations of Gods judgements, and of his owne eſtate and rightfull cauſe, he turnes his ſpeech to his Biſhops in theſe words: *Cum "igitur conſtituti ſitis, &c.* Seeing therefore you are "ordained of God, on the behalfe of men, that you "ſhould offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſinne, liſten we "beſeech you to the premiſſes, and not to our one- "ly, but to the publique dangers, powring forth "prayers to the moſt High for our happy ſucceſſe, "ſupplying the place of *Moſes*, ſo that we and ours "may prevaile againſt adverſaries, in the lifting of "your hands to heaven; and that God would bee "the rather pleaſed to enlarge his favour towards "us, (the number of Interceſſors being multiplyed,) "cauſe preachings, and proceſſion, and other offices "of appeaſing his diſpleaſure, to be mercifully exer- "ciſed through our Cities and Dioceſſes, that the "God of mercies would extend over us, and our Ar- "mies, the hand of his Benediction, and ſo direct our "Acts in his good pleaſure, that they may redound "to his glory and our profit, and to the commodi- "tie and quiet of all our faithfull ſubjects. This, *O Edward*, was indeed to begin at the right end; for even the Heathen taught, * *to begin with God*, and thy following ſucceſſes declared that thy prayers were acceptable.

(69) And now once againe the *French* and *Engliſh* powers were at point to try their fortunes by battle, upon ſiding with other Claimes, as erſt they had done for their owne. The quarrell was founded upon a title to the Dutchie of little *Britaine*. *Arthur* Duke thereof had two Wives; by *Beatrix* his firſt wife, he had two ſonnes, *Iohn* (afterward Duke) and *Guy*; and by *Iolant* his ſecond Wife, he had *Iohn* of *Montfort*. Duke *Iohn* living without Iſſue, aſſured to *Ione* (daughter of his brother *Guy*, who dyed before him) the Ducall Crowne of little *Britaine*: upon which entaile, *Charles of Bloys*, (Nephew to *Philip* King of *France*) marrieth the Lady *Ione*, who in the life time of Duke *Iohn*, was (by agreement) put into full poſſeſſion: but Duke *Iohn* being once dead, *Iohn* of *Montfort* raiſeth warre, as the ſurviving heire male. *Philip* King of *France* tooke part with *Charles of Blois*, and *Edward* King of *England*, with the Lord *Iohn* of *Montfort*.

(70) Great and bloudy miſchiefes ſprang out of theſe ſtrongly ſupported factions, which had now drawne King *Edward* thither in perſon; and little *Britaine* (which may well in a fort be called *Wales* in *France*, the *Britons*, chiefly the *Britons Britonant*, or ruder *Britons*, declaring at this preſent by the language, and ſundry locall Names, as *Lanion, Triguier,* &c.

*Thom. Walſing.

* 28. *Annuum.*

Puniſhment of officers that had chaſed the King in his Treaſure.

*Rob. Avesbury.

The Archbiſh. of *Canterbury* excuſeth the Courtiers.

Flanders interdicted for having left her Earle, and the *French*.

* Tpodig. Neuſt.

The Vicarſhip of the Empire taken from King *Edward*.

An. Dom. 1342.

King *Edwards* anſwer to Lewis Emperour.

*Adam Merim. in Edw. 3.

* Tpodig. Neuſt.

Publike Interceſſions required of the Biſhops by the King.

That their Kinſmen are in *Wales* and *Cornwall*) was become the field of *Mars* and martiall Furies. But the powers of thoſe two mighty Kings being upon point, before the City of *Nants* in high *Britaine*, to cut out their divers ſhares in fortunes Partrimony, with the edge of the Sword, loe againe God inclined their hearts (as if hee would faine have done nothing but ſhew his vengeance in the Scabbard) by the carefull diligence of two Cardinals, to accept of a truce, which was concluded Ianuary the 19. at the Priory of *Malestret*, upon ſundry points, whereof theſe (as to the purpoſe of our Story) are the principall.

(71) That the two Kings of *England* and *France* ſhould ſend certaine of their Bloud royall to the Court of *Rome* (by a certaine day) there to argue their ſeverall titles, and rights to the French Monarchy, not as before a *Iudge*, but as a *friend* * indifferent to both, and that the King of Scots, and the Earle of *Henault*, ſhould likewiſe ſend to give their aſſent for ſo much as concerned them.

(72) That either friends, adherents, and ſequels, ſhould be comprehended in the Truce, and that the truce ſhould extend it ſelfe to the tidlers in *Britaine* and their ſides; and that the Cardinals ſhould doe their beſt to obtaine abſolution from the ſentence of Interdict executed upon the Countrey of *Flanders*.

* How was hee indifferent, who intended Flanders for fighting with himſelf

(73) That the Truce ſhould continue for three yeeres; that priſoners or moveables taken on either ſide ſhould bee mutually diſcharged, that traffique and paſſages ſhould bee open; and that all other things ſhould ſtand as they did at the time of the Truce made: which being fairely engroſſed in an * Inſtrument, two great Peeres of each part, tooke oathes upon perill of the Soules of their Kings, to obſerve the contents ſincerely.

An. Dom. 1342. *Tho. walſingh. Hieding.

(74) The poſſeſſion of the City of *Vannes* in baſe *Britaine*, the Engliſhmen ſtill kept, that (if ſetled peace followed not upon this Truce) they might have ſome hold and certaine footing-place, from whence to make head againe, and march into the heart of *France*. In this Warre *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, a principall inſtigatour of King *Edward*, dyed of a wound, and *Iohn* of *Montford* did not long over-live this truce, after whoſe death moſt part of *Britaine* came into the hands of * *Charles* of *Bloys*.

* Fabian.

An. Dom. 1343. *A. Reg.* 17. The Statute of Proviſors. * Platina. *Tho. walſingh.

(75) King *Edward* retutning home after the Truce, neglected not his domeſticke affaires, but enacted the *Statute of Proviſors*, upon this occaſion. Pope *Benedict* being dead, *Clement* the ſixt ſucceeded; a man of * ſingular learning, but * extreamely profuſe in giving, who, by way of *Proviſion*, had beſtowed ſundry choiſe Benefices in *England* upon Forreiners. For prevention whereof (as of a thing which the King and Peeres would not endure,) it was made *high Treaſon* by law, for any to bring ſuch Papall proviſions into the Kingdome. And for juſtification of his ſo doing, hee directed that * letter unto the Pope which was ſo * exceallently pen'd, as did not onely move admiration, but aſtoniſhment; and indeed this pruned age affords few ſo grave and ſolide. In which Parliament alſo the Lord *Edward*, the Kings eldeſt ſonne, was created Prince of *Wales*. Hee was ſo renowned a Gentleman, (why doe we ſay he was, as if hee could at any time ceaſe to bee, whom fame hath made immortall?) that the high praiſe before given by *Walſingham* to his father, *as * excelling all the Princes which went before him*, may bee paralelled in the Sonne, as ſurpaſſing in martiall deeds, all the Princes that have lived after him.

* *Ab inceptis ejus.*

Treaſon to bring in any Papall Proviſions.

* This letter in Walſingham, in Edw. 3. * Tpodig. Neuſt.

Edward created Prince of *Wales*.

(76) His noble Father King *Edward* (who had ſtill his eye fixed upon *France*, as the marke of his Conqueſt) having notice among other things, by a meſſenger from the Pope, that *Lewis* of *Bavar* had wholly ſubmitted himſelfe, and was fully abſolved from all cenſures, with confirmation unto him of the Imperiall Diademe: the King, (that you may by his courage know him worthy of ſuch a Sonne) brake irefully forth into theſe words. Though *Lewis* take the French Kings part, I will fight with them both. And whether hee were invited with the fame of King *Arthurs* Table, and the Knights adventerous thereof, or for that hee knew honourable Company and exerciſe in Armes, to bee the naturall parents of excellent Souldiers, it is agreed, that hee erected a building at his Caſtle of *Windſore*; which ſhould bee called the *Round Table*, whoſe circumference was ſixe hundred foote, where Knights and men of warre ſhould have their entertainment of dyet, at his charge by one hundred pounds by the Weeke, though afterward, through occaſion of his Warres, hee abared that ſumme to twenty pounds weekely. In emulation whereof, *Philip de Valoys* (knowing that all this tended but to preparations againſt him,) erected the like in his Court, to invite the Knights and men at Armes of *Almaine*, and of *Italy*, from repairing to King *Edward*. One thing *Philip* did ſhrewdly and politikely, in giving leave to his ſubjects to fell downe his woods freely for building of *Ships*, whereby his Navy was greatly augmented, and the rather wrought much miſchiefe afterward. About this time one of the chiefe ſtarres in the Firmament of the Engliſh Chevalry fell into the Grave, *William Montacute* King of *Man*, and Marſhall of *England*, of * whoſe noble acts to write worthily were a commendable matter.

An. Dom. 1344. *Tpodig Neuſt.*

Round Tables erected for men at Armes.

* *Tpod. Neuſt.*

(77) But the French King, perceiving that a terrible tempeſt was likely to fall upon him from forth of *England*, waxed cruell in his jealouſie, and * put ſundry principall men of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, and *Guyen* to death, for no other crime, but that they were Engliſh in affection; among whom are reckoned Sir *Oliver de Cliſſon*, * *Bacco*, *Perſie*, and *Geffrey* of *Maleſtroict*, Knights of the beſt note; Sir *Godfrey* of *Harecourt*, brother to the Earle of *Harecourt*, being alſo ſummoned to *Paris*, appeared in *England*, whither hee fled, and became a ſpeciall fire-brand in the approaching combuſtion.

* *Serres.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.*

(78) It was not Pope *Clements* mediation, or diligence in diſcuſſing the Titles and Pretences of theſe two puiſſant Monarchs, which could prevent the fatall puniſhment of *France*, yet according to the Articles of the Treatiſe at *Malestroict*, either Prince ſent his particular Orators, where the difficulties roſe ſo thicke and intricate, as *Clement* * diſpairing to cleare them, put over their farther view till another time. But King *Edward* affirming the truce to be manifeſtly broken, * by the beheading and perſecuting of his friends in *Normandy* and elſewhere, ſignifies ſo much to the Pope, that Battle and not Parlance ſhould determine his right, and title. His proviſions of men, of Ships, of weapons, of victuals, of treaſure, of all things, needfull to ſo brave and daring an enterprize, were worthy of the greatneſſe, courage, ſtrength, riches, and majeſty of a King of *England*. Into *Gaſcoigne* he ſends that valiant great Lord *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, Earle of *Derby*, with a gallant company of leaders and troupes of ſouldiers, where he atchieved many great things, for the defence and enlargement of that Dutchy, taking Cities, Caſtles, and Townes, of which *Iohn* the French Kings eldeſt ſonne recovered divers not long after; and diſcomfited the enemy in battle. The Scots attempting againſt the Weſt Marches of *England*, by the vigilancy and proweſſe of ſuch as were in truſt for thoſe parts, as the Biſhop of *Carleil*, the Lords *Percie*, *Nevile*, and *Lucy*, very gallant gentlemen, were forced to * retire into *Scotland*. It was the practice of either Prince to divert and diſtract either puiſſance; we *Philips* in *Gaſcoigne*, and he ours, by his perpetuall, and conſtant confederates, the Scots. Our *Edward* notwithſtanding could doe it the leſſe, for that his conſtant friend *Iaques de Arteville* (who was become as it were the popular Tribune of *Flanders*) was * ſlaine in a mutiny by ſuch as were of the *French* faction.

*Tho. walſingh.

King *Edward* declares the Truce with France broken.

* *Tpod. Virg.*

* *Tho. walſingh.*

* *Tpodig Neuſt.*

* *Foce. Stefr.*

(79) *Edward* not being able to re-call his ſlaine friend

The most noble Order of the Garter instituted.

An. Dom. 1350. *A. Reg.* 24. The Patent of the foundation bears date 22. *Reg. Edw.* 3. saith *Stow*, who nevertheless placeth the first feast thereof at this yeare.

* *Cambd. Brit. in Barkſh.*

* *Ioſeph Cornillon. Antiquit. Burg. lib.* 19. *in Edw.* 3.

friend to life, gave life notwithſtanding about this time to an invention, which as for the preſent it ſerved (he having ſo great uſe thereof for his *French* enterpriſes) as a vehement Incentive to martiall valour, and a golden band of unity, ſo the ſame is continued with likelihood of perennity, and multiplication of ſplendor in theſe our dayes. It was the foundation of the *Engliſh* Order, worthily called the moſt noble Order of the Garter. The cauſes why our *Edward* erected it, are not evident, though there could none be greater or better, then thoſe before recited; Honour expreſſed by externall and illuſtrious enſignes, deviſed by a victorious Author, and appropriated to a fellowſhip of moſt exemplar and eminent perſons, being in nature like a flame, to kindle in the apt and worthy, all heroicke affections. The vulgar opinion is, that whatſoever the remoter cauſes were which mooved to this foundation, the neere cauſe, or the occaſion was, a Garter of his owne Queene (or as * ſome ſay) of the Lady *Ioan*, Counteſſe of *Salisbury* (wonder of that age for ſhape and beauty) which ſlipping off in a dance, King *Edward* ſtooped, and tooke up. Such of the Nobles as were preſent, ſmiling, and * playing in ſport with that action of the Kings, as amorous, hee ſeriouſly ſaid, it ſhould not bee long before *there ſhould Soveraigne honour bee done to that ſilken tye.* Whereupon hee afterward added the *French* Motte, or Symbolicall word, HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE, as well in complement of the whole invention, as in retort or checke of his Courtiers ſiniſter ſuſpition. *Polydor Virgill* troubleth himſelfe to make an Apology for the courteſineſſe of this Originall, if (without injury) an office of honourable love in ſo renowned a Monarch, may undergoe the note of courteſineſſe; but the ſame *Polydor* among his other defences thereof truely ſaith;

Nobilitas ſub amore jacet.

There want not ſome who conjecture, that hee entituled it the Order of the Garter, for that in a battle wherein he was victorious, hee had given the word Garter, for the word or ſigne. But if credite may be attributed to the originall * Booke of the Inſtitution, the invention is deduced from times more ancient, "and that when *Richard* the firſt King of *England*, ſet "forward againſt the Turkes and Sarazens to *Cyprus* "and *Acon*, and waxed weary of longer delay, while "the ſiege of *Acon* was with wonderfull care protra- "cted, courage at the length (by the comming of S. "*George* among them as it was thought) quickning "in him, it came into his minde to tye about the legs "of certaine his choice Knights, a Garter or ſmall "thong of Leather, the onely ſtuffe fit for ſuch a "purpoſe, which hee had then at hand, to the in- "tent that they (as it were by joynt conſent) being "mindfull of future glory, if they were victorious, "might be ſtirred up, to demeane themſelves nobly, "after the example of the Romans, with whom "that variety of Crownes or Garlands given for "ſundry cauſes as honourable Enſignes to the Soul- "dier was in uſe; to the intent, that by ſuch incite- "ments, they might ſhake off ſloath, and the ſpirit "of courage might riſe, and breake forth the more "fervently.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 8. *Rom.*

* *Glos. Walſin.*

* *Hiſt. Anglic. ad. in Hen.* 7.

* *Seneca.*

* *In Concordia ſymbolum, ſaith Cambden.*

* *Joh. Cantacuz. Imperat. Conſt. in Apolog.* 3.

* *23. Apr. Conſ. qua ſupra.*

(80) And into this opinion of ſtirring up vertue thereby, the * Author of the *Britannia* ſeemeth to paſſe, where hee ſaith, that King *Edward* the third founded this Order, to * *adorne Martiall vertue with honours, rewards, and ſplendor.*

* *Cambden.*

* *Vt militarem virtutem honoribus, præmiis, atque ſplendore decoraret.*

(81) There was in the Caſtle of *Windſor* (the ordained ſeat of the Order now firſt to bee conſummated) before King *Edward* did accompliſh his intention, in honour of God, * our Lady, and S. *George*, a * Chappell erected by King *Henry* the firſt, and other Progenitors of *Edward*, with an allowance for eight Canons, to whoſe Colledge this Prince added a Deane, fifteene Canons more, and twenty and foure poore impotent Knights, with other officers and ſervants, as appeareth by his Charter. Theſe were to pray for the good eſtate of the Soveraigne and Brethren of the moſt noble Order. The Soveraigne and Knights themſelves had their particular lawes and conſtitutions, which they were by ſolemne oath bound to obſerve, of which one * was, *That they ſhould defend and aſſiſt one the other:* which afterward made *Alphonſe* Duke of *Calabria* receive the habite of that Order with ſo exceeding reverence at *Naples*, as erroniouſly thinking himſelfe ſecured thereby from the *French*, who claimed that Kingdome. But that cuſtome of mutuall aſſiſtance (ſaith * *Polydor*) was then worne out of uſe, and diſcontinued every-where; for thoſe *Italian Potentates* who (within the memory of *Polydor*) being driven forth of their Country, and imploring ayde of thoſe orders, whereof themſelves were companions, found no ſupporture, either from the *French* or *Burgundians*, who had formerly elected them. Befides Lawes and Officers, King *Edward* alſo deviſed particular Ceremonies and diſtinctive habites and enſignements, whereof the principall was the azure Garter, wherein the *French* Motte of the Order was wrought in letters of Gold, and the Garter it ſelfe faſtned a little under the left knee with a buckle of Gold, in * token of Concord. There are ſpeciall Manuſcript-Bookes of the Conſtitutions, and other things peculiar to this Order, to which (this place being not aptly capable of their re-capitulation) wee muſt referre the curious. Saint *George* the * eſteemed patterne of Chriſtian fortitude, is intituled to the Patronage of this Order, and the beauteous Chappell in *Windſor-Caſtle* (where his * day is yeerely celebrated) conſecrated by King *Edward* to his memory. The fortune of this invention hath beene ſuch, that the moſt mighty Princes of the Chriſtian World have thought themſelves moſt highly honoured, in being choſen thereunto, ſo that there have beene about two and twenty forraine Emperours and Kings (beſides many others of moſt noble quality) ſince the firſt inſtitution thereof, elected and admitted Companions of the Garter. The Kings of *England* are in their ſeverall times Soveraignes of the Order, and the whole number of Knights is circumſcribed in twenty and ſixe, where of the Soveraigne is one. The names of the firſt twenty and ſixe (who are alſo ſtyled Founders of the Order) you ſhall finde intabled in our Map of *Barkeſhire*.

* *Peter. Blaeſen. 1. lib.* 2. * *Polyd. Virg. in Edw.* 3.

(82) Our *Edward* * having thus honoured S. *Georges* memory, aſſigned to his Image, mounted in Armour upon horſe backe, a ſilver Shield with a croſſe Gules (* *the deare remembrance of his dying Lord*) and * appointed his Souldiers to weare white Coats or Jackets, with a red Croſſe before and behinde over their Armor, that it was not onely a comely, but a ſtately ſight to behold the *Engliſh* Battles, like the riſing Sunne to glitter farre off in that pure hew; when the Souldiers of other Nations in their baſer weedes could not bee diſcerned. The glory therefore of this Order ſeemed ſuch to one, no * unlearned Poet, that in an Apoſtrophe to *Windſor*, ſpeaking of the Garter, he breakes forth into theſe ſcarſe Hyberbolicall Verſes.

---Cappadocis quanquam ſis clara Georgi
Militia, &c.

Farre ſpreads thy fame, wherewith S. Georges Knights,
Hath made thee glorious; where rich-robed Peeres,
Whoſe manly Legs the Golden-Garter *dights,*
Combine that light which through all lands appeares.
That now Burgundians *ſcorne their* Fleece of Gold;
The French, *th'* Eſcalopt Collar *ſet with grace;*
Their Croſſed weedes, Rhodes, Elba, Alcala, *hold*
As worth-leſſe: all matcht with thy Georges, *are baſe.*

* *Polyd. Virg. in Edw.* 3.

(83) Let us not dwell too long in the leſſer things: It was the moneth of July, and King *Edward* was now upon the Sea with about a thouſand Saile,

* Saile. No man is ſaid to know whither he bent his courſe, ſo well he could truſt himſelfe, and ſo wiſely free his Counſels from the poſſibilitie of diſcovery. He went not to warre by rote, but by booke; *miſdome* was Herbenger and marſhall of his valour; who ſhall ſay hee knew not how to conquer? It was not long but hee came to anchor in the Heaven of *Hogy Saint Paſſ*, in *Conſtantine*, a great cape of Land or penile in *Normandy*. His * land-forces did muſter twenty and five hundred horſe, and thirty thouſand foote, moſt of which were Archers. The lights, and glories of his Army, were the *Prince of Wales* (then about fixteene yeeres old, who was then by his father knighted) many brave Earles, Lords, Knights, and expert Chiefes, the Engliſh going cheerefully, as having gotten ſucha King as anſwered their warlike diſpoſitions. The Earle of *Huntington* had charge of his Navy: himſelfe takes ſevere revenge for the bloud of his friends upon the *Norman* Townes and people, proteſting he facrificed them * to *Cliſſon, Baro, Percy*, and the reſt. Their heads were ſet upon the chiefe Gate of *Carentine*, for which cauſe hee ſlew all that could be found therein, and turning the whole towne into Cinders, gave it to their funerall. He tooke the populous and rich City of *Caen*, and with his dreadful hoſte burning and ſpoyling round about, marched up almoſt as farre as the very Wals of *Paris*, braving King *Philip* ſo neere.

* *Servet.*

* *Polyd. Virg. & ſervet.*

(84) Who had not ſlept all this while but was * purveyed of one of the fulleſt Armies which ever were ſeene in *France*. King *Edwards* people rich with ſpoil ſeemed not unwilling to return. They were now in the enemies Country between the two good rivers of *Seine* and *Some*, for they had paſſed the *Seine at Poiſſe*, whoſe Bridge (as all other betweene *Roan* and *Paris*) had beene broken downe by the *French*, and now (notwithſtanding any oppoſition) in a ſhort ſpace repayred. It was thought fit to ſecke paſſage out of theſe ſtraights, which could not be by Bridges, for they were broken by the French. This ſearch for paſſage, was by the enemy interpreted a kinde of flight, and *Edward* could not but be willing to nouriſh their temeritie, to draw them on ſecurely to deſtruction by ſuch a ſeeming feare.

Folio 18.

* *Polydor. Virg.*

(85) The river of *Some*, betweene *Alboeville* and the Sea, at a low water hath a paſſable and gravelly foord, knowne by the name of *Blanch Taque*; this was diſcovered to him by one *Gobin* a priſoner. But the *French* King (beſt acquainted in his owne Country) to empeach this paſſage, had before ſent thither a *Norman* Baron of ſpeciall note, one *Godmar du foy*, and a thouſand horſe, with at leaſt 6000. foote; but *Edward* (whom as obſtacles made impetuous, ſo nothing could diſmay,) enters himſelfe into the Foord, * crying, *He that loves me, let him follow mee*, as one that reſolved either to paſſe, or die. Who can tell the efficacy of ſuch a *Generals* ſpirit, but they, who have had the happineſſe to follow under the conduct? This paſſage wanne, and *Du Foy* defeated in a manner, before he was almoſt fought with, (the incomparable courage of his enemies appalling him,) hee brought to king *Philip* fewer by a paire of thouſands, then he carried forth, beſides terrour, and an evill ſigne of that which followed. The Engliſh, who knew not what it meant to runne away, but were before reſolved to liveand dy with ſuch a Soveraigne, had reaſon now much more to reſolve the ſame.

* *Servet.*

The great battell of *Creſcie.*

(86) King *Edward* was neere to *Creſcie* in the County *Ponthieu*, lying betweene the rivers of *Some* and *Authy* (which unqueſtionably belonged unto him in right of his Mother,) there moſt vigilantly provides hee for his defence. King *Philip*, ſet on fire with this diſaſter, precipitates to battell for accompliſhment of Gods anger againſt *France*; being the rather drawne, by the unruly vanitie of his huge multitudes, (for by what other words doe * an hundred or ſixe-ſcore thouſand men deſerve to be called?) who never left over-taking one the other, till the view of the *Engliſh* banners and battels put them to ſtand. We proteſſe that the nature of our undertakings will not brooke deſcriptions at large; you ſhall have it as we may, that is, as remembring, that innumerable great atchievements reſt behind, ſomewhat impatiently attending their relation.

* *Servet ſaith but 60000.*

(87) Therfore, the holy name of God firſt rightly invocated, King *Edward*, without ſhewing the leaſt ſigne of perturbation, but full of an Heroicke aſſuredneſſe, had ordered his people in three battles, with their wings and ſuccours. The *Vaward* diſpoſed into the forme of an Hearſe, where the Archers ſtood in Front, and the men of Armes in the bottome was under the young Lyon of *Wales*, Prince *Edward*, and with him many of the prime and higeſt Captaines: *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, Godfrey of Harecourt, The Lords, Stafford, Laware, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, &c.* In the ſecond Battle were, the Earles of *Northampton, and Arundell; the Lords, Roſſe, Willoughby, Baſſet, Saint Albine, Multon, &c.* The third and laſt battle was commanded in chiefe by King *Edward* himſelfe, with the reſidue of his Nobles and people. In every one of theſe battels, beſide the wings, were a juſt proportion of men at Armes and Archers, but nothing ſo thin and few as ſome of our * Writers alledge, who mention not above 9000. all together, who were at leaſt thrice as many in their whole numbers, and not without neede.

The Engliſh put into battle.

Froiſſard.

Hiſtor. Grafton.

* *Grafton.*

(88) King *Edward* cloſed his battles at their back, (as if hee meant to barricado them from flying,) by felling and plaſhing of Trees, placing his carriages there, and other impedimens whatſoever, having commanded * all men to put from them their Horſes, which were left among the carriages. Thus all waies of faſetie by flight being prevented, the neceſſitie did undoubtedly double their courages. Thus placed to the beſt advantage, King *Edward* viſiteth the rankes in perſon, riding upon a pleaſant * Hobby, (having onely a white rod in his hand, as if he would chaſtiſe fortune,) betweene the two Marſhals of his Field; whoſe very preſence, with a few ſeaſonable and un-forced words on behalfe of God and his right, in ſtead of long Orations, did inſpire the fainteſt hearts among them with freſheſt vigour and alacrity.

Not an Engliſhman on horſebacke in this battle.

* *Grafton.*

* *Froiſſard.*

(89) Our writers deſcribe not unto us the quality or face of the ground of *Creſcy* where this battle was determined (though very much doth depend upon choice of place,) neither the exact figures, or ſeverall numbers of every ſeverall battle, their diſtances, wings, or other warlike formes, nor finally what *Palliſado*, Trench, or other deviſe was in this or that quarter uſed, to keepe off and breake the furious charge of men of Armes, before they came at the Archers, principall worke-men at this bloudy journey. But thus lamely are things commended to Poſterity, where the Actors themſelves take no care to ſee the particulars orderly and according to the truth delineated; but either are unlearned, or give themſelves to the bodily fruition of their paſſed travels, rather then to exerciſe their minds in profiting themſelves and others by ſuch relations as are made with life and art. This wee finde, that the place of the Engliſhmens battles was the Towne of *Creſcy*, and Foreſt, and therefore apt with ſmall labour to be made inacceſſible, or at leaſtwiſe difficult for horſe to enter upon; that alſo the Engliſh Battles were marſhalled to the moſt advantage for giving ſuccour one unto the other; and that there were * Shields, or Paviſes, to ſhelter our Archers from the Genowaies ſhot.

The culpable ignorance and negligence of Generalls.

* *Paliſad. Virg. lib.* 19.

(90) By this time King *Philip* (whoſe countenance is * ſaid to have changed thereat,) was in ſight of the Engliſh. He had with him the two Kings of *Boheme* and *Majorca*, and almoſt innumerable other great Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of inferiour marke bearing Armes; nor thoſe onely French, but very many of them Almains and Dutch, leſt you ſhould ſuppoſe, hee had drawne away *Lewis*

* *Grafton.*

the Emperour from the friendship of King *Edward*, to little purpose. The * night before the battle, there alighted in the *French hoast*, with intention to lop off one branch of Laurell from the Tree of victorie (though it fell out to be *Cypresse* and *Taxus*) *Amie* Earle of *Savoy*, with a thousand men of Armes; so that all things seemed to concurre and nourish fury for a sodaine ruine. Wee neede not describe the order of the *French*, where disorder was a principall Actor: The * King of *Bohem*, and *Charles* Earle of *Alanson*, King *Philips* brother-German, had charge of the point, or vantgard, King *Philip* himselfe was in the maine battle, and the Earle of *Savoy* had chiefe command in the Rere.

(92) That is almost ridiculous, which * one writes of the etymologie of the *Oriflame* (as he cals it) advaunced at this battle, as a signe of taking none to mercy, no more (as he saith) then *Olle* doth use to extinguish fire; when indeed it was an hallowed * Banner of red-silke, whereof the *French* had a wonderfull high conceit, as of that which was sent from heaven, and called *Oreflame* or *Auriflames*. King *Edward* on the contrary side, is reported for signe of like rigour, to have erected there his unconquered Standard of the *Dragon-Gules*. *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, the most valiant old King of *Bohemia*, being either blind or very badly sighted, hearing in what goodly order the *English* (like sober *Spartan* Souldiers) attended the charge, said plainely (contrary to their over-weening judgements who had given out of their flight,) *Here will the English end their daies, or conquer.* And even as the first wounds were ready in a manner to be given and taken, behold, God, to let them know he was awake, and that there was one above to whom so many thousands should within a few minutes appeare, to give an account of their whole lives till that present; he caused the blacke cloudes to powre downe upon them store of funerall teares, enarching the ayre with a spatious * Raine-bow; and discharging sundry tire and peales of Thunder: the Sunne also at the same time drawing neere to set, would gladly have hid his face, by thrusting it under a partill * Eclypse; but God (who meant good to the *English*) would not suffer him to withdraw his more necessary office, so that freed from that temporary shadow, he shone directly into the Frenchmens eyes. At the same time also * sholes and cloudes of balefull Ravens, and other birdes of prey and ravin, as foreshewing the harvest of carcases at hand, came flying over the French hoast.

(93) The signe of battle being given by King *Philip*, and entertained with shoutes and clamors, all things shewing the horror of war, Drums and Trumpets sounding to a charge, Banners flying in the winde, and every where shining weapons, menacing brave extremitie, reason her-selfe acknowledged it onely safe to leave them to their brute faculties, passion, and furie, and the event it selfe to God. The French calamities began at their *Genowayes*, who under * *Carolo Grimaldi*, and *Antonio Doria* their Coronels, being all of them Crosse-bowmen, were to open a way for the French horse with their shot. This was the succeſſe of their ſervice: Their Crosse-bow ſtrings wet with the late raine, their bodies weary with a long march, their rankes (after the *English* had intercepted upon * Targets their first volue,) filled with innumerable gaps, occaſioned by the fall of their fellowes ſlaine, or overthrowne with horse-drawne arrowes, were laſtly moſt outragiouſly ſcattered by *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, at whoſe commandement (derived from King * *Philip* himſelfe) his Horſe gave in among them, to drive them by plaine murther from the honour of having the point, upon onely pretence that they hindered their race. This hot young Count (contrary to good diſcipline,) had alſo otherwiſe unjuſtly diſcontented and diſgraced them, even when they were ready to joyne in battle, whoſe bodies (being as moſt write about twelve thouſand) by bearing the firſt brunt might have beene of great uſe, if in nothing elſe, but in ſerving as Butts and Quivers, to take into them the chiefe firſt ſtormes of the Engliſh Arrowes. Whereas now they themſelves were not onely thus moſt miſerably troden under foot, and put to the ſword, but many of the *French* Gallants by that occaſion mingled among them, were overthrowne by the Engliſh Arrowes, who equally purſued the deſtruction both of French and Genowayes, ſhooting thickeſt where the tumult and confuſion were greateſt. Some * raſcals alſo following the Engliſh Armie, as they ſaw opportunity, ſtept in among them, and holpe to cut throates, ſparing neither Lord nor lozell.

(94) The French men of Armes halfe out of breath with head-long haſte, and terribly diſordered with the perpetuall ſtormes of ſinging arrowes, were now at hand-ſtrokes with the Princes battle; neither was it long, but that the ſhining Battle-axes, ſwords, lances, and other weapons of our Nation had loſt their ſplendor, being covered with humane gore; which having thirſtily dranke out of enemies wounds, they let fall in bloudy teares. The fight was ſharpe and fierce: but to what purpoſe ſerves writing, if the high reſolution of the King of *Bohemia* ſhould be unremembred? he (as onely ſeeking an honourable grave for his old age) put himſelfe into the firſt ranke of his owne horſemen, and with full randome charging the Engliſh, was ſlaine with Sword in hand, the troupe of his faithfull followers with their ſlaughtered bodies covering him even in death. There lay this Trophea of the Engliſh Chevalrie, by whoſe fall (evidently ſeene in the ruine of the Bohemian Standard,) his noble ſonne, the Lord *Charles of Boheme* (lately elected Emperour, whilſt King *Lewis* was as * yet alive) was wiſely warned to provide for himſelfe, the matter appearing deſperate. For now was *Philip* himſelfe in perſon, with the full power of his Armie, come to the reſcues of his brother and friends, who were hard at worke (while they had breath) about their dreamed victory, but finding the metall infinitely more tough which they had to deale upon, then they could poſſibly have ſuppoſed, were beaten to the earth in great numbers. The young Prince nevertheleſſe was not without danger, though now the ſecond battell of the *Engliſh*, for preſervation of their Prince, daſhing in among the enemies, fought moſt couragiouſly.

(95) Therefore King *Edward* himſelfe was ſent unto, whoſe battle hovered like a tempeſt in a cloud, over which, upon the hillocke of a Wind-mill, with his Helmet on, (which never came off till all was done) he judiciouſly watched, beholding the whole field, and ready to enter into the conflict when juſt neceſſitie ſhould invite. You ſhall heare a moſt noble anſwere: The meſſenger diſpatched from the Earle of *Northampton* and others * upon a tender reſpect to their young Princes ſafety, having declared to the King, that the Lords required his preſence, for that his ſonne was in danger, * he bad him returne and ſay; *Let them ſend no more to me for any adventure that may befall, while my ſonne is alive; but let him either vanquiſh or die, becauſe the honour of this brave day ſhall be his, if GOD ſuffer him to ſurvive.*

(96) The Meſſenger returned, and though hee brought not Men to their ſuccours, hee brought ſuch acceſſion of courage and ſpirite, as hee that ſhould ſay that King *Edward* fayled them at their neede, ſhould neyther underſtand what belongs to magnanimitie, nor the effect of ſuch a checke from ſo excellent a Generall: who neverthleſſe, was maturely watchfull over the good of his Childe and people: On the other ſide King *Philip* (whoſe quarrell it was) did not forſake the ductie of a noble *Chiefe*: but ſo long contended in his owne perſon, till his horſe was * ſlaine under him with arrowes, himſelfe * twice diſmounted, and wounded both in the necke and thigh: but then the Lord *Iohn of Henault*, Earle of

*Sorres.

*Holliſhe. *Sorres.

The Auriflamb of France, and Dragon of England.

* Sir Thu. dela Moore apud Iean Sleid. * Gegulin. Elements of Armories.

*Sorres.

*Holliſhe. Froiſſard.

*Walſingham.

* Sir William.

The Genowayes defeated.

*Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

The Earle of Alanſons furious temerity. *Sorres.

The firſt confuſion of the enemy.

*Graſton.

The French horſe charge the Engliſh battalion.

Batteli.

Iidiſh.

King Edward and the Prince meet.

The King of Bohemia's high reſolution and death.

The modeſt and wiſe behaviour of the Engliſh.

*Leaguet.

*Graſton.

*Froiſſe Nouth. Holiſh. The French acquaintance counted, and truely reckon. Paul. Emil. ſaith that the Engliſh ſet up French Banners, and by that ſtratagem drew them to deſtruction. *Froiſſard. * Will. Worcheſter apud Rob. de Avesb. *Speig. Nevill.

King Edward reſcueth to ayd his ſonne the Prince.

*Paul. Aemyl. in Philip. 6. Sorres. Holiſh. His moſt noble anſwere. *Paul. Aemil. in Philip. 6. Sorres. Holiſh.

The field viewed by Heralds.

*Graſton.

* King Philips perſon ſtrangely engaged, eſcapes by flight. * Sorres. Froiſſe. Nouil. Aelian Merric.

Secret faith, that King Edward came not laſt to the battell, and with him comming ſwede an end the reſt. The former words ſent to his ſon (which are alſo in Sorres) ſignifie nothing leſſe.

*Graſton.

* Will. Northb. Sorres.

* Sorres. Polydor. Virg. lib. 19.

of *Beaumont*, (who had long ſince quit King *Edwards* ſervice) ſets him againe on horſebacke, and the *French* (out of a loyall deſire to his preſervation) cried to retire him out of the fight, who rather ſeemed willing to end his dayes in ſo noble company: which voyce was as it were the up-ſhot and laſt gaſpe of that moſt cruell conflict, where none as yet were taken to mercy upon any termes.

After their King had preſerved himſelf, the whole power of the *French* gave away, and ſought to ſave it ſelfe by flight, whom the *Engliſh*, warely fighting upon the defenſive, and loath to hazard ſuch a victory, by breaking their rankes to purſue the enemy too farre in the night time, (which now was come upon them,) ſuffered them to bee holden in chaſe by their owne juſt feare, contented to make good their ground, by ſtanding ſtill upon their guard according to true diſcipline. For they ſaw not as yet the bottome of their danger, and knew that there were ſo many eſcaped, as might well ſerve to overwhelme their Army with their multitudes.

(97) King *Edward* ſeeing the coaſt for the preſent cleare of all his enemies, advanceth with his untoucht battell towards his victorious ſonne, and moſt affectionately embracing and kiſſing him, ſaid; *Faire Sonne, God ſend you good perſeverance to ſo proſperous beginnings; you have nobly acquit your ſelfe, and are well worthy to have the Governance of a Kingdome entruſted unto you for your valour.* To which the moſt chevalrous of young Princes replyed in ſilence, moſt humbly falling on his knees, before his triumphant father.

(98) Here there may bee ſome controverſie, whether the exemplary manhood of the *Engliſh*, or their ſingular piety, were more to bee commended: but who will nor infinitely preferre the latter, chiefely in Souldiers, among whom it is uſually moſt wanting? Great was the victory, great was their proweſſe, and great the glory; but they like true Chriſtian Knights and Souldiers, forbare all boaſt, referring the whole thankes and honour of their preſervation to God the true Author thereof. The night was ſo very darke, as if it had mourned for the day-times bloudſhed, therefore they made * ſtore of fires, lighted torches, and candles, carefully tending their wounded companions, and modeſtly rejoycing in their owne faire adventure.

(99) But the next morning preſented new worke; for ſuch a miſt having overſpread the earth, that they could ſcarſe ſee hard at hand, yet were * new ſwarmes of *French* abroad, who came from ſundry Cities and good Townes, as *Roan*, *Beauvois*, &c. to have joyned with King *Philip* in the deſigned ſpoile of the *Engliſh*; theſe being met-with by King *Edwards* people, were in ſundry places overthrowne and ſlaine, and multitudes of ſuch as had loſt their way in the laſt ſtight, were ſeverely put to the ſword, as the *Engliſh* chanced upon them, * where they lay lurking in hedges, buſhes, and by-wayes: The Earles of *Northampton*, * *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, * had the execution of the *French* which fled from this laſt overthrow, for the ſpace of about nine miles *Engliſh* from the ground where they encountred.

(100) There was leaſure now to take an account of the ſlaine; which upon the enemies ſide amounted, not onely in the number to very many, but in their quality to very great. For ſearch hereof King *Edward* cauſed certaine principall commanders, and three Heralds, (who by the Coat-Armours might judge of the perſons, it being then a thing perpetuall and ſolemne not to fight without thoſe ſignes of Nobleſſe,) to take an exact view of the field, who about ſupper-time returning, made report to the King, that they found the dead bodies of * eleven great Princes, and of Barons, Knights, and men of Armes, above * one thouſand, and five hundreth. Among the owners of ſuch bodies as were beaten to the Earth upon the firſt day, theſe are worthily reckoned chiefe: The * King of *Bohemia*, the King of * *Majorca*, * *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon*, brother-German to King *Philip*, the Duke of *Loraine*, * the Duke of *Burbon*, the * Earle of *Flanders*, the * Earle of *Savoy* (both great Princes,) * the *Dolphin* of *Viennois*, ſonne to *Humbert*, the Earle of *Sancerre*, and *Harecourt*, (whoſe brother *Godfrey* in pitty of his houſe, his two Nephewes being ſlaine with their father, forſooke the King of *England* after this battell, and returned into Grace with the *French*,) the * Earles of *Aumarl*, *Nevers*, &c. ſixe Earles of *Almaine*; beſide others of great account of all ſorts. Vpon the ſecond day, the *Grand Prior* of *France*, who with his Archbiſhop of *Roan*, had on the behalfe of their Prince and Countrey put on Armes. Of the Commons, in * both of theſe blacke dayes, there fell about thirty thouſand, and ſome fay, foure times more in this laſt, then in the other.

(101) Wee find not one man of honour, or note ſlaine upon the *Engliſh* ſide, ſo that this victory may ſafely bee accounted among the wonderfull. The * ſpoiles of the Enemies bodies and carriages, King *Edward* gave wholly to his well-deſerving ſouldiers. The rule of their ſafety (they being in a moſt populous enemy Country) would not permit them to uſe much curteſie to others, as that which might have prooved cruelty to themſelves, but upon the ſecond day they tooke many * priſoners, though none of great name, for they were ſpent in the day before. It pleaſed the Conquerour to proclaime a truce now for three dayes in the Countrey about, that the people might come in to bury their dead; but the bodies of the moſt Noble, hee himſelfe cauſed to bee conveyed to *Monſtrael*, and there (in his March towards *Calis*) enterred.

(102) Thus by Gods favour, and the unreſiſtable force of the *Engliſh* Archers, (who in a manner did * onely fight) was King *Edward* put into a full and peaceable poſſeſſion of a perfect victory; which after hee had one night onely enjoyed in the Forreſt of *Creſcy*, hee diſlodged with his conquering hoaſt, and marched ſtraight toward *Calis*, which hee * preſently inveſted, having decreed never to riſe with his Armie from before it, till without aſſault hee had carried the ſame. For which cauſe he entrenched and fortified his Campe on all ſides, built up * Sheds covered with Reed and Broome, and other places and offices as to dwell in, and ſtopping all reliefe by Sea, (whereof he was Maſter) with his Navie. There commanded in *Calis* for the *French*, Sir *Iohn de Vienne*, * *Marſhall* of *France*, and the Lord *Dandrehem*, with a very ſtrong Garriſon, who concluded, like good men of war, to trie all extremities, rather then to ſurrender the Piece, which was ſo ſtrong, that to aſſault the ſame, otherwiſe then with famine, had beene frivolous. Theſe great Captaines ſeeing King *Edwards* reſolution, thruſt forth of the Towne (for ſparing of food) their poorer people, above fifteene hundreth; whom hee, like a true Chriſtian Prince, turned not backe upon the Towne, but releeved for Gods cauſe with freſh victuals, and two pence ſterling each; permitting them freely and ſecurely to paſſe through his Campe, to his great glory, and (undoubtedly) profit alſo, having their hearty prayers for his happy ſucceſſe, and God for pay-maſter, and rewarder of ſuch his Beneficence.

(103) Many wayes were thought upon by King *Philip* to raiſe this obſtinate ſiege: two principall; an Army of *French* to fight with King *Edward*, and a diverſion by invaſion, wherein the *Scots* (their perpetuall allies) were forward. Both in their ſeverall times, were put into execution: That of the *Scotiſh* invaſion was firſt, but with ſuch ſucceſſe, as well declared it was Gods will (all people having their encreaſings, zeniths, and declinations) that the *Engliſh* name ſhould now be brought to the verticall poynt thereof without any thing being able to reſiſt it.

(104) For *David* the *ſecond* King of *Scots*, to gratifie his moſt deare friends the French, comming with

* Sir Thom. de la Moore apud Iohn Stow. Harding.
* Sorres.
* Iohn Stow
* Polyd. Virg.
* Will. Northb.
* Sorres, who alſo recions Charles Earle of Blaſe ſlaine at this battell, who was alive fundry yeares after.
* Will. Northb.

* 26 & 27 Aug. An. Dom. 1346.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Will. Northb.

* Polyd. Virg.

Calis beſieged. * Sorres ſaith 30. September. An. Dom. 1346. * Graſton.

* Sorres.

King Edwards Charity.

The French deſire to ſuccour Calis.

The Scots invade England, and are vanquished in battell.

* 23. Octobr. Fabian. Hect. Boet. l. 15.

* Tyndig. Newll.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 19. Hect. Boet. l. 11.

* Hect. Boet. King Davids taken prisoner by John Copland an Esquire.

* Hect. Boetius.

* Prestland. Philip Queene of England her Princely demeanour.

* Tyndig. Newll.

* Grafton.

* Records.

* Grafton.

* Copland a Knight Baronet. Cawdon in Lancashire.

The flow of King Edwards good fortunes.

* Tyndig. Newll.

with a very great army of threescore and two thousand into *England*, as farre as *Durham*, supposing none but Priests and Shepheards were left at home, (considering what great numbers were abroad upon service in *Picardie*, *Britaine*, and *Gascoigne*,) was (upon * Saint *Lukes* Eve) undertaken and fought withall, his whole army by faire force vanquished, and himselfe taken prisoner at a place by *Durham* called *Nevilles Crosse*. Chiefes among the English at this triumphant journey were, * the Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Gilbert Vmfreuile* Earle of *Angos*, *William* Lord *la Zouch*, with eight other Lords, *Percy*, *Mowbray*, *Neuile*, *Deincourt*, *Mauley*, *Leyburne*, *Scroope*, and *Musgrave*. Sir *Robert de Bertram* Sheriffe of *Northumberland*, and other noble Baneretes. In this battell also were many * Priests and Clergy-men of *England*, to whom necessity for defence of their Countrey, made the bloudy use of Iron and Steele warrantable: nor could the Scots be accused to have lost any thing for want of manhood, specially the King himselfe, who had two speares hanging in his body, his legge almost incurably wounded with an arrow, his sword and weapons beaten out of his hand; who disdeining captivity, invited the English by opprobrious words to kill him, and when *John Copland* (an Esquire of the North-Country, * Captaine of the Castle of *Roxborough* in *Scotland*,) advised him to yeeld, hee stroke him on the face with his Gantlet so fiercely, as that two of his great teeth were smitten out therewith: but seeing he could not force a death but must bee Prisoner, *John Copland* conveyed him away with eight of his owne servants out of this field. There lay dead upon the ground the * Earles of *Murray* and *Stratherne*, the Constable, Marshall, Chamberlaine, and Chancellour of *Scotland*, with many other Nobles. There were taken Prisoners (beside the King) the Earles of *Dowglasse*, *Fife*, *Southerland*, *Wigton*, and *Menteith*. Thus the fortune of King *Edward*, by the vertue of his valiant subjects, prevailed in every place.

(105) It could not be excused, if wee forgat the Offices of Queene *Philip* in her Husbands absence; who * being then in *England*, and great with Child of a Daughter (afterward called * *Margaret*) rode in Person about the battels of the English, encouraging them with so wife, princely and gracious words, as did not a little sharpen and assure their otherwise fervent courages: which done, shee retired her selfe to *Newcastle* upon *Tine*, there to attend the successe, which God would send. After the battell, understanding that King *David* was taken, shee by letters willed the Esquier to render up his royall Prisoner; which he refusing, she (impatient) sends over a complaint to King *Edward*: At * whose commandement, repairing to the Campe before *Calis*, he so discreetly anfwered, that he was sent backe into *England* with the reward of * 500. pounds land by the yeare, (to lye * where *Copland* himselfe should chuse, neere to his owne dwelling,) and warrant to deliver up his Prisoner to the Queene, which hee accordingly did at the City of *Yorke*, with so sober and honest an Apology, as both shee and the Lords of the Councell were satisfied. This *Copland* (who had lands of King *Edwards* gift at * *Wverston* in *Lancashire*) was also advanced, for this most valiant atchievement, to the dignity of a Knight *Banaret*, which writers corruptly call a *Baronet*, *Honour* having at that time no such kinde of creature. King *David* was lodged under sure guard in the Tower of *London*.

(106) Wonder it is to consider, with what golden linkes one good hap was annexed to another, in this full Moone as it were of King *Edwards* raigne. For within a small compasse of time, all these great atchievements fell. Sir *Thomas Dagworth* like another * *Machabee* (saith an Author) with eight hundreth men of Armes, and one hundred Archers, in *Britaine* overthrew the Lord *Charles* of *Bloys*, who having twice in one day with incredible ods in the numbers, (as of above thirty for one,) affailed that brave Knight, was beaten out of the field with marvellous losse of Nobles, and others slaine or taken. Not long after that, the same Sir *Thomas* also having onely three hundred men of Armes, and foure hundred Archers in his company, affailed the same Lord *Charles*, lying at siege of *Roch-Darien*, with twelve hundred Knights and Esquires, sixe hundred other armed men, two thousand *Steele bow-men*, and of other Infantery great store; and tooke Prisoner the said Lord *Charles* of *Bloys* (who as you have heard claimed the Dutchy of *Britaine* against *Montford*) driving his whole forces with admirable manhood and great destruction out of the field. This in *Britaine*.

(107) In *Gascoigne* the magnificent and noble *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, and now (by his Fathers late death) Earle of *Lancaster* also, pursuing his faire fortunes in *Aquitaine*, *Xantoing*, &c. drave *John* Duke of *Normandy*, eldest sonne of King *Philip*, unsought with, from the siege of *Aquillon*; though it is said, he left it, as * commanded to repaire to his father for the releefe of *Calis*; hee also tooke sundry places of speciall importance, some by render, some by assault, many profitable prisoners, and rich spoiles, and with triumph returned safe to *Burdeaux*. Not long before this, at the taking of the good Towne of *Brigerac* by assault, hee had permitted every souldier to seize any house, and convert all therein to his proper benefit. Hereupon it hapned, that a certaine * Knight or souldier called * *Reth*, had broken into a Tenement, where the moneys had for safety stowed the money of that Countrey in great long sackes, who (thinking it was not the Generals intention that such a treasure should come to a private share) acquainted the Lord *Henry* therewith: what was his answer? hee with a Kingly magnificence told him; "*That the House, and* "*all therein were his, according as hee had at first pro-* "*claimed, let them bee worth (saith hee) what they* "*would*. The party returnes, and while hee is busie in counting his new riches, behold, he finds so much more pure silver in Coyne, that hee could not but once againe acquaint his Generall therewith. What can be added to the honour of the answer which to this effect he now the second time made? "*Why tellest* "*thou me of the greatnesse of the treasure? goe, take and* "*enjoy it: For to give, and then to take it backe againe,* "*is childs play: I have once said it, and my word passed,* "*may not with my honour bee revoked, were it never so* "*much*.

(108) *John* Duke of *Normandy*, comming into *Picardy*, had two repulses and foiles, being driven from the Towne of * *Cassels*, and *Lile*, so that King *Edwards* fortune was availeable, as well to his Confederates as to his owne People: and now, to consummate his glory, the whole power of *France*, led forth by King *Philip* to preserve that eye of his Empire, *Calis*, returned without doing any thing. For when mediators could effect nothing, and *Philip* would not set up his trust upon battell, lest while hee fought to save a Towne, hee should leese a Kingdome, hee mournefully retired himselfe with losse-full haft into the bosome of *France*, leaving his desperate Captaines and people in *Calis* to the Conquerors mercy. So *Edward* had the Towne delivered unto him, when hee had almost abidden in leaguer before it one whole yeare. The piety of Queene * *Philip* toward the prisoners selected to dye, and the worthy devovement of some *Calisian* Townesmen, to that certaine perill, for satisfaction of King *Edwards* incensed minde, declaring themselves thereby to bee good, true and loyall *French-men*, are by all Authors celebrated, finding both pitty then, and honour for ever. King *Edward* having as wisely taken order for safe-keeping of this pretious peece, as hee had constantly endured to carry it, drawing over a substantiall Colony of English-men into it, set faile at last for *England*, whither with much trouble at Sea (tempests sodenly rising) he at last arrived safe: It is * observed, that hee had alwayes faire weather at his passage into *France*,

Sir Thomas Dagworth, his chalenge prosecuted in writing. Hollinsh.

* The. walsing.

The Earle of Lancasters atchievements in Gascoigne and Guien.

* Froiss.

An universall plague.

* The. walsingh.

* Rishdan mi. lett.

* Rob. Autbury. Tho. Stow. Fabian. Holinsh.

A Generall worth the seeing.

An. Dom. 1350. A Fleet of Spanish men of war vanquished by King Edward.

* Tyndig. Newll.

The Spaniards rather dye then yeild.

* Froiss.

* The. walsingh. Rob. Autbury. Holinsh.

* Froiss.

An. Dom. 1351.

* Holinsh.

Sir walter Bentley great victory.

* The. walsingh. * Holinsh. John Froi.

* Prestland.

France, and foule upon his returne.

An. Dom. 1348.

(109) Never was the English Name so great, and glorious as at this time, nor did *England* her-selfe in any fore-going age enjoy a King more renowned for wisedome, chivalry, and felicity in actions; the just brightnesse of his irradiant vertues, not onely adorning her with Garlands, conquered Spoyles, and Trophees, but seeming also (such was the abundance of all things) to infuse fertility into the earth it selfe, like some * new-shining Sunne. Meane while faire *France* (whose wofull turne it was) fate mournefully weeping, and with great anxietie of mind provided the best thee could against such a deluge of calamities. Neither yet was King *Edwards* glory at the highest, for God was inclined to make him yet more bounden and beholden. Howbeit as it is a mighty worke to ascend to such an eminencie of renowne, yet when the most of man is knowne and done, let none therefore love themselves, or admire others, for neither hath this world any thing permanent to trust upon, and to God alone belongs the honour. This was found and felt when the celestiall Majestie saw the abuse of his good gifts. It rained from Midsommer till Christmas, and so terrible a plague ranne through the world, that the earth was filled with graves, and the aire with cries: which was seconded with murren of Cattle, and dearth of all things. The plague began among the Turkes, and pierced by degrees into *France*, where it mowed downe many thousands. In *London* it had so quicke and sharpe an edge, that in one yeares space, there were buried in one * Church-yard (commonly called the Cistertian, or Charter-house) above fifty thousand. The French notwithstanding practise to recover *Calais* by bribery, but treason being not true to it selfe, King *Edward* came sodainely in person, and preserved the inestimable Iewell by policie, and princely manhoode, killing many of them who came upon that blinde adventure.

(110) This invincible King (one great Act over-taking another) hearing that certaine Spanish men of warre, who had in the yeare before cruelly * slaine fundry Englishmen, and taken away their Wines, and other wares, were come into his Seas, hee like a Martiall *Neptune* encountred them not farre from *Winchel-sea* in person, with such ships as could then be had; and after a moft bloudy fight, (for there was few or none escaped unmarkt) tooke twenty and sixe of their principall vessels, sunke others, and drave the rest away. The gallantry and spirit of the *Spaniards* was such, that disdaining to over-live the disgrace of having preserved their lives by yeelding, they * all of them to a man either dyed upon the English weapons, or were drowned in the waves. Thus was King *Edward* dignified with another Navall Crowne. In this * yeare *Philip de Valoys* having raigned about three and twenty yeares, dyed. And the yeare ensuing, King *Edward*, as formerly hee had changed the stampe of his Seale, so changed the stampe of his Coines, coining (by advise of *William de Edington* Bishop of *Winchester*, and High Treasurer of *England*) the groat, and halfe groat, whereas before there was * no silver-coine, but the sterlings onely.

An. Dom. 1347. *Calis* yeelded, 3. Augusti. *A. Reg.* 21. * *Tyndig. Newll. Holingsh.*

(111) Let us draw King *Edwards* manifold actions closer together: under his fortune and auspicie, Sir *Walter de* * *Bendeley* had in little *Britaine* (whereof hee was * Warden) a faire day of the Marshall of *France*, Putting his puissance to flight with much slaughter. Thirteene Lords, one hundreth and forty Knights, one hundreth Esquiers and store of common Souldiers were killed: nine Lords, and one hundreth, and forty Knights and Esquiers taken prisoners; which bred great astonishment among all King *Edwards* enemies. Neither had the French in other places better fortune, saving that somewhat before, Sir * *Raoul de Cahors* slew in a skirmish the thrice valiant Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, and about one hundreth men of Armes with him. *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster* and *Derby*, in honour of his princely bloud, and reward of service, was created Duke of *Lancaster*: the new Dukes first peaceable employment, was his journey, together with *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, the Bishops of *London* and *Norwich*, and *Guy de Brian*, to the Romane Court, there to see that Instrument of a finall peace, which had beene drawne and sworne unto betweene the two Kings, confirmed (as it was agreed) before the Pope; but by the Coven of the French (as our * Writers impute) and the popes Connivency, who favoured the keeping of *France* entire, all proved but vapour, and the voyage fruitlesse. King *Edward* greatly kindled herewith, determined to take deepe revenge, and (as *Walsingham* and others write) entred then presently with an Armie, and wasted *France*.

The first Duke of Lancaster.

An. Dom. 1353. Tyndig. Newll. Holingsh.

(112) The Staple of Wools which had beene in *Flanders*, King *Edward* about this time revoked, establishing the same in *Westminster*, *Canterbury*, *Chichester*, *Bristol*, *Lincolne*, and *Hull*. He did not this (as is probable) without some spleene, as well for the * death of his deare friend *Iaques Arteville*, as for that the young Earle of *Flanders* had dishonoured him, by * flying into *France* out of *Gaunt*, when hee should have married his daughter.

An. Dom. 1354. * The. walsingh. Rob. Autth. Freillard.

* Supra. 5.

(113) It had moreover beene signified to King *Edward*, that *John* the new King of *France* (his Father being dead) had given to *Charles* the Dolphin the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*: whereupon being exceedingly incensed, hee bestowed the same upon his own sonne, the Prince of *Wales*; commanding him to defend that right with his sword against his adversaries. All things being ready for his voyage, and having the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lords, * *Chandoys*, *Audley*, * *Butefort*, *Lile*, &c. A thousand men of Armes, as many Archers, with others, hee set saile towards *Aquitaine*, where he betooke himselfe to doe things worthy of his Name and courage.

* Serres.

An. Dom. 1335.

(114) On the other side King *Edward*, stirred with a false Alarum, crost over the Seas, in hope to find his enemy King *John* at *Saint Omers*, but failing thereof, hee burnt up to *Hesdin*, and came backe into *England* to recover *Berwicke*, which the Scots had gotten with * mutuall flaughter by surprise. He called a Parliament at *Westminster*, where toward the furniture of his hostile designes, hee had extraordinary Subsidy granted unto him for sixe yeeres next to come. But *Berwicke* before King *Edward* could present himselfe before it with his mighty hoast, was * burnt and dismantled, and then by the Scots abandoned. The French had sent into *Scotland* forty thousand Crownes of the Sunne, and some men of Armes to maintaine them, in enmity against the English, while as yet their King *David* the second was prisoner; but King *Edward*, not contented to have regained his owne, unlesse he made his adversaries smart for their provocations, proceeded in hostile manner against the Scots, both by land and sea. At *Roxbrough* the *Baliol* * surrendred to King *Edward* all the right and title which hee had to the Crowne of *Scotland*, or any the appurtenances, referring onely to himselfe a yearely pension of * two thousand and fifty pounds.

The Prince of Wales sailes to take possession of Aquitaine. * Sir John Wingfields letters, apud Holinsh.

Berwick surprised and regained. * Hector. Boet.

* Hector. Boet.

* The Walsingh. The Scots conveyes his Title to the Crowne of Scotland to King Edward. * Record. Ext. Patent. 25. Ian.

(115) The Prince of *Wales* as it were in emulation of his Fathers glory, doth wonders in *France*; for with his victorious Army, hee recovered multitudes of Townes and Prisoners (while the * Earle of *Gloster* with the *English*, on behalfe of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, prevailes greatly in *Normandy*, piercing like a thunderbolt through *Languedoc*, till hee came to the City of * *Narbon*, in fight of the Mid-land Sea, which City (being little lesse then *London*) hee tooke by force, as (beside many others) he had done *Carcasson*, which for bignesse, strength and beauty, excelled (saith our Author) *Yorke* in *England*. The dammage done to the French King in this voyage was exceeding great, for out of these Countries hee drew a yearely revenue of about foure hundreth thousand

An. Dom. 1356. The Prince of Wales his high atchievement in France. * Serres.

* Sir Iohn Wingfields letters, apud Rob. Autb.

sand olde Crownes. The Pope sending a Messenger from *Avignion*, with an overture to intercede for a peace, had answere, that the message must bee sent to the King his father, for he could not meddle without commandement from him. Meane-while hee disposed of things without impeachment, and returnes laden with honor and spoyles to *Burdeaux*, where the Winter being spent, he sets forth to new adventures. He had in his Army about eight thousand brave, expert, and well disciplined Souldiers, and with them advanceth through *Perigort*, and *Limosin* into the bosome of *France*, up to the very gates of *Burgesse* in *Berie*; the terror of his name flying before, to his great advantage. Thus satisfied for the present, he wheeles about with purpose to returne by *Remorantine* in *Blasois* (which hee tooke) and so through the Country of *Turain*, *Poictou*, and *Saintoin* to his chiefe City *Burdeaux*. But *John* King of *France* (hasting to goe beyond his father in misfortune) having assembled a compleate hoast, followed, and about the City of *Poictiers* overtooke the invincible Prince.

The Prince doth things more commendable then his victory.

The English victory at Poictiers, 19. Septem. 1356.

(115) When the Armies (with the ods of sixe to one against the English) were embattelled, two Cardinals sent from Pope [a] *Clement*, laboured (as they had done before) to take up the quarrell without stroke, whereunto the Prince was with reason yeelding enough, but King *John* fatally presuming on his advantage, propounded such conditions, as if in a manner the Prince of *Wales* had already beene at his command; which with just indignation were rejected. It came hereupon to a most bloudy triall, where (if ever) the Prince and English gave full experiment of their valour; for after long conflict and absolute discomfiture of all the 3. French battels, (the least of which exceeded all the Princes numbers) the King himselfe valiantly fighting, and *Philip* his [b] yongest sonne (who with such boldnesse and zeale defended his distressed father, as it purchased unto him the Honourable surname of *Hardie*) were taken prisoners.

a Vita. Clem. 6.

b Serres.

The French King taken prisoner.

(116) The English whose valiancy was most conspicuous, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenser*, *Audley*, *Berkley*, *Basset*, &c. of *Gascoigne*, subjects to the Crowne of *England*, the *Capitall de Beuf*; the Lord *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, with others of lower title, but not of unequall valour. [c] *Iames* Lord *Audley* wanne immortall renowne at this bloudy battell, where hee received many wounds, and shared the Princes gift of 500. Markes land in Fee-simple, to his foure Esquiers, who had continued with him in all the brunt and fury of danger. It is the misfortune or glory of the French Nobles, that in all great battels the losse fals heavily upon them. In this most disastrous overthrow, there fell [d] fifty and two Lords, and about seaventeene hundreth knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing coates of Armes: The chiefe Lords were *Peter of Bourbon Duke of Athens*, *high Constable of France*, *John Clermont Marshall*, *George of Charney*, *Lord great Chamberlaine*, &c. and as many other as made up the former account. [e] Sir *Reginold Camian*, who that day bare the *Oriflamb*, was likewise slaine: of the common Souldiers there died about six thousand: Great God of victories, how abundantly diddest thou in these daies blesse thine English? The list of Prisoners comprehended these great names, *John*, *King of France*, *Philip his sonne*, *afterward Duke of Burgoin*; *The Archbishop of Sens*; *Iames of Burbon*, *Earle of Ponthieu*; *John of Artois*, *Earle of Eu*; *Charles his brother*, *Earle of Longueville*; *Charles*, *Earle of Vendosme*; *The Earles of Tankervile*, *Salbruch*, *Nassaw*, *Dampmartine*, *La Roch*, and many other great Lords, and about [f] two thousand Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen bearing Armories. The English at this journey tooke an [g] hundreth Ensignes.

c Froissard.

d Serres.

e Fabian out of the French Chronicles.

f Ypodig. Neustr.

g Serres.

(117) Now albeit nothing wanted to the title of a perfect victory, yet in two poynts the incomparable Prince out-went that fame and merite; for having vanquished the person of the French Monarch by force of battell, hee much more overcame his heart with true and princely curtesie, delivering his minde in a stile and kinde of eloquence so ponderous, proper, grave, and naturall, and with that stately humility, as onely the best soule, with the best breeding could be capable of; and yet [h] hee spake not more officiously then he performed really. More then all this. The next day causing his Chapleins and the other Priests of the Armie, to celebrate divine service, hee put off from himselfe the whole glory, and gave it most devoutly to [i] God; which being first done, he, in the sight and hearing of the Prisoners, highly commends, and most heartily thankes his Souldiers, with speeches full of sincerity and life, scaling his words to every one, as his present meanes would permit, with liberall deeds and largesse.

h Paul. Æmil.

* The stalling in Edw. 3. fol. 173. 1.

i Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.

* Iemebam, in possessionem corum qui mentyroling. in Edw. 3.

(118) Then having setled all other things, hee marcheth with joy and just triumph to [k] *Burdeaux*, the Archiepiscopall See, and chiefe City of his dominions in *France*. How the newes were entertained in all places of the English Empire, is not hard to conjecture, but specially by King *Edward*, who tooke speedy order by *Simon* Archbishop of *Canterburie*, that eight dayes together should bee [l] spent in giving God the thankes and glory. But the Prince having sufficiently refreshed, and refted his people, set saile for *England* with his Prisoners, where he happily arrived in [m] *Plimmouth*, and was most joyfully welcome every where. At his comming to *London* (where at that time a magnificent Citizen, *Henry Picard*, hee, who afterward at one time so nobly feasted the 4. Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Cyprus*, was Lord Maior,) which received him with exquisite honour; the multitudes of people comming to see the victorious Prince, the French King, and his sonne the Lord *Philip*, and the rest, were such, that they could hardly get to *Westminster*, betweene three of the clocke in the morning and noone: but who will thinke the humour of the gazing vulgar worth the noting?

k Holinsh. & others.

* Iem ib.

l Polydor. Virg. lib. 19.

* Caleb. Guard. p. 16.

m 5. Mar. An. Dom. 1357. Ypodig. Neustr.

A Lord Major feasted foure Kings at once.

* The stalling, in Edw. 3.

(119) Great *Edward*, saving that hee forgat not the Majesty of a Conquerour, and of a King of *England*, omitted no kinde of Noble curtesie towards the Prisoners: King *John* and his sonne were lodged under a fure guarde at the *Savoy*, being then a goodly Pallace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; the rest in other places: *David* King of Scots was at this time straitly kept at the Castle of [n] *Odiam*, but not long after, when hee had endured about eleaven yeares imprisonment, at the incessant suit of Queene *Ioan* his wife (sister to king *Edward*,) was delivered: his [o] ransome was one hundreth thousand Markes striveling, and a condition to raze certaine Castles.

The two prisoner Kings lodged.

King Edward againe in France October. 24.

n Adam Murim.

King Dauid set at liberty after eleven yeares durance. o Fordun.

(120) About this time *Isabel* Queene *Dowager* of *England*, and mother of King *Edward*, (having first seene her sonne the most respected King of all Christendome, [p] deceased, and was interred at *London*, in the Church of the Friers-Minors there. To her birth *France* was slenderly beholding, as being about this time in most woefull and broken state, through occasion of that title which the English challenged by her, it suffering more by farre under their puissance, then [q] ever it did since the times of the *Romans*. [r] *Charles* the Dolphin, Duke of *Normandy*, who had escaped from the battell of *Poictiers*, governed during his fathers imprisonment; but by the dangerous practices of *Charles* King of *Navarre*, and bad disposition of the Parisians, toward the delivery of their Soveraigne, hee was lamentably encumbred, and beset with mischiefes, not being able to worke as yet his fathers liberty. Moreover, the English under Sir *Robert Knowles*, Sir *Iames Pype*, and *Thomalin Foulke*, and others, did commit great wasts, and heaped huge wealth by incursions, ransomes, and other warlike licence, in *Britaine*, and *Normandy*, under

o Fordun.

p Ann. 1357.

p 27. Novem.

q Guil. Tillius. r Serres. Tillius.

An. Dom. 1358. *A. Reg.* 32.

under the title of serving the *Navarrois*. To be briefe, all *France* swarmed with dissolute souldiers of sundry Nations, which having no Generall, made havocke at their pleasure. They were called people without an head, and by innumerable insolencies made the wretchednesse of *Anarchy* apparant. In *England* also swarmed another sort, no lesse burthenous to the Common-wealth and Church, which were the *foure orders of Franciscan Fryers*; whom the * *English Clergy* found to be so pernicious to the regiment of the Church, that they selected that renowned Clerke *Richard Fitz-Ralph* (who was *Chancellour*, of the Vniversitie of *Oxford*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*) to appeare in person before the Pope, and there alleage the * intollerable harmes by them accrewing to the *Laity*, the *Clergy*, and the *Vniversities*, together with their *disobedience to Gods Word*, their *avarice*, and *pride*. All which that noble Prelate learnedly performed, as appeareth by the handling of his 9. propositions against them, which are extant. In his second proposition, hee sheweth, how ordinary a matter it was with them, to allure youth, without consent of their parents, to enter their Orders; which made men withdraw their sons from the Vniversities, lest the Fryars should so steale them away; whereby (saith hee) it came to passe, that * *Whereas in his owne time there were thirty thousand Students in Oxford, soone after there were left but sixe thousand.* But how infinitely these Fryarly swarmes encreased in all lands, may appeare by that * strange offer made by the *Generall* of this one *Order*, to Pope *Pius*, *who promised to bring him (being then about a Turkish Expedition) thirty thousand cunning warriors, out of the number of Saint Francis Fryars, and yet enough should remaine at home to performe the devotions.* But the Pope had such use of those Fryars, that *Armachanus* prevailed not in the matter, * *Though he prooved the cause stoutly and manifestly against them, because (ah for pitty, saith our Author) the Clergy flucke not close as they promised, and the Fryars had great store of money to procure favour in the Court of Rome.* But here in the *English* Court, two Cardinals, (one of them, he of *Pierregost*, who had so diligently travelled for a conclusion at the battell of *Poictiers*) could not with two yeares labour, draw any thing to such an head, as the French would, for their Kings deliverance, performe; which put King *Edward* into a new resolution against *France*.

* The stalling in Edw. 3. fol. 173. 1.

* Armachan. in possessionem corum qui mentyroling. in Edw. 3.

(121) King *Edward* (holding himselfe deluded by the *French*) with a fleete of eleven hundred Saile passeth over from *Sandwich* to a new invasion. Hee arrived at *Callis*, from whence he set forward in three great battels, whereof the first, being least, was under *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, the second being greater, under the brave Prince of *Wales*, and the last which was greatest, was led by King *Edward* himselfe. They marched through [a] *Artois* to the City of *Rheims* in *Champain*, where the Kings of *France* use to be crowned and annoynted. The City of [b] *Sens* (an Archbishops See) and *Nevers* doe yeeld without resistance. The [c] Duke of *Burgundy*, for two [d] hundreth thousand florens of gold, obtained that all *Burgundy* was spared from sackage or spoile. It was told the King, that the *Normans* had landed at *Winchelsea* in the time of divine service, and among other their most impious outrages, a like execrable villany, as that which the *Gibeonites*, (sonnes of *Belial*) are recorded to have committed upon the [e] *Levites* wife, was more wickedly perpetrated by them in the Church it selfe, where the woman, being of singular beauty, was by their insatiable violations murthered; and they got backe to their Ships before the Countrey could rise upon them to take due vengeance. Hereupon [f] King *Edward* presently raised his Standard, and set forth out of *Champain*, (where not farre from the City of *Rheims* hee had [g] kept his Christmas) toward *Paris*.

a Froissard. Paul. Æmilius Polydor. Virg. Froissard.

b Serres.

c Paradine in his Annals de Burg. d Froissard. Paul. Æmilius Polydor. Virg. Froissard.

e Iudg. 19. 11. 25. and 26.

f Tho. Walsingh.

g Polydor. Virg. lib. 19. An. Dom. 1360.

h Tho. Walsingh.

(122) Hee came before it with his army divided into [h] nine Battalions, where hee honoured foure hundred Esquiers and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood. *Charles* the Dolphin, Regent of *France*, was within *Paris* with a great force, but could not by any meanes bee drawne to hazard battell. There were ample conditions in humble manner tendred to *Edward*, but hee was yet instexible and deafe against any other, then such as himselfe (like a Conquerour) propounded. *Paris* (up to whose [i] very walls King *Edward* ranne) not being seisible, he [k] retires into *Britaine* to refresh his Army, but upon his returne finding it stronger then before, hee turnes his wrath into the very bowels of *France*, exercising hostile Actions up as farre as [l] *Charters*, and *Orleans*, and as yet continued inexorable. God was displeased thereat, and to let *Edward* know so much, hee caused the Minister of his wrath, a terrible tempest, to assaile his Hoast, and [m] to kill therein many both men and horses. King *Edward* is [n] said, upon this occasion, to be so wounded with remorse, that repairing to our Lady-Church of *Charters*, hee prostrated himself to God, and sorrowing for the bloudshed and wastfull burning which hee had made, vowed to give quiet to the Christian world upon equall conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancasters* perswasions, softned him so, that finally (by mediation of the Popes [o] *Legate*, one *Simon de Langres*) a peace was concluded at *Bretagny* neere to *Charters* upon the [p] eight of May; and in November following King *John* himselfe was transported to *Calis*, and there by King *Edward* (according to the Capitulations of the Treaty) set at liberty, after hee had beene a prisoner above foure yeares.

i Polyd. Virg. k Serres, and Polyd. Virg.

l Paul. Æmil. Tho. Walsingh.

m Serres. Paul. Æmil. n Tho. Walsingh. Rad. Grit.

o Fabian.

p John Tilius.

(123) Articles of this accord, so necessary for the distressed Estate of *France* were these. 1. *That (to the intent these conditions which the French condescended unto, should be more forceable, and not seeme to be extorted by advantage, ods, or iniquity of the times) the two Edwards, Father and Sonne, should for ever release to King John, and to his heires, all the right and claime which they had to the* [q] *Crowne of France,* [r] *to the Dutchy and Estates of Normandy, Anjou, Turain, and Main, as also to the homages of Britaine, Armoricke, and the Earledome of Flanders.* 2. *That King John and his Sonne, for them and their heires, should by a day certaine restore, and release to King Edward and his heires, &c. the whole Country of Aquitaine, enlarged with the bordering and spacious Countries of Saintoin, Poyctou, Pierregost, Limosin, Quercy, Angolesin, Rovergne, &c with all the Cities, Castles, and appurtenances, to bee holden free, without any dependency but of God.* 3. *That the* [s] *County of Ponthieu* (the proper inheritance of *Isabel* late Queene *Dowager of England* Mother of King *Edward*) *the Townes, Countries, and Lordships of Callis, Guines, Mountril, Haim, Wale, Oye, Merck, S. Valary, &c. and all the Ilands which either the English then held, or which lay before any of the Premisses, with onely certaine limitations concerning private mens interest, should remaine in like freedome as the rest of the premisses to the Crowne of England.* 4. *That King John should pay for his ransome* (part thereof to bee in hand, and part upon dayes) *the sum of* [t] *thirty hundreth thousand scutes of Gold, every two of which should bee* [u] *sixe shillings and eight pence sterling. And that for assurance there should bee assigned a certaine number of Hostages (by King Edward named) to remaine in England.* 5. *That the French should not ayde, nor assist the Scots against the English, nor they the Flemings against the French.* 6. *That it should bee lawfull for either King notwithstanding to ayde the Titlers for the Dutchy of Britaine at their pleasures.* There were sundry other Articles, as in cases of so transcendent quality must needs happen, but as these were principall, so the moth of them might have beene well left out here, unlesse they had more exactly beene observed by the French. Yet were they ratified with hands, seales, and Oathes at [x] *Calis*, where the two Kings, in stead of kissing the Pax at Masse (either having for honours-sake refused to take it first) [y] saluted each the other with a

q Paul. Æmil. in Iohan. r Serres. Fabian. Hall. Iffe. Paul. Æmil.

Articles of peace.

s Tho. Walsingh.

t The huge ransome of John King of France. u Paul. Æmil. Polydor. Virg. Froissard. Tho. Walsingh. Fabian. The City of Paris gave toward this ransome one hundreth thousand royals. Edw. Grimston his English Serres.

x October. 24. 1360.

y Fabian part. 7. Cronon.

most brotherly embracement and loving kisse.

(124) The Hostages were absolutely of the greatest Princes, and Lords of *France*, * *Lewis Duke of Anjou, and Iohn Duke of Bery, sonnes to King Iohn; Philip Duke of Orleance, the Kings brother, and Philip Duke of Burgoin*: besides * nine principall Earles, twelve great Lords, and certaine * Burgesses out of every good Towne; which were all to remaine in *England*, and accordingly did remaine: and Ambassadors were sent from both the Kings, to advertise the * Pope of the whole happy conclusion.

(125) Not long after, the Prince of *Wales* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, and for the same did homage and fealty to his Father; so that he was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* and *Kent*; this last by *Ioane* his wife, daughter and heire of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*. Laden with this new honour, he, together with his dearest wife, and whole Court, sailed into *Gascoigne*, where at *Burdeaux* he remained.

(126) Now was this renowned Monarch *Edward* the Great, King of *England*, upon the day of Saint *Brice*, (the day * on which by King *Etheldreds* commandement all the *Danes* in *England* were murthered,) aged fifty yeares; at which time a Parliament (where * none were permitted to appeare by Proxy) was holden at *Westminster* upon prorogation. Therefore to make the memory of his birth day acceptable by acts of gracious goverment, as in a yeare of Iubilee, he granted his generall and speciall pardon to offenders without fine or Fee-paying for the Seale, set Prisoners at liberty, revoked such as were in banishment. Moreover, upon the grievances of his people, pestred with the doublings of Lawyers, hee commanded, that * Pleas should from thenceforth be made in English, not in French, a necessary Law, if it had beene as carefully observed, especially, if withall hee had ordered the same should not be written also in *French*, that his people might know their owne duties. It is observed that the Law of *Magna Charta* (confirmed also in this Parliament) was about a dozen severall times confirmed by this King during the yeares of his raigne. That which * another notes by occasion of this *Iubilee*, we would not omit; for the famous custome of our Kings, who upon *Maunday Thursday* in imitation of Christ, wash, feede and cloath as many poore, as themselves are yeares old, is referred to this celebration which King *Edward* made of his fiftieth yeare, in regard of the number fed, which number he cals the *Iubilee* of their ages: but as hee imparted Grace to his people, so hee also tooke order to replenish his purse. That seldome or never the poore Commons have any thing which they pay not for.

(127) The estate of our great *Edward* thus flourishing, hither (upon sundry occasions) *Iohn* King of *France*, *David* King of *Scots*, who had lately both of them beene Prisoners in *England*, and *Guy* of *Lusignan*, King of *Cyprus* came in person. The French Kings affaire was, the more commodiously to transact for the remaine of his ransome, the discharge of his pledges, and other things. *Guy* of *Lusignan* King of *Cyprus* (by that right which as you have * heard before, his Ancestor had by donation and investiture from *Richard* the first, King of *England*) negotiated his own relicfe, under the just Title of the common cause of Christianity, so fearefully by the prevailing Turkes empaired in the Easterne world, and not long after departed hence. *Iohn* King of *France* * had promised to Pope *Vrban* (at *Avinion*) his personall ayde in the holy warre, but was prevented by death, which * seized upon him here in *England* at the *Savoy*. From, whence by the piety of *Charles* his sonne, then King of *France*, his body was in most royall manner conveyed to *Dover*, at the King of *Englands* voluntary charge, and enrombed among his fore-fathers at S. *Denys* with all funerall majesty, nor farre off from the Soveraigne City *Paris*, seat of the *French Monarchs*, as the other their place of Sepulture. Likewise *Ione* Queene of *Scots*, comming into *England* (with her husband belike) * deceased here.

(128) That King *Edwards* fortune was not onely availeable to himselfe, or to his Lieutenants, but also to his friends and favourites, appeared in the great quarrell about the title of *Britaine Armoricke*, which about this time was determined by the death of the Lord *Charles* Earle of *Bloys*, head of the one faction, (but willing to have ended it by word, not by the sword, if hee could have prevailed with his wife) who was slaine in an encounter made against the Lord *Iohn de Montford*, head of the other side, where the * Lord *William Latimer*, * Sir *Iohn Chandoys*, Sir *Hugh Calverly*, with other of the *English*, which stucke to *Montford*, wanne much honour. This field was fought at *Aurey* not farre from *Vannes* in low *Britaine*. After * which (having performed certaine estates to the widow of the Lord *Charles*, a man of singular sanctimony and integrity of life) hee did homage to *Charles* King of *France*, and was accepted Duke of *Britaine*, with consent of the King of *England*, his speciall raiser and protectour. The * losse was great upon the enemies side; for there were slaine besides the said *Earle of Bloys*, (*Montfords* competitor) the Lord *Iohn* his brother, and sixe Lords with many other of speciall note; * *Walsingham* saith about a thousand men of Armes and Esquiers: and there were taken *Iohn* and *Guy* the Earles sonnes, and nine other Lords, and of those whose fame for chevalry countervailed halfe the rest; Sir *Bertram de Glequin Marshall of France*, under the banner of Sir *Iohn Chandoys*.

(129) In the * meane space, from what part of the World did not the *English* bring testimonies of their valour: for such as had warred under the *Cypriot* King against the Turkes, and taken a part of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, returned with much riches in cloths of gold, velvets, and pretious stone. About these times and long after also, Sir *Iohn Haucut* (or *Hawkwood*) that valiant man of Armes, made his owne name, and his Countrimens the English, very honourable by martiall vertue in sundry parts of *Italy*. And as their valour was one way seene beyond the Alpes, so there fell out occasions not long after, which made it knowne another way, beyond the mountaines *Pyrenen*.

(130) The family of the Lord *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, who lived in *Burdeaux*, was now with great honour encreased: for his dearely loved wife, who the last yeare bare unto him *Edward* his first borne, (which lived but feaven yeares after) bare unto him a second sonne, for whom *Richard* King of *Navarre*, and * *Iames* King of *Majorca* undertooke, as Godfathers, giving him to name *Richard*. The companies of Soudiers, most of whose Chiefes were English by birth or obedience, having now no employment, because the warres of *Britaine* were appeased for the present, ranged desperately over *France*; but it was not long before Sir *Bertram de Glequin* (having paid his ransome) had meanes to draw the more part of that military Pestilence into another Coast: for, by the assistance of *Peter* King of *Arragon*, the banished Earles, and the power of *Glequin*, with the floting Bands, called the Companions or Adventurers; *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon* was driven out of his Kingdome, his bastard brother *Henry* chosen and crowned King of *Spaine* at *Burgos*.

(131) This *Peter* was * sonne to *Alfonse* the eleaventh King of *Castile*, and had to wife a French Lady called *Blanch*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, who was father also of *Ioan* the French Kings wife. His tyrannicall cruelties, by the Spanish Stories, are reported so foule, and so many, that they * scarce suffer *Nero* or *Caligula* to goe before him; though hee were otherwise a Prince, who had such parts of mind (saith *Rodericus*) as doe set forth and adorne the Owner, but cannot make him happy. His naturall bloud-thirstinesse was encreased and precipitated, some say, by the magicall practises of *Maria de Padilla* his concubine, who (calumniously * charging the Queene with that which her selfe acted,) by meanes of a Iew so enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peters*, which Queene *Blanch* had given him, that the next time he ware it, the same * appeared to himselfe and the beholders like a snake. This cursed disciple of * *Iannes* and *Jambres*, hated the vertuous Queene, for that she had so prevailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that no Iew was suffered to beare office, or enjoy any favours in Court, neither wanted shee much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practise *Maria de Padilla* (who * some erroneously say was a Iew) got all the King to her selfe, and so persecuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before she dyed, the Popes intercessions failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine*, who laboured to have brought her againe into deserved grace, are by him pursued as fautors of her supposed witchcrafts. Other things also whetted him to savage and Turkish Butcheries, as thirst of Gold, and somewhat which had by divellish arts beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinsfolke, Nobles, and others, he causelesly massacreth or forceth to seeke their safeguard by flight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his forefaid bastard brother was one. *Peter* notwithstanding was in the truth and right of blood King of *Spaine*, but his faid brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to be taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King, and possession of the Crowne.

(132) *Peter*, before this hapned, so soon as his wife Queene *Blanch* was dead childlesse, * married his late Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, a woman of a noble house, though not so rarely honest, as to refuse the unlawfull love of a King: who having issue by her *Alfonso* a sonne (who dyed young) and three daughters * *Constance*, *Beatrix*, and *Isabel*, made to her and them the best amends he could for what was passed. It is the fitter this truth should appeare, for that within a few yeares after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, one of the sonnes of *England*, married *Constance* the eldest sister, claiming the Crowne of *Castilla* in her right, as * the Earle of *Cambridge* had another, and for that * come (either through hatred of a wicked Tyrant, or through haft or misinformation) have in many points foully erred, and in particular, untruly leaving upon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet, who was honested by lawfull matrimony. Divers notwithstanding of * the Spanish Lords, like good subjects acknowledged their duty to *Peter* (though a most violent Prince) nor could the usurper *Henry*, but by deepely impairing the revenewes of the Crowne of *Spaine* with immoderate gifts, winne any of them. *Peter* thus driven from his kingdome, with his Wife, Children, and (if * some say true) but one servant, repaires to the Prince of *Wales* (at * *Bayon*) that is, to honour and humanitie ie selfe: who seeing it a dangerous president against all lawfull Kings, that any one should be so dethroned, and not looking into his vices but his right; signified the same to his father: who enjoynes him to aide *Don Peter*, so that now the Prince, (burning with desire of renowne) (upon truft of pay for his Armie and of other commodities by King *Peter*, when he should be re-established in his throne) is ready to passe into *Spaine*.

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous straights of *Rouncevallux* in *Navarre* by permission of the King thereof, who * yet suffered himselfe (as most men write) to be taken prisoner by the *French*, and carried into *Castile*, that he might not in person seeme to crosse the *French* Kings designes on the behalfe of the usurper *Henry*. The Prince of *Wales* had with him an Armie of about thirtie thousand men, and in his company, besides most of all the prime Captaines of the English, there were in person two Kings, *Peter* of *Castile*, whose the quarrell was, and the King of *Majorca*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, who some while after *Don Petro* his death writ himselfe King of *Castile* and *Leon*. On the other side King *Henry* for defence of his new Diadem, had assembled a very great number, aswell of French (under *Glequin* their famous Captaine) as of *Castilians* and other, both Christians and Sarazens, not fewer then foure-score, or an hundreth thousand. Vpon the Borders of *Castile* it came to a battell; where the Prince of *Wales* obtained a very great victory, killing many thousands of his enemies. *Henry* himselfe * was wounded in the groine, but escaped. There were taken the Earle of *Dene*, * *Bertram de Glequin* himselfe (who shortly after by paying a great ransome had libertie) the Marshall *Dandrehen* and many others. Neither was it lesse worth to King *Peter* then a Kingdome, for the most noble *Edward* left him not, till he had set him in *Burgos* upon his throne againe.

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The French hostages.
* This Duke of *Anjou* dishonourably fled away, after he had given his faith to bee true prisoner.
* *Paul. Æmil. Polyd. Virg. Sovrr.*
Thc. Walsing.
* *Sovrr.*
* *Froissard. Tyrel. Nouv.*
An. Dom. 1361.

King *Edwards* Christian Iubilee.
* *Ypodig. Neustr.*

* *Thom. Walsit. vide Lombard* in his Perambu.
An. Dom. 1362.

Stat. 36. Edw. 3.

* *Holinsh.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.* The first rule of the number fed by our Kings upon Maundy-Thursday.

An. Dom. 1363.
A. Reg. 36.
Three Kings visit King *Edward*.
An. Dom. 1364.
* *Hayd. Lusignan* saith *plus-tins in Iune 6. Peter* saith *Aemilius charles 5.*
* *To Richard 1.*
* *Sovrrs Iovan.* of *France. Iohn* King of *France* dyeth in *England*. This Pope *Pybar* saith *vvas Lusignan* was an English man by birth, meaning belike that hee was borne under the obedience of the King of *England*, when *Limosin* was *English*, of which country he was, saith *Platina*.

* *Matt. Rud.*
An. Dom. 1364.
The Earle of *Bloys* slaine in battell by the English hostels the Dukedome of *Britain*.

* *Belo. Sav. lib. Agrip.*
* *Gen. 7. 11.*

The causes of King *Peters* disinherition.

* *Thom. Walsin.*

* *Tho. Walsing.*
* *Sovrrs. Holinsh.*

* *Paul. Æmil. Guil. Tillius.*

* *Troves of Stra.* by *Sovrrs.*

* *Tho. Walsingh.* saith 2. Earles and 17. Lords.

King *Peters* Miltake because his wife.
* *Alfons. 2 Conthq. 870. Hisp. Aeneybal. 6.88.*
* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.* makes *Beatrix* eldeft.
* *Ed. 4. cap. 12.* Statues Constitution of Edward. John Duke of Lancaster married Constance King Peters eldeft daughter in *Ayor. Dom. 1372.*
* *Paul. Æmil. in Car. 5.*
* *Troves* in his inventory of *Troves. Troves* the French Antiquary tould mee.
* *Rodor. Sanc. Hiſtor. Patent. hiſp. 4. cap. 19. cuncta Hiſtor. Arabum. Hiſp. l. 3.*
* *Sovrrs.*
* *Paul. Æmil.*

An. Dom. 1367.

The Prince of *Wales* with an Army in Spain.
* *Paul. Æmil. Sovrrs.*

* *Tho. Walsing. in Edward 3.*
* *Paul. Æmyl. Iohan. Tilius.*

King *Peters* fallhood and death.

* *Brau. Toxapha de regibus Hisp. & conors. Tho. Walsing. in Edward 3.* and *Tyrel. Nouv.*
* *Fran. Thyr. de quadrilatero. in Edw. 3. p. 730.*

* *Tho. Walsingh. in Edw 3.*

* *Exp. Platina his Francors. c.*

* *Tho. Walsing. in Edward 3.*

The English forreigne Empire undermined by prudide of the French.

Padilla his concubine, who (calumniously * charging the Queene with that which her selfe acted,) by meanes of a Iew so enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peters*, which Queene *Blanch* had given him, that the next time he ware it, the same * appeared to himselfe and the beholders like a snake. This cursed disciple of * *Iannes* and *Jambres*, hated the vertuous Queene, for that she had so prevailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that no Iew was suffered to beare office, or enjoy any favours in Court, neither wanted shee much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practise *Maria de Padilla* (who * some erroneously say was a Iew) got all the King to her selfe, and so persecuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before she dyed, the Popes intercessions failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine*, who laboured to have brought her againe into deserved grace, are by him pursued as fautors of her supposed witchcrafts. Other things also whetted him to savage and Turkish Butcheries, as thirst of Gold, and somewhat which had by divellish arts beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinsfolke, Nobles, and others, he causelesly massacreth or forceth to seeke their safeguard by flight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his forefaid bastard brother was one. *Peter* notwithstanding was in the truth and right of blood King of *Spaine*, but his faid brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to be taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King, and possession of the Crowne.

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The French bishops.

most brotherly embracement and loving kisse.

(124) The Hostages were absolutely of the greatest Princes, and Lords of *France*, * *Lewis Duke of Anjou, and Iohn Duke of Bery, sonnes to King Iohn; Philip Duke of Orleance, the Kings brother, and Philip Duke of Burgoin*: besides * nine principall Earles, twelve great Lords, and certaine * Burgesses out of every good Towne; which were all to remaine in *England*, and accordingly did remaine: and Ambassadors were sent from both the Kings, to advertise the * Pope of the whole happy conclusion.

(125) Not long after, the Prince of *Wales* was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, and for the same did homage and fealty to his Father; so that he was Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine*, and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* and *Kent*; this last by *Ioane* his wife, daughter and heire of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*. Laden with this new honour, he, together with his dearest wife, and whole Court, failed into *Gascoigne*, where at *Burdeaux* he remained.

(126) Now was this renowned Monarch *Edward* the Great, King of *England*, upon the day of Saint *Brice*, (the day * on which by King *Ethelredes* commandement all the *Danes* in *England* were murthered,) aged fifty yeares; at which time a Parliament (where * none were permitted to appeare by Proxy) was holden at *Westminster* upon prorogation. Therefore to make the memory of his birth day acceptable by acts of gracious goverment, as in a yeare of Iubilee, he granted his generall and speciall pardon to offenders without fine or Fee-paying for the Seale, set Prisoners at liberty, revoked such as were in banishment. Moreover, upon the grievances of his people, prefred with the doublings of Lawyers, hee commanded, that * Pleas should from thenceforth be made in English, not in French, a necessary Law, if it had beene as carefully observed, especially, if withall hee had ordered the same should not be written also in *French*, that his people might know their owne duties. It is observed that the Law of *Magna Charta* (confirmed also in this Parliament) was about a dozen severall times confirmed by this King during the yeares of his raigne. That which * another notes by occasion of this *Iubilee*, we would not omit; for the famous custome of our Kings, who upon *Maunday Thursday* in imitation of Christ, wash, feede and cloath as many poore, as themselves are yeares old, is referred to this celebration which King *Edward* made of his fiftieth yeare, in regard of the number fed, which number he cals the *Iubilee* of their ages: but as hee imparted Grace to his people, so hee also tooke order to replenish his purse. That feldome or never the poore Commons have any thing which they pay not for.

King Edwards Christian Iubilee.

* Ypodig. Neustr.

* Thom. walsin. writ. Lombard in his Peramb.

* Hollinsh.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 19. The first rule of the number fed by our Kings upon Maunday-Thursday.

(127) The estate of our great *Edward* thus flourishing, hither (upon sundry occasions) *Iohn* King of *France*, *David* King of *Scots*, who had lately both of them beene Prisoners in *England*, and *Guy* of *Lusignian*, King of *Cyprus* came in person. The French Kings affaire was, the more commodiously to transact for the remaine of his ransome, the discharge of his pledges, and other things. *Guy* of *Lusignian* King of *Cyprus* (by that right which as you have * heard before, his Ancestor had by donation and investiture from *Richard* the first, King of *England*) negotiated his own relief, under the just Title of the common cause of Christianity, so fearefully by the prevailing Turkes empaired in the Easterne world, and not long after departed hence. *Iohn* King of *France* * had promised to Pope *Vrban* (at *Avinion*) his personall ayde in the holy warre, but was prevented by death, which * seized upon him here in *England* at the *Savoy*. From whence by the piety of *Charles* his sonne, then King of *France*, his body was in most royall manner convayed to *Dover*, at the King of *Englands* voluntary charge, and entombed among his fore-fathers at St. *Denys* with all funerall majesty, not farre off from the Soveraigne City *Paris*, seat of the *French Monarchs*, as the other their place of Sepulture. Likewise *Ione* Queene of *Scots*, comming into *England* (with her husband belike) * deceased here.

An. Dom. 1361.

An. Dom. 1362.

Stat. 36. Edw. 3.

* Hollinsh.

(128) That King *Edwards* fortune was not onely availeable to himselfe, or to his Lieutenants, but also to his friends and favourites, appeared in the great quarrell about the title of *Britaine Armoricke*, which about this time was determined by the death of the Lord *Charles* Earle of *Bloys*, head of the one faction, (but willing to have ended it by word, not by the sword, if hee could have prevailed with his wife) who was slaine in an encounter made against the Lord *Iohn de Montford*, head of the other side, where the * Lord *William Latimer*, * Sir *Iohn Chandoys*, Sir *Hugh Calverly*, with other of the *English*, which stucke to *Montford*, wanne much honour. This field was fought at *Aurey* not farre from *Vannes* in low *Britaine*. After * which (having performed certaine estates to the widow of the Lord *Charles*, a man of singular sanctimony and integrity of life) hee did homage to *Charles* King of *France*, and was accepted Duke of *Britaine*, with consent of the King of *England*, his speciall raiser and protectour. The * losse was great upon the enemies side; for there were slaine besides the said *Earle of Bloys*, (*Montfords* competitor) the Lord *Iohn* his brother, and sixe Lords with many other of speciall note; * *Walsingham* saith about a thousand men of Armes and Esquiers: and there were taken *Iohn* and *Guy* the Earles sonnes, and nine other Lords, and of those whose fame for chevalry countervailed halfe the rest; Sir *Bertram de Glequin Marshall of France*, under the banner of Sir *Iohn Chandoys*.

* Mass. Bust. An. Dom. 1364. The Earle of Bloys slaine in battell by the English for the Dukedome of Britaine.

* Thom. walsing. * Serres. Hollinsh.

* Froiss. Gual. Villan.

* Iornand. Stan. by Serres.

* Thom. walsingh. saith a Earles and 27. Lords.

(129) In the * meane space, from what part of the World did not the *English* bring testimonies of their valour: for such as had warred under the *Cypriot* King against the Turkes, and taken a part of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, returned with much riches in cloths of gold, velvets, and pretious stone. About these times and long after also, Sir *Iohn Haucut* (or *Hawkwood*) that valiant man of Armes, made his owne name, and his Countrimens the Englishs, very honourable by martiall vertue in sundry parts of *Italy*. And as their valour was one way seene beyond the Alpes, so there fell out occasions not long after, which made it knowne another way, beyond the mountaines *Pyrenen*.

* Froiss. Mezt. The Succesle of some English volunteers in Aegypt and Italy.

An. Dom. 1365. Rap. Plat. in Urbe. 5. Greg. 11. &c.

(130) The family of the Lord *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, who lived in *Burdeaux*, was now with great honour encreased: for his dearely loved wife, who the last yeare bare unto him *Edward* his first borne, (which lived but feaven yeares after) bare unto him a second sonne, for whom *Richard* King of *Navarre*, and * *Iames* King of *Majorca* undertooke, as Godfathers, giving him to name *Richard*. The companies of Soudiers, most of whose Chiefes were English by birth or obedience, having now no employment, because the warres of *Britaine* were appeased for the present, ranged desperately over *France*; but it was not long before Sir *Bertram de Glequin* (having paid his ransome) had meanes to draw the more part of that military Pestilence into another Coast: for, by the assistance of *Peter* King of *Arragon*, the banished Earles, and the power of *Glequin*, with the floting Bands, called the Companions or Adventurers; *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon* was driven out of his Kingdome, his bastard brother *Henry* chosen and crowned King of *Spaine* at *Burgos*.

An. Dom. 1366. Richard of Burdeaux, afterward King of England borne.

* Thom. walsing. Hollinsh.

(131) This *Peter* was * sonne to *Alfonse* the eleaventh King of *Castile*, and had to wife a French Lady called *Blanch*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, who was father also of *Ioan* the French Kings wife. His tyrannicall cruelties, by the Spanish Stories, are reported so foule, and so many, that they * scarce suffer *Nero* or *Caligula* to goe before him; though hee were otherwise a Prince, who had such parts of mind (saith *Rodericus*) as doe set forth and adorne the Owner, but cannot make him happy. His naturall bloud-thirstinesse was encreased and precipitated, some say, by the magicall practises of *Maria de Padilla*

The cruelties of King Peters disinheritor.

* Thom. walsin.

* Rod. Sanct. Hist. Hisp. cap. 4.

* Gen. 7. 11.

The originall of the English warre in Spaine.

* Froiss. Turpin. Prolocut. de Lucca.

* Reder. San. Hist. Hisp. cap. 4.

* Paul. Emil. in Carol. 5.

* Rod. San. ubi supr.

* Gen. 7. 11.

The causes of King Peters disinheritor.

* Thom. walsin.

* Thom. walsing. * Serres. Hollinsh.

* Rod. Sanct. Gual. Villan.

King Peters Miltresse becomes his wife.

* Alfons. à Carthag. Rer. Hisp. Annal. l. 18. * Rod. Pisa. lib. 19. makes Beatrix eldest. * Ioh. 1. cap. 12. scores confirm eldest. Iohn Duke of Lancaster married Constance King Peters eldest daughter in Gen. Dom. 1372. * Paul. Emil. in Car. 5. * Serres in his Inventary of France. Stories the French Ambassadors falsly traced.

* Rod. Sanct. & Alfons. Patens. loc. cit. cap. 19. Zurita. Nolius de rey. Hisp. l. 3. * Serres.

* Paul. Emil.

An. Dom. 1367.

The Prince of Wales with an Army in Spaine.

* Paul. Emil. Serres.

Padilla his concubine, who (calumniously * charging the Queene with that which her selfe acted,) by meanes of a lew so enchanted a rich Girdle of King *Peters*, which Queene *Blanch* had given him, that the next time he ware it, the fame * appeared to himselfe and the beholders like a snake. This cursed disciple of * *Iannes* and *Iambres*, hated the vertuous Queene, for that she had so prevailed with *Don Pedro* her husband, that no lew was suffered to beare office, or enjoy any favours in Court, neither wanted shee much of expelling them wholly out of *Spaine*. But by this practise *Maria de Padilla* (who * some erroneously say was a lew) got all the King to her selfe, and so perfecuted the innocent Queene, that it was not long before she dyed, the Popes intercessions failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The Nobles of *Spaine*, who laboured to have brought her againe into deserved grace, are by him pursued as fautors of her supposed witchcrafts. Other things also wherred him to savage and Turkish Butcheries, as thirst of Gold, and somewhat which had by divellish arts beene fore-told him concerning his end. His brothers, kinsfolke, Nobles, and others, he causelessly massacreth or forceth to seeke their safeguard by flight, among which the Lord *Henry*, his forefaid bastard brother was one. *Peter* notwithstanding was in the truth and right of blood King of *Spaine*, but his said brother (a Gentleman in whom nothing was to be taxed, but that which he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being worthily popular and potent, had now obtained both the Title of King, and possession of the Crowne.

(132) *Peter*, before this hapned, so soon as his wife Queene *Blanch* was dead childlesse, * married his late Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, a woman of a noble house, though not so rarely honest, as to refuse the unlawfull love of a King: who having issue by her *Alfonso* a sonne (who dyed young) and three daughters * *Constance*, *Beatrix*, and *Isabel*, made to her and them the best amends he could for what was passed. It is the fitter this truth should appeare, for that within a few yeares after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, one of the sonnes of *England*, married *Constance* the eldest sister, claiming the Crowne of *Castilla* in her right, as * the Earle of *Cambridge* had another, and for that * some (either through hatred of a wicked Tyrant, or through haft or misinformation) have in many points foully erred, and in particular, unruly leaving upon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet, who was honested by lawfull matrimony. Divers notwithstanding of * the Spanish Lords, like good subjects acknowledged their duty to *Peter* (though a most violent Prince) nor could the usurper *Henry*, but by deepely impairing the revenewes of the Crowne of *Spaine* with immoderate gifts, winne any of them. *Peter* thus driven from his kingdome, with his Wife, Children, and (if * some say true) but one servant, repaires to the Prince of *Wales* (at * *Bayon*) that is, to honour and humanitie it selfe: who seeing it a dangerous prefident against all lawfull Kings, that any one should be so dethroned, and not looking into his vices but his right; signified the same to his father: who enjoynes him to aide *Don Peter*, so that now the Prince, (burning with desire of renowne) (upon trust of pay for his Armie and of other commodities by King *Peter*, when he should be re-established in his throne) is ready to passe into *Spaine*.

* Thom. walsing. Hollinsh.

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous straights of *Rouncevallux* in *Navarre* by permission of the King thereof, who * yet suffered himselfe (as most men write) to be taken prisoner by the *French*, and carried into *Castile*, that he might not in person seeme to crosse the *French* Kings designes on the behalfe of the usurper *Henry*. The Prince of *Wales* had with him an Armie of about thirtie thousand men, and in his company, besides most of all the prime Captaines of the English, there were in person two Kings, *Peter* of *Castile*, whose the quarrell was, and the King of *Majorca*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, who some while after *Don Petro* his death writ himselfe King of *Castile* and *Leon*. On the other side King *Henry* for defence of his new Diadem, had assembled a very great number, as well of French (under *Glequin* their famous Captaine) as of *Castilians* and other, both Christians and Sarazens, not fewer then foure-score, or an hundreth thousand. Vpon the Borders of *Castile* it came to a battell; where the Prince of *Wales* obtained a very great victory, killing many thousands of his enemies. *Henry* himselfe * was wounded in the groine, but escaped. There were taken the Earle of *Dene*, * *Bertram de Glequin* himselfe (who shortly after by paying a great ransome had libertie) the Marshall *Dandrehen* and many others. Neither was it lesse worth to King *Peter* then a Kingdome, for the most noble *Edward* left him not, till he had set him in *Burgos* upon his throne againe.

* Thom. walsing. in Edward 3. * Rod. à Sancta Iohan. Tilens.

King Peters fallhood and death.

(134) But his fallhood and ingratitude were monstrous: For the Prince notwithstanding his so great goodnesse extended towards him, was enforced to returne to *Burdeaux* without money wherewith to pay his army, which was the cause of exceeding great mischiefe to him selfe, and to the English dominions beyond the Seas; as if God had beene displeased for succouring such a *Tyrant*. The Prince to pay his souldiers (who were not able to tarry King *Peters* leasure) coyned even his plate, and when all would not serve, fought to lay upon his Subjects in *Gascoigne* and thereabout, a new taxation, which bred a most dangerous revolt. God notwithstanding found out *Peter*, for it was not long but his bastard brother *Henry* returned with new forces, and by the aide of *Glequin* and the *French*, hee both thrust him againe from the Throne, and * murthered him also with his owne hand. The Prince of *Wales* himselfe was in this journey poisoned (as * was thought) for he never after had his health. Duke *Iohn* his brother is not freed * from the suspition of having hastened the Princes end, but whether it is meant of any practise at this time or no, appeares not.

* Pren. Yarratha de regibus Hisp. & comit. Thom. walsing. in Edward 3. and Ypod. Neu. * Fran. Thyn. & post stallinge. in Edw. 3. p. 770.

(135) Now began the peace betweene *England* and *France* to unsettle and untwine. For while King *Edward* rejoyced in the excellent vertues and actions of his sonnes and people; *Charles* the fifth, King of *France*, warned by so manifold calamities, as his Dominions had sustained by the English in faire warre, and yet most earnestly coveting to recover the honour of his Nation, betakes himselfe wholly to other arts and traines; never adventuring his owne person, but executing all his designes by Deputie, wherein the service of *Bertram de Glequin Constable of France* stood him most in stead: neither neglected he before hand to lay up colours wherewith to over-paint his * colusions and devices for saving his honour; insomuch that when it came to scanning, the losse was clearely upon King *Edwards* side, and the cause of the breach made at least-wise doubtfull. His practises notwithstanding were palpable, and it must be confessed that our truly noble King (without suspition of craft) repoling himselfe upon the rules of * magnanimitie, did not reape the stable effects of so great and important victories, nor of a peace so ceremoniously made, that (in the worlds opinion) it might never bee infringed without the manifest breach upon one side of all bonds both divine and humane. The Prince of *Wales* by Letters advisseth his father not to trust to any faire words, nor overtures of farther amitie made by the French, because he said they entertained practises under-hand, in every place against him. But the Prince was * judged to speake out of a restlesse humour, delighting in warre, and therefore prevailed not. The effects disclosed that his words were true.

* Thom. walsing. in Edward 3. * Rap. Platina in Innocent. 6.

* Thom. walsingh. in Edw. 3.

The English foreigne Empire undermined by practise of the French.

(136) For now King *Charles* surnamed the wise, having by quicke paiments, and by one meanes or other gotten home all the hostages which had beene empledged for performance of the Articles of peace before mentioned, sets all his wits on worke to abuse

abuse the King of *England's* credulitie, till he had gotten before-hand as farre as dissimulations could advance: He courts the good old Prince with loving letters and presents, while in the meane time his plots ripen abroad, and the County of *Ponthieu* (the King of *England's* undeniable inheritance) was first surprised before King *Edward* heard thereof. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* had at a Parliament in *Gascoigne* propounded a demand for fowage, or of money to be levied by the Chimney, the Earles of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords the Princes subjects, bearing no found affections toward the English Empire (the lesse for that by the policy of *Glequin*, and the Chancellor of *France* * *Dourmauns*, all or most of the Countries and Townes (which by vertue of the peace made at *Bretigney*) were annexed thereunto, were cunningly wrought to returne to their old Lords) repaire to the *French* Court at *Paris*, there to pursue an appeale for redresse of this oppression against the Prince (who was not so happy as to follow the counsell of Sir *Robert Knols*, and other wisest Captaines, who disswaded this imposition,) pretending that hee was to answer before King *Charles* as before his superiour Lord, of whom (they said) he held by homage and fealtie. This practise of the disloyall Lords (for what could they be else? seeing King *Edward* and his heires were absolutely freed (by vertue of the said Treaty) from all manner of service for any of their Dominions in *France*) King *Charles* did openly at last entertaine, and upon hope to recover by surprise, and plot, what the English had wonne by dint of sword and perfect manhood) proceeded to summon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, there to answer such accusations as his subjects made against him.

* Inventory of *France* in *Charles* the 5. *Serres.*

(137) To encrease the indignity of these devices, you should heare the French Kings Orators before the Pope and Emperour, to whom King *Edward* had severally sent Ambassadors, full of complaints against King *Charles*, laying wholly upon the French the blame of the new warre, as upon open breakers of faith, and violaters of the league, most confidently on the contrary part charge the English.

Paul. Æmyl. in char. 5.

"We had suffered the French hostages to visit "their friends at home upon the French Kings word, "that they should come backe by a day, contrary to "which word, they, nor any of them, either were, or "are returned. That not so much as the Law of Na- "tions was kept with us, which tyes Princes to de- "mand restitution by their Officers of Armes, or "upon denial to defie them, but where (say we) are "the * Heralds which King *Charles* did send? We "say, that without notice hee surprised by stealth "the Earledome of *Ponthieu*, King *Edwards* unque- "stionable right, and hath disseised us in *Aquitaine*, "which doth no lesse belong unto us then *Ponthieu*. "That * *Margaret* the Inheritrice of *Flanders*, which "had beene promised to the Lord *Edmund*, one of "our Kings Sonnes, was by their injurious practise "wonne away, and bestowed in marriage upon *Phi-* "*lip* Duke of *Burgundy*. Finally, we say, that *Lewis* "Duke of *Anjou*, one of the pledges, making an "escape by that, contrary to honour, and the league, "was by them received, and not returned, which "points being all of transcendent qualitie, are (say "we) directly contrary to the Treatie and sworne "agreement at *Bretigny*.

Serres rashly affirmes the did.

Polydor. Virg. in Edw. 3.

The French hereunto answer, and charge upon us, to shew the fault of first breach, not theirs, but ours.

The points charged upon the English.

"That we by vertue of the said Treaty were bound "immediately to withdraw our Army out of *France*, "which yet (they said) we did not during all the raign "of *John* their King.

"That the peace was made thereby more noyous, "and hurtfull then the warre, and that they were "faine to purchase the departure of our Souldiers "with a greater charge then would have maintained "a very gallant Armie: That this breach was ours, "because the Souldiers were ours. That King *Ed-* "*ward* was bound in an open assembly of the States "of both Realmes, to renounce his right in the "Crowne of *France:* when (say they) was this done?

In Charles 5. Serres.

Thus they, and *Serres* addes that the Estates of those Countries which had beene assigned by the Treatie to the English, affevered, that it was against the fundamentall lawes of *France* to alien any part, and that they neither could, nor would cease to be members of that Crowne.

(138) So ye behold that the fortune of the great is never to want friends to speake for them, nor occasions to slip out or in, whensoever profit and advantage doe invite. Memorable (if true) is that part of the *Frenchmens* defence, in that polite and learned Italian, *P. Aemylius*, where it being objected with what honour and clemency King *John* was used by us, they breake out and affirme, that wee (being their Beneficiaries or Free-holders for such Countries as we held in *France*) tooke more gold for the onely ransome of King *John*, then they payed to redeeme *S. Lewis* their King, and his brother, the Peeres, and whole French Army captivated in the Christian warres by the barbarous Souldan. But (good *Aemylius*) say that were so, yet cannot you say, that the summe wee tooke was worth the least Countrey in *France*, and when all *France* was ours, was it not great bountie to take so small a pittance? If you reply that we had many Countries besides, wee rejoyne and truely say, that we quit more then we acquired. But let us proceed: for now all claimes and quarrels were as open, as if no obstacle had ever beene interposed: the ignominie of their late terrible foyles wounded all true French hearts, and they desire (King *Edward* growne aged) not to seeme by sitting still upon so many thornes of disgrace, and losse, to have been out-warred, though over-warred, and though in two or three battels inferiour, yet not to have beene clearely debellated.

Paul. Æmyl. in Edward 3.

The dealings of the English defended against Paul. Æmylius.

(139) What doth our King *Edward* now? Hee * cals a Parliament, declares the breach, prayes aide, obtaines it, and claimes the Crowne of *France* afresh. *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, are sent over to *Calis* with a great force, to invade *France*. No great matter as then ensued. * *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* comming over in hope to have worke for his Curtelax, for the *French* affronted our Armie under the conduct of Duke *Philip de Hardy* (though at this time scarce shewing himselfe worthy that surname) but rose upon the Earles arrivall, and retyred, accused the Lords for sloath, and sware he would abroad among them to find fighting, while *English* bread was as yet undigested in his Souldiers stomackes. Somewhat he did, but death by a pestilentiall dart prevented the rest. This Earle had with him a learned man (as *Scipio* had *Polybius*) to register the acts which he saw done: A worthy example ill followed by posteritie. The * Duke of *Lancaster* pierced up with his army so farre as *Roan*. The same *Polydor* wondering why they of *Ponthieu* having for an hundreth and twelve yeares (that is, ever since King *Edward* the first had it given to him with his wife) beene ours, should revolt, onely daring the greatnesse of the English, can finde no other reason for their doings, but this pleasant one, that as dispersed catrell gather to their owne heard, so Frenchmen flocke to the French, and English follow English.

Polydor. Virg. lib. 19. Holinshed in Edward 3.

An. Dom. 1369. John Duke of Lancaster sent to invade France. * *Paul. Æmyl.* in Edward 3. Froissard. * Tyrrel's Hist.

(140) Stirring Princes cannot containe themselves within their owne quietly possessed rights: Otherwise, who sees not how much better it is for the people, that their Princes should manage well that which they have, rather then grasp at more? For King *Edward* (notwithstanding his continuall manifold victories) comes backe to the Subject (who yet had gained hugely by the warres, and therefore might the better doe it) for supportation: and they yeeld it, but his age was abused, for the money was not expended as the pretences were made, Private

Serres (an Author) distrusted.

An. Dom. 1370. Sir Robert Knols sent Generall into the parts about Britaine.

turnes were served with publike loanes. Nevertheless, * after Midsommer day, that renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knols*, whom martiall vertue had raised from the lowest ranke to the highest reputation (though some also affirme him * borne noble) was sent by King *Edward* into *France* with an Army, where (while obedience lasted to his direction) all things prospered. But by the instigation of one Sir *John* * *Menitherworth* the young Lords Grand sonne, and *Fitzwalter*, and other, vainely scorning to be under *Knols*; for that they held themselves his betters, and thereupon dividing themselves after they had done sundry exploits, marching up even to *Paris*, were beaten and foild by the French under *Glequins* conduct, but *Knols* winnred safe in *Britaine*. *Menisterworth* comes into *England*, and knowing accusers have the vantage, complaines to King *Edward* of *Knols:* but not altogether beleeved; he ads treason to untruth, and turning French becomes a wicked enemy to his King and Countrey, * promising the French to procure the *Castilian* Navy to invade *England*, for which being in the last yeere of King *Edwards* raigne taken, hee by due course was condemned and cut in pieces, dying the death hee had deserved. Hee was laid hold upon in the City of *Pampeline* in *Navarre*, and from thence conveighed to *London*, upon whose bridge his wicked head stood Sentinell.

Froissard.

Holinsh.

Serres.

(141) * Pope *Vrban* the fifth, comming from *Rome* to *Avinion* with purpose to unite these two mighty Kings, their wils, and mights, against the common enemy of Christendome, put off mortality at *Marsils*, and so that holy intention ceased for the present: but the same being * continued by his next successor *Gregory* the eleventh, yet tooke no effect, no more then that which the Emperour to like cause would have undergone: which the * French impute to King *Edward*, who confident by reason of his former atchievements, would try it out by the sword. Wherein hee seemed to forget the murable condition of warre, the fearnesse of his body, and the greennesse of his Grand-Child young *Richard*, who was to succeed, if the Prince of *Wales* dyed, as shortly after he did. Neither did God seeme to approove his opinion herein, for that crosses came fast upon him, both at home and abroad. There is no greater, wisdome nor happinesse then to know when we are well, and then to preserve without hazard or empairement, that honour, wealth, or quiet which we already have.

Holinsh.

Serres (an Author) distrusted.

(142) Among the States and Townes (assigned to the *English* by vertue of the treaty at *Bretigny*) which had revolted to the *French*, was the City of *Limoges* in *Limosin*, whither the Prince marcheth, and sits downe with his army before it. Thither * came unto him out of *England* his brethren the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earle of *Cambridge*, with a fresh supply of valiant Chiefes and Souldiers. The City stood it out to the uttermost, and was forceably entred, where mercy had nothing to save nor spare, the sword and fire for terror to other killing and defacing in a manner all. Hee * who writes that the Prince slew up neere to *Paris*, and scarcely, by reason of *Glequins* valour, got backe to *Burdeaux*, seemes to have mistaken therein, as in many other things concerning us of great importance. After this service, the Prince, (health failing him more and more) leaves his Brethren in *Aquitaine*, and sailes into *England*.

Polydor. Virg. lib. 19. Holinshed in Edward 3.

(143) The French in the meane time wonne Townes and places in *Aquitaine*, gathering new hopes after so long and perpetuall infelicities. The losse of that expert Captaine Sir *John Chandoys* (unfortunately slaine) was a great advantage to their desires, whose whole care for warre rested upon *Glequin*, not long before advanced for his military vertue from low estate to so great eminency, as to be Constable of *France*, the chiefest officer for warre which that Kingdome hath) and hee a man of much

proofe, in good and evill fortune, so tempered his courage with discretion, that hee onely first bad his Country rise againe, and endeavour in despite of evill fortune to re-flourish.

(144) The Prince of *Wales* (wanting health) upon comming to his fathers sight, rendred up the Durchy of *Aquitaine*, to be disposed of, as to his royall pleasure seemed good. While King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repaired to him the factious King of *Navarre*, whose errand was to make an overture of association against the *French*; but as his offers were acceptable, so his cautions not seeming sufficient, he returned (after great entertainement) without concluding.

(145) *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and his brother the Earle of *Cambridge*, doe now returne out of *Aquitaine*, with the Ladies *Constance* and *Isabel*, daughters of *Don Pedro* late King of *Spaine*, whom they married: The Duke thereupon inflaming himselfe King, and his wife Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*. Nor was the *English* name onely encreased in titulare honours; for about this time, the *Flemings* (who had provoked us) were vanquisht by the * Earle of *Hereford* at sea in a sharpe fight, * about twenty and five of their Shippes being taken, and all the men slaine. The sweet of this victory was fowred not long after with a grievous losse: for the *French* having besieged the strong City of *Rochel* in *Santoin*, with the ayde by Sea of *Henry* King of *Castile*, to relieve the *English*, *John* Earle of *Pembroke* was sent with about forty Shippes, men, victuals, munition, and money, to the value of twenty thousand markes, for the uses of the Warre; but being sodainely affailed with the *Spanish Armado*, which consisted of many great Ships, under the command of *Ambrose Buccanigra* and others, the English after a long and cruell conflict were utterly distressed, the Earle taken prisoner, and almost all the rest either taken, or put to the sword. * *Rochel* held out notwithstanding, to whose relieve while King *Edward* himselfe in person, with an extraordinary force set saile, the wind (always till that time favourable to his voyages for *France*) came Easterly, and drave him backe into *England* with great griefe, and the waste (they write) of * nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. Neither did hee so give over the care of that strong Peece, which the English most manfully made good against the enemy.

An. Dom. 1372.

The Flemish Navy distressed by the English. * *Holinsh.* * *Tyrrel. Hist.*

Rochel besieged by the French.

The English Navy distressed by the *Castilians*. * *Polydor. Virg. lib. 19.* King *Edward* at Sea to relieve *Rochel*, in blowne backe.

* *Tho. Walsingh.*

(146) * *Rochel* thus persisting in loyall resolution, *John* Duke of *Britaine*, (who had married the Lady *Mary* Daughter of King *Edward*) a Gentleman of much gratitude toward the English, the Authors of his fortunes; resolves to adventure his state in their quarrell; ships away for *England:* hath ayde ministred unto him: hee returnes, and warres with various event. But *John* Duke of *Lancaster* with a very great Army comes to *Calis*, and from thence marcheth over the whole face of *France*, and (though with losse of many thousand * Horse in the desert Countries of *Auvergn* through famine) came safe, but with an almost-hunger-starved Army to *Burdeaux*. Not long after he drew into the field, and a day was appointed betweene him and the Duke of *Anjou*, the French Kings brother, to have tryed the quarrell of their Nations by set battle, before the City of *Tholouz* in *Languedoc*, but by an untimely and a pernitious short truce (to which King *Edward* yeelded, because his son the Prince lay dangerously sicke) the hoped victory not onely slipt out of the Englishmens hands, but almost all advantage also of doing any thing else seasonably. The French boasted * themselves as of a Conquest, who notwithstanding did helpe out their valiancy with policy. *Glequin* makes his use of all occasions, and workes much harme to the English party in *Guien* and *Britaine:* But in *Britaine* * Sir *Robert Knols* did so nobly acquit himselfe on the behalfe of his Soveraignes sonne in law the Duke, that he onely seemed a fit parallell to *Glequin*, like as hee stopt the current of his fortune.

An. Dom. 1373. The Scots continue in English. * *Polyd. Virg. lib. 19.*

* *Thom. Walsin.*

* *Tho. Walsingh. lib. 19.*

* *Iohn Villan. Ch. 8.*

Never-

Nevertheleſſe the doings of *Glequin* are ſo extolled by the French, that *Tillius* enters them into his Chronology with theſe words, *victoria, &c. The victories, fortunes, and triumphes of Bertram Glequin in Aquitaine and Britaine,* though their owne ſelves make no mention of any defeate of the Engliſh, which afforded them matter for the ſhadow of ſuch gloriations.

An. Dom. 1374.

(147) The next yeere the Duke of *Lancaſter* returned into *England*, after whoſe departure all *Aquitaine* almoſt revolted, and fell to the French, who by the advantage of King *Edwards* age, the Princes pining malady (which ſome ſay was not poyſon but a * dropſie) and the ſucceſſe of their practiſes more then of their valour, were growne brave againe: A treaty of peace was holden at *Bruges*, all was but painted: for even then the French moſt of all prepared under-hand for new attempts. Chiefe commiſſioners for the Engliſh at that conference was *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and for the French the Duke of *Anjou*. The effects hatched nothing but a ſhort truce for our evils to breed in.

* Sorrel.

An. Dom. 1375.

(148) Among the parties which were prejudiced by this hurtfull truce, the Duke of *Britaine* was chiefe. Hee had obtained great aſſiſtance from King *Edward*, and was now with * the Earles of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Stafford*, with many other noble gentlemen and ſouldiers returned into *Britaine*, making to themſelves a faire way for their maine enterprize, which was to ſettle the Duke, and by the commodity of his Dutchies ſituation to annoy the common enemy, and the better to recover the Engliſh dominions in *Aquitaine*: But this treaty did that which *Glequin*, their indeed brave Generall, had not as yet in any ſort effected: for the Duke of *Britaine* had * driven the French Kings army out of his territories. But who wonders at this truce? The Prince of *Wales* was likely to dye; plots on foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaſter* had an eye to the Succeſſion; things grew troubled: the Kings age was abuſed by dame *Alice Peirs* (a moſt buſie Court-flye) who (after Queene *Philips* death) kept the old man warme, and the French ſaw all theſe matters, and ſlept not.

* Tyrrel. Neuill.

* T. Tillius.

An. Dom. 1376.

(149) King *Edward* calling a Parliament, unfoulding his eſtate, and wants, with demand of ſupplies, the body of the aſſembly in ſtead of contributions exhibits complaints, directly chargeth the Kings Officers with fraud, and humbly prayeth, that *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, Dame *Alice Peirs* (whoſe * behaviours they painted forth as moſt intollerable, for that ſhee, reſpectleſſe of her Sexes frailty, would in perſon, ſaid they, come into all Courts of Juſtice, and ſometime ſitting by the Iudges or Doctors, would alſo after a moſt inſolent manner perſwade or diſſwade for her moſt advantage) and with theſe one Sir *Richard Surrey* might bee removed from the perſon of the King. Nevertheleſſe the Parliament made offer, that if the King were indeed out of money, they would liberally advance toward his uſes. The * Prince of *Wales* favoured their free dealing, and all the ſaid perſons were remooved, others more acceptable (ſuch as the Prince and Peeres thought fitter) being ſurrogated in their places.

* Tho. Walſingh. in Edw. 3. Alice Peirs the old Kings Concubine a moſt inſolent woman.

* Hollingſh.

The Prince of *Wales* dyeth.

(150) While this Parliament (called the *Good*) laſted at *Weſtminſter*, the noble ſoule of *Edward* Prince of *Wales* upon *Trinity Sunday* (which every yeere hee uſed to celebrate with the greateſt honour that might bee in due veneration of ſo divine a myſtery) was preſented to the holy and bleſſed Trinity, after hee had lived therein * about forty ſixe yeeres. In ſteed of Epitaph or mention of obſequies, the words of *Walſingham* ſhall ſerve us for the preſent, of whoſe death hee writes thus. *Quo obeunte, &c. With whom dying, dyed all the hope of Engliſhmen; during whoſe life, the Engliſh feared no invaſion of the enemy, nor any encounter in Battell: For hee aſſailed no Nation which hee overcame not, he beſieged no City which hee tooke not.* And when this lampe was put out, the

* Tyrrel. Neuill. Polydor. Virg.

Tho. Walſing. in Edw. 3.

effect of this Parliament was extinguiſhed. His mortal parts were interred at *Canterbury*, where his monument ſtandeth, but the renowne of his inimitable vertues have as large an extent, and ſpace to move in, as the wide World. The King of *France* moſt * reverently celebrated his Exequies within the Chappell of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was a generall ſorrow, as for one whoſe worth had begotten a juſt hope that he would outgoe * his Anceſtors in glory. Death preventing that experiment of him, hee is notwithſtanding in full poſſeſſion of love and praiſe * among all men for that which was paſſed. The cauſe of this domeſticke mourning encreaſed with the effects of his loſſe, which forthwith diſcloſed themſelves. The King recals ſuch perſons as at the petition of the Lords and Commons had beene remooved, and *Peter de la Mare* ſpeaker of the laſt Parliament, who had eloquently expreſt the minde of the houſe in the foreſaid reformations, was, at the * ſuite of the ſaid bold Dame *Alice Peirs*, condemned by the King to perpetuall impriſonment at * *Nottingham*, though within two yeares after by the importune ſuite of friends hee re-gained liberty. Meane while *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* * gets the governance of the Kingdome to be intruſted to him by his father.

* Froiſſard. Hollingſh.

* Polydor. Virg.

* Sorrel.

* Tho. Walſing.

* Hollingſh.

* Thom. Tolyn. in his collect. of the Proteſters apud Hollingſh. Polydor. Virg. fin. 13. Richard made Prince of Wales and the nobles ſworne to his ſucceſſion.

(151) *Richard* the eldeſt ſonne of the late moſt noble Prince of *Wales*, for prevention of all debates about the right of ſucceſſion to the Crowne of *England*, was by his Grand-father firſt made Duke of *Cheſter*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*: but for more aſſurance (leſt the ſonnes deceaſe before the fathers ſhould prejudice the Grand-Child) King *Edward* * cauſed all the Nobles of the Realme to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawfull heire and King of *England*; after himſelfe was dead: Neither did his * Vncles, though famous Captaines, repugne. Finally, the good old King, to comfort himſelfe in honouring the living Image of his nobleſt Child, the late Prince *Edward*, and to give the minde of his *Grand-child* a feeling of future majeſty, that by the ſodaine inſolency of the ſplendor, it might not afterward too-much abuſe his tender judgement, and to make his Vncles acquainted with reſpect of his perſon, hee cauſed him to ſit openly at his Table above all his owne Children in Chriſtmas.

* Canon apud Hollingſhead.

* Paul. Æmil. Sorrel.

* He meanes more able in battle then Methuſelah, you muſt beare with the breaking of Priſcian heed, for it is written of a King that uſed to break many.

* He alludes to the Leopards in the Armories of England.

An. Dom. 1377. *A. Reg.* 51.

(152) About this time the famous Doctor *Iohn Wicleffe*, a man of ſharpe wit, profound learning, and great judgement, did in the Vniverſity of *Oxford* publikely maintaine ſundry propoſitions and dogmaticall points againſt the Church of *Rome*, of which the Pope (fore-ſeeing the hazard hanging over his Triple-Crowne) condemned * three and twenty as hereticall; whereupon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and Biſhop of *London* having attached the body of the ſaid *Wicleffe*, did in the preſence of the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord *Henry Piercy* (* his great favourers,) declare the judgement of the Pope concerning *Wicleffes* Doctrine, which had then taken deepe roote both in the Vniverſity, Court, and Country. So for a while all was quiet. But (upon ſome ſecret encouragements) hee held not peace long. His followers were, in the phraſe of thoſe darke dayes, called * *Lolardi*, whereas, in truth, they endeavoured to extirpate all pernitious weeds, which through time, ſloath, and fraude, had crept into the field of Gods Church. The Duke of *Lancaſter* (the rather, ſome thinke, upon private emulations againſt *Courtney* Biſhop of *London*) was engaged ſo farre in his protection, that he and the Lord *Piercy* hardly eſcaped the fury of the *Londoners*, who would without queſtion have hewed them in pieces in revenge of ſome diſgracefull ſpeech uttered by him againſt their Biſhop. Hee notwithſtanding diſſwaded all violence, and kept them from firing his Palace of the *Savoy*, but they neverthelеſſe did in moſt deſpitefull manner reverſe his Armories in the open Market: A diſhonour not to bee borne, as that in which the dignity

* Hollingſh.

* Ioh. Anglicus.

* Tho. Walſing.

Criſpinus in Alt. Oxoniorum.

* Lolum ſignifieth cockle and ſuch like weeds.

* Thom. Tolyn.

dignity of his royall bloud was empaired. By this outrage the people (a moſt dangerous and heady water when once it is out) made knowne, what he, and the Lord *Percie* were to have hoped, if they could have fingred them, before they had gotten to *Kemington* to Prince *Richard*, they there remained with his mother: The Duke for this bare the *Londoners* much evill-will; neither reſted till (for a commencement of revenge) hee had procured the Major and Aldermen to be thruſt from their places, and ſubſtituted others in their ſtead.

(153) *France* in the meane time erected with new hopes, breathes nothing but warre. Proviſions in that reſpect were not neglected here. One of the laſt publique acts of the old Kings life, was the triumphall celebration of Saint *Georges* Feaſt at *Windſor*, where himſelfe had founded the Order of the Garter; and at this ſolemnity hee beſtowed upon his deareſt Grandchild Prince *Richard* the dignity of Knighthood, which onely thing in all the patrimony of honour could not diſcend unto him.

(154) Not long after enſued the ſentence of divorce which God pronounced betweene the Soule and Body of this mighty and martiall King, who left the World in the moneth of Iune, at his Manour of *Shene* in *Surrey*: his Acts may give you a perfect Character of his minde: few Princes that had ſo great and heroicke vertues, had fewer vices: therefore it was a fault of thoſe times, which abounding in learned men, (and among them *Geffrey Chaucer* Prince of *Poets*) afforded no better an Epitaph then that which we are faine with pitty to reade upon his Monument at *Weſtminſter*: the ſtuffe neverthelеſſe is worthy, though the forme be rude.

Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Forma futurorum, Rex clemens, pax populorum;
Tertius Edwardus, regni complens Iubileum,
*Invictus Pardus, * pollens bellis Machabæum.*

Here Englands grace, the flower of Princes paſt,
Patterne of future, Edward the third is plaſt,
Milde Monarch, Subjects peace, warres Machabee,
*Victorious * Pard, his raigne a Iubilee.*

No man of his time could by better experience teach, what a vaine thing worldly glory (to the height whereof hee had aſpired) ought to ſeeme. His minde (by ſundry great checkes of Gods prouidence) re-called to conſider of the foure laſt things; Death, Iudgement, Heaven and Hel, made him betake himſelfe to Acts of benignitie and devotion. The Chappell at the end of the Abbey-Church at *Weſtminſter*, (ſince moſt magnificently enlarged by King *Henry* the ſeventh) was of his building. The holy quier of ſtudies, and advancement of good Arts, he ſo proſperouſly favoured, that beſides other great priviledges granted to the Vniverſitie of *Oxford*, * where himſelfe had in his youth beene trained up under the learned *Walter Burley*) * he conferred *the chiefe rule of that whole Citie upon the Chancellor of the Vniverſitie*, ſubordinating the Major and Citizens to his government, in regard of their injuries offered to the Students. This moſt mightie Monarch that ever ware the Crowne of *England*, in many other felicities excelled his Anceſtors, as in the victorious valour of his Children, their obedience to him, and love among themſelves. A Lady to his wife (their mother) of ſuch excellent vertue and government, as that then King *Edwards* fortunes ſeemed to fall into Eclipſe when ſhee was hidden in her Sepulchre. Such and greater was this *Edward*, whoſe name among the ſurviving ſplendors of his actions, is juſtly tranſmitted with honour to all poſteritie. He raigned almoſt one and fifty yeeres, and * lived about threeſcore and five.

He means more able in battle then Machabeus, you muſt beare with the breaking of Priſcian heed, for it is written of a King that uſed to break many.

His Wife.

(155) *Philip*, wife of King *Edward*, was daughter of *William* Earle of *Henault* and *Holland*, ſiſter of Earle *William* the laſt of that houſe, and of *Margaret* the Empreſſe that ſucceeded him; her mother was * *Ioan*, ſiſter of *Philip* of *Valoys* King of *France*, daughter of *Charles* Earle of *Valoys*, who was ſonne to King *Philip the Hardie*. Shee was married unto him at *Yorke*, Ianuary 24. crowned at *Weſtminſter* the firſt Sunday of *Lent* following, 1327. Shee was a Lady of great vertue, and a conſtant true-hearted lover of our Nation, was his wife two and fortie yeares, died Auguſt 15. *Anno* 1369. of her husbands raigne, 43. and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, where ſhee hath a faire Tombe, at the foot of her husband, of blacke Touch-ſtone, with the garniſhinglabout it, and the portraiture over it of Alabaſter: but ſhee built to her ſelfe a Monument of more glory and durability, by founding, and richly endowing, the *Colledge*, called of her the *Queenes* in *Oxford*, which, if it had beene finiſhed according to the project, had beene a foundation of marveilous ſtate and magnificence.

* Mary, ſaith Miles.

His Iſſue.

(156) *Edward*, their eldeſt ſonne and firſt childe, borne at *Woodſtocke*, Iuly 15. in the third yeare of his Fathers raigne, *Anno* 1329. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*; hee was alſo Earle of *Kent* in right of his wife *Ioan* (the moſt admired Lady of that age) daughter of *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, brother, by the fathers ſide, to King *Edward* the ſecond. Shee had beene twice married before, firſt to the valiant Earle of *Saliſbury*, from whom ſhee was divorced, next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whoſe deceaſe, this Prince paſſionately loving her, did marry her: by her he had Iſſue two ſonnes, *Edward* the eldeſt, borne at *Angoleſme*, who dyed at ſeven yeares of age, and *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, who, after his father was *Prince of Wales*, and after his Grand-father King of *England*. This Prince had alſo naturall Iſſue, Sir *John Saunder*, and Sir *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have beene anceſtor to the houſe of *Smithes* in *Eſſex*. He died at *Canterbury* on Trinitie Sunday, Iune 8. *ætat.* 46. of his fathers raigne 49. and was buried at Chriſt-Church there, 1376.

(157) *William* their ſecond ſonne, and fourth child, was borne 1335. the ninth of his fathers raigne at *Hatfield* in the County of *Hertford*, taking his Chriſtian name from *William* Earle of *Henault* his Grand-father, and his ſurname from the place of his Nativitie; is reported to have deceaſed in his childhood, and to be buried at *Yorke*.

(158) *Lionel*, their third ſonne and fift childe, was borne at the Citie of *Antwerpe*, 29. November, the twelfth of his fathers raigne, *Anno* 1338. he married firſt *Elizabeth*, the daughter and heire of *William Burgh* Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, in whoſe right hee was firſt created Earle of *Vlſter*; and becauſe he had with her the honour of *Clare* in the counties of *Tonmond*, as parcell of the inheritance of her Grand-mother *Elizabeth*, (the ſiſter and co-heire of the laſt Earle *Gilbert Clare*,) hee was in a Parliament, *Anno* 1362. created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the Towne, Caſtle and honour of *Clare*: from which Durchie the name of *Clarentieux* (being the Title of the *King of Armes* for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had Iſſue by her one onely daughter, named *Philip*, afterward wife of *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, mother of Earle *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Counteſſe of *Cambridge*, and ſhee was the mother of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth. The ſecond marriage of this Duke was in *Lumbardie* at *Millaine*, with the Lady * *Violanta* Daughter of *Galeacio* the ſecond Duke thereof; but through intemperance, he lived not long after.

* Iolanda, ſaith Polydor. Virg.

(159) *Iohn*, their fourth ſonne and ſixt Childe was

was borne at *Gaunt* the chiefe Towne of *Flaunders*, *Anno* 1340. and foureteenth of his Fathers raigne. In his Childhood hee was created Earle of *Richmond*, which title was afterward re-called in, and bestowed upon *John* Duke of *Britanny*, who married his sister, to whose Dutchy it had formerly belonged. He had three wives; the first, *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole heire of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, (sonne of *Edmund* surnamed *Crouch-back*) in whose right he was at the first Earle, and after Duke of the same, and with that Dutchy also Earle of *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Lincolne*, and *high Steward* of *England*. Hee had issue by her, *Henry* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry the fourth*, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*; *Philip*, wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugall*; and *Elizabeth*, married first to *John Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, (brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*) and after him, to Sir *John Cornwall* Baron of *Fanhope*. His second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time he entituled himself *King* of both those realmes; by her he had issue one onely daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third, sonne of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right, after, King of both the said realmes. His third wife was *Katherine*, the widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Payn Roet* a *Gascoigne*, called *Guien* King of Armes; for that Countrey, * his younger daughter being married to Sir *Geffrey Chaucer*, our Laurent Poet. By her hee had issue (borne before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament holden in the twentieth yeare of King *Richard* the second,) *John* Earle of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exceter*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinall, and *Ioane*, who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* (Baron of *Wemme* and *Ovesley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwicke*) and secondly to *Ralph Nevil* the first, Earle of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France* * where they were all borne, and in regard thereof bare the *Porculeys* of a Castle for the Cognizance of their family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeare of his Nephew King *Richard*, at a Parliament holden at *London*, was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in the sixt yeare after, he was called home, and this Title re-called, in the third yeare after, the sixtieth of his age, *An.* 1399. he dyed at *Ely-house* in *Holborne*, and lyeth honourably entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*.

* *Millet, p. 992.*

* *Idem ibid.*

Edmund, their fift sonne, surnamed of *Langley*, was created Earle of *Cambridge*, *Ann.* 1362. in the same Parliament, wherein *Lionel* was created Duke of *Clarence*. He was afterward made Duke of *Yorke*, *Anno* 1386. and married *Isabel* daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*. His sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *Yorke*, tooke to wife *Anne Mortimer* heire of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund Langley*.

William, another of their sonnes, surnamed of *Windsor* where he was borne, dyed young, and is buried at *Westminster*.

Thomas, the youngest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip*, surnamed of *Woodstocke*, (where he was borne) was first Earle of *Buckingham*, created by his Nephew King *Richard* the second on his Coronation day, *An.* 1377. by whom, after also he was made Duke of *Glouceſter*, 1385. The Earldomes also of *Essex* and *Northampton*, and the Constablesship of *England*, fell to him by right of his wife *Eleanor*, the onely daughter and heire of *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*. Hee was a man of valour, wisedome, and vigilancy, for the behoofe of the King his Nephew and the State, but those noble vertues (distempered with too much wilfulnesse and froward obstinacie) bred him, first Envy, and after ruine. For the King surmising him to be a too severe observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke* how to make him away, whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, convaied secretly to *Callis*, where he was strangled 1397. the twentieth of his Nephews raigne. Himselfe in his life had provided a goodly Tombe at *Playsie* in *Essex*, (his owne Towne, and * the usuall seat of the *great Constables of England*) * where he Founded a Colledge; whither his body was brought, and laid with all funerall pompe, but afterward it was translated to *Westminster*, where also lyeth *Eleanor* his wife, who dyed 1399. Their issue was *Humfrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, * who dyed at *Chester* of the pestilence, *Ann.* 1400. *Anne* (married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom shee had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, secondly to *William Bourchier* Earle of *Eve*, by whom she had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*,) *Ioane* married to *Gilbert L. Talbot*, and had issue by him a daughter, who died young, *Philip* and *Isabel* both dying issueless.

* *Lib. Eliens.*

* *Camd. Brit. in Essex.*

* *Millet, p. 981.*

Isabel, the eldest daughter and second child of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip*, was married at *Windsor* with great pompe, to *Ingelram* of *Guisnes*, Lord of *Concy*, Earle of *Soysons*, and after Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom K. *Edward* (his father in law) created also Earle of *Bedford* 1365. by whom she was mother of * two daughters, *Mary*, (married to *Henry* of *Barre*, to whom she bare *Robert de Barre*, and *Ioane*, the wife of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Earle of Saint *Paul*) and *Philip*, the wife of *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquesse of *Dublyn*; this *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsooke his noble Lady, and married one * *Lancerona* a Ioyners daughter (by report) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Boheme*; and being, for his pride and abusing the Kings eare, to the hurt of the State, driven out of the Land by the Nobles, he died at *Louain*, in great vexation of minde, and extreame penury, *Ann.* 1392. *Isabel* his Wives mother was buried in the Church of *Fryers Minorites* neere *Algate* in *London*.

Idem, p. 413.

* *Millet, p. 448.*

* *Idem, p. 681.*

Ioane, their second daughter and third childe, was borne the ninth of her fathers raigne, *An.* 1335. Being foureteene yeeres of age, shee was desired in marriage by solemne Embassage, from *Alphons* the eleventh King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of King *Ferdinando* the fourth, was espoused by *Proxie*, intituled Queene of *Spaine*, and conveyed into that Country, where she presently deceased of a great plague that then raigned; so as the King comming to meet her to solemnize the espousals, with great griefe accompanyed her to Church onely at her funerall the two and twentieth of her fathers raigne, *An.* 1348.

Blanch, their third daughter, died young, and lieth buried at *Westminster*.

Mary, their fourth daughter, was married to *John Montfort* Duke of *Britaine*.

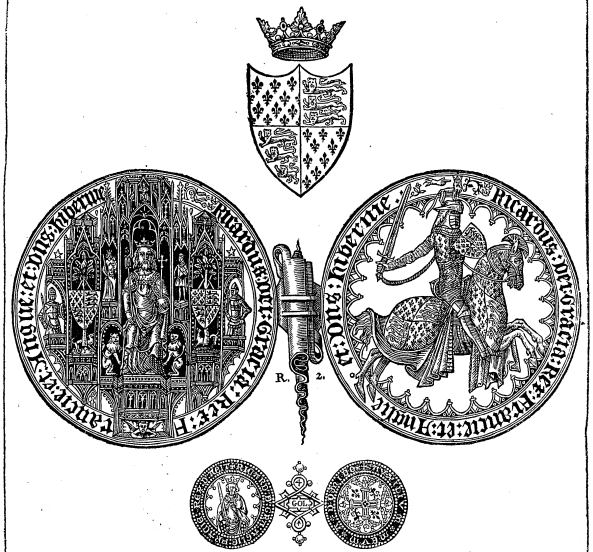
Margaret their youngest daughter, borne in *Callis*, was the first wife of *John de Hastings* Earle of *Pembrooke*, but she died without issue.

RICHARD

Richard II.

RICHARD THE SECOND, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND TROVBLES.

Monarch 50.



CHAPTER XIII.

An. Dom. 1378.

RICHARD of *Bourdeaux*, sonne to that *Great Starre* of *English* Chevalrie, *Edward*, by-named the *Blacke Prince*, and grandchild to the most renowned *Edward the third*, (both of them lately deceased) was crowned in the eleventh yeere of his age, and upon the sixteenth day of Iuly. Seldome hath beene seene so magnificent a Coronation, as that of this young King, but the thing which gave a better lustre of hope at his beginning, then the shine and majestie of that publike Act, was the wise course which in this his child-hood was taken; *to wit*, the reconciliation of the Lord *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Citizens of *London*; with the restitution of Sir *Peter de la Mare* Knight, *Speaker* in the late Parliament (whom King *Edward* had committed to prison, at the instigation of Dame *Alice Pierce* now banisht, and confiscated) not onely to former libertie, but likewise to favour and honour extraordinary.

The Coronation of the King.

(2) At this Coronation, (which, as matters not unworthy to be kept alive, wee following the immethodicall order of the Record, have here for perpetuall memory thought good to abridge out of authentike Monuments) *John* the Kings eldest uncle, under the stile of *John* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and *Duke* of *Lancaster*, by humble petition to the King, claimed to be now Steward of *England*, in right of his Earledome of *Leicester*; and as he was Duke of *Lancaster*, to beare the Kings chiefe Sword called *Curtana*; and as Earle of *Lincolne*, to cut and carve at the royall Table before the King. His petitions being found just, were confirmed to him, and to his Assignes, the two Earles of *Derby* and *Stafford*, the first to beare the *Sword*, while the Duke should be busied about other offices as *Steward*, and the other to cut and carve. The Duke then in great estate, held this the Kings high Court of *Steward*ship in the *White-hall* of the Kings Palace at *Westminster*, neere

Ex Mſ. apud S. Robert Cotton.

Services by reason of tenures, at the Coronation, found and allowed in that Court.

The Court of high Steward-ship.

The Lord high Constable of *England.*

The Lord high Marshall of *England.*

The Lord high Chamberlaine of *England.*

The Earle of Kent Deputy to a Citizen of *London* at the Coronation.

The Earle of Warwickes service.

Sir *John de Argentein* for *Aryngton* his service.

* This name bare three cups Argent in a Field gules, that you may know that ancient coat Armors had their Ensignes of bearing.

The Lord Furnivals honourable service.

The Countesse Dowager of Kent her claime to service.

The Earle of *March.*

The Services of Hastings Earle of *Pembroke* also.

Lord Chiefe Butler.

The services of the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the selected Citizens.

Acere to the Chappell of the said Palace, upon the Thursday, before the Coronation, which was also upon a Thursday. There *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* the Kings Vncle, was admitted to exercise the office of *Constable of England*, in right of his wife, one of the daughters and heires of *Humphrey de Bohun*, late Earle of *Hereford*, and *Constable of England*. *Henry de Percy* (Lord *Percy*) was by the Kings consent and writ authorized to exercise the place of *Marshall of England* for that time, saving to every one their right, for that by reason of the times shortnesse, the claime, which *Margaret* daughter and heire to *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, late Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Marshall of England*, laid thereunto, could not bee discussed. *Robert de Veere* Earle of *Oxford*, though then in minority, being notwithstanding found to have right in Fee, was by the Kings speciall consent allowed to have, and use, the office of *Chamberlaine*. Hee was also admitted to his right of powring out water for the King to wash with, when hee went to meate, at the Coronation. *John Wiltshire*, Citizen of *London*, by reason of certaine tenements (heretofore the possession of *John Picot*) being a Moity of the Mannour of *Heyden*, and holden in Serjeanty, had his right, to hold a *Towell* for the King to wipe with, when hee went to meate, found and allowed, and *Edmund* Earle of Kent appointed to serve as his Deputy. *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* was found to have right, and admitted thereupon to beare the third sword of estate before the King at the Coronation, as also to exercise the office of *Pantler*, and to enjoy all such fees as to the same appertained. Sir *John de Argentheim* Knight, by reason of the tenure of his Mannour of *Wimondley* in the County of *Hertford*, was admitted to serve the King at his *Cup*, upon the day of the Coronation, and for his Fee to have that * Cup of Silver wherewith hee then served the King in his royalty. *William* Lord *Furnivall*, for his Mannour of *Farnham* and *Hamlet* of *Cere*, was proved to have right to support the Kings right arme, when it held the *Scepter* royall therein at the day of Coronation; which service, being first * honourably Knighted by the King at *Kenington*, hee was admitted accordingly to performe. *Anne*, late wife of *John de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke*, for her Mannour of *Asbele* in *Norfolke*, was admitted by her Deputy Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, to use the office of *Naperer*, and to enjoy the fees thereof. *Edmund*, Earle of *March*, was assigned to carry the Kings *great gilt Spurres*, saving to every one their right; for *John*, the sonne of *John de Hastings* late Earle of *Pembroke*, claimed that office to bee his, as *William le Marshall* his Ancestor held the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the second; but by reason he was under age, and in Wardship, the King for that time disposed it to the Earle of *March*: Who also, with the said *Spurres* was assigned to beare the *second Sword* before the King; for which, the said young Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Earle of *Arundell* (in the right of his Ancestor the Earle of *Surrey*) contending, it was adjudged to *Pembroke*, for his Castles and Townes of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*, &c. but the execution of that honourable place was assigned by the King as before. *Richard* Earle of *Arundell*, for the Mannour of B. in *Kent*, was admitted to bee chiefe Butler at the Coronation, for that (after the sale thereof) the Earles Ancestors had exercised that office at Coronations, and the claime of *Edmund Staplegate*, who then had that Mannour as sonne and heire of *Edmund Staplegate* (ward to *Geffrey Chaucer*, who had freed him for one hundreth and foure pounds) for that time put off his right to him, in the meane time saved notwithstanding. The Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London* (such as were chosen for that high dayes service among themselves) were found by good Record to have their severall rights. The Mayor to attend in his owne person as chiefe Cup-waiter, (charged with the Cupbord-royall) aswell in the Hall at dinner, to serve the King in a Cup of Gold with Spices, and for his Fees to have the said Cup, and a * Water-spout-pot of Gold thereunto belonging, when hee tooke his leave at night. The Citizens, to helpe their Lord Mayor in his office of chiefe *Pincern* or Cup-wayter, and to minister or serve the Lords aswell at Dinner in the Hall, as in the Chamber after Dinner. *Whereupon the King*, (saith the Record) *perpendens gratitudinem magnam & subsidium quæ Progenitores sui, &c. weighing with himselfe the great gratitude and ayde which his Progenitors had heretofore abundantly found in the Citizens aforesaid, and hoping himselfe to finde in them the like gratitude and ayde hereafter, and to the intent that they might with the more joyfull hearts performe loyall obedience to the King, and more earnestly helpe him in his occasions, hee being heartily desirous to content them, did will and ordaine that the selected Citizens should exercise their said attendance.* Sir *John Dymmocke* Knight, in the right of *Margaret* his Wife, for the Mannour of *Scryvelby*, and Sir *Baldwine de Frevile* Knight, as Cousen and next heire to *Philip Marmion*, by *Lionnese* Daughter of the said *Philip*, for the Castle of *Tamworth* in the County of *Warwicke*, contended each of them to have the office, and Fees belonging to the Kings Champion upon that royall day; but because the said *John* shewed better Records then *Baldwine*, and for that King *Edward* and the late Prince of *Wales*, were often heard to say that *John* ought to doe that service for the said Mannour of *Scryvelby*, hee was admitted for that time, and day was given to *Baldwine* to shew farther cause of his claime within three Weekes after the Feast of Saint *Hilarie* next, or else for ever to bee utterly excluded.

* *Cum Aquario*, an Ewer.

The Kings Champion.

This *Champion* is to have for accomplishment of that service (and the same also for his Fees) one of the best Horses of Warre and Caparisons, which the King hath, one Saddle plated with Iron, and one compleate armour with the whole furniture, in such sort as the King himselfe useth, *When hee is to goe into a martiall battle (Sil deust aler,* saith the Record, *en une battaile mortele)* in which sort being mounted, hee is to ride before the King in procession to his Coronation, and to cry thrice to the people before all the World; *That there is no man of high or low estate, who will say, that our liege Lord Richard, Cousen and heire of Edward, late King of England, ought not to bee crowned King of England, against whom hee the Champion is not ready with his body to maintaine, and will maintaine that hee doth falsely lye as a Traitor.* *William de Latimer*, and *John* the sonne and heire of *John Mowbray* of *Axholm*, the Kings Ward, joyntly petitioned at the same Court, to bee admitted in the right of *William Beauchampe* of *Bedford* (whose Lands the King held in right of the said Wardship, and *William de Latimer* in his owne right,) to have the office of *Almoner* at the Coronation, and to enjoy the Fees thereof. And because in the red Booke of the Exchequer it appeared, that the said *William Beauchampe*, (late deceased) used the said office; *William de Latimer* was there admitted, aswell for himselfe, as for the said heire, to exercise the same, and for his Fee to have the Silver-platter of Almes which stood before the King as he sate at the Table upon that day; and if afterward it should reasonably appeare, that they likewise ought to have an * Hogshead of Wine, they should have it.

The fees and service of the Kings Champion at that time.

The first attempt of the French and Scots.

The effect of chiefe divine prayer at the Coronation.

* Pantellion vini.

William Bardolfe shewed by petition (as all the rest did) *to the right noble, and right redoubted Lord, the King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, and Steward of England*, that certaine of the said *William* his Fee-simple Lands in his Towne of *A.* were holden of the King in chiefe by Serjeanty. The words of the petition, shewing the service, which we (fearing to erre) leave for other to interpret, are these: *De trouver le jour due Coronnement nostre tresredoubte Seigneur le Roy, ung homme de faire une messe quest apelle Dilexisti, & si apponatur sanguincum adonques il est apelle*

The French take the Abbot of Lewis and others Prisoners in Sussex.

An. Dom. 1378.

appelle Milpeygeryn en la Cuisin de Roy. And accordingly the said *William* was admitted to that service by his Deputie. *Richard Lyons*, as Tenant of the Mannour of L. which *John de Lyston*, and his Ancestors held by the service of making Wafers for the King at the day of Coronation, was accordingly thereunto admitted. The Barons of the *Cinque ports*, upon their petition and claime, the matter being evident, were admitted to beare (and to have for their Fees) the Kings Canopy of cloth of Gold, (or of what other stuffe else it pleased the King) upon foure staves of silver over the Kings head upon the day of Coronation, and also to sit at meat in the Hall at the highest Table on the Kings right hand. *John Fitz-John*, in right of his wife, shewed, that the Mannour of S. in *Norfolke* was holden of the King by the service of Chiefe *Larderer* at his Coronation, and that *Geffrey Burdeleys* did exercise the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the third; whereupon *John Fitz-John* was admitted to exercise that office by himselfe and his Deputies. *Richard Hering* for the Mannor of C. in the County of *Surry*, in the right of *Agnes* his wife, claymed to be Visher of the Kings Chamber; but because that claime did no way concerne the Coronation of the King, hee was left otherwise to pursue his intereste if he so thought good. These are the services which were then claymed before the D. of *Lancaster*, Steward of *England*, which hee with his * owne hands delivered into the Kings Chancery there to bee enrowled. At the same Coronation also *Thomas* of *Woodstocke*, youngest sonne of the late King, was created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Guychard d' Angolem* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Henrie Percie* Earle of *Northumberland*. Thus the bounty of the young Monarch imparted large rayes of his imperiall Splender to these eminent persons of his Kingdome: Howsoever, these and the like honours have not in our Common-wealth eyther alwayes beene fortunate to the Receivers, or without repentance to the Donors.

The Kings Wafterer.

The honourable service of the Barons of the five Ports.

Chiefe Larderer.

* *Ex chirographo* D. Rob. Cotton Creation of Sixteen.

(3) But the Generall State of the Kingdome being implicated, before the late King *Edwards* decease, by reason of that opportunity and advantage to their designes, which the Neighbour-enemies of the Crowne of *England* found in the olde age of that victorious Monarch, was now no lesse entangled through the contempt of King *Richards* youth. For before his Coronation, the French with fifty Ships (as *Walsingham* cals them) thrust into the Haven of *Rie*) the Towne whereof they rifled, and consumed with fire. The Crowne of *England* was scarse setled on his head, when the *Scots* at the other end of *England* set fire upon the Towne of *Rocksbrough*: but the French (encouraged by their late exploit at *Rie*) arrived in their Gallies, and tooke the whole Ile of Wight, the Castle (which Sir *Hugh Tyrell* manfully defended,) onely excepted, levying upon the inhabitants one thousand Markes in lieu of sparing their houses from the rage of warre, and flame. Neither was it long before they landed at *Winchelsay*, though being from thence repulsed, they burnt the Towne of *Hastings* at that present.

(4) These petty braves thus given to the King, were farther fortunated with a little victory. For they, emboldened with such successes (dishonourable and dangerous to King *Richard*, who seemed to have lost the Soveraigntie of the *English* Ocean, where Pyrates durst so revell, and also to have had as little counsell, courage, or forces, left about him upon the Land) come on shore at *Rotingdene* in *Sussex*. The Prior of *Lewis* with some slight tumultuarie Forces, rashly adventures himselfe against them, where he with two knights, and some few others were taken prisoners, and about 100. English slaine, but of the French many more, who returned with their Prisoners to their Navie.

(5) The chiefe charge of affaires lay upon the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Kings Vncle, or upon some such as he did put about him, through whose want of care, things declining to a shamefull change, and the glorious atchievements of the two late *Edwards* falling under Eclypse, there was onely found one private Citizen of *London*, that (without regard to the envy of the slothfull Lords, or his owne hazards, or of any thing else, so much as the good of his neglected Countrey) put his whole strengths to support the same. This was the worthy *John Philpot*, who at his owne charges mans out a Fleete to the Sea, raignes by them therein, and guardes both water and land from their intollerable violences. Nor did his so great pietie fayle of happy event, for God (who favours all vertuous actions) had put into his hands within a short space 15. *Spanish* Ships fraught with rich Merchandize, which the right of warre made his, whereby his great charges were abundantly repayed. Let us see his Statue erected now at last, with the Statues of *Walworth*, and other honourable Citizens in *London*.

The Kings Wafterer.

The honourable service of the Barons of the five Ports.

Chiefe Larderer.

* *Ex chirographo* D. Rob. Cotton Creation of Sixteen.

The first attempts of the French and Scots.

The effect of chiefe divine prayer at the Coronation.

* Pantellion vini.

The French take the Abbot of Lewis and others Prisoners in Sussex.

An. Dom. 1378.

The Kings Champion.

The fees and service of the Kings Champion at that time.

(6) What therefore the love of their Prince and Countrey could not stirre up in the Lords, that very shame and indignation doe. There is consultation had, and the King of *Navarre* (an unquiet subject of the Crowne of *France*) morgageth the Haven-towne of *Cheirbrough* in *Normandy* to king *Richard*. The occasion was the rather not omitted, for that, by thrusting into it a good Garrison (which was forthwith done, and first Sir *Robert Rouse*, then Sir *John* of *Harleston*, both worthy Knights, made Captaines there) the same would at all times serve to give quiet entrance to an invasion of *France* which now was meditated.

(7) How loosely, the meane while the affaires of the State and Iustice were managed, by reason of the unripe yeeres of the King, may appeare by a bloudy outrage then perperrated and unrevenged. The occasion this. In the warres of *Spaine*, (which *Edward* the late Prince of *Wales* made for restoring *Peter* to the Crowne,) the Earle of *Dean* was taken and adjudged Prisoner (from all others clayming that honour) to two valiant Esquiers *Robert Haule* and *John Shakel*, who both of them belonged to that martiall Knight Sir *John Chandoys*. They free the Earle, taking his sonne and heire for assurance of performances. This young Gentleman (utterly neglected hitherto by his dishonourable Father,) was now demanded of them in the Kings name, by the Duke of *Lancaster*, with a purpose (as was thought) the rather either to advance thereby his (the said Dukes) title to the Crowne of *Spaine*, or to make a peace there, with the better conditions. The Esquiers refuse, and shift their Hostage out of the way; are thrust therefore into the Tower of *London*; but escaping from thence, take Sanctuary in *Westminster*. Thither with fifty armed men doth *Sir Alan de Bruxhull* secretely repaire, drawes *Shakel* by a wile out of the priviledge of the Church, and expostulates the matter with *Haule* in the Kings name; upon whom (protesting against the abuse offered to that Majestie in his tender yeeres, and freely taxing his Councellours with injustice, avarice, and evill advice,) while they sought to lay hands, he with his short sword valiantly made them all fly off, but in the end they most wickedly murthered him in the Chancell: commending himselfe, in his last words, *to God revenger of such injuries, and to the liberty of our holy mother the Church.* With him was murthered a servant of his, thrust in with a Iavelin at the backe. This is that *Haule* whose body lies buried under a brasse-plated stone in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, whose bloud (by the violence of the said Duke) found not that fulnesse of legall vengeance, which so hainous an homicide required.

The Earle of *Dean* taken Prisoner.

The sacrilegious murtherer of Robert *Haule.*

(8) The North parts of *England* were about this time greeviously visited with the stroake of pestilence, and their lamentable affliction encreased by the inroads and outrages of the Scots; who had now surprized *Berwicke*, killing Sir *Robert Boynton*

Nnnn Knight,

The immortall defame of Sir *John Philpot* Citizen of *London.*

Berwick surprized and recovered within nine dayes.

Knight the Conſtable therof; which yet the Earle of *Northumberland* upon the ninth day after recovered by force, putting thoſe, who had ſurprized it, to the Sword.

An. Dom. 1379. (9) Neither was the ſpirit of the Engliſh (after it began to re-quicken) idle elſewhere; for as *Sir Robert Rous* had divers waies vexed the French, and taken *Olivier* (the brother of that renowned *Bertram de Glequin*) priſoner, ſo *Sir John de Harleſton*, Captaine of *Cherbrough* after him, ſlew and tooke divers French in a skirmiſh. Theſe were the few fore-going drops of greater approaching ſhowers. For *Sir Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Thomas Percy*, made admirals of the narrow Seas, tooke many rich prizes, and exploited ſundry other things very praiſe worthily, bringing home the acceptable newes of the diſlike which the *Britons* had conceived againſt the *French* Kings Government; for hee commaunded them to render up to him all their ſtrengths, Caſtles, and walled Townes, and many of them, who refuſed to obey, he put to death.

The *Britons* diſlike of the French Government, matter of new troubles.

(10) Theſe employments, and freſh deſignes for other like, found need of pecuniary ſupplies; whereupon, in a Parliament holden at *London*, it was agreed, that for ſupply of the Kings wants, the Commons ſhould be ſpared, and the burthen be wholly undergone by the able. The rates then of that taxe were theſe; Dukes, Archbiſhops, Earles and Biſhops at tenne markes each, mitred *Abbots* at as much, beſides fortie pence for every Monke under their ſubjection. Briefly (ſaith *Thomas Walſingham*) there was no religious perſon, man or woman, *Iuſtitiar*, Sheriffe, Knight, Eſquire, Parſon, Vicar, or * Chauntry Prieſt free from this taxe, rated according to the value of their yeerely receipts.

The Commons ſpared in the Subſidie.

* *Simplex ſacerdotulus, Walſingh.*

(11) We formerly mentioned, how *Iohn Shakell* (the other companion of *Robert Haule*, ſo execrably murdered in Gods-houſe) was taken. He now upon condition that the King (beſides 500. markes in money) ſhould give him Lands to the yeerely value of one hundreth markes, and ſhould alſo found and ſufficiently endow, at the Kings coſts, a Chantrie with five Prieſts for their ſoules, whom the Kings Officers had wickedly murthered, he rendred up his Hoſtage, the eldeſt (but naturall) ſonne of the ſaide Earle of *Dean*. At the diſcovering and bringing-forth of whom, all men were ſtroken with wonderfull love and admiration: for the young Gentleman (having given his faith not to diſcloſe himſelfe,) appeared in the ſhape of a baſe groome, in which (unknowne to all the World but his Maſter) he had of his owne accord lurked. An example of ſuch a poynt of perfect honeſty as cannot be forgotten without injurie.

A memorable example of a noble young gentlemans faith-keeping.

(12) The ſame yeere, the Lord *John Mountford*, whom the French had driven out, being invited home by his Barons, returned into his Dutchy of *Britaine*, accompanied with the valiant Knights *Calverley* and *Percy* aforeſaid, where he, his friends, and followers were received with ſingular honor. Soone after *Sir John* of *Arundell*, brother to the Earle of *Arundell*, being ſent into *Britaine* to aid the Duke, was with many other valiant Knights and Eſquires drowned. It is imputed by our author to a juſt effect of Gods anger againſt the ſaid *Sir Iohn*, and his houſhold, for their manifold vices and outrages, practiſed by him and them, before they ſet out from *England*, for which they had the bitter curſes of the people; and the Angell of deſtruction to execute thoſe imprecations upon the delinquents.

Aids ſent into Britaine drowned.

Other aides paſſe into *Britaine* from *Calis* by land.

An. Dom. 1380. (13) But the action of aiding did more deepely import, then that it ſhould be abandoned for the loſſe of that unfortunate fellowſhip, and the exceeding riches which were with them: therefore the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, with *Calverley*, *Percy*, *Knols*, *Windleſhores* (or *Winſor*) very valiant Knights, and other competent forces, was ſent to aſſiſt the Duke of *Britaine*. But becauſe the French Galleys hovered upon the narrow Seas, they landed at *Calis*, and from thence march through *France*, ſpoyling Countries, burning townes, the *French* not * daring to empeach them, and killing people, till they and their whole equipage came ſafe into *Britaine*.

* *Iob. Tilii in chron.*

French troubles profitable to the Engliſh.

(14) There were about theſe times civill diviſions in *France*; for the Duke of *Burgundie*, younger brother of King *Charles* (lately dead) being made Guardian of the perſon and dominions of his Nephew. *Charles* then in minority, had the Duke of *Anjou* (being an elder brother to the Duke of *Burgundie*) a mortall enemie. Their bloudy quarrels fell out luckily for the Engliſh aydes in the Dutchie of *Britaine*, out of which as Duke *Iohn* had beene driven for adhering to his father in law the late King *Edward*, ſo the Engliſh did their beſt to uphold him in it, as there was cauſe.

(15) The French in theſe extreames are releeved by their ancient diverſion: for the Scots entring about that time with fire and ſword into *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*; and the forreſt of *Inglewood*, drave away much Cattle, ſlew the Inhabitants, rifled the booths and houſes of *Perith* in the Faire time, killing and taking many, and driving away the reſt. The Earle of *Northumberland* preparing a bloudy revenge, was (not without wonder) prohibited ſo to doe by letters from the King, that is, from ſuch as were about the King.

The Earle of Northumberland counterminded from purſuit of the Scots. The Perſian means at Nonſamion.

(16) But how coldly ſoever the publike affaires were followed, the want of money for ſupplies was ſtill pretended. And therefore in a Parliament holden at *Northampton*, was granted to the King a generall ſupply of money; the pretended occaſion of monſtrous miſchiefe which followed, by reaſon of a clauſe in that grant of Subſidie, that every one of each ſexe, being above a certain age, ſhould pay by the head, or *per Pol* as they cal it, twelve pence.

An. Dom. 1381. The Earle of Cambridge ſets with an Armie into Portugall.

(17) The Engliſh Chevalry began now againe to diſplay it ſelfe farre off, to gratifie the private ends of *Iohn Duke of Lancaſter*, who claimed the Crowne of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in right of *Conſtance* his wife: For *John* King of *Portugal* had a defenſive warre againſt *Iohn* then King of *Caſtile*, who challenged the Crowne of *Portugal* * in right of *Beatrix* his Wife, (by whom he had no iſſue) the onely daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Portugal*, which this other *Iohn* (a baſtard ſonne of *Ferdinands*) had by faction uſurped. There were ſent to his aide the Lord *Edmund de Langley*, Earle of *Cambridge*, the Kings Vncle, and ſundry Knights and others of good experience with an Armie. Theſe arriving in *Portugall* valiantly defended the ſame for about two yeeres, and were the chiefe cauſe of giving the *Spaniards* an overthrow in battle, where they loſt * tenne thouſand men. At laſt the two Kings agreeing together bare the charges of conveighing home the *Engliſh* in common, that their countries might be freed from them, being both alike jealous of their puiſſance. In this time *Edward* ſon to the Earle of *Cambridge*, uncle to *Richard* King of *England*, married the daughter of the King of *Portugall*, but afterward neither would the Earle leave his ſon behinde, as ſuſpecting the Portugeſes faith, nor the other entruſt his daughter to the Earle, ſo as they remained disjoyned in body, howſoever united by Ceremony.

* *Rodor. Sancius part. 4. hiſt. Hiſp. cap. 21.*

* *Polyd. Virg. hiſt. lib. 20.*

(18) Not long after the time of that Earles imployment into *Spaine*, there fell out accidents which doe plainely convince their errour to be great, who thinke that any madneſſe is like that of an armed and ungoverned multitude, whereof theſe times (by a kinde of Fate proper to childrens reigne) gave a moſt dangerous document. The extreme hatred borne by the people to *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, calling himſelfe King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and the diſcontentment taken at an extraordinary taxe, levyed *per Poll*, upon all ſorts of people, who were above ſixteene years of age, which (as all other the evils of the time) they imputed to the Duke (the manner being to count them the authors of evils, who are ſuppoſed to have the greateſt power of doing them) moved the enraged

* *Iohn Stow.*

Wat Tyler the Idoll of the Clowns.

The dangerous rebellions of *Wat Tyler, Iacke Straw*, and others.

enraged multitudes upon ſlight and ſmall beginnings to runne together in ſo fearefull a Torrent, that it ſeemed the King and Kingdome were ſodainely falne under their moſt wicked fury. There were in this moſt rebellious inſurrection, the Commons and Bond-men (who aſpiring by force to a free manumiſſion) principally thoſe of *Kent* and *Eſſex*, whoſe example was followed in the Neighbour-Shires of *Surrey*, * *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge*, and other places, by incredible heards and droves of like qualified people, who (ſpecially in *Norfolke*) forced ſundry principall Gentlemen to attend them in their madding.

* *L. S. Albertus. S.*

(19) They of *Kent* embattelled themſelves under two Banners of Saint *George*, and about threeſcore and tenne Penons, upon *Blacke-heath* by *Greene-wich*, and from thence came to *London*, where, the generality of people inclining to them, they are maſters. The Priory of Saint *Iohns* without *Smithfield* they kept burning for about ſeven dayes, and the goodly Palace of the *Savoy*, belonging to the Duke, with all the riches therein, they conſumed by fire, in a kinde of holy outrage, for they threw one of their fellowes into the flame, who had chruſt a peece of ſtolne Plate into his boſome. The Rebels of *Eſſex* came to *Lambeth*, burnt all the Archbiſhops goods, and defaced all the Writings, Rowles, Records and Monuments of the *Chancery*, as having a ſpeciall hatred to the Lawyers, little to their diſgrace, for that they ſhared herein with good men alſo, whom they hated. But their deſperate wickedneſſe extended it ſelfe beyond the ſpoyle of houſes and ſubſtance, laying bloudy hands upon the moſt eminent and worthy men in the Kingdome, for that they had diſſwaded the King to put himſelfe into their hands at *Greenewich*, where he talked with them our of his Barge, and thereby had their maine deſigne diſappointed. *Simon Tibald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*, a right worthy Prelate, and Sir *Robert Hales* a Knight of high courage, Lord Prior of Saint *Iohns*, and Treaſurer of *England*, with others, they without reſpect to the Majeſty of the King, or priviledge of their moſt honourable dignities, moſt barbarouſly murthered by beheading them upon *Tower-hill*, among infernall ſhoutes and diveliſh yels. For the *Tower* it ſelfe (from whence they had haled them, the young King being there in perſon) was open to their execrable inſolencies. Neither doth the authority of * *Polydor Virgill*, affirming that they were not haled forth, but onely ſtayed by the Rebels, to whom (hee ſaith) they were ſent, induce us rather to credit him, then Authors living about thoſe very times. There was no little ſtore of other innocent bloud ſhed by them in theſe tumults. Nor was the Kings owne perſon without manifeſt perill, againſt whoſe life they had damnably conſpired. It were long to reckon up the kinds of ſuch villanies as they wrought, but endleſſe to recount the particulars. The common * Annals ſer forth this whole Tragicall buſineſſe very diligently.

* *Polyd. Virg. hiſt. lib. 20.*

(20) They had many Captaines of miſchiefe, but two principall. *Wat Tyler* of *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, (whom *Walſingham* pretily cals the *Idoll of Clownes*) and *Iacke Straw*, who together had followers to the number (as they were eſtimated) of about one hundreth thouſand, and at one Sermon made to them by *Iohn Ball*, *Walſingham* ſaith, there were about twiſe as many. Their Petitions were full of pride and malice, but eaſily granted by the King, the neceſſity of the times extorting them. They had a Chaplaine as graceleſſe as themſelves, one *John Ball* an excommunicated Prieſt, who with his wicked doctrine nouriſhed in them their ſeditious furies, to his owne juſt deſtruction in theend: but when a great multitude accepting the Kings mercy were gone, *Wat Tyler* and his Campe departed not, but upon pretence of diſliking the Articles of peace, ſought to winne time till he might put into full execution his incredible Treaſons, which (as *Iacke Straw* at the time of his execution confeſſed) were upon that very night of the day, wherein *Wat Tyler* was ſlaine, to murder the King, and chiefe men, and to erect petty Tyrannies to themſelves in every ſhire: and already one *John Littiſtar* a Dyer in *Norwich* had taken upon him at *Northwalſham* in *Norfolke*, the name of the King of the Commons, and *Robert Weſtbroome* in *Suffolke*, to whom *Iohn Wraw* another lewd Prieſt had aſſigned it.

(21) Never was the Kingly race and Commonweale ſo neare to an utter extirpation, as at this preſent, which was (wee may truely ſay) miraculouſly prevented. The yong King in theſe feares and dangers repairing to *Weſtminſter*, moſt devoutely commended his Crowne, life, and whole eſtate to God, nor that in vaine. For *Wat Tyler* with his Campe of Raſcals eſteemed to be ten or twenty thouſand (according to the Kings Proclamation, attending in *Smithfield*, but cavilling of purpoſe upon the conditions of peace, as hee that meant a further miſchiefe, though they of *Eſſex* were returned) was entreated to ride to the King, who alſo ſate on horſebacke before Saint *Bartholmewes*, in whoſe company was that renowned Lord Mayor of *London*, *William Walworth*, with many other men of birth and place.

(22) *Wat Tylar* ſcarſe at the laſt comming, behaved himſelfe ſo inſolently, offering to murther one of the Kings Knights, Sir *John Newton*, for omiſſion of ſome *punto* of reſpect, which he arrogated to himſelfe in more then a Kingly manner; was (upon leave given him by the King) boldly arreſted with a drawne weapon by the Lord Mayor, a man (ſay Writers) of incomparable courage, which blow was ſeconded by the ſaid Lord, and others, ſo ſpeedily, that there this prodigy of a Traytor was feld and ſlaine. A death too worthy, for that he dyed by the ſwords of honourable perſons, for whom the axe of an Hangman had beene farre too good.

(23) The Commons perceiving the fall of their Captaine, prepared to uſe extreame revenge, when the moſt hopefull yong King with a preſent wit and courage (it being for his life and kingdome) ſpurred forth his horſe, and bad them follow him, without being grieved for the loſſe of a ribauld and traitor, for now he himſelfe would be their Captaine. Hereupon they thronged after him into the field, there to have whatſoever they deſired. But the moſt worthy of all *Londoners*, *Walworth*, ſpeedes with one man onely into the City, raiſeth a thouſand Citizens in armour, brings them (being led in good array by Sir *Robert Knolles* and others) with *Wat Tylers* head (which the Lord Mayor had commanded to bee chopt off from his dead carkaſe) borne before him upon a Speare to the King. That very head, the curſed tongue whereof had dared to ſay, *That all the lawes of England ſhould come out of his mouth.*

(24) This act reſtored the Crowne (as it were) and Realme to King *Richard*, for the Rebels ſeeing themſelves girt in with armed men, partly fled, partly fell upon their knees, and (throwing away all hope in weapon) they anſwerably to their baſeneſſe, begged their lives, who, but even now reputed themſelves Maſters of the field, and of the King. And albeit there was a generall deſire in the hearts of loyall men to expiate ſo many villanies with the bloud of the Actors, yet things abroad in the Realme being as yet unſetled, they had a generall Charrer of pardon ſealed, and were ſo ſent home into their Countries.

(25) Certainely although the City of *London* (the moſt noble and able part of the Engliſh Empire) hath otherwiſe deſerved of the Kings of this land very well, yet the honour of this ſervice worthily ſtands higheſt in the many great praiſes thereof. Which the King did thankefully and publikely teſtifie by Knighting *Walworth*, and by beſtowing upon him (when hee modeſtly excuſed his unworthineſſe and

and in-ability) one hundreth pounds land by the yeare in fee simple. Hee alſo at the ſame time beſtowed the ſame honour upon that right worthy Citizen and Patriot, Sir *Iohn Philpot*, and two other Aldermen, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, and S. *Robert Laund*, to each of which he gave a like eſtate of 40. pounds. There bee who write that hee then alſo Knighted *Nicholas Twiford*, and *Robert Gayton* Citizens. The memories of theſe and other ſuch, deſerve and ought to bee honoured with ſtatues, advanced in the moſt conſpicuous place of that great City, leaſt otherwiſe ſhee be holden ingratefull to them, from whom ſhee derives ſo honourable ſplendor. That the beauteous Armories of *London* were at this time augmented with that weapon which we ſee in the *dexter Canton* thereof, in remembrance of this ſervice done by *Walworth* is affirmed by * ſome, but with what warrant let themſelves ſhew.

* Holinſh. in Richa. 2.

(26) The young King, after this fortunate concluſion given to ſo helliſh uproares about his principall City, repaired in good array to * *Tower Royall*, or the *Queenes ward-robe*, a Palace then in the boſome of *London*. There the *Queene-mother* had remained in very great feare and griefe for the ſpace of three dayes, and two nights; but the ſight of her ſonne, and relation of his good ſpeed, blotted out of her memory the ſorrowes formerly ſuſtained.

* Survay of London.

(27) It was not long, but that the King (ſupriſed before with that popular innundation) had ſure notice that the divelliſh rebels were in all other places diſſipated, but neither till themſelves had done much miſchiefe, and ſuffered juſt puniſhment. Memorable was the ſervice of *Henry le Spencer* the ſtout Biſhop of *Norwich* againſt the Bondmen and Peſants of *Norfolke*, whom hee drave out of their Trenches, ſlew divers, and cauſed their muſhrom King *Iohn Litteſtar* to bee hanged, drawne and headed. But that which univerſally moſt of all prevailed to the reduction of theſe audacious wretches to due obedience, was the death of *Wat Tyler*, and the certaine newes of their diſſipation who were aſſembled about *London*, where for a few dayes they had moſt barbarouſly tyrannized. In *Hertfordſhire* at Saint *Albans*, *Barnet*, *&c.* in *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Elye* the popular outrages were now in a manner appeaſed. Yet wonderfull is it, that all theſe execrable furies, being in ſo many ſeverall places, with ſo great forces in each, (for at *Bury*, where *Iohn Weſtbroome* Kinged it, they are reported to have beene about fifty thouſand, making it their ſavage ſport, to cauſe the heads of great perſons, which they had cut off and fixed on Poles, to kiſſe and whiſper as it were one in the others eare) laſted not in the high ſpeed and full rage thereof the ſpace of eight dayes, (being not long before Midſommer, as if it had beene a ſyderiall infection or generall Lunacy) and the whole time thereof from the beginning to the end, is accounted, by Act of Parliament, but from the firſt of May till Midſommer, the Feaſt of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*.

Statut. An. 6. Rich. 2. Seſſion 1. cap. 13. The royall power like the Sunne after a long darkeneſſe puts forth it ſelfe againe.

(28) The royall power which had thus beene foiled, and trodden underfoote, could not longer brooke ſo intollerable debaſement, but to repaire and eſtabliſh it ſelfe, there was proclamation made that all men who had horſe and armour, and loved the King, ſhould forthwith come to *London* in their beſt manner. There were never ſeene together ſo great a multitude of horſe-men in *England*. The muſters were taken upon *Blacke-heath*, where the King himſelfe, being mounted on a goodly courſer among the armed men, and having his Standard royall advanced before him, daily rode forth to view his people, rejoycing to bee ſeene among them, and acknowledged their Lord. It is ſaid, that within three dayes ſpace there appeared upon that heath for the Kings ſervice, not fewer then forty thouſand horſemen moſt bravely appointed.

Forty thouſand Engliſh horſe-men in field together.

(29) This force had beene employed againſt the Kentiſh-men, even to the utter rooting out of all the guilty, who againe began to ſtirre, but that the King was perſwaded by the Nobility and Gentlemen of that County, to proceede by ordinary juſtice; which was done. The Kings peace was alſo proclaimed in every place according to his letters dated at *London* the ſeventeenth of *Iune*, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, to the great encouragement of good ſubjects, and confuſion of the wicked. There were executed about one * thouſand and five hundreth in all places, beſides five of a new forlorne Company; which having deſperately dared to gather head againe in *Eſſex* about *Billericai*, had tendered to the King certaine inſolent demands, which were juſtly rejected, and they ſlaine. The Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, the Kings Vncle, with Sir *Thomas Percy* brother to the *Count Northumberland*, were ſent with force againſt them. The Rebels being many in number, were notwithſtanding broken at the very firſt with a Charge made upon them by a ranke in front of ten men of Armes or Lances. There were taken eight hundreth horſes belonging to the Rebels. Sir *Robert Treſſilian* was principall Actor in the matters of Iuſtice, which hee rightly and ſeverely adminiſtred. The King himſelfe had ſo great a force of horſe-men with him, that (as Sir *Walter* at *Lee* Knight, ſaid in his ſpeech to Saint *Albans*-men) there was neither graſſe nor blade of Corne, old or new, leſt within five miles compaſſe of the Kings perſon.

* Holinſh. in Richa.

(30) And leaſt the miſchievous multitude ſhould, to the Kings diſhonour and common hurt of the Church and Kingdome, enjoy any the leaſt benefit by their late unſpeakeable villanies; the King, by adviſe of his Councell, ſent letters revocatory into the Shires about, by which he commands, that no man ſhall enjoy any freedome or profit by vertue of any extorted grants, during the time of the Inſurrections: but yet that his Majeſties purpoſe was by the adviſe of his Councell to grant to his ſubjects (notwithſtanding their ſo heynous treaſons) ſuch mercy as ſhould bee pleaſing to God, and profitable to him, and to the Kingdome. After which, ſundry executions were done at Saint *Albans*, and elſewhere. And this end for the preſent had theſe infernall attempts of the baſer people, in which we may cleerely behold the hideous face of *Anarchy* and *Plebeian* fury.

All grants of pardon and manumiſſion revoked.

The hurling times.

(31) Which fearefull convulſion in this State, ſome imputed to Gods wrath on this Land for the generall coldneſſe and neglect of their duties in the chiefe Prelates of the Kingdome; others to the great vices, and irreligious tyrannies of the great ones; others to the abounding ſinnes of the common people. But * our Author judgeth, that *the full heapt of thoſe cauſes of Gods vengeance, was made up by the begging Fryars, who* (ſaith he) *to purchaſe wealth, contrary to their owne Oaths, did ſooth the great men in their vices and nouriſhed the vulgar in their errours, feeding on the ſinnes of both: calling good evill, and evill good, ſeducing Princes by flatteries, and the common ſort with lyes, carrying both headlong with themſelves aſtray. For their outward profeſſion of truth they have ſo defiled with their wicked life, as that it is now in every mans mouth a good Argument, holding in matter and forme; This is a Fryar, Ergo, a lyar; even as true as to ſay: This is white; Ergo, it is coale-black'd.*

The walſingh.

* vyalſ. in Richa. 2. pag. 266.

(32) The Duke of *Lancaſter*, at the firſt breaking forth of theſe Rebellions, was upon the borders, about ſettling of a truce with the *Scots*, who therefore did ſhut up the matter ſpeedily before the *Scots* had any intelligence, ſetling a two yeares abſtinence from Hoſtility. The *Scots* (though they were ſorry that by the peace ſo concluded, they had loſt an opportunity of making a dangerous impreſſion upon the Engliſh,) underſtanding the Dukes perill, offered him twenty thouſand men to defend his honour, but hee loyally refuſing that, they gave him leave to come and goe at his pleaſure, with all other rites of ſacred Hoſpitality.

Humanity of the Scots toward John Duke of Lancaſter in his greateſt danger.

(33) After

An. Dom. 1382. *A. Reg. 5.* mouſſing him before the yeare 2 Chriſtmas day Incluſively.

(33) After Chriſtmas King *Richard* tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and ſiſter to *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, called *Emperour*; which Lady by the Duke of *Taſſill*, was in the name of her ſaid Father, formerly promiſed and aſſured unto him, as one whom the King did ſpecially affect, though the daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Millaine* was alſo offered with a farre greater ſumme of gold. Shee was with great pompe and glorie at the ſame time crowned Queene, by the hand of *William Courtney* (a younger ſonne of the Earle of *Devonſhire*) Biſhop of *London*, lately promoved from *London* to the See of *Canterbury*. The Nuptials and Coronation of the beauteous Queene being, the Parliament (which by this great Ladies arrivall was interrupted and prorogued) began againe. Where many things concerning the exceſſe of apparell, tranſportation of Coine, &c. were wholeſomely enacted. *Sed quid juvant Statuta Parliamentorum? &c.* but to what purpoſe (ſaith *Walſingham*) are *Acts of Parliament, when after they are once paſt, they take no manner of effect?* For the King with his private Councell, was wont (ſaith he) to change, or aboliſh all things, which by the whole Commons and Nobility of the kingdome had in former Parliaments beene agreed upon.

(34) Nevertheleſſe, it was then provided, that ſuch as had done any thing in their owne defence againſt the Rebels, or to their ſuppreſſion, without the ordinarie formes of proceſſe in law, ſhould ſuſtaine no dammage thereby, but for ever bee as cleare as if they therefore had enjoyed their particular pardons; and that all releaſes, feoffements, and other acts done in the late rebellions, (during the *hurling times*, for ſo they were called) by way of conſtraint or dureſſe, ſhould be utterly voide.

(35) With the good liking of this Parliament, Sir *Ricard Scrope* Knight, was made Chancellor of the Realme, and Sir *Hugh Segrave* Treaſurer; but it was not long before the Chancellour, denying to paſſe ſuch large gifts under the *Great Seale*, as the King in his youthfull humor had imprudently granted, therewith to gratifie his ſtill craving Courtiers, fell into the Kings undeſerved diſpleaſure. For albeit he alledged important cauſes of ſuch his deniall, (as, *that the King was greatly in debt*) and therefore ſuch largeſſes were fitter to bee imployed in diſcharging ſome of his Creditors, that knowing how the King was intangled with Creditors, ſuch cravers were not truly well affected to him, as regarding their owne private avarice more then the Kings profite, or the publike wants; that thoſe ſelfe-ſame cravers had formerly received ſuch gifts of his Majeſtie, as were (at leaſt) anſwerable to their deſervings; and that himſelfe, if he ſhould ſeale thoſe grants (made in the Kings childhood) was like to have ſmall thankes of him, when hee ſhould come to riper judgement: yet thereupon hee was twice or thrice willed to ſend the Seale to the King, who comming in perſon ſurrendred the ſame, with ſuch like words, *That he would alwayes bee loyall and true to his Majeſtie, but never beare any office under him againe.* Not long after which ſurrender, *Robert Braybroke* Biſhop of *London* was made Chancellour in his place. This act of the Kings was diſpleaſant to the whole Realme, and one of the firſt things by which hee fell into diſlike, it being among the infelicities of King *Richard*, that thoſe times were too full of ſower and impatient cenſors, for a Prince of ſo calme a temper, and as yet unſeaſoned yeares.

An. Dom. 1383.

(36) *Henry le Spenſer* the warlike Biſhop of *Norwich*, being drawne on by Pope *Vrban* to preach the *Cruſado*; and to bee *Generall* againſt *Clement* (whom ſundry Cardinals and great Prelates had alſo elected Pope) having a Fifteenth granted to him for that purpoſe by Parliament, (after ſtrong * oppoſition of *almoſt all the Nobles who reſiſted this buſineſſe of the Cruſe*) went with forces into *Flaunders* to ſupport the cauſe of *Vrban* againſt the *Antipape*; from whence

* The walſingh. Pag. 277.

after he had performed ſundry things very happily, taken *Graveling*, *Burbrough*, *Dunkirke* by aſſault, and beene victor in a ſet battell againſt thirty thouſand abettors of *Clements* claime, he was enforced to returne, as deſtitute of thoſe farther ſuccours which were exacted out of *England*. But the King upon pretence that he had not obeyed his royall mandate, by which he required him, (before hee tranſported) to returne, for a while ſeiſed upon all his temporalities.

The Kings enrichment of the Bohemians diſpleaſant.

(37) But K. *Richard* having before given the realme diſcontentment, by removing *Scrope* from the Chancellorſhip, encreaſed the ſame by ſome manifeſt ſignes of levitie and prodigality toward Strangers, then which nothing makes a Prince leſſe pleaſing to the Engliſh: for, in the progreſſe which with his beloved Queene he made to *Bury*, *Theſford*, *Norwich*, and other places, gifts were taken on all hands by the King, and they again through the Queene were powred forth to enrich her Bohemians.

An. Dom. 1384.

(38) *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter* embarckt himſelfe for *France*, where hee concluded a truce to endure betweene the two Nations Engliſh and French, from the preſent Chriſtmas till Midſommer. At his returne, he and his brother *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, went with an Armie into *Scotland*, to revenge the breach of truce: but as it ſeemes by ſome, the Duke had rather an hoaſt of men, then an hoſtile mind; for he ſo ordered the matter (as not forgetfull perhaps of curteſies ſhewed to him in his late dangers, when the Commons were out in Armes,) that the Scots having had time inough to withwraw both their goods and perſons, and his army ſuffering farre more loſſe by penurie and cold, then it could inflict upon the enemy, returned * fruitleſſe and inglorious.

* John Stow.

(39) Not long after his returne, he was encountred with a more capitall and dangerous enemy, then thoſe in Armes: for a certaine Carmelite Fryer, by birth an Iriſhman, delivered to the King (in the time of Parliament at *Saliſbury*) a writing, which contained therein a heinous accuſation of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, *that he had conſpired to murther the King, and to crowne himſelfe*. The accuſer diſcovered the day, place, and other circumſtances, to induce a beliefe of the pretended intention, and tooke his oath upon the Sacrament, which that day hee had received, that no one word in the ſcroll was untrue. The Dukes Apologie and favour with the King, prevailed above the accuſers confidence; whereupon the Fryer is committed, at the Dukes requeſt, to the Lord *Iohn Holland* (the Kings halfe-brother by his mother) and a day appointed, wherein the accuſer was to ſhew a cauſe of his crimination.

The Duke of Lancaſter accuſed of highest Treaſon.

(40) But in the night which next fore-went the deſigned day, the ſaid Lord *Iohn Holland* (if a man may beleeve, that a thing ſo villanous could be done by men of honour) and one Sir *Henry Greene* knight, are reported to have truſſed up the Fryer in a cord by the necke, and parts of generation, laying upon his breaſt a ſtone of great weight to breake the chine of his backe; and that they alſo ſcorcht the ſoles of his feet. By which miſerable and quadruple manner of death, without triall or conviction, (as alſo without * recantation of any thing which hee had uttered againſt the Duke) he is ſaid to have breathed his laſt. Neither was his death ſmothered, for the next day they cauſed his ſtrangled carkaſe to bee dragged through the City, that it might not be thought hee had periſhed unjuſtly. But the Lord *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* (the ſame who was afterward Duke of *Glocester*) went farther, for hee ruſhed into the Chamber where the King was, and bound his words with a "terrible oath, That hee would kill any one living "who durſt lay treaſon to his brothers charge; neither did hee except the King himſelfe: In which ſpeeches, as piety and zeale for his brothers honour and ſafety were not wanting, ſo certainely duty to his Prince was exceedingly forgotten.

* John Stow.

(41) That

(41) That which followed, may give us iust cause to suspect the truth of that Fryars accusation: for the Lord *William la Zouch* was also by the Fryer accused, of having beene the Inventer, broacher, and provoker of him, to set downe all that which was comprehended in the accusation; who thereupon sent for to *Salisbury* (though then very sicke of the gowte) repaired thither in a Horse-litter, where hee was compelled to answer to all such points as were objected, like a Felon, or a Traitor, standing bare-headed: but the privity, or least thought of any such matter as the Fryar affirmed against the Duke, hee confidently forswore, and was thereupon acquitted and dismissed. Howbeit (saith *Walsingham*) *La Zouch* was from that time forward a professed enemie, not onely of Carmelites, but of all other orders of Fryars whatsoever. But these disgraces came unseasonably upon the Duke, whose head was undoubtedly full of designes, and of cares, how to atchieve to himselfe the crowne of *Spaine*.

(42) There were then sundry incursions made by the English and Scots, each into the others Country, the Earle of *Northumberland* being leader to the English, with little advantage to either. But to take away the very cause of this continuall bad neighbourhood, or to lessen it by an established peace with *France*, the Duke of *Lancaster* sailed to *Calis*, about the beginning of *August*, there to treate with the Duke of *Berry*, on behalfe of the young French King *Charles* the sixt, but after hee had in that voyage expended (as was said) fifty thousand Markes, hee brought into *England* nothing backe, except onely a truce, to continue till the first day of *May* next. His desire to have procured a surer peace both with the French and Scots, seemes to have beene great, that so hee might the more freely pursue the conquest of *Spaine* which he intended.

(43) Whiles hee was absent in this Ambassage, there ensued the arraignement of a great favourite of the Dukes, *Iohn Northampton*, alias, *Comberton*, whom his adversaries by-named *Cumber-Towne*. This man is by them reported to have exceedingly troubled the City of *London*, during his late Mayoralty there, nor lesse afterward; for that being followed with many abettors, hee publikely disturbed Sir *Nicholas Bramble* his successor, (but a * bloudy minded man by report,) and wrought other masteries, till Sir *Robert Knowls* caused one of the busiest companions to bee drawne out of his house, and (as some say) shortned by the head. This *Comberton* was by his housholl Clerke accused, as privy to some practices, in prejudice as well of the King, as the City; and when sentence was to bee pronounced in the Kings presence (being then with great store of his Nobles at *Reading*,) hee durst (as is said) affirme, That such judgement ought not to proceed against him in the absence of his Lord the Duke. This againe unraked the burning coales of envy, and suspition against the said Lord Duke; and perhaps malice to the Duke procured this hatred against his favourite. Whereupon hee was confined to the Castle of *Tyntagell* in *Cornwall*, and all his goods seized upon by the Kings Servants, whom *Walsingham* expresseth, by calling them after the name of those Poeticall ravenous Birds, *Harpyes*.

(44) That heere which *Polydor Virgil* (assigning causes to actions, not always such as are, but such as seemed to him most probable, not seldome confounding and changing persons, times, names, and things) tels us, concerning a combate within lists, betweene Sir *John Ansley* Knight, and one *Carton* hath little ground, (so farre as we can find) in history. He saith they were *teterrima capita*, both very wicked men, and that there was a reall plot to murther the King. Wee can neither find the crime nor the men: there had beene a folemne combate long before, between such a Knight and one * *Katrington* an Esquire, in which the Knight was Challenger and victor, but the crime was not treason against the Kings person, nor for any thing done in his time, but in his noble Grandfathers. Neither was *Ansley*, *teterrimum caput*, but a valiant and loyall man of Armes. The crime which he objected to that Esquire (his kinsman) was, *that for money hee had traiterously given over the Castle of Saint Saviour, in the Land of Constantine in Normandy, when hee had store of victuall and munition.* The Esquire was vanquished in faire fight, and dyed franticke the next day. *Polydors* errour therefore is joyned with manifest wrong to the Knights name, wherein we ought to bee very circumspect, for that, honour is inestimable and descendeth to posterity. There was indeed at the time hee speakes of, another combate, fought also within lists before the King, (for *Duels* then were performed, not on private choise or quarrell, but on publike appointment) betweene one *Iohn Welsh* an Esquire of *England*, and one * *Martilet* a Gentleman *Navarrois*, who in revenge against *Welsh*, for having at *Cheirbrough* (where the said Esquire was under-captaine) committed (as *Martilet* said) adultery with his wife, accused him of high treason against the King and Realme. But *Welsh* prevailed; and the *Navarrois*, at his execution (for hee was * drawne and hanged after he had beene foild in battell,) confessed the cause of his evill will, and the innocency of *Welsh* in the matter of treason.

(45) The Scots had this while by practice and money gotten the Castle of *Berwicke*, whereof the Custody belonged to the Lord *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*. The Duke of *Lancaster* was not sad at this, but so pursued the matter, that the Earle (as if by his negligence and privity the same royall Castle had beene lost) was condemned in Parliament. But the King relieved him with extension of favour. This was a great cause of confirming the rancour already kindled in the hearts of these two principall Peeres. But the Earle to wipe away all blemishes of disgrace, encloseth the Castle with a siege both of forces and large proffers, so that after some time spent therein, he had it re-delivered upon payment of two thousand markes.

(46) The Flemmings had heretofore in the fift yeere of this King, sent Ambassadors at the time of Parliament, to submit themselves and their Country to his Dominion, renouncing alleageance to their naturall Lord the Earle, whom they had by force of Armes expelled, upon pretence of oppression used by him, and for other causes; but because they seemed not either persons sufficient, or sufficiently instructed with authority, to transact with the King in a matter of so high nature, they were commanded, to returne, and fetch more ample power, and to bring certaine men of every good Towne in *Flanders*. Now againe, the Citizens of *Gaunt*, though they had in battell against the French King, (who was there in person on behalfe of the Earle,) * lost twenty * thousand men not long before, desired of King *Richard*, that they might have an English Generall to command in their warres; to whom was sent a wise and valiant Gentleman, the Lord *Edward le Bourser*, who demeaned himselfe in that charge with much commendation. But when afterwards he went more abundantly and strongly to have supported them, they sodainely turned French, shewing *Se nescire* (saith * *Walsingham*) *uni amice, vel domino, fidem diu servare.*

(47) The Duke of *Lancaster* (whose, or the like greatnesse may perhaps seeme more then can stand with the narrow limits of *England*, which, without danger to the Common-wealth, can hardly afford such a proportion of estate to any Subject) was about this time enformed, that the King had a purpose to arrest his person, and to try him upon capitall points before Sir *Robert Trisilian*, his Chiefe Iustitiar, a man ready, (under the Kings protection) to deliver judgement without respect to Titles. The King was nourished in this * deliberation by young men, who combined against the Dukes life. This being discovered, the Duke (a potent Prince) withdrawes upon his guard to his Castle of *Pomfret* in the

Iohn Cumbertowne, once Lord Mayor of London, condemned and confiscated.

** Tho. Walsingh. Ypodig. Neust.*

Polyd. Virg. not to be rashly believed.

Sir John Ansleys reputation redeemed from slander.

** It often he is called, Ypodig. Neust. Ad.1380.*

** Henry Knighton Canon of Leic. Abbey apud Hedegh.*

** Tho. Walsingh. in Richa.*

** Polydor. lib. 18. Hall. 20. & Pet. Ament.*

Hatred betweene the Duke and Count Northumberland.

Scotland.

** Paul. Æmil. Three hundreth thousand English men in armes together.*

Berwicke recovered by the Earle.

An. Dom. 1385. The Soveraigty of Flanders offered to King Richard by the Flemmings.

** Froissart. all arms*

** Paul. Æmil. in Gest. 6.*

** Iohn of Gaunt his Queen.*

** Paul. Æmil. saith 40000 in fight, and in flight, and that in their whole civill warres there perish'd 200000.*

** In Richa. 2. ad*

An. Dom. 1386. The Duke of Lancaster lands upon his keeping.

** Tho. Walsingh. In Richa. 2. anno 10.*

The Kings mother dyeth, being denied a pardon for her Sonne the Lord John Holland.

the *North*; nevertheless the hopes of wicked men, delighting in their Countries miseries, and civill combustions, were made voide by the great diligence of the Kings mother, the Princesse *Ioan*, who spared not her continuall paines and expenses, in travailing betweene the King and the Duke, (albeit she was exceeding tender of complexion, and scarce able to beare her own bodies weight through corpulency) till they were fully reconciled.

(48) It had indeed beene a most wretched time for a civill warre, not onely because the French Admirall, *Iohn de Vienna*, had beene sent with forces, embarke in threescore saile of Ships, to be employed out of *Scotland* against the English, but for that the French prepared a generall invasion of *England*, having in hope already as it were devoured it. There reigned at that time in *France*, *Charles the sixt*, a yong and foolish Prince, (saith *Tillius*) who having in his treasury, left to him by his prudent Father, * eight-teene millions of Crownes, (and not onely eighteene hundred thousand, * as some, fearing perhaps that the other summe might seeme incredible, have written,) and being moreover set on fire with an inconsiderate love of glory, rather then upon any found advise (though * some impute the Counsell to the said *Admirall*) would needs undertake the conquest of our Country. These newes stirred all the limbes and humours thereof, though the event (God not favouring the enterprize) was but like that of the Mountaine, which after long travaile brought forth a ridiculous Mouse, nevertheless it had beene a most desperate season for a civill warre to have broken forth in *England*.

(49) The preparations of the French doe hold notwithstanding, and the generall *Rendevous* of their huge forces was at *Sluse*, in the Port whereof, and other places about, there were assigned to assemble for their transportation, * twelve hundreth saile of ships. At the same time (as if the two young Kings had beene rivals in shew of men) *Richard* raiseth so great an Army to over-runne *Scotland*, as the like for beauty and number was never seene together, consisting wholly of Englishmen. But may we beleeve that *England* could spare three hundreth thousand men, and as many horses for the use of warre? Certainely a needlesse multitude, but onely to terrifie the French with the fame, for there might have beene fewer, for any great Act which *Richard* (full of jealousie against his Uncle of *Lancaster*, wherewith his head and heart were full,) effected. But wee may the rather beleeve the account, for that *Walsingham* vouchеth * Serveants and Armes (if he meane not Heralds by those words) whose office (he saith) it was to number the hoast, and they affirmed the same. This is sure, that * among other the arguments used by the Duke of *Bury* (one of the French Kings Vncles) to frustrate this enterprize, he alleaged, that the King of *England* had mustred ten thousand Horsemen, and one hundreth thousand Archers for his defence; whereas the Admirall *Iohn de Vienna* affirmed, that having seene the forces of the English, they were but eight thousand horsemen and threescore thousand foot; and he might well say *having seene*: for, though *Aemylius* bring him in speaking to the French King, and vaunting that hee had encountred them, yet nothing is truer, then that the English returned out of *Scotland* without the least offer of battell. The Admiral was willing indeed to have fought, but when hee saw our Army from the hil-tops, his fury gave place to reason.

(50) While the Army was upon the way toward *Scotland*, the Kings halfe brother the Lord *Iohn Holland*, wickedly slew the Lord *Stafford*, sonne to the Earle of *Stafford*, not farre from *Yorke*, being upon his journey to the Queene, whose favoured Knight hee was. For which heinous homicide the King seised upon his whole estate, denying to his Mothers most earnest prayers any pardon or grace for his Brother. Which was to her so grevous, that within five or sixe dayes after shee gave up the ghost at *Wallingford*. The young Lord tooke Sanctuary at *Beverley*, and the King by his justice herein wanne the hearts of the said Earle of *Stafford*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Basset*, and other great men of *Staffords* kindred and friends; neither did this empeach at all the present voyage.

(51) The Scots and French in *Scotland*, seeing themselves unable to withstand such forces, had so retired themselves and all their goods, that when the English should come, they, (as *Walsingham* pleasantly saith) could see no quicke things left but onely Owles. That which was greene in the fields, the horses devoured or trampled downe, yet such harme, as the materials of buildings were capable of, was done. *Edenburgh* also and the * noble Abbey of *Mailrosse* were fired. The Duke of *Lancaster* perswaded the King to march beyond the *Frith* or Scottish Sea (as his great Ancestors had done) to seeke out his enemies; but he, very suspicious that the Duke gave him this counsell with a purpose to betray him to destruction by famine, and want, which hee was there to looke for, expressed much displeasure and returned. The Dukes words notwithstanding and behaviour were tempered with much duty and modesty; but that would not serve, till the Lords peeced their affections together by intercession in the best manner the time would suffer. But the English hoast was scarce returned and discharged, when the Scots and French sodainly powred themselves forth upon our Country, and did whatsoever hurt the shortnesse of time in their incursion could permit.

(52) To resist and endammage the French, there were appointed *Admirals* for the narrow Seas, the Master of Saint *Johns*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy* Knight, (the Earle of *Northumberlands* Brother,) who did nothing worthy their fame or place. Onely the Townesmen of *Portsmouth* and *Dart*, maund forth a few ships at their owne perill and charge, wherewith entering the river of *Sein* (upon which the renowned Cities *Roan* and *Paris* are situated) suncke some of their enemies ships, tooke others, and among them one of Sir *Oliver de Clisson's*, the goodliest that *France* had. The successe answered their hopes, and they were enriched with the spoyles of their adversaries, whom thus they compelled to beare the charge of their proper mischiefe.

(53) Meane-while that the French lay at *Sluse*, attending the approach of their kings uncle the Duke of *Burie*, (who favoured not this enterprize of invasion, but fought * aswell by delayes, as by perswasion and authoritie to make it frustrate,) they of *Gaunt* had gotten the Towne of *Dam*, by the good liking of the Inhabitants, to whom the French government was odious. For recovery whereof, the French King drew his army (prepared against *England*) to the siege of *Dam*, which (the same being first secretly abandoned, after a moneths siege and many repulses given to the French) was by him recovered. This, and other things, did so protract the great expedition intended, that (after waste of infinite treasure) *Charles* returned home, without having seene *England*, which was by these meanes most graciously freed by God from so dangerous, and greatly feared an impression. But that the English might the better endure the same, *Iohn* King of *Portugall*, having lately in a great and bloudy battell (where some of the English deserved well of him,) overthrowne the *Castillians*, and thereby setled his estate, sent into *England* sixe Galleys throughly well appointed, for Sea-service, though (as God would) there was no need of them.

(54) Of those French, which (after the Cloud of warre at *Sluse* was disperled into ayre,) passed over-land into their Countries, many were taken and slaine by the *Gauntiners*. Their Navie was no lesse unfortunate; for at one * time the English of *Calis* tooke of them eighteene, and the rage of weather

** Tho. Walsingh. The Duke of Lancaster suspected for perswading the King to pursue the Scottish Scots.*

The verme of private men in the publike cause.

** Iohn Tillius.*

The Portugeses and the English.

** In fest. exalt. Cruc. 14. Sept.*

The bad event of this French designe for an invasion.

brake and sunke divers, so that this *Bravado* was not onely costly to the French, by reason of the charges, but hurtfull in the losse of time, men, ships, and hoped glory. Such are the events of humane enterprises, where God is not pleased to give successe. The English thus delivered from feare, make a road into *France* out of *Callis*, and with a prey of foure thousand sheepe and three hundreth head of great cattell, besides an hundreth good prisoners, returned safe to their Garrison.

(55) The multitude of memorable things which present themselves to us in the lives of our English Monarches, is such, that if we did not use choise, and in their relation brevitie, we should not relieve our Readers of that molestation, with which the vaste volumes of former labours doe oppresse the memory. The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at *London*, had yeelded to aide the King with a *Fifteenth*, upon condition, that the Clergie should succour him with a *Tenth and an halfe*; against which unjust proportion, *William de Courtney*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* most stiffely opposed; alleadging *that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to bee taxed by the Laity, and that himselfe would rather die then endure that the Church of England, (the liberties whereof had by so many free Parliaments, in all times, and not onely in the raigne of this King beene confirmed) should be made a bond-maide.* This answere so offended the *Commons*, that the Knights of the Shires, and some Peeres of the land, with extreame fury besought, *That Temporalities might bee taken away from Ecclesiasticall persons*, saying, *that it was an Almes deed and an Act of Charitie so to doe, thereby to humble them.* Neither did they doubt, but that their petition which they had exhibited to the King would take effect. Hereupon they desigued among themselves, out of which Abbey, which should receive such a certaine summe, and out of which, another. I my selfe (saith a * Monke of S. *Albans*) heard one of those Knights confidently sweare, that hee would have a yeerely pension of a thousand Markes out of the Temporalities belonging to that Abbey. But the King having heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Petition to be razed out, saying, *Hee would maimaine the English Church in the qualitie of the same state or better, in which himselfe had knowne it to bee, when he came to the Crowne.* The Archbishop hereupon having consulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that he and the Clergie had with one consent, willingly provided to supply his Majesties occasions with a *Tenth*. This grant the King rooke so contentedly, as he openly affirmed he was better pleased with this free contribution of one Tenth for the present, then if he had gotten foure by compulsion.

The attempt of the Laitie to dispossesse the Clergie of their temporall estates.

* Thom. Walsingh.

King *Richard* the Clergies friend.

(56) *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* (a young Gentleman in speciall grace with the King) was at this Parliament created *Marquesse* of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, which mooved great despight against him, those rough times being impatient to beare the unequall advancement of favourites. Nevertheless, though the gentle King was thought heerein to please his owne fansie, rather then to reward merite, yet did hee so sweetly temper it, as there was no justice, nor reason to envie to him that solace which hee tooke in his friends encreased honour; for at the same time hee advanced two of his Vncles, *Thomas of Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, to the title of Duke of *Glocester*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, he created Duke of *Yorke*, allotting severall proportions of pension to bee paide out of his Exchequer. In *Vere* there was ancient Nobilitie to justifie his new degree the better; but in making the Lord Chancellor *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, with the yearely pension of 1000. Markes, was matter of more envie; because he was not descended of such honourable Parents: a defect (if it be a defect) which none more willingly upbraid to men of worth, then who themselves are not alwayes the most worthy. The first raiser of this family of *De la Pole* was *Edward* the third, who made *William de la Pole*, of a brave Merchant, a * Knight Baneret, and gave him great possessions, in requitall of an extraordinary and voluntary loane of treasure, advanced by him to supply the King in a time of speciall necessitie, when money could stand him in more steed then a thousand men of Armes: no little merite in a subject, nor a slender reward of a most munificent Prince.

The first Marquesse made that ever was in *England*.

(57) *Henry Spencer* the martiall Bishop of *Norwich* found grace with the King at this Parliament, to be restored to his temporalities, at the speciall suite of *Thomas Arundell* Bishop of *Ely*: whiles the Bishop of *Ely* thus beseught his Majesty of Grace, the said *Michael de la Pole* (Lord Chancellour, and Earle of *Suffolke*) stood by, and brake out with much offence into these words. *What is that (my Lord) which you aske of the King? Seemes it to you a small matter for him to part with that Bishops temporalities, when they yeeld to his Coffers above one thousand pounds by yeare? Little need hath the King of such Counsellors, or of such friends, as advise him to acts so greatly to his hinderance.* Whereunto the Bishop of *Ely* not lesse truely, then freely replide. *What saith your Lordship, my Lord Michael? Know that I require not of the King that which it his, but that which hee (drawne thereunto either by you, or by the Counsell of such as you are,) with-holds from other men, upon none of the justest titles, and which (as I thinke) will never doe him any good: as for you, if the Kings hinderance bee the thing you weigh, why did you so greedily accept of a thousand Markes by yeare, at such time as he created you Earle of Suffolke?* The Chancellour was hit so home with this round retort, that he never offered any further to crosse the restitution of the Bishops temporalities.

* Ex Sim. Dunelm. de Annis, & ex Ricard. apud Guil. Lamb. in Vit. Episc.

(58) After this the King being with his Queene at their manour of *Eltham* in *Kent*, there came thither *Leo* King of *Armenia*, a Christian Prince, whom the *Tartars* had expelled out of his Kingdome. The pretence of his negotiation was to accord the Realmes of *England* and *France*; that the Princes thereof might with joyne forces remoove the common enemy from Christendome. Therein he could effect nothing, but his journey was not otherwise unfruitfull to himself, for King *Richard* (a Prince, to speake truly, full of honour and bountie) gave him besides a thousand pounds in a * ship of gold, letters Pattents also for a thousand pounds yearely pension during life.

An. Dom. 1386. *An. Reg.* 6.

* Prodig. Niall.

(59) The time now was come, wherein King *Richard* should see himselfe delivered of all that feare and jealousie, which the greatnesse of his Vncle the Duke of *Lancaster* stirred in him. His Forces were now ready, and his Navy (encreased with * seven Gallies and eighteene ships sent out of *Portugall*) attended at *Bristoll*, to transport him toward *Spaine*, (for *Castile is high Spaine*) the Crowne whereof hee claimed in right of *Constance* his second wife, daughter of *Don Peter* the cruell. Before he set forth, the newes came that such English as were already in *Portugall*, with their friends, had overthrowne the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Britons*, at a battell in *Spaine*. This was a spurre to quicken the Dukes enterprise, which Pope *Vrban* the sixth (by granting plenary remission of sinnes to all such as gave the Duke ayde) did specially favour, as against them who did partake with his enemy the *Antipape*; * *but the frequent grant of such pardon and releasement, was now growne so vile and contemptible amongst the people, that few were found open handed towards this Crucesa.* Admirall of this Fleet was Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *John Holland* (who had married one of the Dukes daughters, afterward created Earle of *Huntington*) was Constable of the hoast, and Sir *John Mereaux* (who had to wife one of the Dukes illegitimate Children) was one of his Marshals. There were in this noble and excellently well appointed Armie, the Lords, *Talbot*, *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-walter*, *Poynings*, *Bradston*, *Fitz-warren*,

* Holinsh.

* Sim. Dunelm. pag. 221.

The noble army of the Duke of Lancaster for Spaine.

* Paul. Aemyl.

* Henry Knighton.

* Gilbertus Anglus.

warren, *Beaumont*, *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Pomiers* a *Gascoigne*, &c. with very many worthy Knights and valiant Esquiers, and a choise number of men of Armes, Archers and other Souldiers, to the number of * twenty thousand. The Duke tooke also with him his wife, the Lady *Constance*, and two daughters, which he had by her, as * one relateth.

* Holinsh. ex Hen. Knigh. p. 449.

(60) It was now the moneth of May, when the great Duke of *Lancaster* comming to take leave, had of the Kings gift a Diademe of gold, and his Dutchesse of the Queene another: he also commanded the English to call, and hold his Vncle for a King, and to doe him answerable honour. But after all this, he lay for a wind so long, till his whole provisions were almost spent; at length yet, hee set forward. The first land they touched was neere to *Brest* in *Britaine*, where Sir *John Roch*, the Governour against the French, complained of two Forts built about him to empeach his quiet egresse; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* caused them to be assaulted; so both of them being taken by surrender, were razed to the ground, though some English first lost their lives, among which was, * Sir *Robert Swinarton*, a valiant Knight of *Staffordshire*, and *John de Bolton* a couragious Esquier of *Yorkeshire*, whom the sodaine ruine of a Tower (overturn'd by mining) whelmed and slew out-right. Sharpned with the successe of this victorie, they commit themselves to God, and the Sea, and prosperously arrive with the whole Fleet in the Port *Corone*, or the *Groyne*, * in August.

* vigil. S. Laurent.

(61) The French (belike) thought *England* could not furnish another Armie for *France*, as thee had for *Spaine*: whereupon there was now no false nor vaine rumour spread againe, that the French would besiege *Callis*. The King to secure that precious transmarine part of his Dominions, sent thither store of men and of all provisions. The most eminent person was *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, Sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*. This was hee whom the Scots by-named *Hotspur*, a young Gentleman, *in whom* (saith *Walsingham*) *the patterne of all vertue and martiall prowesse shined:* and indeed his nature did answer his by-name; for he made such ridings into the quarters about *Callis*, that they could never wish a worse Neighbour. After which, when the fame went that the French King would not delay, or (as they call it) beleaguer *Callis*, but rather invade *England*, hee returned to be present where the greatest danger was expected. At this time, the English Seamen of warre, brought two French prizes to *Sandwich*, in which was taken a part of an huge strong Timber-wall, which the French King, preparing now for *Englands* invasion, had caused to bee built in length three miles, in height twenty foot, which had at every twelve paces a Tower (ten foot higher) and each capable of ten men, the whole to be a defence for the French encampments against our shot, and a shelter for theirs, there was also in the same Ships the Enginer and Master-workeman, who was an Englishmen, and great quantities of powder, and store of Ordnance, together with the French Kings * Master-Gunner.

The Lord Henry Piercy by-named Hotspur, sent to Callis.

* Magister Gunnarius. A Parallelization of the English and French States in their times.

(62) There was in this time a great resemblance betweene *England* and *France* in the chiefe points of State. As *England* had *Richard*, so had *France* her *Charles*, both young Kings. *Charles* with an huge Army had prepared to invade *England*, but did nothing: *Richard* with no lesse forces entred *Scotland*, and did no great thing. *Richard* had Vncles which bare great sway in the Realme; so had *Charles*. *Richard* had his Vncle *John* more potent then the rest; *Charles* had his Vncle *Lewis*. *John* upon his Wives title claimeth the kingdomes of *Castile* & *Leon*; *Lewis* by the gift of *Ioane* the Queene, claimes the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicil*. *Lewis* went with an Army of * thirtie thousand horse into *Italy* to atchieve his claime; with what force *John* set forth you have heard. But *Lewis* died without obtaining; *John* prevailed so farre as to settle his childe by marriage. The King and great Lords of *France* were glad (with any charge) to enjoy the absence of *Lewis*, and *Richard* and his favourites were not sad, that the Realme was for the present rid of *John*.

* Paul. Aemyl.

(63) The forces of the French provided for this invasion of *England*, were reported in open Parliament (which the King held about *Michaelmas* in *London*) to consist of * 15. Dukes, 26. Earles, two hundreth Lords, and an hundreth thousand Souldiers, and a thousand Ships, assembled about *Sluse*, with full purpose to take revenge of all the evils which the English nation had formerly wrought in *France*, and to destroy the English Kingdome. But though these reports were not fained, (for the French attended nothing in a manner but a faire gale of winde to bring them,) yet could not the King, without Capitulations made by the Duke of *Glocester*, obtaine any aydes of money; so that, whereas it feemed to the King, that by the Duke of *Lancasters* departure, hee was become more free, yet had he left behind, spirits much more stiffe and intractable. O deare Countrey, hadst thou not then beene apparantly in Gods protection, (for the French having stayd for a winde till *Hallon-tide*, and then having it halfeway, were beaten backe, and the voyage made utterly voide, certainely thy ruine had then beene certaine. What shall we thinke or say of those popular Lords, by this gentle King armed (*to his owne bane*) with power and greatnesse, who under the specious pretext of reforming abuses, did fatisfie their envy and inbred insolency.

* Tpodig. Neustr.

(64) The King tels them, that *England* is, as they saw, in manifest danger, and prayes their succour in money: what is the answer? That the *Duke of Ireland* (for now the Marquesse of *Dublin* was made a Duke,) and *Michael at the Pole* (so they scornefully called the Earle of *Suffolke*) and other, must be removed. Things are badly carried at home, say they; (and they perhaps said truely,) but where was now the care of our Countrey? God indeed turned from us the mercilesse point of the French sword: but here began the seedes of innumerable worse miseries, never to bee remembred without sighes and teares.

The first seeds of the civill warres.

(65) The seeds (we say) of those fearefull calamities were then first here sowne, whose summe a flourishing * Writer in our age (willing neerely to have imitated *Lucan*, as hee is indeed called our * *Lucan*) doth not unfortunately expresse, though hee might rather have said he wept them, then sung them; but so to sing them, is to weepe them.

* Sam. Dan. in his civil wars. * Remanus.

I sing the civill warres, tumultuous broyles,
And bloody factions of a mighty Land;
Whose people hautie, prond with forraine spoyles,
Vpon themselves turne backe their conquering hand;
While kinne kinne their kinne, brother the brother foiles,
Like Ensignes, all against like Ensignes band;
Bowes against Bowes, a Crowne against a Crowne,
While all pretending right, all right throwne downe.

But *Robert de Vere*, saith *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester* and his party, was unworthily created Duke of *Ireland*, and *De la Pole* the Lord Chancellor seemed to the onely great Lords (for so they would seeme) to be in the Kings debt. Strange colours for Subjects to capitulate with their King; upon giving their joynt aydes against the common enemy, now ready with one destruction to overwhelme them all. The time they tooke to worke this pretended amendment in state, was not well fitted. It favoured of somewhat else besides the love of Common-weale. Private ambitions and passions could not be wanting in such oppositions. This is some mens judgement, let the sequels shew how just.

(66) There were called up at this Parliament for defence of the Realme innumerable people out of all Shires, which forces lay about *London* within

twentie miles round, and had no pay but lived upon ſpoyle. Theſe at laſt were licenſed to depart to bee ready at warning. There was alſo the Lord Chancellour accuſed, of (we wot not what) petty crimes (for the abuſes of following ages have made them ſeeme ſo,) as for paying to the Kings Coffers but *twentie markes yearely, for a Fee-farme, whereof himſelfe received threeſcore and ten, and ſome ſuch other. To pacifie theſe great Lords, the Lord Chancellour is diſgraced, and the ſeale taken from him, againſt the Kings will, and given to *Thomas Arundell* Biſhop of *Elye*, and then the houſes of Parliament yeelded to give halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth, but upon condition that it ſhould bee diſpoſed of, as the Lords thought fit, for defence of the Realme. The money was thereupon delivered to the Earle of *Arundell* to furniſh himſelfe, for that purpoſe, to the Sea. But to rid the Duke of *Ireland* out of the Realme, the Lords were willing he ſhould have thoſe thirtie thouſand Markes, for which the heires of *Charles* thouſand Markes, for which the heires of *Charles* of *Bloys*, (who heretofore challenged *Britaine*) were tranſacted to the French, upon condition that the ſaid Duke ſhould paſſe into *Ireland* before the next Eaſter.

* *Tho. Walſ. in Rich. 2.*

(67) The Parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but the King recals the Earle of *Suffolke* to the Court, keepes both him, the Duke of *Ireland*, and *Alexander Nevile* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* about his perſon, in greater favour then before. Inſomuch that at Chriſtmaſſe he made *De la Pole* to fit at his owne Table, *not in the uſuall garment of a Peere, but Princely robed.* Surely therein not well; for ſome of thoſe great Lords, (though not by ſo ſweet meanes as were fit) did deſire to waken him out of Courtly drowſineſſe, and (as men that knew not whāt peace meant) to put him into actions worthy of his name and greatneſſe. Theſe other perſons were not ſo friended, or qualified, that they could ſupport a King againſt an univerſall miſlike. But the King upon a ſtomacke doth it; ſo that (ſaith *Walſingham*) *here firſt grew the Kings hatred againſt the Peeres, that from thence-forth hee never (as it is ſaid) regarded them but fainedly.* So much more dangerous ſometime is the remedy then a very grievous malady.

* *Tyrrell. Meuil.*

(68) King *Richard* (whoſe age and place ſtood in need of wiſer inſtructions) not thus contemned to have whetted the diſpleaſures of the greater Peeres, as if hee had ſaid to himſelfe, *Rumpatur* * *quiſquis rumpitur invidiâ*; is further drawne, as was ſaid, to plot the death of his Vncle, *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloſter*, and other enemies of *De la Pole*; who together being invited to a feaſt (by the bloudy deviſe of Sir *Nicholas Brambre* late Lord Major of *London*) ſhould together have periſhed. But the preſent Lord Major *Nicholas Exton* (whom the conſpirators would have had their Partaker, if it may be beleeved) honeſtly refuſed to aſſent. The Lords hereupon having admonition, reſtrained to come.

* *Martiel.*

The Lord Major of *London* refuſeth to be of conſpiracy againſt the Duke of *Gloſter*.

An. Dom. 1387.

(69) The perſons which were in the publike envie for their over-ſwaying grace with the King, were (as you have heard) *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, the ſaid Archbiſhop, Sir *Thomas Burley* Knight, and Sir *Richard Stury*: Theſe men hearing that *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham* Marſhall of *England*, * had encountred with a great Fleet of *Frenchmen, Flemmings, Normans*, and *Spaniards*, and taken above one hundreth ſaile of Ships, and in them nineteene thouſand Tunnes of wine, depraved the victory, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed were but Merchants, whoſe loves had beene more profitable to our Country, then ſo to ſtirre them to inexorable hatred. But theſe (ſaith * one) who thus judged, were rather the *Knights of Venus then Bellona, fitter for a Canopy then a Campe, for language then a lance, as they who were awake to diſcourſe of martiall actions, but drowſie when they ſhould come to doe them. Such therefore converſing with the King (not * without ſuſpition of foule familiaritie) never tooke care to put into his minde any matter which beſeemed ſo patent a Prince, we ſay not (quoth our Author) as concerning the uſe of Armes, but not even concerning thoſe very recreations, which moſt of all become great ſpirits, as hunting, hawking, and the like.* But the Earles did more then meddle with Merchants (who yet were able to make dangerous reſiſtances) for they landed at *Breſt* in *Britaine*, and with great difficultie delivered it againe from ſo bad neighbours as the two wooden Forts neerely buile, where the other had ſtood, one of which they fired, and the other they mand with the Engliſh Garriſon of *Breſt*. Then ſtuffing it with all ſorts of proviſions for a yeare, and furniſhing the wants of the Souldiers with all neceſſaries, they returned, having worthily wonne the love and praiſes of the people. Which, as they were alſo due to them from the King, yet comming to his preſence, they (by theſe mens evill offices) had ſo cold entertainment, as they eſtſoones with-drew themſelves from Court to live quietly upon their owne at home. After them the brave yong *Henry Hotſpur*, Lord *Piercy* was ſent (ill provided) to the Sea; nevertheleſſe hee ventred, and returned (when his commiſſion was expired) with honour.

* *Walſingham.*

* *Tyrrell. Meuil.*

* *Spelm. Aſſert. Artic. Cleri. fol. 1. Tyrrell. Meuil.*

The malignant conſtruction made of the Earle of *Arundels* ſervice.

(72) One thing done by the Duke of *Ireland* was furely full of wickednеſſe and indignitie. For he having to wife a young, faire, and noble Lady, and the Kings neere kinſwoman, (for ſhee was Grandchild to King *Edward* by his * daughter *Iſabel*,) did put her away, and tooke one of Queene *Annes* women, a *Bohemian* * of baſe birth, called in her mother tongue *Lancetrone*. This intollerable villanie offered to the blood royall, King *Richard* did not encounter; neither had the power, ſome ſay, who deemed that by witchcrafts and ſorceries (practiſed upon him by one of the Dukes followers) his judgement was ſo ſeduced and captivated, that hee could not ſee what was honeſt or fit to doe. But where *Princes* are wilfull or floathfull, and their *favourites* flatterers, or time-ſervers, there needs no other enchantments to infatuate, yea, and ruinate the greateſt Monarch.

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his wife the Kings coſen.

* *Thoſe Articles are not found in the Statutes of Rom. 12.*

* *Tho. Walſing. in Richard.*

* *Sellers Fille, a Sadlers daughter, ſome ſay a layman. Tho. Walſing.*

(71) The Duke of *Gloceſter* tooke the matter more to heart, reſolving to be revenged for the infamy and confuſion, which was brought thereby upon his noble kinſwoman. Meane-while the King, as if hee meant to conduct his deare friend the Duke toward *Ireland*, went with him into *Wales*. There the King deviſeth with him, the Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Treſilian*, and others, (who were equally afraid of the Lords) how to deſtroy the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Arundell, Warwicke, Derby, Nottingham*, and ſuch others, as from whom they thought fitte to bee cleare. Much time beeing trifled thus away in *Wales*, they come together (as if the Dukes appointed voyage, or rather baniſhment into *Iraland*, were quite forgotten) to the Caſtle of *Nottingham*, there more freely to deliberate. A fearefull eſtate of a Monarchie. Hee among a few, generally ill-beloved, and ill-adviſed, and ill-provided; for their whole ſtrength was the King, and theſe emulations made that force feeble both to him and them: the Lords, potent, martiall, rich, and popular; he at *Nottingham*, they not neere him, but abroad farre off: the Duke of *Lancaſter* with the flower of the Engliſh Forces, and mightie neighbours, watching for the ruine of all. The courſe agreed upon by the King and that ill-choſen *Senate*, was firſt to have the opinion of all the Chiefe Lawyers concerning certaine Articles of Treaſon, within whoſe nets and ſprindges they preſumed the *reforming Lords* were; and if the Lawyers (who ſeldome faile Princes in ſuch turnes) did conclude, that thoſe Articles contained treaſonable matter, then under a ſhew of juſtice they ſhould be proceeded againſt accordingly. Theſe Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the laſt ſeditious Parliament, gave advice to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demanded, *whether by the law*

A new conſultation of the King how to bring the popular Lords to a triall.

The Lawyers ſent for to make treaſons.

law of the Land, the King might not diſannull the Decrees of the laſt Parliament: they joyntly * anſwered; *he might, becauſe he was above the lawes*: confeſſing, *that themſelves had in that Parliament decreed many things, and given their judgement, that all was according to law, which now they acknowledged to be altogether unlawfull.* The King thus enformed, appointeth a great Councell to be holden at *Nottingham*, and ſent for certaine *Londoners*, ſome of them ſuch as were beholden to the King for mercie in caſes of *ſtatandowr*, to be there empanelled for Queſts of Inquirie. The Sheriffes of Shires (being queſtioned) denied, that they could raiſe any competent forces againſt the Lords, their whole Counties were ſo addicted in their favour: and being further willed to ſuffer no Knights to be choſen for the Shires, but ſuch as the King and his Councell ſhould name, they anſwered, that the election belonged to the Commons, who favoured the Lords in all.

* *Fabbyn, vide Inſeſt Statut. Art. Rich. 2. cap. 6.*

(72) Vpon the 25. of Auguſt there met before the King at *Nottinham* theſe Lawyers, *Robert Triſilian* his chiefe Iuſtitiar, *Robert Belknap* chiefe Iuſtitiar of the common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger* * *Stilethorpe*, and *William Burgh* Iuſtitiars in the ſame Court, and *John Lockton* the Kings Serjeant at Law: all which being upon their allegiance charged to deliver their opinions, whether ſuch * Articles as were there in the Kings behalfe propounded (which Articles comprehended all the poynts of advantage taken againſt the proceedings of the laſt Parliament, and the diſplacing of the Lord Chancellor, *Michael de la Pole*) contayned matter of Treaſon, they all of them anſwered affirmatively, and ſubcribed; which afterward coſt them deare. Iudge *Belknap* fore-ſaw the danger, and therefore was very unwilling to put his Seale to the anſwеres, ſaying; *there wanned but a* * *hurdle, a horſe, and a halter, to carrie him where hee might ſuffer the death he deſerved; for if I had not done this* (quoth he) *I ſhould have died for it, and becauſe I have done it, I deſerve death for betraying the Lords.* The King in the meane ſpace purvayes himſelfe of people to fight, if need required.

* *Thoſe Articles are ſet downe in the Statute Rolles of Statut. 21. Rich. 2.*

* *Tho. Walſing. in Richard.*

(73) The Duke of *Gloceſter* (ſadded with theſe newes) ſent the Biſhop of *London* to bring his purgation upon oath to the King, who inclining to credite the ſame, was in an evill houre diverted by *De la Pole*. The Duke makes his and their common danger konwn to the Earles of *Arundel, Warwicke*, and *Derby*, eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of *Lancaſter*. They ſeverally gather forces, that united they might preſent their griefes to the King, who to keep them from joyning, ſends the Earle of *Northumberland* to arreſt the Earle of *Arundel* at *Reygate* in *Surrey*, where he abode. But by reaſon of *Arundels* power, it was too dangerous a worke. *Northumberland* returnes, and *Arundel* (admoniſhed by the Duke of *Gloceſter* of his farther perill) eſcapeth in poſt to *Haringey*, where the Duke and Earle of *Warwicke* had ſtore of people.

* *Walſingham, & M S. in noſtre Cronic Hiſtellibook.*

(74) As yet no bloud was drawne. Peaceable men procured that the Lords ſhould repaire ſafe to *Weſtminſter*, and there be heard. Thither approaching they are advertiſed by the Biſhop of *Elie* and others (who had ſworne on the Kings behalfe for good dealing to be uſed during the *Interim*) that, at the *Mewes* by *Charing-Croſſe*, a thouſand armed men (which without the Kings privitie Sir *Thomas Trivet* and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* Knights, were reported to have laide for their deſtruction) attended in ambuſh. The King ſweares his innocency, but the Lords come ſtrong, and truſt no longer. The King royally adorned keepes ſtate in *Weſtminſter*-Hall with many his Prelates and Peeres about him; the Lords preſent themſelves upon their knees, and being required by the Biſhop of *Elye* the Lord Chancellour (for the Lord *De la Pole* never had that place againe) *why they were in warlike manner aſſembled at Haringey Parke, contrary to the lawes*, their joynt anſwere was, *That they were aſſembled for the good of the King and kingdome, and to weed from about him ſuch Traitors as he continually held with him.* The traitors they named to be, *Robert de Vere Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevile Archbiſhop of Yorke, Michael at the Pole Earle of Suffolke, Sir Robert Treſilian that falſe Iuſtitiar* (quoth they) and Sir *Nicholas Brambre* that falſe Knight of *London*. To prove them ſuch, they threw downe their gloves, as gages of challenge for a triall to be had by the Sword. The King hereunto replied, as knowing that they were all hidden out of the way (*This ſhall not be done ſo, but at the next Parliament (which ſhall be the morrow after Candlemas) all parties ſhall receive according as they deſerve. And now (ſaith he) to you my Lords; how or by what authority durſt you preſume to levy force againſt me in this land? did you think to have terrified me by ſuch your preſumption? have not I men of Armes, who (if it pleaſed me) could environ, and kil you like caſtle? Certainely in this reſpect I eſteeme of you all no more, then as of the baſeſt ſcullions in my Kitchens.* Having vſed theſe, and many the like high words, he tooke up his uncle the Duke from the ground, where all this while hee kneeled, and bad all the other riſe. The reſt of the conference was calme, and the whole deferred till the next Parliament, then ſhortly to be holden at *Weſtminſter*. In the meane time (that the World might ſee how little able the King was to equall his words with deedes) a Proclamation is ſet forth, in which the King cleareth the Lords (before any trial) of treaſon objected, and names thoſe perſons for unſuit accuſers, whom the Lords had before named.

The Kings reply.

The popular Lords hold anſwer to the King.

(75) The factious Lords nevertheleſſe thought not good to ſever themſelves, but to keepe together for feare of the worſt, which fell out to their advantag; for the Duke of *Ireland* (with the Kings privity) had gathered a power in *Wales* and *Cheſhire*, which they intercepting neere to *Burford* and *Bablake*, ſlew Sir *William Molineux* leader of the *Cheſhire* men, and ſome others, and made the Duke to flie in great feare. Among the ſpoyles of the Dukes carriages there were found (as the Divell would have it) certaine letters of the King to the ſaid Duke of *Ireland*, by which their counſels were plainely diſcovered. The Lords hereupon march with ſpeede up to *London*, having an Armie of about fortie thouſand men. The King ſhuts himſelfe up in the Tower, but is glad before long to admit them to his preſence. There they (unreverently inough) obiect mutability to him and his underhand workings; they objected alſo, that he had ſecretly practiſed to flie with the Duke of *Ireland* into *France*, and to deliver up to the French Kings poſſeſſion *Callis*, and ſuch pieces as the Crowne of *England* held in thoſe parts: to prove which diſhonourable act, they (as ſome write) produced the French packers intercepted. This wrung teares (perhaps of diſdaine) from the King, and hee yeelded to come to *Weſtminſter* upon the next day, there to heare and determine farther. The King in ſigne of amitie ſtayed his Coſen the Earle of *Derbie* (the ſame who afterward dethroned him) to ſupper. O where was the courage of a King? The Lords in their owne quarrell could draw up fortie thouſand men, but in the generall danger of the Realme, when the Commons were up, and the French hung over their heads, with no leſſe hatred then preparations, no ſuch numbers appeared. Was it for their honour or praiſe, that their moſt right full King ſhould by their violence be driven to conſult upon flight out of his proper Kingdome? The City of *London* was alſo in no little perill at this preſent by their acceſſe, which drawne by juſt feare was contented to open the gates, and harbour the Lords and their partakers. Theſe Lords, who ſo often are called here the *Lords*, are named in our * *Statute* Bookes to be but theſe five; The Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earles of *Derby*, *Arundell*, *Warwicke* and *Marſhall*.

The Lords charge the King with ſundry matters.

A.Dom. 1388. *An. reg. 11.*

* *Stat. An. 21. cap. 1.*

(76) The next day, he would have deferred his repaire

repaire to *Westminster*. This being signified to the Kings Lords (for so they might be called, as being more Masters then the King) they labour not, by humble words, and dutious reasons to perswade the use or necessity of his presence in that place, but contrary to their allegiance, and all good order, send him word; *That if he came not quickly, according to appoyntment, they would choose them another King, who both would, and should obey the counsell of the Peeres.* They had him indeed amongst them, whom (belike) they even then meant to have surrogated, that is to say, the before said Earle of *Derby*, heire to the Duke of *Lancaster*. The Lords certainely had so behaved themselves towards the King, that they well saw they must be masters of his person and power, or themselves in the end perish.

The rough and hautie behaviour of the Lords.

(77) The King (after a preposterous and inverted manner,) attending his Subjects pleasures at *Westminster*, heavily and unwillingly is drawne to disclaime *Alexander Nevil Archbishop of Yorke*, the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Chichester*, the Lords *Souch* and *Beaumont*, with sundry others. Neither was the Male-sexe onely suspected to these curious pruners; the Ladie *Poinings*, and other Ladies were also removed, and put under baile to answere such things as should be objected. *Sir Simon Burley*, *Sir William Elmham*, *Sir John Beauchampe* of *Holt*, *Sir John Salisbury*, *Sir Thomas Trivet*, *Sir James Berneys*, *Sir Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Sir Nicholas Brambre* Knights with certaine Clerkes were apprehended, and kept in strait prison, to answere such accusations (what if meere calumniations?) as in the next Parliament at *Westminster* should be objected.

Persons removed from about the King.

(78) The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, where the King was unwillingly present: The first day of the Session, all the Iudges, *Fulthorp*, *Belknap*, *Care*, *Hott*, *Burgh*, and *Lockton*, were arrested as they sate in Iudgement on the Bench, and most of them sent to the Tower. The cause alledged was; that having first ouer ruled them with their counsels and directions, which they assured them to be according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gave contrary iudgement to that which themselves had fore-declared. *Trisilian* the chiefe Iustice prevented them by flight, but being apprehended, and brought to the Parliament in the fore-noone, had sentence to be drawne to *Tyburne* in the after-noone, and there to have his throat cut; which was done accordingly. Sir *Nicholas Brambres* turne was next. This *Brambre* (saith *Walsingham*) *was said to have imagined to be made Duke of new Troy* (the olde suppofed name of *London*) *by murthering thousands of such Citizens, (whose names hee had billed for that purpose,) as were suspected of likelihood to resist him.* Then *Sir Iohn Salisbury*, and *Sir Iames Berneys* two young Knights, *Sir Iohn Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Steward of the Houshold to the King, and *Iohn Blake* Esquire, were likewise sacrificed to revenge. Sir *Simon Burley* onely had the worship to have but his head strucken off. Loe the noble respect which the gentle Lords had to justice and amendment. This was no age (we see) for a weake or sloathfull Prince to sit in quiet; for now the people, and then the Peeres, soyle and trample the regall authoritie under foote: the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Suffolke*, and others, had their estates confiscated to the Kings use by Act of Parliament, as in the *booke of Statutes may be seene, together with a great part of the whole proceedings.

Historia Leicest.

The Duke of new Troy, or London.

* An. 10. Ric. 2. Rich 2.

(79) These troubles boiling and burning within, in the Bowels of the State, the Scots abroad had opportunity to invade the North of *England*, under the conduct of Sir *William Dowglasse*, a noble young Knight, a parallel and rivall in the honour of Armes to *Henry Hotspur*, Lord *Piercy*, whom *Hotspur*, fighting hand to hand slew in battell: but the Earle of *Dunbar* comming with an excessive number of *Scots*, tooke *Hotspur* and his brother prisoners, killing many Englishi, not without such losse to themselves, that they forthwith returned.

(80) But these unneighbourly hostilities soone after found some surceasse, there being a meeting at *Callis* betweene the Englishi and French, about establishing a peace: and albeit, because the French would have the Scot and Spaniard included therein, the conclusion was deferred, yet shortly after it was resolved upon for three yeeres, the Scots being comprehended therein. Ann. D. 1389. An. Reg. 12.

(81) King *Richard* (being now of age) declares himselfe free to governe of himselfe, without either controlment, or helpe of any other then such as he selected to that place, and in token that he was at liberty, he takes the Great Seale of *England* from *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Yorke*, (*Alexander Nevil* being attainted and fled) and departs out of the Councell-Chamber: After a while hee returnes, and gives it backe to *William Wickham* (the * renowned Bishop of *Winchester*) who was unwilling to have accepted the same. Hee also puts out sundrie Officers, substituting such others as best liked him. From the *Councell-Table* he removed his uncle *Thomas* of *Woodstocke* Duke of *Glocester*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and others; which (as it might) encouraged the Dukes enemies about the King, to doe evill offices betweene them. Yet the King did not prefently credite what was whispered into his eare, concerning a purpose suggested to be in the Duke, to raise forces againe; but acquainting him withall, was satisfied. Nevertheleffe, he would not suffer the Duke to pursue an orderly, or any, revenge upon the Authors, whom indeede it had beene wisdome to have punished in an examplary manner.

The King declares himsilfe to be of age, and takes the government upon him.

* He was founder of thirteen famous Colledges in Oxford and Winchester.

(82) *Michael de la Pole* late Earle of *Suffolke*, (whom the popular Lords had made most odious to the *Englisb*) died at *Paris* in exile, bequeathing such goods as he had there to *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, who also breathed out his griefes in banishment, and died at last in *Brabant*.

(83) The Duke of *Lancaster* the meane while, returnes into *Gascoigne* out of *Spaine*, and not long after into *England*. The succesfe of that voyage (being made to claime the Crowne of *Castile* and *Leon*) was briefly this. *Iohn* King of *Castile* * alledged that *Constance* the Dukes wife was not right heire, but he. For, albeit the Lady *Constance* was eldest daughter and heire to *Peter* sonne of *Alfonse*, whose father *Ferdinand* the fourth, was son of *Sanchez* the fourth, and the sonne of *Alfonse* the tenth, all Kings of *Spaine* successively; yet, that neither *Constance*, *Peter*, *Alfonse*, *Ferdinand*, nor *Sanchez* had the right. His reason was; for that *Alfonse* the tenth, (chosen Emperour of *Almaine*) had, before he begat the said *Sanchez*, an elder sonne, called *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who married *Blanch* the Daughter of S. *Lewis* King of *France*, from whom descended *Alfonse de la Cerda* (who entituled himselfe King, but died without issue) and *Ferdinand*, who had a daughter married to *Iohn*, sonne of the Infant of Portugall *Emmanuel*, mother to the Lady *Ioane*, wife of King *Henry* the second, father of *Iohn* King of *Castile* defendant.

The Duke of Lancaster in his absence calleth upon God, and is heard.

* Ruder Sanctus Scriptor.

Conditions of perpetuall amity betweene the King of *Spaine*, and the Duke of Lancaster.

* Thom Walsingh in Rich. 2.

* Fabian. Caxton. * Walsingh. p. 360.

* Polyd. Mantil.

* Hollingh.

The Duke of Lancaster doth good effects.

(84) This Apologie, made by the *Castilian*, would not serve; for Kingdomes are not used to be pleaded for by *Bill* and *Answere*. The Englishi and Portugals joyne their forces. To the Duke (by reason of his wives presence,) many did voluntarily submit themselves, all did not; for *Don* * *Alvarez de Perez*, on the behalfe of his Lord the King of *Spaine*, offered to stop the Duke in his march to *Burgos*, and was over-throwne. Other adventures that warre afforded, but sickneffe hapning in the Englishi Army, consumed * many of the principall, and among them the Lord *Fitzwalter*, with other Lords, Knights, Esquires, and men of armes, almost three hundreth. Moreover, the penurie was such, that sundry revolted to the enemy to get reliefe, which being * seene of the King of *Portugall*, hee told the Duke he would set upon them as enemies, but he said no, for that he knew they did it onely for lacke of

The Duke of Lancaster made Duke of Aquitaine.

* Polydor. Virgil. lib. 20. Hist. Angl.

Henry of Bullingbroke seekes adventures in Hungarie, Prussia.

* A. R. 13. Hist. lib. Mem.

* Froissard.

* Polyd. Mantil. ibi.

* Thom. Walsingh. p. 365.

* Tous frivoles inventions.

of food. Thus having said, he held downe his head, as hee sate on horse backe, and wept most bitterly, secretly powring forth his prayers to Almightie God, and most humbly beseeching mercy. From which time forward his affaires in *Spaine* succeeded happily.

(85) The warres had beene * sharpe and teadious, but the end acceptable. For *Don Iuan* King of *Castile*, a Prince of no evill conscience, seeing the right which the Duke of *Lancaster* urged, and foreseeing what calamities might happen hereafter, (if as was feared the French should match with him) sought and obtained a firme peace. The Principall conditions were: That the Lord *Henry*, his sonne and heire, should marry the Lady *Katherine*, daughter and heire to the Duke and *Constance* his Wife; That the Lord *Henry* (during his fathers life) should be called Prince of *Austria*, and *Katherine* his wife Princesse: That * for default of issue betweene the young Princely couple, the Crowne should come to the Lord *Edward* Duke of *Torke*, who had married the other Daughter of King *Peter*. That the King of *Spaine* should lade * eight Cars with wedges of gold for the Duke; or (as * some write) pay two hundreth thousand nobles, toward the defrayment of the Dukes huge charges; That finally, he should give sufficient Caution for an Annuitie of * ten thousand pounds, during the lives of the said Duke and Dutchesse, to be duly paid to their uses at the Citie of * *Bayon* in *Gascoigne*.

(86) The King, at such time as the Duke of *Lancaster* returned, was at Reading, whither he had commanded the Peeres to repaire. To that meeting the Duke makes haste, aswell to present his dutie to his Soveraigne, as to be an author of love and peace betweene the King and Lords, against some of whom the King was not thought to be very favourably disposed. Which hee graciously effected, as seeming to addict his minde to offices of pietie and publique benefit. Certainely the wisdome and moderation of the Duke of *Torke* his brother, were such, in all the late, and other tumults, that he is not so much as once named among the factious; which Christian spirit if it had raigned in all the rest, *England* had never beene polluted with such infinite blood shed of her noblest Children; neither had the goodly fabricke of State, laden with innumerable trophees, falne under that most hideous *Chaos*, which succeeding ages saw and sighed for.

* Ruder Sanctus, Archiep. Tolet. in His. Hisp. part. 4. cap. 12.

An. Dom. 1390. A. Reg. 13. The Duke of Lancaster made Duke of Aquitaine.

(87) The King upon the Duke of *Lancasters* returne, whether hee felt the keeping of *Aquitaine* an unprofitable burthen, or the absence of his uncle the Duke, a thing worthy to be purchased at any rate, certaine it is, that in a Parliament held at *London*, he vested in him that famous Dutchy, by delivering the *Cap* of *State*, and *Ducal Rod*; whither hee shortly went to take possession. His sonne, *Henry* of *Bullingbroke* Earle of *Derbie*, loath to spend his houres in sloath, but desirous to pursue renowne by martiall Acts in forreine parts, fayled over to the warres in *Prussia*, where in sundry enterprizes against the *Lithuanians*, he wan great honour, which, by comparison of King *Richards* calmneffe, prepared a way for him in the Englishes affections, to points more eminent.

(88) The Pope now understood, that the Englisb State began againe to be sensible of Romish encroachments; and as in a * former Parliament they had enacted against all Collations of Bishoprickes and dignities by the Pope, with *banishmint* to all which did accept such Collations, and *death to all that brought in any excommunications from the Pope, to hinder the execution of that Act*; so in this last *Parliament*, * another severe Act was made, against *such as went to the Pope to procure any such provisions*. A *Proclamation* also was made at *London*, * *that all beneficed men then being in the Court of Rome, should returne by a day prefixed, or loose all their livings*. The *Pope* himself (saith *Walsingham*) *troubled with* * *so great a thunderclap*, sent with all speed into *England*, to perswade the King, that such Statutes as had beene thus made in their prejudice who followed the Court of *Rome*, and such other clauses as tended to the dammage of that See, should be made voide; whereto the Kings answer was, that the *Popes Nuncio must expect till the next Parliament*: At which Parliament the King, as also the Duke of *Lancaster*, seemed to have some respect to the Pope, (whose messenger was there Present) but the * Knights of the house would not in any wise give their consents, *that such * Rome-gadders should without due punishment pursue their wonted course, longer then till the next Parliament*. To furnish the Duke of *Lancaster* into *France*, to treat of a peace, and upon condition that the King should that yeare invade *Scotland*, large contributions were there made, both by *Clergy* and *Laity*. Hereupon the Lord * *Henry Piercy*, *Hotspur* (who had redeemed himfelf) was called from his charge at *Callis*, and made Warden of the Marches against *Scotland*; *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* succeeding in the Captaine-ship of *Callis*. The Dukes chargefull employment in *France* bare no other flower, then a yeares short truce.

An. Dom. 1391.

* Tyndig. Mezff. * Rompin.

* John Stow calls him Earle of Northumberland.

(89) The Kings wants still encreasing with his imployments, the Londoners (carried away with evill counsell) did a thing most unworthy of their Citie and themselves, and it might to them have prooved as hurtfull, as it was unworthy, at such time as the King * desired the loane but of one thousand pounds; which was not onely churlishly denied, but a certaine *Lumbard*, honestly offering to lend the same, was badly used, beaten, and almost slaine. Their liberties for that and other * disorders are seised, and their proper Magistracy dissolved, (Guardians being given them, first Sir *Edward Dallinging*, then Sir *Baldwin Radington*) and their Major, and some chiefe Citizens layed in prisons farre off from *London*. The punishment brought the soulenesse of their errours to their sight; but by the Duke of * *Glocesters* intercession (who did not unwillingly lay hold upon such occasions of popularity) the King and Queene are wonne to enter the Citie, which gave them triumphall entertainement. The Sea is not sodainly calmed after a tempest, neither a Princes anger. By degrees yet, and not without deare repentance, they were at last restored to their former condition in all points.

An. Dom. 1392.

*London in disgrace with the King.

*Tho. walsing.

(90) The King declaring his purpose to crosse into *Ireland*, had an aide of money conditionally granted: foure yeares truce by the travell of the two Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Glocester* being concluded in *France*. This yeare was farther notable for many great Funerals. *Constance* Dutchesse of *Aquitaine*, and *Lancaster*, a Lady of great * Innocency and devotion: the Counteffe of *Derbie* her Daughter in law, *Isabel* the Dutchesse of *Torke*, and a Lady noted for too great a fineneffe and delicacy, yet at her death shewing much repentance and sorrow for her love to those pestilent vanities, left this present life. But all the griefe for their deaths did in no sort equall that of the Kings, for the losse of his owne Queene *Anne*, which about the same time hapned at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, whom he loved even to a kinde of madneffe: but Ladies onely died not; for Sir *Iohn Hankwood*, whose chevalry had made him renowned over the Christian world, did in this yeare depart an aged man out of this World in *Florence*; where his ashes remaine honoured at this present with a stately Tombe, and the Statue of *a Man at Armes*, erected by the gratitude of that State and Citie, which chiefly by his conduct, courage and valour (to this day admired amongst them) was preserved. The Italian Writers, both * Historians and * Poets, highly celebrating his matchlesse prowesse, enstile him,

—Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti
Italicæ, Italico præsidiumq; Solo.

Englands prime honour, Italies renowne,
Who upheld all Italie from sinking downe.

An. Dom. 1393.

An. Dom. 1394.

* Tyndg. Mezff.

The death of Queene Anne, & many great Ladies.

The famous Sir Iohn Hawkwood, whose chevalry had made him renowned over the Christian world.

* Paul. Jovius in Elogiis. * Julius Feralius.

But

But the Duke of *Lancaster* having all things ready, sets saile to *Burdeaux*, there, with the consent of the State to take possession of his lately granted Dutchy.

(91) The King doth the like for *Ireland*; where that sort of the *Irish* which are called the wild, had greatly infested the English Pale, and other good Subjects there, to the great dammage of the Crowne of *England*. In the times of *Edward* the third, *Ireland* yeelded to the Kings coffers * thirty thousand pounds yeerely, but now things were so growne out of order, that it cost the King thirty thousand Markes by yeere. To reduce the rebellious, himselfe conducts thither an Army, attended upon by the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earles of *March*, *Nottingham* and *Rutland*, all the Irish being commanded to avoyd out of *England*. The terror of the preparations, and shining presence of a King (which above all worldly things is pleasant to the Irish) had such effects that sundry great men were compelled to submit themselves. To supply the Kings wants, growne in the Irish expedition, *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings Vncle, and *Custos* or *Warden* of *England*, called a Parliament at *London*, (whither the Duke of *Gloucester* repaired to declare the Kings wants) and hath contributions granted. Nevertheless, so strong a party against the Clergy, and Fryarly abuses of those times discovered it selfe therein, that the Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *London*, and others, prest over-Sea to the King at *Dublin*, beseeching him to returne, the sooner to represse the *Lollards* (so called they the embracers of *Wiclieffes* doctrine) and their favourers, *who sought, not onely* (as they untruly pretended) *to wring away all the possessions of the Church, but that which was worse, to abrogate and destroy all Ecclesiasticall constitutions*, whereas they aymed onely at the redresse of exorbitancy in the Papall Clergy. The King hereupon returnes; by whose arrivall and authority, those consultations of the Laity were laid downe. Sir *Richard Story* a servant of his had beene forward against the Prelates; of him therefore he takes an oath upon the holy Gospell, that he should not hold such opinions any longer. The Knight takes that oath, and we (saith the King) doe sweare, that if thou dost breake it, thou shalt die a most shamefull death. The rest hearing the Lion roare so terribly, drew in their hornes, and would be seene no more.

(92) The King caused the body of the late Duke of *Ireland* to be brought into *England*. His exceeding love to him was such, that he commanded the Cypresse chest wherein his body lay embalmed, to be opened, that he might see, view, handle, and openly expresse his affection. The dead remaines of this noble young Gentleman, (by his birth-right Earle of *Oxford*, and by race a *Vere*) were buried at the Priorie of *Coln* in *Essex*, there being present the King himselfe, the Countesse Dowager of *Oxford*, the Dukes mother, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with many Bishops, Abbots, and religious persons, but few of the Lords, for they had not as yet digested the hate they bare him.

An. Dom. 1396.

(93) The Duke of *Lancaster* was this while in *Aquitaine*, where he had fought to winne the people with incredible largesse, to accept of his Soveraignitie, according to the tenor of King *Richards* grant. Little did hee then thinke, that within lesse then sixescore and three yeares after, an * Ambassador of King *Henry* the 8. should write thus of *Burdeaux* it selfe, the capitall City of *Gascoigne* and *Guien*: *Anglorum nulla ferè vestigia remanent, &c. There are* (saith that learned Gentleman) *scarse any foot-prints of the Englishmen remaining. In the Churches, and other places newly refreshed and reedified, such Armories of the English as stood, were utterly blotted and defaced: yet in the Church of the Fryers Preachers, the Armories of the Duke of Lancaster stand entire in a Glasse-window, and in the eldest wall of the Citie those also of England, though consumed in a manner with age: The Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinations which were made by the English, are notwithstanding observed at this day.* But the Dukes eye could not looke so farre into the times to come. Nevertheless we that see these things must confesse, that the best Kingdome under heaven is not so worth the getting, as that with the wilfull contempt of God and conscience any man should seeke to purchase it.

(94) But while the Duke was thus busied in Courting the *Gascoignes* good will, * who had sent into *England*, to shew causes why they should not attorne to the Duke, (and yet were wrought at last to the point of yeelding,) he receives a commandement from King *Richard* to returne, that he might goe with him into *France*; which he obeyed. The King keeping his at *Langeley* in *Hartfordshire*, the Duke was there entertained with more honour (as it was thought) then love. Being licensed to depart for a time he repaired to *Lincolne*, where he a widdower, married his old love the Lady *Katherine Swinford*, now a Widdow. Men did wonder at it, but hee therein obeyed the remorse of a Christian conscience, without respect to his own unequall greatnesse, for having had sundry Children by her in his former Wives time, hee made her and them now the onely sufficient amends, which the law of God or man enjoyneth. And further in a Parliament held the yeere following, the Duke procured an Act to passe, by which, such children as he formerly had by his new *Dutchesse*, were legitimated; and surnamed them *Beufort*, being * foure of them, *Iohn*, *Thomas*, *Henry*, *Ioane*; the second of which was by the Kings bountie created Earle of *Somerset*.

(95) The King, being specially accompanied with those his uncles of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, at a most sumptuous and chargefull enterview betweene him and *Charles* King of *France*, in the parts of *Calais* and *Gynes*, espoused the Lady *Isabel*, Daughter of the said *Charles*. At the delivery of her, King *Richard*, in the presence of all the greatest Princes, Peeres, and Ladies of either Nation, gave the King his father in law great thankes for a gift so noble and acceptable, adding, he tooke her upon the conditions made betweene the two Nations, to the intent that living in peace and rest, they might attaine to the establishment of a perpetuall amitie, for avoyding the effusion of Christian blood, which would in likelihood have followed, had not at that time affinitie beene contracted betweene them. The young Lady was not above seven or eight yeeres old, but the truce was taken for thirtie yeares. Her person therefore was committed to the Dutchesses of *Lancaster* and *Glocester*, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to *Calais*. From whence, after a short stay, the King, his young Queene (with whom he had great riches) and all the glorious company came over into *England*. Their persons arrived safe, but the Kings gorgeous Pavilions, and a great part of his stuffe was cast away by tempest in the transportation. This journey (beside his losses at Sea) cost the King above forty thousand markes.

(96) The outward felicitie of *England* seemed at this time very great, and therafter seemed so, because it was likely to continue. In the Duke of *Gloucesters* person that bright prosperitie was first overshadowed. He, *Vir ferocissimus & præcipitis ingenii* (as * *Polydor* censures him,) *a most fierce man, and of an head-long wit*, thinking those times, wherein he had mastred the King, were nothing changed, though the King was above thirty yeares old, forbare not, roughly, nor so much to admonish, as to checke and schoole his Soveraigne. The peace with *France* displeased him, that therefore he calumniates. The King had restored *Bresse* in *Britaine* to the Duke, upon re-emburfements of the money lent; he tels the King that he should first conquer a Towne, before he parted with any; yet the King answeres, that he could not in conscience deraine the same, now that the Duke had re-paid his loane. There were other things which could not so well be answered. For a vaine rumour * that

* Thom. Walsingh.

Tyrrel. Neustr.

* Dict. Taylor ex Antegrapho Epist. A.D. 1596

An excellent note concerning the vanitie of worldly ambition in Princes.

* Froissard.

The Duke of Lancaster marries the Lady Katherine Swinford.

* Stow Walsingh. erreth in saying but three.

A peace and marriage with France.

An. Dom. 1397. *A. Reg.* 20.

* Hist. Anglic. 20.

A. Reg. 21.

* Hist. Statut. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 2.

* Tyrrel. Neustr. Grafton. Citron.

* that he should be chosen *Emperour*, put him belike into such a vaine of spending, as caried a proportion with that majestie; his coffers in a short time sounding like empty Caskes, there was no great monied man in whose debt hee was not, nor any in a manner so meane to whom he was not burthenous.

(97) The King had heretofore complayned of his Vncle to the Earle of Saint *Paul* a French man, (then in *England*,) whose judgement was, that such insolency was to bee revenged; but complayning to his other uncles of *Lancaster* and *York*, they wisely advised the King, not to regard his words, but his heart, which he and they knew sincere unto him. Nevertheless, partly to weaked the intolerable humour of their brother, who like a constant Admirer of his owne wayes, thought nothing well done, but what himselfe either did or directed, and partly to avoid the scandall of the Kings bad courses, they withdraw their presences from the Court. The King notwithstanding is the same man still, as the Duke of *Glocester* thinkes; wherefore, he breakes his minde to such as he durst trust. *Arundell* in *Sussex* is appointed the Consultation-place, where he, the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warwicke*, *Marshall* and others, take an Oath of Secrecy, and conclude to raise a power to remove * the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, and such other as they thought best, from about the King, so to enact a reformation.

* Polidor. Caesar. Hist.

(98) They are charged by * some to have plotted the imprisonment of the King and Dukes, and the death of all other Councellours: which, howsoever it was perhaps no part of their intention, might yet have beene a necessary consequent. The blustring Duke had breathed out dangerous words; as * that hee would put the King (of whose courage he spake contemptibly) into some prison, there to spend his dayes in ease and peace, as himselfe thought best. His brethren hearing hereof, brotherly admonish him to beware; but, as it seemes, they found him deafe on that side. This though some of the late Authors write, yet there are both * olde and * new, who mention no such matter, but the contrary, not obscurely teaching us, that the Dukes ruine was but an effect of old malignities.

* A French empire apud Sim. Stowe in Richard. pag. 488. Lanquett. Epitom.

* Hist. Angl. lib. 20.

(99) *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, and Marshall, a party in the reported plot, though sonne in law to the Earle of *Arundell*, revealeth the same to the King. The Duke of *Glocester* is hereupon surprized by *Mowbray* * (lying in waite in the woods where hee was to passe) sent to *Calais*, where *Nottingham* was Captaine) and there imprisoned; the Earles of *Arundell* and *Warwicke*, the Lord *Iohn Cobham*, and Sir *Iohn Cheyney*, are arested. *Proclamation* is then made, that they were not committed for any old matters, but for heinous things newly contrived, as in the next Parliament should bee made manifest; *though the event* (as *Walsingham* truly saith) *declared the contrarie*. But the Duke of *Glocester*, and the two said Earles are endited at *Nottingham*. The King to maintaine the accusation of treason objected, had (as some say) suborned *Edward* Earle of *Arundel*, *Thomas Earle Marshall*, *Thomas Holland Earle of Kent*, *John Holland Earle of Huntington*, *Thomas Beaufort Earle of Somerset*, *John Montacute Earle of Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord Spencer*, and *Sir William Scroope Lord Chamberlaine*.

* Hollingsh. Confusion. Stowe. Annal.

* Miles. 1427.

* Walsingh. Neustr.

(100) In September begins the Parliament at *London*, where the King had a great guard of *Cheshire* men to secure his person, and the Lords attended also not without sufficient numbers. The Kings chiefe Agents were Sir *John Busby*, Sir *William Bagod*, and Sir *Henry Greene*, Knights. In the first act (after the liberties of the Church and people confirmed,) wee finde these * words: *The Commons of the Parliament have shewed to our Soveraigne Lord the King, how in the Parliament holden at Westminster, the first day of October, in the tenth yeare of his raigne, Thomas Duke of Glocester, and Richard Earle of Arundell, traitors to the King and his Realme and his people, by false imagination and compassing caused a * Commission to bee made, &c. and that the said Duke of Glocester, and Earle of Arundel, did send a greet man and Peere of the Realme in message to our Lord the King; who of their part said, that if hee would not grant and assent to the said Commission,* HEE SHOVLD BEE IN GREAT PERIL OF HIS LIFE: *and so, as well the said commission, as the said Statute touching the said Commission, were made by Constraint, &c.* Wherefore, the Commons pray their Soveraigne Lord the King, that the said Commission, &c. be utterly anulled, as a thing done TRAITEROVSLY, &c.

* Hist. Statut. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 1.

(101) The Sanctuary of former Lawes, and all particular Charters of pardon being now taken away from the Duke, Earle, and others, they lay open to manifest ruine. The * Duke of *Lancaster* sate in judgement as High Steward upon *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, where, for no other but for the olde attempts, (though the other accusations seeme to have beene averred by the eight *Appellants*) by which, as ye have heard, so many were displaced and put to death, hee adjudged him to dye that foule death of a common Traitour: but the King satisfied himselfe with onely his head, which was at one stroake taken off at Tower-hill. *That hee was a traitor either in word or deede, hee utterly did deny, and died in that denial.* The constancy of this Earles carriage, as well as his arraignement, passage, and execution, (as in which hee did not discolour the honour of his bloud with any degenerous word, looke, or action) encreased the envy of his death upon the prosecutors. The Earle of *Warwicke* confessed with teares, (and as some say, drawne by faire hope of life) that in adhering to the Duke of *Glocester* in those ridings and assemblies, he was guilty of Treason. The same sentence was therefore pronounced upon him. The King nevertheless did onely banish him into the Ile of *Man*. But the Duke of *Glocester* (whom, as the peoples darling, it seemed not safe to bring to a publike triall) was secretly smothered at *Calis* with pillowes and featherbeds.

* Stat. fixed.

The Earle of Arundel beheaded.

The Duke of Glocester murthered.

An. Dom. 1398.

(102) The *great Parliament* (for so it seemes to have beene called, by reason of the extraordinarie numbers of Peeres, and their retinues, which came thereunto) was holden by adjournment at *Shrewsbury*. In it, those Iustitiars, who were partly put to death, and partly banished, but all attainted (as such time as the Duke of *Glocester* and the rest were in armes,) doe all of them stand thereby cleared from dishonor, and such * Articles as they subscribed, (being, together with their answers, set downe in the Act) are publikely ratified, and the offendors against them pronounced Traitours. Amongst these Articles, one, containing these great Lawyers judgements concerning the orderly proceedings in all Parliaments, is very observable: * *That after the cause of such assembly is by the Kings commandement there declared, such Articles as by the King are limitted for the Lords and Commons to proceede in, are first to bee handled; but if any should proceede upon other Articles, and refuse to proceed upon those limited by the King, till the King had first answered their propositions, contrary to the Kings commaund; such, doing herein contrary to the rule of the king, are to be punished as Traitors.* But the King, to content all parts, and to kindle new lights in the place of such as he had extinguished, having first created himselfe * Prince of *Chester*, made his cosen *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, Duke of *Hereford*; the Earle of *Rutland* Duke of *Aumarl*; the Earle of *Nottingham* Duke of *Norfolke*; the Earle of *Kent* Duke of *Surrey*; the Earle of *Huntington*, Duke of *Excester*; the Earle of *Somerset* Marquesse *Dorset*; the Lord *Spencer* Earle of *Glocester*, the Lord *Nevile* Earle of *Westmerland*; *William Scrope* Earle of *Wiltshire*; *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worcester*. The King also (saith *Walsingham*) added to his *Seneschean Royall*, the armories of Saint *Edward* King and confessor.

* Book of Statutes A. Rich. 2. 1. 6. 12. artic. 6.

* Thom. Walsing. The King (Prince Chester) creates Dukes and other States.

(103) The formost in this goody rancke, being *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, not long after accused *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, of certaine words sounding to the Kings dishonour, which hee should privately utter to the said *Henry*. * *Polydor* (though very negligently he makes *Mowbray* the accuser, and *Hereford Defendant*) may yet be heard in reporting the effect of the words, as *That King Richard held the Peeres of the land in no account, but as much as lay in him sought to destroy them, by banishing some, and putting others to death. That hee never troubled his minde with considering how his Dominions were diminished through his idlenesse. Finally, that all things went to wracke, as well in peace as warre.* But the Duke of *Norfolke*, (who unlesse it had beene to feele how the Duke of *Herefords* heart was affected to the King, had little reason so to complaine) most constantly denying that ever hee spake such words; it should have come to a combat within lists; but the King to avoid (as hee pretended) such deadly fewds as might rise in the Families of two such potent Peeres, but (indeed to bee rid of an enemy with the losse of a friend) banished *Norfolke* for ever, and *Hereford* first for ten yeares, then for five. *Walsingham* * saith, that this censure was given against *Norfolke*, upon that very day in which the yeare before, hee (by the Kings commandement) had taken order for putting to death the Duke of *Glocester* at *Callis*, where-of the said Duke of *Norfolke* had the Captaineship.

(104) Fearefull were the tragedies which ensued these times; and heare now what is written of some Potents or wonders, presaging the same. The * Bay or Laurell trees withered over all *Engeand*, and afterward re-flourished, contary to many mens opinion; and upon the first of January, neere *Bedford* Towne, the river betweene the villages of *Swelston* and *Harlestwood* where it was deepest, did upon the sodaine stand still, and so divided it selfe, that the bottome remayned dry for about three miles space, which seemed (saith *Walsingham*) to portend that revolt from the King, and the division which ensued.

(105) *Roger Mortimer* Earle of *March*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, having in the yeare before, while he to much * trusted to his owne Forces, beene slaine with very many others, by * *O-Brin*, and the *Irish* of *Leinster*, at a place called *Kenlis*; *King Richard* determines in person to revenge the bloud of his Noble-kinsman, being the man to whom hee meant the Crowne of *England*, if-ifsue failed to himselfe. He remembred not how broken an estate he had in *England*, where the peoples hearts were strongly alienated, not onely for the death of the late great Lords, and banishment of the Duke of *Hereford*, (whose calamitie encreased his popularity) or for the like passed exasperations, but for that (to furnish his Irish voyage) he had extorted money on all hands, taking up carriages, victuals, and other necessaries, without any recompence; whereby the hatred of his Government grew vniversall.

(106) But the evill fortune which hung ouer his head, laid forth an alluring baite to haste his destruction, by occasion of the Duke of *Lancasters* decease which hapned about Candlemas, and the absence of his banished sonne and heire Lord *Henrie*. The King (most unjustly) feizeth upon the goods of that mighty Prince his uncle, and as if all things now were lawfull, which but liked him, he determies to banish the new rightfull Duke of *Lancaster Henry*, not for a few yeares, but for ever; for which cause he revoked his *Letters Patents* granted to the saide *Henry*, by which his *Attornyes* were authorised to sue his *Livery*, and to compound for the respite of his homage at a reasonable rate; whereby he made it seeme plaine to the world, that he had not banished him to avoyde dissentions, but (as many said) to fill up the breaches which his riot had made in the royall treasures, with plentifull (though an undue) Escheat, as that of his deceased uncles fortune.

(107) The one stedfast base and buttresse of al lawfull Empire, is Iustice; that supports the kingly Throne. This he overthrew, and how then could himselfe hope to stand long? He lands at *Waterford* in *Ireland* with a Navie of * two hundreth ships, having with him the sonne of the late Duke of *Glocester*, and of the now Duke of *Lancaster*, to secure himselfe the rather. * His forces consisted much of *Cheshire men*: But that King is deceived, who reposeth his safety in violence. It was no great matter hee did there, that which fell out to bee done elsewhere, was great indeed. * His warre in *Ireland* was more dammagefull, then fishing with an hooke of gold, for here the baite and hooke was not onely lost, but the line, rod, and himselfe, were drawne altogether into the depthes of irrecoverable ruine. Duke *Henrie* sees the advantage which King *Richards* absence gave him, and useth it. In his Companie were *Thomas Arundel* the banished Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Nephew the sonne and heire of the late Earle of *Arundel*, and not above fifteene *Laciers*. His strength was (where the Kings should have beene) in the peoples hearts. Nevertheleste, the Duke did not sodainely take land, but hovered upon the Seas, shewing himselfe to the Country people in one place, now and then in another, pretending nothing but the recovery of his rightfull Heritage.

(108) *Edmund* Duke of *Yorke*, whom King *Richard* had left behind him to governe *England*, hearing this, cals unto him *Edmund Stafford* Bishop of *Chichester*, Lord *Chancellor*, the Earle of *Wiltshire*, Lord Treasurer, and the Knights of the Kings Councell, *Bushie*, *Bagot*, *Greene*, and *Russell*. Their conclusion was to levie a force to impeach Duke *Henries* entrance. The assembly was appointed to bee at Saint *Albans*, which came to worse then nothing, for the protestation that they would not hurt the Duke, whom they knew to be wronged was generall. This made the Treasurer Sir *John Bushie*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* flie to the Castle of *Briftoll*, Sir *William Bagot* to *Chester*, from whence he got shipping into *Ireland*. Meane while Duke *Henrie* lands at a Village heretofore called *Ravenshire*, to whom repaired *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, his sonne *Henrie* Lord *Piercy*, the Lord *Nevill* Earle of *Westmerland*, and many others, who (saith *Walsingham*) greatly feared King *Richards* tyrannie. With an armie of about threescore thousand (multitudes offering their service) they come to *Briftoll*, besieged the Castle, take it, and in the same the foresaid Treasurer *Bushie* and *Greene*, whose heads (at the cryes of the Commons) were the next day after their surrender severed from their bodies.

(109) King *Richard* was in the City of *Dublin*, when these most heavie newes arrived. His courage which at no time seemed great, was shortly none at all. Somewhat must be done: he leaves the sonnes of Duke *Henry*, & of his late uncle of *Glocester* (which he retained as pledges for his owne indemnitie) in the Castle of *Trim*, and returnes himselfe into *England*, entending to encounter the Duke before his force should bee too much established. The great names which accompanied him, were his late noble Creatures, the young Dukes of *Aumarle*, *Exceter*, and *Surrey*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincolne*, and *Carleil*, and many others. There had beene some more hope for upholding his right, if hee had not made the World know, that tenne yeares space was not able to bury in him the appetite of revenge, which made many forget their owne loyalty to him, and the Crowne. Princes, see in him the use of oblivion: but some conscience of evill deserts seeming to have taken from him all confidence, he dismisseth his Armie, bidding his Steward Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and others, to reserve themselves for better daies.

(110) His last refuge is in *Parle*. For that cause there repayred to him, at the Castle of *Conway* in *North-wales*, (for thither hee was now come) the late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Northumberland* at the Kings appointment; *The sum of his demands were, that if hee and eight, whom hee would name, might have honourable allowance, with the assurance of a quiet private life, hee would resigne his Crowne.* This *Northumberland* did sweare should bee: whereupon hee forthwith departs to the Castle of *Flint* in their company. After a short conference there had with the Duke, they all ride that night to the Castle of *Chester*, being attended by the *Lancastrian* Army. If, to spare his peoples bloud, he was contented so tamely to quit his royall right, his fact doth not onely not seeme excusable, but glorious; but men rather thinke that it was sloath, and a vaine trust in dissimulation, which his enemies had long since discovered in him, and for that cause, both held his amendment desperate, and ran themselves into these desperate Treasons.

(111) The King did put himselfe into the Dukes hands upon the twentieth day of August, being but the forty and seventh from the Dukes first landing. From thence they travell to *London*, where the King lodged in the Tower: Meane while writs of Summons are sent out in King *Richards* name, for a Parliament to bee holden at *Westminster*, *Crastino Michaelis*. The tragicall forme of *Resignation*, you have * had already in *Edward* the second, of whom this King is a Parallell. There are named to have been present at this wofull joyfull Act, *Arundel*, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, *Richard Scrope Archbishop of Torke*, *John Bishop of Hereford*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, (who in this serious play must seeme as if hee were but a looker on) the Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Westmerland*, the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkley*, *Ros*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergevenie*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, &c.

(112) In their presence *Richard* as yet a King, and in his Tower of *London*, but not otherwise then as a prisoner, reades the Instrument of his surrender, with a seeming chearefull countenance, as if he were glad the houre was come, in which hee might tatte what it was to be a private man, and (having otherwise first done and said what then he could to put all right out of himselfe) subscribes it with his hand; but prayes, that his Cousen the Duke of *Lancaster* might succeed him in the regall governement, and in token that it was his desire (for hee must seeme to desire what hee could not hinder) hee * plucked off his Signet-ring, and put it upon the Dukes finger. Then did hee constitute the Archbishop of *Torke*, and Bishop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to declare to the whole Body of Parliament what he had done, and how willingly, where every one (* except the loyall and magnanimious Bishop of *Carliel*) being particularly asked, did particularly accept of the resignation. Nevertheleste, it was not thought enough to have his Crowne, unleste they also published his shame. Thirty * and two Articles are therefore openly (but in his absence) read; of all which, it was said (for then men might say what they listed) that he had confessed himselfe guilty. In the front was placed his abuse of the publike treasure, and unworthy waste of the Crowne-land, whereby hee grew intolerably grievous to the Subjects. The particular causes of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Lancaster*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Earle of *Arundel*, filled sundry Articles. They charged him in the reft with dissimulation, falshood, losse of honour abroad in the World, extortions, rapine, deniall of Iustice, rasures, and embezelling of Records, dishonorable shifts, wicked Axiomes of State, cruelty, covetousnesse, subordinations, lascivious nesse, treason to the rights of the Crowne, perjuries; and briefely with all sorts of unkingly vices, and with absolute tyranny.

(113) We may be assured, that nothing could then be objected so untrue or incredible, but would have gone for current and undenyable with affections so throughly prepared. Hereupon it was * concluded, that in all those thirty and two Articles, hee had broken the *Oath of Empire* taken at the Coronation, and all the States of the Kingdome (strange that so many should so concurre in disloyalty under pretence of equity) being asked what they thought, did hold that those causes seemed notorious, and sufficient to depose King *Richard*. Commissioners were therefore nominated by consent of the whole house, to pronounce the sentence of Deposition; which were, the Bishop of *Asaph*, the Abbot of *Glassenbury*, the Earle of *Glocester*, the Lord *Barkley*, *William Thyrning* Chiefe Iustice of the common Pleas, and some others. The forme of pronunciation was, IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN: *We Iohn Bishop of Saint Asaph, Iohn Abbat, &c. Commissioners specially chosen by the Lords spirituall and temporall of the Realme of England, and Commons of the said Realme, representing all the States of the said Realme, sitting in place of iudgement, &c.*

(114) The definitive sentence of *Deposition* given thus in open Parliament, there were further named certaine persons, amongst whom * *William Thyrning Chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas* was thought the fitteft man, by whose lawlesse mouth that unjust doome should be delivered to the King, and who on the behalfe of the realme, should renounce to the said *Richard* the Fealties and Homages heretofore made unto him, and to make relation of the whole manner and causes of their proceedings. The Regall Seate was now reputed voyde; whereupon Duke *Henry* riseth from his place, and stands upright, that hee might bee seene of the people, then * signing himselfe with the signe of the Crosse upon the fore-head and breast, and invocating the name of Christ, hee challenged the Crowne and Realme of *England*, with all the members and appurtenances. His words are said to be these.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, claime the Realme of England, and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as comming by the bloud-royall from King Henry, and by that iustice which God of his grace hath sent to mee, by the helpe of my kinsfolke and friends, for recovery of the said Realme, which was in point of perdition, through default of Government and breach of lawes.

(115) Which challenge and claime being thus made, all the States of the Kingdome doe with one consent grant, that the said Lord Duke should raigne over them. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (brother to the late Earle of *Arundel*) takes him then by the right hand, and the Archbishop of *Torke*, (the late Earle of *Wiltshires* kinsman) being his assistant, placeth him in the royall Throne, with the generall acclamation and applauses of the people. Lastly, in full complement of the present solemnity, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (that wee may see how the *Divinity* aswell as the *Law* of those times were degenerated into temporizing *Policie*) made a Sermon upon those words in *Samuel*, *A man shall raigne over the People.* By occasion whereof * he describerh out of the holy Scriptures, *the happinesse of that Kingdome which is governed by a Man, and the infelicity of those Realmes where a Childe (whether in age or discretion) weeldes the Scepter. The evill whereof as they had dangerously felt under the late King, so they hoped abundantly to enjoy the other in King Henry.* To all which the whole Auditory joyoully answered, *Amen.* Then rose the affable new Monarch, and among a few other words, *hee gave the world to understand, that none should thinke hee would, as by way of Conquest, disinherite any man, certaine bad members onely excepted.*

(116) From henceforth he was taken for King, and all Writs issued, and went forth in his name: which disorderly matters being orderly related to the deposed Prince in the Tower, by *Thyrning* the Chiefe Iustice, hee onely used these words; *That hee looked not after such things, but* (quoth hee) *my hope is, that (after all this) my cosen will bee my good Lord and friend.* The Archbishop (otherwise inexcusable in those proceedings) yet in his said Sermon seemeth

* Hist. Ang. lib. 10.

* Tyrrell. Mouff.

An. Dom. 1399. A. Reg. 22. * Tyrrel. Mouffet.

* Tho. Walsingh. in Richard. 2. * Annal. Hibern apud Cambd.

* Annal. Fiscan. apud Cambd.

* Tho Walsingh.

* Edw. 3. 33. & 34

King Richard resigns upon publication of his deposition. An. Dom. 1340.

* Rolles parl. 50.

* D. Heyward in Hen. 4.

* Rolls Parliam. holl. saith thirty and eight.

* Tho. walsingh.

* Tyrrell. Mouffet.

* Tyrrell. Mouffet.

* Tyrrell. Mouffet.

* Feb. 1. Conners Hist. Malmsb. ex Fab.

A necessity pretended.

gravely and truely to have described the cause of this effect; for (quoth hee) *the child or infipient* (which are with him æquiparable) *drinketh the sweet annd delicious words unadvisedly, and perceiveth not intoxication, which they beene mingled with, till he be invironed and wrapped in all danger, as lately the experience thereof hath beene apparant to all our sights and knowledges, and not without the great danger of all this Realme.* Being thus brought downe to the show, and littlenesse of a private man, wee leave him to draw his comfort out of holy meditations, as one whose violent death ensued before long, and turne over to his politike and martiall Successor.

(117) Yet in our way, wee may not quite overpasse a cursory consideration of the affaires of the Church under this King, which, for avoyding often interruptions of other argument, we have put off to this last place. For albeit the Kingdome indured great crosses in the affaires of State, (yet [a] some have thought, that it found as great blessings in matters of Religion, which in those dayes tooke so deepe roote in Religion, which in those dayes tooke so deepe roote in this our Land, by the preaching of *John Wicliffe*, that the branches thereof did spread themselves even [b] over the Seas. Nor were the *common people* onely allured with his doctrine, (though the [c] *Londoners favouring of him* is thought by *Walsingham* to have deterred the Prelates from proceeding against him, and a scholler of his in *Leicestershire*, is said to have drawne by his preaching, [d] *all the Laymen in that Countrey*) but (as the same Author reporteth) sundry of the *Friars* themselves fell to him, and imbraced his opinions, amongst whom one [e] being also the *Popes Chaplaine*, so discovered by preaching, the *murders, luxuries and treasons of Fryars* of his owne *Habit*, that the common people *were astonied with the horror thereof*, and cryed out to have them all *utterly destroyed*; which his accusations hee particularly justified by publike writing, professing hee came forth of that Order, as out of the *Divels nest*. But that which *Walsingham* much more[f] admires, is, that *Wicliffes opinions were not onely entertained in ordinary Cities*, but *even in the Vniversity of Oxford it selfe*, where was [g] *the very top of wisedome and learning*: and where not onely two Chancellors succeßiuely, [h] Doctor *Nicholas Hereford* and [i] *Robert Rugge*, were most *earnest maintainers* of *Wicliffes* doctrine, but also, when the Pope (to suppresse the same doctrine) sent his [k] *Bull to the Vniversity, threatning the privation of all their privileges, the Proctors and Regents thereof were very doubtfull, whether they should receive the Popes Bull with honour, or rather reject it with open disgrace.* Yea, the whole body of that *glorious Vniversity* (as the Pope there cals it in his Bull) gave a glorious [l] Testimony (under their publike Seale) of *Wicliffes* religious life, profound learning, orthodoxe opinions, exquisite writings, all farthest from any staine of heresie.

(118) And therefore no marveile, if not onely the Duke of *Lancaster*, with [m] sundry Peeres and great ones, but King *Edward* the third himselfe, were (as *Capgrave* testifieth) a favourer of him, and [n] King *Richard* the second and the whole *Parliament* did (according to his [o] instructions) much labor to abrogate the Popes transcendent power, which was a principall cause of the Popes hatred against him. Notwithstanding to discountenance the truth which he taught, in defence of *Regall Supremacy* against *Papall Vsurpation*, (as also against the *Masse*, *Transubstantiation*, *Merit*: against *Adoration of the Hoast*, *of Saints*, *Images*, and *Reliques*; against *Friarly Orders*, *Pilgrimages*, *Indulgences*,) many lewd opinions by mis-construction (as his Bookes [p] yet extant, evince) are fathered on him, yea some so monstrous and diabolicall (as, [q] that *Men ought*, yea, [r] that *God himselfe ought to obey the Divell*,) that any man which heareth them, will presently beleeve (without further perswasion) that they are but malicious figments. This famous Doctor [s] dying of a palsie, hath this charitable *Eulogie* or *Epitaph* bestowed on him by a [t] *Monke*; *The Divels Instrument, Churches Enemy, Peoples Confusion, Heretiks Idoll, Hypocrits mirror, Schismes broacher, hatreds sower, lyes forger, Flatteries sinke; who, at his death dispaired like Cain, and stricken by the horrible judgement of God, breathed forth his wicked soule to the darke mansion [u] of the blacke divell.* Whereby, Gods best children may learne, not to regard, whiles they live, the malice of the wicked, nor to expect after their death ought else but their slanderous rancour. And thus wee conclude the raigne, though not the life of King *Richard*.

His first Wife.

(119) The first wife of King *Richard* the second, was *Anne*, daughter unto the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, who was crowned Queene the 22. of Ianuary 1382. Having been ten yeares his wife she died without any issue, at *Sheen* in the county of *Surrey*, 1392. whence her body was convayed and buried at *Westminster*, the seventh of the Ides of Iune.

His second Wife.

(120) *Isabel*, daughter unto *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, was a Virgin about seven yeeres of age, when shee was affianced unto King *Richard*, 1396. Neither had her Husband (it seemeth) any nuptiall fruition of her, by reason of her tender age, before such time as his traiterous Lords, (to compasse their owne disloyall purposes, and gratifie an Vsurpers ambition) had dethroned him. What became of this young Lady, we shall further see in the ensuing Story.

HENRE

[a] *Mornay Myst. iniquit. p.* 482.

[b] *Into Bohemia, Opera Joh. Huss. Tom. 1. walsing. p.* 205. *& p.* 208.

[c] *Ibid. p.* 285.

[d] *Tho.* 327.

[e] *Pag.* 285.

[f] *Culmen Sapientiæ & scientiæ p.* 202. [g] *Pag.* 286. [h] *Pag.* 203.

[i] *Balla Gregorii. ibid.*

[k] *Videop. Joh. Hoss Tom.* 2.

[l] *Nimio seorsum Processum & mandatum. walsing. p.* 251. *&* 252. [m] *Tyrrel. Hist. p.* 552. [n] *Ibid.*

[o] *Maria virtutis M.S. in biblioth. Gonv.* [p] *Tho. walsingh. pag.* 285. [q] *Ibid. pag.* 289.

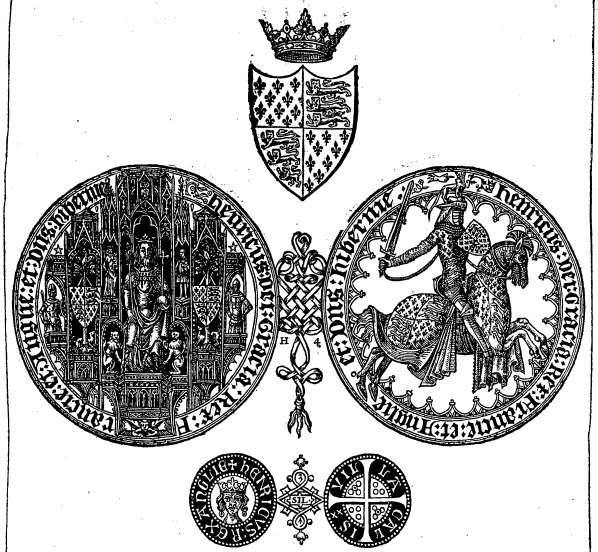
[r] A. Dom. 1385. [s] *walsing. p.* 322. *Tyrrel p. Hall. pag.* 537.

[t] *Ant. Dicka in M.S. not in the printed copies.*

Henry IV.

HENRIE THE FOVRTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE FIFTY ONE MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 51.



CHAPTER XIIII.

HENRIE of that name the fourth, having thus obtained the title of King, in full accomplishment of all rites peculiar to Majestie, had the Crowne of *England* set upon his head, with all worldly magnificence and honour at *West-minster*, by *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon the * selfe day twelve moneth, in which he had formerly been banished under *Richard* the second. *Power and favour can set up and maintaine a King, though they cannot create a right.* But such transcendent courses deviating from all due regulation of Iustice, have beene too frequent in this Kingdome. What right had *William* surnamed the Conqueror? What right, (we speake of a right of Equitie,) had his sonnes *William* the second, and *Henry* the first, while their elder brother lived? What right had that valiant and princely *Stephen*? What was the interest of *Henry* the second, during the life of his mother *Mathildis*? or that of King *John*, till his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine* dyed? yea, or that of *Henry* the third, till *Arthurs* sister died in her prison at *Bristow*? Howbeit, in this present case, not onely *Richard* the late king, but the house of *Mortimer*, claiming from the onely daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* (an elder brother of *John* D. of *Lancaster*) doubly might have withstood the legall challenge of this Prince? That obstacle which grew by *Richard*, was in appearance greatest, but the other was onely dangerous. *Richard* had no issue but the line of *Mortimer* (engrafted by marriage into the house of *Yorke*) feeling it selfe unable to prevaile, and during *Richards* life-time, having no right, secretly fostered in it selfe those fires, which afterward brake forth, and taking hold of the roofe-tops of both the royall houses, never left burning, till no one principall timber was unconsumed in either, all the Male-Issues which could claime by a direct line, utterly dopt downe

Walsingh.

by

by mutuall massacres, and extinguished.

(2) But this wife and valiant Prince *Henry*, besides all other helpes toward the possession of the Crowne in present, had as much strength, as the unordinate affections and siding of a factious greater part could give, for translation of a right from one family to another; which strength (as the basis of his unjustly-reared building) he endeavoureth by all the politike meanes hee may, to make perpetuall. During therefore the former Parliament, (for *Parliaments, as Kingdomes, give their voice with power, and hee who hath the force, doth commonly carry the effect of right*) he * provided for their indemnities, who either came in with him, or did afterward adhere to his sides, and doth utterly abrogate, and make voide the Acts made in the one and twentieth yeare of the late King *Richard* the second, for so much as concerned the Attaindors, disinherisons, or other forfeitures of any persons therein named, or (in generall words) comprised. Thereby, his Vncle, *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, who had beene put to death at *Calis* without any orderly condemnation, *Richard* Earle of *Arundel* beheaded at Tower-hill, and others, were freed from the infamie of that corruption in bloud which followes executed malefactors. And the Statute made in the eleventh yeare of the said *Richard*, was againe fully set on foote and revived.

* Lib. Statut. An. 1. Hen. 4. cap. 3. 4.

(3) In these things King *Henry* did (as it were) sacrifice unto the people, aswell as to the weale publike: The said *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester*, meaning the reformation of the State, in that eleventh yeare of King *Richard* procured (as is before touched) an Act of Parliament, to * settle a Super-royall power, for a yeare, in certaine Peeres, by vertue of which commission the intended reformation was so farre prosecuted, that sundry great persons and others (favourites of the unfortunate King) were put to shamefull death, banished and confiscated.

* Lib. Statut. An. 11. Rich. 2. cap. 1.

(4) But *Richard* * afterward (by the Duke of *Aumarls* inftigation) re-examines all the former passages and proceedings, and satisfied his pleasure and displeasure, as already hath beene shewed; The Articles in those times sentenced for treasonable by the most eminent Lawyers, did extend themselves so farre, that the Prince seemed to have too great meanes left to worke mischiefe to the Peeres and people: and that we may see the constant humour in Lawyers to judge with the will of the greatest, * the Lord *William Thyrning* Chiefe Iustice of the Common Bench, the Lord *Walter Clopton* Chiefe Iustice, and others, being demanded their opinions, upon the same Articles, for which Sir *Robert Trisilian* had lost his life, and for the which others had so terribly beene censured by the Glosterian faction, affirmed (as *Trisilian* and others did) that the said Commission was against the royall Prerogative, and the procurers thereof were all Traitors.

* 11. Reg. 21.

* So is he and the rest called, Lib. Statut. An. 21. Rich. 2. cap. 12.

(5) King *Henry* therefore, in this his first Parliament, reduceth the state of treasons, (being crimes of the highest and foulest nature) to a more certaine head, utterly abolishing all such as were established by the late King *Richard*. The words of the * Statute it selfe are; *Whereas, in the Parliament holden the one and twentieth yeare of the late King Richard, divers paines of treason were ordained by Statute, in as much as there was no man which did know how hee ought to behave himselfe, to doe, speake, or say, for doubt of such paines: It is accorded, and assented by the King, the Lords and Commons, that in no time to come any treason be judged otherwise, then it was ordained by the Statute, in the time of his noble Grandfather, King Edward the third, whom God assoile.* So was that net broken, the perilous estate of Subjects relieved, the people well gratified, and the King hereby became gracious and popular.

* An. 2. Hen. 4. cap. 10.

King *Henry* createth his son *Henry* Prince of *Wales*.

(6) And that his indulgent magnificence might aswell appeare, as his civill prudence, hee (in this Parliament) created *Henry* his eldest sonne Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, by * assent of all the States. To bis friend the Earle of *Northumberland* hee gave the Isle of *Mann*, as that which he had atchieved by Conquest, (so the cited * Record speaks) of Sir *William de Scrope* Knight, Earle of *Wiltshire*, beheaded at *Bristol*. The Earle of *Northumberland* had it granted to hold by the service of bearing *Lancasters* Sword on the left hand of the King at the Coronation. Vpon the Earle of *Westmerland*, hee bestowed the Earledome of *Richmond*. Lastly, as a binding knot, hee causeth the * Crowne to bee entailed upon the heires of his body, having at that time foure sonnes alive, *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, *Thomas*, *John* and *Humfrey*.

* Prissiord.

* Camb. in Insulis Britannicis, pag. 847.

(7) Now, as in the workes of nature, what the Sea drawes from one Coast, it casteth to another; so, others were diminished, as these encreased; the King bereaving enemies, to enrich his friends, and followers. From *Aumarl*, *Surrey*, and *Excester*, the titles of Dukes were taken, and generally all the great ones of that colour or faction, were reduced to the same estate (for honour and fortune) in which they stood, when first the late Duke of *Glocester* was arrested. The Castles, Honours, Manours, and the rest of things, which afterward grew to them out of the ruine of that Duke and his friends, or otherwise by the late Kings gift, from the day of that arrest, were by authoritie of this Parliament taken away, or put into the present Kings mercy. It was likewise made unlawfull for them to give liveries or badges to retainers, or to keepe any about them but necessary servants: They were also forbidden, under paine of high Treason, to goe about by any way to re-enable the late King against the authoritie of this Parliament, in which the sentence of his deposition was given and enacted. Finally, (a thing which laide them open to infinite vexations) whereas, in the time of their late greatnesse, they and theirs were charged to have done, and patronized manifold wrongs and oppressions, all people (upon proclamations to that purpose) were willed to come in, and declare their griefes, to the intent they might have redresse and remedy. With these punishments of his adverfaries, King *Henry* contented himselfe; but * not the Commons who inveighed against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and other Lords of Councell, because the said *Aumarl*, *Surrey*, *&c.* were not also put to death, as persons who stood deepe in the peoples hatred.

The late Kings friends disinabled and displumed.

* Hollingsh. ex Rosse pag. 514.

(8) These provisions for his honour, safetie and advantage, King *Henry* very seeingly contrived, and established at home; but not ignorant under what grievous constructions his actions might fall in forraine parts, sends honourable Ambassadors to * *Rome*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*, to give a reason of his doings. To *Rome*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheney* Knight, and *John Cheney* Esquire. To *France*, the Bishop of *Duresme*, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earle of *Worcester*, and * *William Heron*. To *Spaine*, the Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, and Sir *William Par* Knight. To *Germany*, the Bishop of *Bangor*, and others. These were armed with all sorts of instructions for justification of their new advanced King.

The French practises disinabled.

* Hollingsh. 518.

(9) In *France* * was worthily found the greatest difficultie of giving satisfaction, for that the French Kings daughter (the designed wife of the late King) did thereby leese the honour, profit and pleasure of a Monarchies fruition. She was as yet scarse twelue yeares of age, and therefore, * till shee attained to more maturitie, the late King had the rather absented himselfe in *Ireland*. *France* therefore tooke these newes roughly, and it seemed that matters tended to Armes, which yet came to nothing, for that King *Charles* relapsed into his old disease of frenzie, and a warre to be made against so politicke a Captaine as King *Henry*, required a sober man, and not a mad

The English governement better then the French.

The Scots.

* Hollingsh. ex Tho. Walsingh.

* Tho. Walsingh.

* Hollingsh. ex Tho. Walsingh.

* John Stow. Annall.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 21.

* Belinshed Hist. Scot. lib. 16. cap. 21.

a mad one. Certainly, in the death of *Richard* which shortly followed, all those tumultuous designes for revenge, immediately expired.

They of *Aquitaine* discontenced and resisted.

(10) They of *Aquitaine* (among whom the unfortunate *Richard* was borne) bare the late King great love, as being their Countriman. These discontentments were so publike, that *Burdeaux* (the capitall Citie and Presidentiall seat) stucke not openly to say, (as [a] *Polydor* hath it) *that since the world began there was never a more cruell, unreasonable, nor wicked fact done; that the good Prince was betrayed by* [b] *faithlesse men, and that all law was violated.* Thus doe they exclaime, calling to God for vengeance with one voyce. Nevertheleste the French were deceived in hoping to convert these popular passions to their advantage; for partly by the chiefe [c] Magistrates wisedome, and principally by the comparison which the people made of the two sorts of government, English and French, that of the English being farre the more sweet and gentle, they continued firme. Much good labour, and many faire promises *Lewis* Duke of *Burbon* was forced to spend in vaine, who by such baites cast into the troubled wits of the *Gascoignes*, travelled to draw them to a revolt. The mischiefe was the better, and more strongly encountred, by the arrivall of Sir *Thomas Piercy* [d] Earle of *Worcester* with competent numbers of men, sent thither to withstand the French practises, and cure the peoples affections, by applying to them the soveraigne balme of reason, or with force to compell obedience.

[a] Hill. Aug. lib. 21.

[b] Hoft. Scot. lib. 16. John Stow. Annal.

[c] Sic Rosus Ryol.

[d] Hollingsh. 518.

(11) The first provocation which was given to King *Henry* was by the Scots, who during the last Parliament exercised themselves in *England*, and tooke the Castle of *Warcke*; whose Captaine Sir *Thomas Grey* at that time gave his attendance at Parliament about the common affaires; and the whole North of *England* being also infested with pestilence; the Scots had the more opportunitie to range un-encountred. Cause of other ensuing enmities which afterward brake forth, was (as it [e] seemeth) for that King *Henry* tooke into his protection *George* Earle of *Dunbarre*, and other Scots, who fled out of *Scotland* to avoyd the displeasure of *Robert* their King, and partly to take open vengeance for wrongs done unto them. Such ofentimes is the corruption of humane nature, that it will not pardon private injuries for the publike benefite, but thrust the pietie due to our Countrey under the inferiour respect of particular interesses. Princes also upon oblique reasons of State, (so bad men call them) which is never well founded [f] upon injustice, are (for their owne seeming good) contented to hold their neighbours in awe, by possessing meanes of their disturbance, which when time serveth also, they are not slacke to use, the profit whereof is seldome or never durable.

[e] Hect. Boet. lib. 16. Gio. Baptista.

An. Dom. 1400. An. Reg. 1. Ambassiatrie for delivery of Richard begun.

(12) But King *Henry* was scarce warme in his new atchieved Soveraigntie, when a nest of powerfull enemies beganne to hatch his destruction under the shadow of his owne wings. The deposed *Richard* was yet alive, and howsoever rough and headstrong men of the Kingdome approved his downe-throw, all others did not; for some moved by neerenesse of bloud, as the Earles of *Kent*, and *Huntington* his halfe-brothers by one mother; some doubtlesse in conscience (because howsoever *Richards* actions were unworthy of the Scepter, yet the right was onely his, and besides, *Henry* seemed to them not the next heire) others transported with envie at *Henries* super-eminency, and not a few with remembrance of received benefits, or hope of better fortunes in the change of times, inclined to set him againe upon the English throne. But they whosoever seeke the deliverance of a Captive Prince, doe commonly nothing else but hasten his death.

(13) It was our purpose in many great things to have forborne the testimony of *Walsingham* (otherwise a great light of these times) as one who dedicating his workes to King *Henry* the fift, sonne to this *Henry*, may be feared to speake the best and most hee can, for setting forth the honour of that line; but the levity and dissonance of later Writers, enforceth us (though with some warinesse,) to follow his light, for that, concerning this great conspiracy it selfe, our late Authors doe fondly encounter one the other, and some of them (as it must needs bee) the truth. The principall Conspirators (if such in so just a cause may bee so enstiled) were such, whose lives in the last Parliament had beene spared, though many lookes in their periwings of worldly honour were plucked away. *Iohn Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, *Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and (as [g] some say) *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*, (three the late Dukes of *Excester Surrey*, and *Aumarl*,) *John Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Thomas Lord le Spencer*, late called Earle of *Glocester*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Bernard Brokas*, Sir *John Shevele*, (or *Shelley*) Knights, *John Maudler*, the *Pseudo-Richard*, or [h] counterfet King *Richard*, whose Chaplaine hee had beene, and resembled him very neerely. The [i] Abbot of *Westminster* is (by some) not onely named a Conspirator, but the first wheele of all the practise, as moving the rest; and with him they adde to the former, Sir *Ralph Lumley*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Benedict Celie* Knights. There were sundry others, but those Earles, and others first named, were undoubtedly the chiefe.

The chiefe Conspirators names.

[g] John Stowes Annal. ex Anonymo.

[h] John Stow ex Anonymo. Holl. Chron. Sam. Daniel. lib. 2.

(14) The maine point of the plot was to [k] kill King *Henry* and his sonne, and thereby to restore *Richard* to his rightfull dignity; which the more powerfully to effect, (because, though *Henry* were murthered, yet they were assured that the businesse would not take end in a day, or a death) they resolved [k] to call the French into their succours, which they had reason to expect, for that the young Queene *Isabel*, daughter to the French King, remained at that present in *England*. There was nothing feeble or improbable in all this devise; the difficulty was how to come so strong into the presence of King *Henry*, that they might over-live the *Assassinate*, thereby to finish their enterprize, which as they could not hope for, but with the helpe of a multitude, nor a multitude be assembled without convenient colour, it was resolved, that the pretence of some extraordinary shew in *Christmas* was the fittest.

The chiefe points of the conspiracie.

[i] Tho. Walsingh.

[k] Polyd. Virg. lib. 22.

(15) Not long before the time of intended execution, the whole Conjuration was discovered, some say by the late [l] Duke of *Aumarl*, and afterward by the Mayor of *London*. Discovered it was, but with so short a warning, that the King scarce found himselfe out of danger, when the Earles of *Kent* and *Salisbury*, (not understanding that the bad odour of their conspiracy was come to the King) enter with foure hundred armed men about [m] twy light into *Windsore* Castle, from whence he was departed to *London*. But God (whose peculiar Wards and pupils Princes are) having delivered the King out of that most certaine perill, did also sodainely dissipate the further enterprises of the Conspirators. The Lord *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*, one of the chiefe, was not in this defeate at *Windsore*, but hovered in *London*, attending the successe, there to raise meanes and men, and to worke such other masteries as hee could, and afterward (for wee credite *Walsingham* who lived in that time, and neere the place, and saw, and diligently noted things, rather then some [n] others) upon the certaine report of the Kings safety fought to flye away by water.

[l] John Stow. Annal.

[m] Tho. Walsingh. Stow saith in the Octaves of Childermas.

(16) The two Earles missing their hoped pray, though greatly greeved, yet necessity and new hopes bid them no dare farther. They therefore came to *Sunnings*. There the young Queene (King *Richards* spouse) lay; where having spoken certaine big words, to little other purpose then to give the poore Lady a short comfort, and taken King *Henries* Badges from such as wore them, saying King *Richard* was at liberty, and in the midst of an army of one hundreth thousand

[n] Hall. apud Holinsh. p. 525.

The Earles course upon their plots discovery.

thousand friends at *Pomfret*: they proceed to *Wallingford*, then to *Abingdon*, and so to *Circester*. The rumors used by them to encrease their numbers, were *that Henry of Lancaster (meaning the King) was fled with his sonnes and friends to the Tower of London and that King Richard was escaped. Maudlen* also, one of *Richards* Chapleins, tooke upon him the * person of his said Lord, the more strongly to seduce the multitude, by so bold and perillous a fiction. Thus seemed they to fit their words and sute their Arts to the place. At *Sunning*, *Richard* (they said) was at *Pomfret*, for there the guile had beene transparent; but at *Circester*, *Richard* was not at *Pomfret*, but present.

* Ex Annym. apud Joh. Stow Annal. Holinsh. pag. 515. Polyd. Virg. lib 22.

(17) Howbeit the successe was not answerable to the devise; for, besides, that King *Henry* was in the heart of his strenghts at *London*, where fixe * thousand men were put into a readinesse, and would come upon them like a storme, the Townesmen of *Circester* assailed the Lords, tooke them, and (because their Towne was fired of purpose by some of their followers, the better to recover them while the quenching found the people employment,) haled them forth, and without longer tarriance severed their heads from their bodies: The Earle of *Huntington*, with a trusty Knight of his, Sir *Iohn* * *Shevele*, having (after the fall at *Windsore*) in vaine attempted to escape by Sea, was taken by the Commons at * *Pitwell* (perhaps *Prittlewel*) in *Essex*, brought first to *Chelmsford*, and lastly to *Plesby*, the house of the late Duke of *Glocester*, (whose Ghost a tragicall Poet would suppose did haunt his persecutors for revenge,) where, partly also by this Earles instigation, the said *Glocester* was first arrested. The Commons (out of whose hearts the image of that Duke was not vanished) at * the Countesse of *Herefords* instigation, who was the Dukes Widdow, tooke satisfaction upon the Earle, with the escheate of his head, which there was sundred from his shoulders. The Lord *Spenser*, called Earle of *Glocester* (one of the Conspirators) had like execution done upon him, by the Commons, at *Bristoll*. Some other of them were put to death at *Oxford*, and some at *London*; where *Iohn Maudlen* the counterfeit *Richard*, (who as it seemes was a beautifull and goodly person) and one *William Ferby* were drawne, hanged and headed. The Bishop of *Carlile* nevertheleste was by the Kings clemency preserved alive after the condemnatory sentence. There were * nineteene in all (whereof two had beene Dukes) put to death for this conspiracy, most of which were men of speciall note.

* Shelley, as others have it.

* Fab. Conchill.

* Hall. Chron.

* Haril. c. 119.

* Hall. Chron. Holinsh. 515.

(18) The designes and misfortunes of King *Richards* friends being made knowne unto him, could not but worke strongly in a soule oppreſt with griefe; but whether so strongly as to make him resolve by voluntary abstinence to starve himselfe (as * the fame went) may bee doubted, though it bee past doubt that King *Henry* was not sorry hee was dead howsoever. That he was starved seemes very plaine; though, as it is not certaine, (neither yet unlikely) that King *Henry* was privy to so foule a parricide, so neither is it knowne, but that *Richard* might as well be starved of purpose, * as starve himselfe. Master * *Stow* (a man for honest industry (very praise-worthy) saith that King *Richard* was fifteene dayes and nights together kept in hunger, thirst and cold, till he dyed. How true that was in the circumstance, who knowes? but in the point of starving hee is clearely with *Walsingham*: and a * Knight living about those times calleth it a death never before that time knowne in *England*. *Harding* * also, living under King *Edward* the fourth, agrees of the rumour of starving. * Master *Cambden* saith of *Pomfret* Castle, that it is a place *principum cade & sanguine infamis*, but seemes to insinuate, that some other torments were most wickedly practised upon this King, as made out of the way *with hunger, cold, and unheard of torments*. * *Polydor* therefore in this may bee beleeved, who writes of this poore deposed Monarke, that, (which may well *be called unheard-of torments*) his dyet being served in, and set before him in the wonted Princely manner, he was not suffered either to taste, or touch thereof. Idle therefore seemes * his dreame, who writes he was murthered in the Tower, and not more credible * theirs, who tell us of Sir *Peirs* of *Exton*s assault, and the murther basely by him acted upon this most miserable Princes person: but much more are * they to blame, who negligently for credit of the fable quote *Walsingham*, in whom no syllable of such a thing is found. Onely * *Hector Boetius* wils us to beleeve that *Richard* fled disguised into *Scotland*, was discovered to King *Robert*, and honorably entertained; but *Richard* who would no more of the world, gave himselfe wholly to contemplation, and both lived, dyed, and was buried at *Striveling*. Which fond fable hath nevertheleſſe somewhat in it, for that some personated *Richard* might so doe, is neither impossible, nor improbable, and indeed it was so.

* Thom. Walsing.

The late King *Richard* starved to death.

* Tyrrell. Nouell.

* Ann. in H. 4.

* Sir John Fortescue.

* Chron. c. 200.

* In Turkesstone pag 585.

* H. Boet. Ang. 20. in fin. Rich 2.

The fiction of Exton has verified in King Richards.

* Lampetis chron. in Hen 4.

* Fab. Conc. chron.

* Holinsh. p. 517.

* Lib. 16.

A counterfeit King Richard buried in Scotland. Thom. Walsingh. in Hen. 4. ad An. Dom. 1404. Richards dead body shewed openly in London.

(19) The late King *Richard* thus cruelly and heinously murthered (for in regard of pining death the seeming fable of his fight with S. *Piers* of *Exton* was a sport, it being both noble and full comfort, for a man of honour and courage to dye with weapon in hand) King *Henry* causeth his dead body to bee brought up to *London*. O *Henry*, if thou wert Author, or but privy, (though for thine owne pretended safety, and for that errours cause which is lewdly miscalled *reason of state*) of such a murther; we doe not see, how the shewing of the people his uncovered face in *Pauls*, did either conceale, or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know, that there was no hope nor place for a *Richard*, that course was used, which may the rather confirme the truth of his enfamishment; for a violent death by braining could not but deforme him too much: and it is most probable, that such a death would bee fought, as might least appeare. Surely he is not a man, who at the report of so exquisite a barbarisme, as *Richards* enfamishment, feeles not chilling horror and detestation; what if but for a justly condemned gally-slave so dying? but how for an annointed King, whose Character (like that of holy Orders) is indeleble? The tragicall spectacle of his dead body (perhaps because it mooved too much both pitty and envy) was after a while transported without honor to *Langley* in *Hartfordshire*, where the last rites were performed by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbots of S. *Alban* and *Waltham*, but neither King *Henry* present, (as at the exequies in *London*) and the great Lords and such other as were, had * not so much as a funerall feast bestowed on them for their labour. But *Henry* the fift, in the first * yeare of his raigne with great honour did afterward cause those royall remaines to be interred in the Sepulture of his Ancestors at *Westminster*. Among the riming Latine verses of his Epitaph, ye may marvell to reade these, confidering upon what points he was tried out of Majestie and State;

Ecclesiam favit, elatos suppeditavit,
Quemvis prostravit, regalia qui violavit.

Fabians English of them:

The Church he favoured, casting the proud to ground,
And all that would his royall State confound.

The said Author therefore *Robert Fabian*, observing the scope of those lines (to dampe their force) doth under-write and annex this Stanza, with much greater discretion then elegancy:

But yet alas, though that this meeter or rime,
Thus doth embellish this noble Princes fame,
And that some Clerke which favoured him sometime,
List by his cunning thus to enhance his name,
Yet by his Story appeareth in him some blame:
Wherefore to Princes is surest memory,
Their lives to exercise in vertuous constancy.

More

* Ann.

More tart and severe is the censure of *Gower* upon this Prince, one of whose verses * *Stow* gives us thus,

So God doth hate such rulers as, here viciously doe live.

That beautifull picture of a King sighing, crowned in a chaire of estate, at the upper end of the Quire in Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, is said to be of him, which witnesseth how goodly a creature he was in outward lineaments.

(20) King *Henry*, to divert the humors and eyes of the people from the remembrance of this Tragedy, prepareth now a puiſſance, therewith to invade *Scotland*; some subjects whereof, together with their Admirall Sir *Robert Logon* a Scottish Knight, were taken at Sea by certaine English ships. But King *Henry* may seeme to have done any thing rather then to have made a warre; for albeit he did some hurt by * wasting the Country, yet did not the Scots offer battell, and thereſt will well appeare in these words of * *Boetius*: *Hee did small injuries to the people thereof: for he desired nought but his banner to bee erected on their wals. Hee was ever a pleasant enemy, and did great humanity to the people in all places of Scotland where hee was lodged. Finally, he shewed to the Lords of Scotland, that he came into their Realme rather by counsell of his Nobles, then for any hatred he bare to Scots. Soone after he returned into England.* Whether the remembrance of the curtesies shewed to his Father Duke *Iohn*, or the feare of his owne great state so neere to an overthrow by the late furious conspiracy, wrought these gentle effects, it was not long before the event shewed, that his providence in not creating new acerbities was therein needfull.

* Tyrrell. Nouell.

* Hall. 51. fol. 21. and Polydor in divisum. cap. 23.

(21) For albeit the face of *England* seemed smooth, yet God thrust a thorne into King *Henries* side, whom and where he little expected, for the Welsh, whom former Kings of *England* had so yoaked, and subjected, did contrary to all mens expectation, breake forth into open acts of hostility, under the conduct of a Gentleman of that Nation, surnamed *Glendowr*, of the Lordship of *Glendowr* in *Meriomithshire*, whose owner hee was; the wrath and justice of heaven is alwayes so well furnished with meanes to exercise the mightiest, those chiefely at whose amendment God aymes by chastisement. The originall of so great an evill was in the feed but little, as but this: *Owen Glendowr*, * whom the Welsh call the sonne of *Gruffith Vachan*, descended of a younger sonne of *Gruffith ap Madoc*, Lord of *Bromfield*, was at first a Student of the common lawes, and an *Vtter Barister*, (but not therefore an Apprentise of Law, as Doctor *Powell* mistakes for a Apprentise of the Law, is he that hath beene a * double Reader) did afterward serve the late King *Richard* in place of an Esquire, and was well beloved of him, but in King *Henries* time (retiring himselfe as it seemes to his Mannour of *Glendowrdiny*, the L. *Gray* of *Ruthen* entred upon a peece of common, which lay betweene *Ruthin* and *Glendowr*, which *Owen* (despite the Lord *Gray* while *Richard* continued King) had formerly holden, though not without contention. *Owen* (a man of high courage, and impatient of force) armes hereupon, and encounters the Lord *Gray* in the field, where he scattered the said Lords people, and tooke him prisoner, as hereafter will elsewhere be touched.

Owen Glendowr draweth the Welsh into rebellion.

* Hall. of Wales. D. Powel pag. 381, 382, 383.

(22) It seemes heerein that hee had forgotten the lawes which hee had formerly studyed, and wherein hee had beene a licentiate; for shortly after, as he had trodden law under foote, so did hee also cast of loyalty, burning and destroying the Lord *Grays* inheritances, and killing fundry his servants. The King advertised hereof, passeth with an Army into *Wales*, burnes, kils, and takes such revenge as that time would permit. Meane-while, *Owen* (whom pride and folly armed to the farther ruine of his Country) with his trustiest friends (which were not few) withdrawes into the inexpugnable fastnesses of *Snowdon*, where during this tempest, hee kept his head safe. Shortly after the King with such riches and spoyles as those Parts had afforded, returnes. His next most noted action was peaceable. For one of the house of *Paleologus*, and Emperour of *Constantinople*, came into *England* to pray some succour against the Turke, and upon the day of Saint *Thomas* the Apostle, was met at *Blackeheath* by King *Henry*, highly feasted, richly presented, and his charges borne till departure. But as *Tilius* * saith of his succesſe in *France*, *verbis & promissis tantum adjutus est*, so here his speed was not much better, the point of armed aydes, being onely therein assisted with words and promises.

From thence is carried to Long Ely, and afterward to severall Monasteries.

* Thom. Walsingh. in Hen. 4.

* Fab. Conc. Hill.

(23) In a Parliament held the next yeare, * by reason of *the numbers of Lolards*, (so called) *encreasing*, the punishment for them enacted, was burning. And in the same yeare also, the Articles of peace being first agreed upon betweene the two Nations, English and French (notwithstanding that they had denyed to match with the young Prince of *Wales*, * because the former marriage with *Richard* thrived so badly) the Lady *Isabel* who had beene crowned Queene of *England*, as Spouse of the late King, was now sent backe into *France*, after a most Princely manner, the being not as yet * twelve yeares old, had * no dowry allowed her in *England*, for that the marriage was never consummated. Before shee was restored to her friends, the Lord *Henry Piercy*, before the Ambassadors of both the Nations, where they were met betweene *Calis* and *Boloigne*, protested, *That the King of England his Master had sent her to be delivered to her Father, cleare of all bonds of marriage, or otherwise, and that hee would take it upon his soule, that shee was found and entire, even as shee was the same day shee was delivered to King Richard, and if any would say to the contrary he was ready to prove it against him by combate.* But the Earle of Saint *Paul* saying, he beleeved it to be true, the Lord *Piercy* tooke her by the hand, and delivered her unto the Earle, and then the Commissioners of *France* delivered certaine Letters of receipt and acquitall. Shee was afterward married to *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*.

Warre against Turkes neglected by the Westerne Princes.

* Chron. de regi. Francorum.

An. Dom. 1401.

An. Reg. 2.

* Lib. Stat. Hen. 4. an. 2. cap. 15.

* Polydor. Virg. Hist. An. lib. 22.

* Tho. walsing. * Holinsh. Chro. Prodigiat.

The forme of re-delivering Queene Isabel to the French.

(24) *Owen Glendowr* persisting in his pride and disobedience, made incursions upon the English, doing them great harme, and returning himselfe without any; but King *Henries* danger was greater at home; for treason had crept into his most secret Chamber. In his bed there lay hidden a *Galtrope* or *Engine*, with three small yron pikes, long, slender and passing sharpe, all of them with their points set upward, but (God so disposing it) the King before he laid himselfe downe, perceived them, and thereby avoyded that hidden mischiefe, but who was actor therein it doth not appeare.

The King in danger to bee slaine or wounded.

(25) This appeares, that the splendors of his new regality had drawne up many thicke and poysonous clouds of envy and practise, to darken if it were possible the farther brightnesse thereof. Neither was it long before it grew to some extremitie. For *Owen Glendowr* upon the causes before-said, wasting the Lord *Reynald Grays* lands, was encountred by him, as presuming that *Owen* and his friends might easily be overcome, but the contrary hapned, for there in fight he lost very many of his company, and was himselfe taken prisoner. This fortune made the swelling mind of *Owen* overflow in vaine hopes, who compelling the said Lord to marry his daughter, yet obtained he not his libertie the sooner, but died (say * some) in the power of *Owen*, if perhaps our Author mistake not the Lord *Gray* for *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who indeed did marry so after he was also overthrowne by the said *Owen*, with the slaughter of above a thousand principall persons of *Herefordshire*, assembled under his conduct, to resist the Welsh invasions, and there also himselfe was by treachery taken prisoner.

An. Dom. 1402.

* Fab. Chron. ad An. Dom. 1400.

(26) *Walsingham* doth * write, that about this time sundry conspiracies were discovered in the yolke (as it were) or embrion; the whole hopes whereof rested upon calumniations and forgery, for

* In Hen. 4.

by the first they * traduced (in libels) *Henries* actions so to make him hatefull, and by the second they divulged that * *Richard* was still alive, thereby to raise an head of feparation. *Henry* thus galled in his honour, and endangered in the maine, resolved to spare none, upon whom the crime or concealement was found. The first of them that fell under his justice, was a Priest of *Ware*, with whom was taken a list, or roll of names which hee had gathered, supposing them such as in regard of benefits received, would live and dye for King *Richard*, which vanity of his created trouble to many, till it appeared that hee had therein wronged them, as persons who were utterly ignorant both of the man and matter. Whereupon hee was drawne and hanged. The like fate had *Walter Baldocke* Prior of *Lawne*, who confeft that he had concealed others councels against the King, though himselfe had acted nothing. A *Frier Minor* also being taken, with some other of his Order, for like intendments; was asked, *What hee would doe if King Richard were alive and present?* hee confidently answered, *that hee would fight for him till death against any whosoever*; which cost him his life, *being drawne and hanged in his Fryers weeds.* Neither did this hard fortune fall onely upon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Clarington* Knight, (reputed the base sonne of *Edward* late Prince of *Wales*) together with an Esquier and servant of his, finished the affection which they bare to the deceased *Richard*, by hanging. Not long after eight *Franciscan Fryers*, or *Minorities*, were taken, convicted, hanged, and headed for the like causes, which made the King an heavy Lord to that whole Order. It is said, that somewhat before this knot was discovered, the divell appeared in the habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury* Church in *Essex*, to the incredible astonishment of the parishioners; for, at the same time there was such a tempest and thunder with great firebals of lightning, that the vault of the Church brake, and halfe the Chancell was carried away.

(27) But howsoever these out-branches were pared away, the rootes of all the practise lay deeper out of sight; for the * *Piercies*, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Earle of Worcester*, *and Henry Hotspur Lord Piercy*, because perhaps they thought they had done wickedly in helping to set up *Henry*, * began to imagine that bloudy mischiefe, which afterward was prosecuted. This malice the late successe of *Owen Glendowr* against the Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March*, (taken prisoner, as is said, with no little slaughter of his *Herefordshire* men) did perhaps nourish; for that hee saw an enemy appeare, who was not unlikely to prove an able member of a greater rebellion. Certainely the King having in *September* led an Army into *Wales*, to take revenge upon his Rebels, was in great danger to have perished with sodaine stormes and raines, the like whereof none of his people had ever felt or seene, so that after he had done some wasts upon the Country he returned. The common fame went that *Owen* was a Conjurer, and had raised those hideous tempests by hellish arts; they seemed so excessive, which (whether true or false) did yet impart no little strength to the Welsh faction.

(28) The Kings fortune was happier in the North, where his Lieutenant had two faire victories, the one at * *Nisbet*, and the other at *Halydown hill*, neere to a village called *Woller*. And although the first was not a small one, yet the other deserved the name of a just battell and garland. To the Scots, having with above ten thousand men (under conduct of *Archibald* Earle of *Douglasse*, whom the Scots nick-named *Tyne-man*, because he never wanne field, though no sort of true manhood was wanting in his person) made great spoiles in *England*, as farre as to *Newcastle*, and were now upon returne; *Henry Piercy* Earle of *Northumberland*, the noble *Henry Hotspur* Lord *Piercy* his sonne, and *George* Earle of *Dunbar* (who fled as you have heard out of *Scotland*) with the forces of the Countries thereabout, not meaning to let them to passe in so slight a fort, opposed themselves. The chiefe feate was wrought by the English Archers, who first with their stiffe, close, and cruell stormes of arrowes made their enemies footmen breake, and when the noble *Douglasse* descended to the charge with his choisest bands, himselfe being in a most rich and excellently tempered armour, and the rest singularly well appointed, the Lord *Piercies* Archers making a retreat, did withall deliver their deadly arrowes, *tam vivide, tam animosè, tam gravitèr* (saith our Monke) *so lively, so couragiously, so grievously, that they ran through the men of Armes, bored the helmets, pierced their very swords, beate their lances to the earth, and easily shot those who were more slightly armed through and through.* There were taken prisoners the Earle of *Douglasse* himselfe, (who notwithstanding his armour of the best proofe, had five wounds, and lost an eye) *Murdake Stewart* Earle of *Fife*, (eldest sonne to *Robert Duke of Albanie*,) *George Earle of Angus*, the Earles of * *Murrey* & *Orkney*, the Lords *Montgomery*, *Erskin*, and *Grane*, with about fourescore Knights, besides Esquiers and Gentlemen. There were slaine, the Lords *Gourdon*, and *Swymton*, (*Belindens Boetius* cals them Knights) with sundry other men of honour and marke, besides store of common souldiers. The River *Tweed*, to shew it selfe meere English, did likewise fight for them, by swallowing above five hundreth in his unknowne depthes, as they, who fled from the battell, sought to passe. This victory hapned upon *Holyrood* in harvest. The troubles which afterward hapned, did not onely hinder the Lord *Piercy* from farther prosecution of such a victory, but eclypsed the honour he had gotten now, and gave his dayes a bloudy and foule Catastrophe.

(29) The Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March*, next generall heire in bloud to the Crowne of *England* after the death of *Richard* the second, having through feare of *Owen* (whose prisoner he was) or hope of recovering his right, or for revenge (because the King did not ransome him) married *Owens* daughter, by which he must necessarily declare himselfe an enemy to King *Henry*, entertained intelligence with his neere kinsmen the *Piercies*, and sundry other his friends in *Cheshire*, and else-where, to what purpose will shortly appeare. The night in which this Lord *Mortimer* (though some referre it to *Owens* birth) was borne, all the horses in his Fathers stable, are said to have beene found standing Belly-deepe in bloud. A fearefull prodigie, as even then it seemed, but verified afterward in the farre more fearefull events, when (upon the quarrell of *Mortimers* title, by which the house of *Yorke* claimed,) the horses of warre did not onely stand belly-deepe in bloud, but also swam therein. The mischiefe was already begun: for *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (when now his owne and his houses strengths were mightily encreased by this late victory against the Scots, which he under-hand seemes to have converted to his secret private ends,) closely * animated his brother the Earle of *Worcester*, and his fiery spirited sonne, against the King, to both their confusions.

(30) The King tooke to wife the Lady *Ione* of *Navarre*, widdow of *John de Monfort* Duke of *Britaine*, named the Conqueror (* who died the yeare before) by whom she had issue both sons and daughters, but by the King none. He met, and married her at *Winchester*, and crowned her Queene at *Westminster*. The King was not trusted with the custody of any of her three sonnes, *John*, *Richard*, and *Arthur*, who remained in *France*.

(31) Events are the best interpreters of prophesies and prodigies. Strange was that which * *Wallingham* hath written of a fatall *Spectrum* or *Apparition* in the summer time betweene *Bedford* and *Bickleswade*, where sundry monsters of divers colours, in the shapes of armed men were often seene to issue out of the woods at morning and at noone; which to such as stood farre off seemed to encounter one

Henry Hotspur fortunes against the Scots.

This incredible force of the old English Archery.

The summe of the great victory at Holmedon hill.

Causes of the Lord Piercies dangerous rebellion.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Polyd. Virg. hath not a word in particular of this great action.

* Comb. in Northumberland.

The Lord Mortimer dies a prisoner amongst the Scots.

The Kingdome of England to behaved among the commers.

* Comb. in Northumberland.

* Holinsh. 569. 50.

An. Dom. 1403.
* Joh. Tillius Chron.

The late dead King Richard appeareth alive. Gods judgm. * Polyd. Mantl.

* Polyd. Mantl. & in Hister.

A strange perfaging apparition of warre.

one the other in most terrible manner, but when they drew neere, nothing was to be found. Of another nature were the fiery attempts of the *Piercies*. The first of them who discovered in armes his mortall hatred, was the noble *Hotspur*, who (under * colour of the Scottish warre) made head about *Chester* and the Marches of *Wales*. To him (by the privitie of *Hasburs* Father,) repaires the haughtie old man the Earle of *Worcester*, leaving the young Prince of *Wales*, and the Princes Houshold, over both which (for their better Government) the King had placed him. Now was the torch of warre lighted up, and began to blaze, for though the chiefe plot-master the Earle of *Northumberland* was not joyned to them, as hee did intend, yet were their numbers growne mightily, with which they meant to enter the Towne of *Shrewsburie*, to make thereof a Seat of warre.

(32) Colourable causes of their armes were the ordinary paintings of the like attempts. Care of Common-wealths reformation, and their owne safeties; for having first protested their intentions not to be the breach of loyalty, they pretend and by letters sent about, doe signifie. 1. *That* * *the publike monie was not employed upon the pretended defence of the kingdome, but undulie wasted.* 2. *That by reason of bad tongues about the King they durst not approach him, to declare their innocency, unlesse the Prelates and Peeres of the Realme did first intercede for them.* 3. *That they tooke armes onely to guard their owne heads, and to see the Kingdome better governed.* These Articles had the place of the Huske, but the Kernell of the enterprize had principally these. 1. *To thrust King Henry out of his seat, and consequently to deprive him of life.* 2. *To advance the title of the Lord Mortimer, Earle of March, their* * *neerest allie*: for the Earle of *Northumberland* had married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Lord *Edmund Mortimer* the elder, Earle of *March*, by *Philip* daughter to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*. 3. *To take revenge of King Henry, for seeking to draw the chiefe benefit to himselfe of the victory at Halidowne hill, whose principall prisoners he required*, and for such other private grudges. 4. *To share the Kingdome betweene Mortimer, Piercy, and Owen Glendowr.* Concerning which partition it is in some found written, that Indentures tripartite were sealed, showing that *South-England should remaine to Mortimer, North-England to Piercie, and Wales beyond Severne to Glendowr.* But *Archembald Earle of Douglasse* (who did his Countrey good service by making one in our Combustions) by common consent was allowed for his share to be free from ransome, and to have *Berwicke*.

(33) This (in our English Adagies) is called to reckon without our host, or to count our Chickens before they are hatched. But though at this time God would have it so, yet who doth not easily see what a wild horse a Kingdome (so gotten) is, and how hard to sit, and not to manage onely? Yet it seemeth, that if *Mortimer*, having so just a title to the Crowne, had openly professed the cause of his attempt against King *Henry*, it might justly have beene exempted from all staine of disability. But this partition is * said to have beene wisely built upon a sound Welsh prophecie of *Merlins*: *as if King Henry were the Mouldwarp cursed of Gods owne mouth, and Mortimer, Piercie, and Glendowr, the Dragon, Lyon, and Wolfe, which should divide this Realme betweene them.* Surely the Welsh having any hand in such a partition, it is not likely they could thinke it had the right feet, if it stood not upon the supposed *Merlins* his ridiculous cosenages and riddles. The English (not to be behind in leasings,) doe in the meane time every where spread that * *Richard was safe alive* and *in the Castle of Chester*. Who can wonder that this name should be so gracious, as if alone it were enough to have shaken *Henry* out of his State? When *Nero* himselfe had so many favorites, that twentie yeares after his death an obscure fellow faining himselfe *Nero*, was so backt and countenanced by the *Parthians*, and others, * that not without much difficultie the *Romans* could get him into their hands.

(34) On the other side King *Henry* affailed with so unexpected jeopardies, defends his cause by Letters, and strongly puts the blame upon the accusers, saying, *That he marvelled exceedingly, seeing the Earle of Northumberland, and Henry his Sonne had the greatest part of the publike moneys delivered to them, for defence of the borders against Scotland, why they should make that a quarrell, which was a meere calumnie.* And to take away all pretence of feare from the Conspirators, he sends to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Worcester*, and to the hot Lord *Piercie*; a *safe conduct* under his royall Seale, by which hee secures their accesse, but *unbridled rashnesse* (saith *Wallingham*) *despising the royall clemency, did put on the rigour of rebellion.* Meane-while the King armes with all speed against the enemy, the rather at the counsell of *George* Earle of *Dunbar*, who (like a valiant man at Armes, and a wise friend) advised him so to doe, before their adversaries numbers were too mightily augmented. The King with his sonne the young Prince of *Wales*, and a very noble fellowship, was now advanced within sight of *Shrewsbury*, as the gallant *Piercie* stood ready to assault the Towne. But so soone as the royall Standard was discovered, that enterprize was left off, and he drew out his people (being about fourteene thousand choise and hardy bodies of men) to trie the fortune of warre against a well tried warriour.

(35) Peace notwithstanding (by the exceeding tendernesse of the King) had ensued, but that the mischievous Earle of *Worcester*, by mis-reporting & falsifying his Soveraignes words, did precipitate his Nephew into sudden battell. If there were any praise or good example to be drawn out of so detested bloodshed, as that of *civill warre*, we would willingly destitute unto you the order and actions, but we cannot too soone passe over such mournefull objects, which are rather to be celebrated with teares then triumphs. There is no doubt but *Percie*, *Douglas*, and the rest fought terribly. Why should we admire that in them? So doe Lyons, Tygers, and Beares, and yet we admire them not. Where was durie, where conscience, where the other respects, of which onely we are called men? Let none of us honour, or imitate them, in whose eies the price of English bloud is so vile, as that (for private fansies) they can be content to confound all regards, and make sport for common foes, with mutuall massacres. Therefore we will content our selves with the knowledge of Gods part in this daies worke, who gave the garland to the King, though the first arrowes flew from the *Piercies* Archers.

(36) The Kings courage was not small in the fight, as neither was the danger, the young Prince of *Wales* also (being then first to enter himselfe into the schoole of bloud and battell,) gave no small hopes of that perfection which afterward shone in him, being wounded with an arrow in the face. The Lord *Piercie* and Earle *Douglas* (then * whom the wide world had not two braver Champions) in steed of spending themselves upon the multitude, set the point of their hopes upon killing the King, as in whose person they were sure ten thousand fell. For this cause they most furiously rushed forward with speares and swords; but the noble Earle of *Dunbarre*, discovering their purpose, drew the King from the place which he had chosen to make good, and thereby in likelyhood for that present saved his life, for the Standard-royall was overthrowne, and (among other valiant men) the * Earle of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, the Kings Knight, and the Standard-bearer himselfe was slaine, such was the fury of these fodaine thunderbolts. That day the *Douglasse* flew with his owne hands three in the Kings Coat-armour, (perhaps some in *Heralds* Coats) though * *Boetius* yet saw a fourth. Sure it is, that many of the subjects thought the King was slaine, and not a few * ranne out

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 22.

* Hollin. p. 520.

The late King Richard though dead, suffers not King Henry to rest.

Tho. Walsing. Ypodig. The Divell appeares in Essex.

* Comb. in Northumb. p. 655.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 22.

* Holl. Boet. lib. 16.

* Soot in Mer. lib 6. cap. ult.

Thomas Piercie Earle of Worcester cause of the battell at Shrewsbury.

The terrible battell at Shrewsbury.

* Tho. Walsing.

Hotspur and Douglasse only seeke to encounter the Kings person.

* Tho. Walsing.

* Liv. 1.6. * Many thousands together Tho. Walsing.

out of the field. Who notwithstanding, like a valiant Prince, did re-enforce the fight, performing marvels in armes with his owne hands. The slaughter could not be small on both sides, the Archers shooting so continually, and the men of armes doing their utmost for about the space of three whole houres.

(37) That which gave an end to this wofull worke was the death of *Hotspur*, who riding in the head of the battell in defiance of danger and death, was (by an unknowne hand) suddenly killed, with whose fall (as if his whole army had had but one heart (the courages of all others fell into feet, which now altogether they trusted to. But the King abhorring to make farther execution of the mis-guided multitude, suffered them to shift for themselves. The Earles of *Worcester*, and *Douglasse*, Sir *Richard Vernon*, the Baron of *Kindlaton*, and divers others were taken. Of the Kings side was slaine (besides the Earle of *Stafford*) ten new Knights, whose names (as dying in an honest cause) deserve immortalitie, and were Sir * *Hugh Shorly*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cokain*, Sir *Nicholas Gausell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverly*, Sir *John Massie*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, Sir *Robert Gausell*, and Sir *Thomas Wendesley*, who dyed of his hurts not long after, as most of the other did about the Standard; all which fighting for their spurres, as being knighted that morning) bought them with the honourable losse of their whole bodies; there were also slaine many Esquiers, and Gentlemen, and about one thousand and five hundreth common souldiers, besides three thousand sorely wounded. On the other part, (omitting that fecond *Mars*, the Lord *Piercy*, who drew a ruine after him futable to his Spirit and greatnesse) there fell most of all the Esquires and Gentlemen of *Cheshire*, to the number of two hundred, and about five thousand common souldiers. This battell was stricken neere to *Shrewsbury* upon a Saturday, the one and twentieth of *July*, and the *Eve* of Saint *Mary Magdalen*.

(38) The Earle of *Worcester* (the seducer and destroyer of his noble Nephew *Hotspur*, and therefore if but for that, very worthy to have died) Sir *Richard Vernon* Knight, and the Baron of *Kindlaton* had their heads cut off upon the Monday following. *Hotspurs* body had beene buried by permission, but upon other advise, the King caused it to be drawne out of the grave, beheaded, quartered, and the parts sent into divers Cities of the Kingdome. The Earle of *Northumberland* (pretending to come with forces to the Kings ayde) was empeached by the Earle of *Westmorland*, and *Robert Waterton* who had raised a great hoast. *Northumberland* taking neither of them for friends, wheeles about, and returnes to his Castle of *Warkworth*. But what can be secure to a subject against the victorious armie of a martiall King? The Earle knew as much, manifestly feeling the irrecoverable maimes of his House in losse of his sonne and brother, and therefore shaped his course accordingly. The King therefore being altogether as prudent as fortunate, having setled the state of things in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, sets forward to the Citie of *Yorke*, from thence to take order for such perils as he foresaw might happen. Hee settled himselfe the more seriously and entirely to this needfull worke; for that his Ambassadors had effected an abstinence from warre with *France*, till the first of March, which pausing space though it might seeme little, was not a little welcome to the King, the Realme of *England* being then so full of dangerous perturbations. While he was yet at *Yorke*, hee commands the Earle of *Northumberland* to come thither in person, which he accordingly did upon the morrow after the day of Saint * *Laurence*, and that also with a small traine in the nature of an humble tutor. He could not in reason hope for the wonted familiar favour of the King, neither had he yet, for it was accounted matter of grace, that his life was pardoned though his meanes and libertie was abridged, the King allowing onely necessary maintenances. The life of Princes is like a perpetuall motion. The Northerne Countries are now setled, but hath the King therefore any the more rest? Nothing lesse; for *Wales* and the troubles thereof call him thither. What should he doe? Money, the Cement and soldure of all such actions, (for Armies cannot otherwise bee held together) utterly failes. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* sees the needs and uses of his Soveraigne, and like a Father supplies him with a Tenth, which the Clergie at their Metropolitans motion, consent to give: upon the strength whereof, the King knowes how farre hee may proceed against the *Welsh* in his good time.

(39) Toward the relieefe of these his necessities, the valiant exployts of *William de Wilford* an Esquire, who was in the meane time abroad for the king upon the narrow Seas, brought some assistance, certainely store of contention; for he tooke fortie lawfull prizes laden with yron, oyle, sope and Rochell wine, to the number in all of a thousand tunne, upon the Coasts of *Britaine*, and in his returne set fortie faile on fire; and to make the *Britaines* know that he was not onely a man of his hands at Sea, hee comes on shore at *Penarch*, burnes Townes and houses about sixe leagues into the Countrey, and afterward did as much for them as the Towne of *Saint Mathewes*, which he consumed with flames, and wasted the land for three miles about. The French, not to seeme slow to like mischiefes, land at the *Wight*; but were compelled with losse to betake themselves againe unto their Fleet, with farre worse successe then the *Britons* under the conduct of the Lord of *Castell* had not long before, who landing at *Plymmouth* invaded, tooke and burnt it.

(40) The King having humbled the Earle of *Northumberland* in such sort as you heard, lookes againe upon him with an eye of compassion and favour, not without a secret respect to his owne safetie; and he had little appetite to augment enmities, but to allay them rather, whereas by this gracious usage of that Earle, (for he restored him fully to all) he now thinkes those North-parts sufficiently secured. This restitution was made to the Earle in the Parliament holden at *London*, about the middest of Ianuary, where the King obtained an un-usuall Taxe or Subsidie, of which (that it might not be drawne into example) no Record, nor writing was suffered to remaine. Some part of the gold which the King thus drew into the Exchequer, he had occasion to bestow at this time. For, there presented themselves unto him, a boistrous troupe of plaine *Western-men*, who brought to the Kings view three Lords, and twentie Knights of note; These were prisoners, whom the Countrey people about *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, had gotten in plaine fight. The King was therefore given to understand, that the Lord of *Castell* the *Briton*, who had formerly burnt *Plymmouth*, thinking to doe the like at *Dartmouth*, came on shore with his forces; where these and the like people fiercely encountred him; at which time their Women (like *Amazons*) by hurling of flints and pebles, and by such other Artillery, did greatly advance their Husbands and Kinsfolkes victory. The Lord of *Castel* himselfe, and many besides, were slaine, these other were saved as more of them might have beene but that the ignorance of language alike confounded the cries of indignation and pittie. They therefore in reward of this hazard and service, doe pray they might reape some commodity by their Captives. It was but reason; wherefore the King, who tooke pleasure to talke with the lusty *Western-men* himselfe, causeth their purses to be stuft with golden Coyne, reserving the prisoners to repay himselfe with advantage out of their ransomes. The like good fortune against *Owen Glendowr* and the Welsh would have gladded him indeed; but they burne and destroy the Marches, they kill and captivate the people, and partly by force, partly by fraud, get many Castles, some of which they raze, and fortifie others,

The King useth his victory mercifully.

* Holinsh. pag. 525. Iohn Stow names also Sir Nicholas Langford, and calles the two Gausels not Causels, but Gratels, and brothers.

The great destruction of Cheshire Gentlemen.

* Anno 8. The Earle of Northumberland pardoned of his life.

Wilford a Captaine takes a thousand Tuns of good commodities.

Iesu a forreader of that importance, delivered to the King.

An. Dom. 1404. The Earle of Northumberland refused.

The Country men about Dartmouth kill the French Gaurell, and prisoni the King with honourable prisoners.

* Parliamentum indoctarum. Thom. Walsing.

* Sir Iohn Stanley. Vndig. Wasl. 154.

Owen Glendowr and the rest more wofie the Marches.

A new false King Richard.

others. Neither came these evils single, for the *Flemmings* and *Britons* tooke certaine Merchants ships of *England*, and either slew or hung the Sailers.

(41) It is more strange that King *Richard* was not suffered to be dead, after he had so long a time beene buried. *Serlo*, who had beene a Gentleman of his Chamber having heard that King *Richard* (his royall and gracious Master) was secretly abiding in *Scotland*, left the favour of the French Court to see him, but it was not worth his so much love and labour; for hee that bare the name, was but an Impostor. Loath yet to let the opinion die, because it might do King *Henrie* harme; *Serlo* affirmes, that *Richard* was alive. What cunning madnesse is so great which hath not some great fooles or other to support it? The old Countesse of *Oxford* (mother to the late Duke of *Ireland*) will needes perswade her selfe and others in *Essex*, that *Richard* was alive: certaine it is, that she desired it might be true. To make others more firmely beleeve the same, thee secretly gave silver and gilt Harts (the badges which King *Richard* used to bestow upon his followers) as tokens. Hitherto the devise held out, for it had no great danger in it; but *Serlo* seeing the necessitie of greater friends, which appeared not, grew weary, and knowing that Sir *William Clifford* Knight, Captaine of *Berwicke*, had received sundry favours from King *Richard*, hopes by him to be furnished with mony, to beare his charges out of *Scotland* into *France*. *Clifford* farre otherwise minded, feizeth upon *Serlo*, as a fit meanes to reconcile himselfe with the King, in whose high displeasure he stood, (for that hee had continued his charge in *Berwicke* contrary to expresse commandement) and carrieth him to the King, who was then come to the Castle of *Pomfret*; being weakned with these rumors, and suspecting that the chiefe nest of danger lay in the North; whither the Earle of *Northumberland* brought his grand-children (as pledges) to assure the King of his loyalty: thither also Sir *William Clifford* brings poore *Serlo*, who both confesseth the practise, as also that he had a guilty hand in the murther of the Duke of *Glocester*, which made him farre more odious then the other forgery. The crimes being manifest, *Serlo* is drawne from *Pomfret* beginning his paine, where he had his doome, and at *London* knits up the Tragedy in a halter. The Countesse of *Oxford* for this fallhood lost all her goods, being moreover committed to close prison. To make this imposture the more probable and passable, *Serlo* had caused King *Richards* signet to be counterfeited, wherewith he sealed sundry consolatory and exhortatory letters to his friends, indited in King *Richards* name; whereupon many in *Essex* gave credit to the Countesse, and among the rest some Abbots of that County. Into this smoke did all the devise evaporate.

(42) And no lesse smokie was both the devise and successe of certaine in the *Parliament* (held this yeare at *Coventry*, and called the * *lacke learning Parliament*, either for the *unlearnednesse* of the persons, or for their *malice* to learned men) where, to supply the kings wants, a bill was exhibited against the *Temporalties of the Clergy*; but by the courage of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (who told them, *it was the enriching of themselves, not of the King, which they respected in their sacrilegious petitions*) and by the gracious care of the King, (who vowed *to leave the Church in better state then he found it, rather then in worse*,) their motion vanished to nothing, but the infamous memory of the attempters. It is observed that * a *Knight* the chiefe speaker in this bill against the Clergie, had beene himselfe a *Deacon*, and so himselfe first advanced by the *Clergy*. With great reason therefore did our fore-fathers distinguish the people into the *learned* and *lewd*, inferring truely that such commonly were *lewd*, who were not learned, and that *lewd* and *wicked* were but two words of one signification, as in this *Parliament* well appeared, whose *Commons* might enter *Common* with their cattel for any vertue which they had more then brute Creatures.

(43) Twise after this, betweene *Christmas* and *Palme-Sunday*, the King assembled the States againe, once at *London*, and then at Saint *Albans*, for the cause of money, but with much distaste, the Peeres of the Land rising from the last Session thereof meanely contented, as it well appeared not long after, though to the enterprisers ruine. *Thomas Mowbray* Earle Marshall, one of the chiefe men which disliked the carriage of publike matters, drawes *Richard le Scrope* Archbishop of *Yorke* into a conspiracy, in full hope that *Henry Piercie* Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *Yorke*, and the common people would assist their cause, which was gloſed with the specious pretence of redressing publique abuses, happing through the Kings default. The Earle of *Westmerland* hearing of this attempt, wherein the Earle *Marshall* and the Archbishop were leaders of the people, gathers a force to encounter them, but perceiving himselfe too feeble, he betakes himselfe to fraud, and by faining to like the quarrell, got them both into his power, and presented them as an acceptable oblation to the King, who about *Whitsantide* comes to *Yorke*, where (albeit the Earle of *Westmerland* had promised them their lives) as well the Archbishop, as the Earle Marshall were beheaded. But the next yeare the Pope excommunicated all such as had a hand in putting the Archbishop to death. It was said of *Tiberius* * *Cæsar* in a Satyricall libell, *-regnabit sanguine multo,*

Ad regnum qui quis venit ab exilio.
Who, first Exil'de, is after crown'd,
His raigne with blood will much abound.

(44) This the King verified in his person, who comming out of banishment, could not support his Title and estate, but by shedding much blood of subjects. For, not contented with those two lives, he pursueth the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf*, with an invincible Armie of seaven and thirty thousand men: but they unable to make head against so mightie a force, take *Berwicke* for refuge. Thither the King marcheth, at the sound whereof, they both distrustfull of their safetie, flie into *Scotland*, where the Lord *Flemming* entertains them. *Berwicke* upon hope of succours out of *Scotland*, (which gladly nourished the English miseries, and the English theirs) refused to render, whereupon the King plants a battering-piece against a Tower in the wall; which as it threw downe the halfe thereof with one shot, so did it quite overthrow all the defendants courages, who presently yeelded the place upon hard and desperate termes, for they were partly hanged, and partly emprisoned. After * *Berwicke* was thus recovered, the King takes *Alnwicke*, and all other Castles belonging to the Earle, and thinking the like happinesse would shine upon him in *Wales*, he crosseth over thither, where it fell out farre otherwise, not by the manhood of the *Welsh* but by the sodaine rage of waters which destroied his carriages and about fifty wains (as was said) laden with much treasure: therefore hereturnes to *Worcester*. *Owen Glendowr* the chief captaine of the *Welsh* Nation, expecting and fearing a revenge, had before this time confederated himselfe with the French, who in 140. ships arrived at *Milford* Haven to the aide of *Owen*, having well-neere first lost all their horses in the passage for want of fresh water. The Lord *Berkley* and *Henry de Pay* (by what means appeares not) burnt fifteene of that number in the harbour. They made the entrance of their warre by laying siege to the Towne of *Carmarden* in *South-Wales*, which, the Garrison being permitted to depart with bagge and baggage, was yeelded.

(45) The King being againe in needs of money, after long unwillingnesse and delay, the Parliament furnished him, rather overcome with wearinesse in contradiction, then for any great good-will. Some of his treasure was employed, as it seemes, upon secret practises with the *Scots*, that the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolfe* might be delivered into his hands, in exchange for some *Scots*; where

An. Dom. 1405.

Mowbray Earle Marshall and *Scrope* Archbishop of *Yorke*, rise, or rebellious, and lose their heads.

* Sueton. lib 3. cap. 59.

The King prevents the Earle of *Northumberland*.

The first time that a gunne is used in *England*.

* Tho. Walsingh. in Hen. 4.

The French with seven-score ships arrive in *Wales* to aide *Owen Glendowr*.

An. Dom. 1406. *An. Reg. 7.*

whereupon they fled into *Wales*, and the *Scots* missing their purpose, slew *David* Lord *Flemming*, for discovering their intention to his distressed guests, (as by the lawes of honour and hospitality he was obliged) which filled *Scotland* with civill discords. To avoyde the dangers whereof, and to better his education, the King of *Scots* sent his sonne and heire by Sea into *France*, whom, together with the Bishop of *Orkney*, certaine Mariners of *Cley* in *Northfolke* surprized at Sea, and presented to the King, who committed him prisoner to the Tower of *London*. Meane-while the French prosecuting their affaires in *Wales*, sent thither eight and thirtie Ships full of Souldiers, of which number the English tooke eight (the rest escaping in great feare to *Wales*,) and not long after other fifteene sayle laden with Waxe and Wine. This fortune, though good, was nothing in regard of the service, which *Henry Pey*, with certaine Ships of the Cinque Ports, and about fifteene other, exployted upon a great Fleete, contayning sixscore Sayle, whose ladings were Yron, Salt, Oyle, and *Rochel* Wine. The same times was a Felon put to death, for having in many places of *London* dared secretly to set up Bils, contayning newes that King *Richard* was alive. The fearefull plague of pestilence slew multitudes of people through the Realme, chiefly in *London*, where, within a short space it destroyed thirtie thousand. That most renowned Captaine Sir *Robert Knolles*, who had led so many living men to their honourable deaths in battell, was now captived himselfe by death upon the fifteenth day of August. His fame grew principally by martiall deedes in the great Warres of *France*, under *Edward* the third, but spred and setled it selfe by good workes, among which the goodly Stone-bridge at *Rochester* in *Kent* was one.

An. Dom. 1407.

King *Richard* spred to be alive.

Sir *Robert Knolls* dieth.

(46) In the meane space, the wars of *Wales* were managed by Prince *Henry*, who tooke the Castle of *Aberistwith*; but *Owen Glendowr* soone after got it againe by faire fraud, and thrust into it a Garrison of his owne. Thus *Owen* prospered for a time; but the Earle of *Northumberland*, and Lord *Bardolf*, forsaking *Wales*, and seeking to raise a force in the North, were encountred by the Sheriffe of *Yorkeshire*, who after a sharpe conflict slew the Earle in the Field, and so wounded the Lord *Bardolf*, that he dyed thereof. The Earles head was cut off, which being first ignominiously cartyed through *London*, was fixed upon the Bridge. The King having thus vanquished his chiefe enemies, went to *Yorke*, where inquiries were made for the Earles adherents, of which he condemned, ransomed, and empriſoned many. The Abbot of *Hales*, because he was taken fighting on the Earles behalfe, had sentence to die, which was executed upon him by hanging. In forraine and transmarine parts, the Kings affaires had mixt successe; for *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, at the siege of *Briant* in *Britaine*, was stricken with a quarrel into the head, whereof he died; but yet after hee had first taken the said Castle, and leveld it with the ground.

An. Dom. 1409. *Platina.*

(47) The peace of Christendome having beene long tempestuously troubled by a Schisme, rayſed by ambition of oppoſite *Popes*, whereof the one was chosen at *Rome*, the other at *Avinion*, by contrary factions of the Cardinals; A generall Councell was summoned to be held at *Pisa* in *Italie*, whither the King of *England* sent his Ambassadors, and the *Clergie* elected *Robert Alum* * Chancellour of *Oxford*, and Bishop of *Sarum*, to signifie, * that *unlesse both the Popes would give over their Papacy, neither of them should thence-forward be acknowledged for Pope.* The King in his letter then sent to Pope *Gregory* chargeth him (as *Platina* likewise doth) with *Perjurie*, and that this Papall emulation had beene the cause of the murther of * *more then two hundreth and thirtie thousand Christians slaine in warres.* There assembled a great number of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, *Alexander 5.* (a man * trained up at *Oxford*, where he tooke degree in Theologie) rejecting the two others, who long and bitterly had contended for the place. The King also cals his Parliament to find out meanes for more money, to the custody and charge whereof he ordaine d Sir *Henry Scrope*, creating him Treasurer, as *Thomas Beaufort* the Kings halfe-brother Lord Chancellour. In which Parliament was revived the sacrilegious Petition, of spoyling the Church of *England* of her goodly patrimonies, which the pietie and wisdome of so many former ages had congested. But the King (who was bound by oath and reason to preserve the flourishing estate of the Church) detested their wicked proposition, and for that cause denied all other their requests. The Duke of *Burgundies* provisions which he had made to reduce *Calis* to the French dominions, and stored at Saint *Omars*, were consumed with casuall fire to ashes.

Book 9.

S. Thos. Orosius faith Gascoigne M. S.

(48) About these times the great and bloudie factions betweene the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleance* brake forth. The cause was for a murther committed upon *Lewis* (brother to he French King, and father of the saide Duke of *Orleance*) as he came late one night from the Queenes lodging, who at that time lay in of a childe. The murtherers * to prevent pursuit, strewed galthrops behinde them. The Duke of *Burgundie* justified the fact, for that *Lewis* had (as he said) laboured with the Pope to put the King from his State, upon pretence that he was as unfit to governe, as ever *Childericke* was, whom Pope *Zacharie* pronounced against. This prepared the way for that scourge wherewith God meant to chastice the pride and sinnes of *France*. Each partie sought to fortifie it selfe with friends, as well at home as abroad. The Duke of *Burgundie* had the King and the Dolphin on his side; the other had the Kings of *Navar* and *Arragon*, the Dukes of *Berrie* and *Britaine*, with many of the mightiest Earles and Lords. The Duke of *Burgunder*, (who together with the King and the face of governement, kept in *Paris*) perceiving his adversaries strengths to be more then his owne, offers to the King of *England*, a daughter of *France* in marriage with the Prince, and many great promises, so as he would joyne in defence of the King, and send over competent forces; whereunto he is said to have answered: *Our advice is, that you should not in this case adventure battell with your enemie, who seemes to prosecute a just revenge for the death of his Father; but labour to aswage the displeasure and anger of the exasperated yong man, by all the good means which are possible. If that cannot be, then stand upon your guard, and draw into place of most safetie, with such force of men as may best serve for your defence. After all this, if hee will not be appeased, you may with the better conscience encounter him, and in such case wee will not fayle (more fully) to assist, according as you request.* For the present he sent over the Earles of *Arundel* and *Kyme*, and many men of Armes, with plentie of English Bow-men, who came safe to *Paris*, where they in nothing diminished the ancient glorie of their Nation, but behaved themselves valiantly.

An. Dom. 1411.

Paul. Emil. in Carolo.

(49) The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Peeres of his faction, seeing their successe, consult how to draw the King of *England* from their enemie, and thereupon send over one *Falconet* with others, with solemne lers- "ters of credence, whom they made their *irrevocable* "*Procurators, to entreat, agree, and conclude,* (on their "behalfes) *with the most excellent Prince, Henry, by* "*the grace of God King of England, and his most noble* "*sonnes, &c. for the restitution and reall re-delivery* "*of the Dutchie of Aquitain, with all the rights and* "*appurtenances, which (as is affirmed) are the inheri-* "*tance of the said most excellent Lord the King of Eng-* "*land, by them to bee made and done, &c.* The Ambassadors having shewed forth this *Proxie*, exhibited the poynts of their negotiation in these Articles, by which wee may see how farre the desire of revenge will transport great mindes. 1 *They offer their bodies to be employed against all men for the service of the King*

The King forbids the Duke of Burgundy, and absolves the Duke of Orleance.

The Dukes of Burgundy sends for aid to the King.

The Kings wife and Christian answere to the Dukes request.

The English Army and Navie in Normandy, till the Duke of Orleance came.

Aides sent by the King to the Duke of Burdie.

An. Dom. 1412. This Duke of *Orleance* sends to the King for succour.

The words of the Dukes letter.

The great offer of the *Orleance* faction to the King.

King of England, saving their faith to their owne Soveraigne, as knowing the King of England would not otherwise desire them. 2. *Their sonnes, daughters, nephewes, Nieces, and all their Cosens to bestow in marriage at the King of Englands pleasure.* 3. *Their Castles, Townes, treasure, and all their goods to be at the service of the said King.* 4. *Their friends, the Gentlemen of France, the Clergie and wealthy Burgers; who are all of their side; as by proofe (they said) shall well appeare.* 5. *They finally offer to him the Dutchy of Aquitaine entire, and in as full a manner as ever his Predecessors enjoyed the same, without excepting any thing; so as they themselves will hold, and acknowledge to hold their lands in those parts, directly of the said King, and deliver as much of them as they can into his possession, and will doe their utmost to conquer the rest for him.* Vpon condition on the other side. 1. *That the King of England, and his Successors, should assist the said Lords, against the Duke of Burgundy, for the murther committed upon the person of the late Duke of Orleance.* 2. *That he should assist against the said Duke of Burgundy and his favourers, till they had repaired all the losses which they, their friends and tenants had susteined through that occasion.* 3. *That hee should helpe to settle the quiet of the Realme, &c.*

Their demands

(50) These Offers being put into the ballance with the Articles, upon which the Duke of *Burgundy* had obtained succours, ouer-weighed them so farre, that about the midst of August, before all those which had beene sent with the Earle of *Arundel* to the contrary part, were returned into *England*, aids were decreed to the Duke of *Orleance*, to the wonder of all men, who understood not the secret, so that *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Dorset*, and very many other principall men, with a competent puissance, were sent over to ayde the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Angolesme* remaining hostage in *England*, for the sure paiment of one hundred and nine thousand Crownes for performance of * the other Articles: They came on shore in *Normandy*; but, whether the confederates mooved with the perill into which their Countrey and Nation should by these meanes be precipitated, or for some other causes, (though none indeed so just, as the sorrow and shame for their so disloyall a combination with the capitall enemies of *France*) the Duke of *Orleance*, (contrary to agreement) came not at the appointed time and place, whereupon the English burnt, spoiled and tooke much riches in the Castles, Countrey and good Townes, wherewith to satisfie themselves, till the Duke of *Orleance* should see them paid. At last yet the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Orleance* came to a treaty, after which the English campe rose peaceably and marcht into *Aquitaine* there to Winter it selfe, the Duke of *Orleance* returning to his owne. While these matters were in hand, the Lord of *Heyle Marshall of France*, with many other Lords, and about foure thousand * men of armes, laid siege to a certaine strong place in *Gascoigne*; which Sir *Iohn Blunt* Knight, with three hundred souldiers, not only defended, but drave them also from the siege, taking prisoners twelve of the principal, and about sixscore other Gentlemen. * The King lived not to see the carriage and fortune of these warres, for falling sicke at *Eltham* in the Christmas time (at which our ancient authors begin to draw the circles of their yeares) but recovering himselfe a little, he repaired to *London* about Candlemas, there to hold a Parliament, the end whereof he lived not to see, but upon the twentieth day of *March* finished his short but politique and victorious raigne, in peace and honour, had not the injustice of his first entrance left a dishonourable staine upon his worthiest actions.

Tho. Walsingh. Hist. Anglic.

(51) The vulgar Chronicles tell us a strange Story, the truth whereof must rest upon the reporters. The King, say they, lying dangerously sicke, caused his Crowne to be set on a Pillow at his beds head, when suddainely the pangs of his *Apoplexie* seizing on him so vehemently that all supposed him dead, the Prince comming in, took away the Crown; which, his father revining, soone missed; and calling for his sonne, demanded, what he meant, to bereave him of that, whereto hee had yet no right? The Prince boldly replyed; Long may you live Soveraigne Father to weare it your selfe; but all men deeming you were departed to inherite another Crowne, this being my right, I tooke as mine owne; but now doe acknowledge for none of mine; and thereupon he set the Crowne againe where he found it. Oh sonne, (quoth he) with what right I got it, God onely knoweth, who forgive me the sin. Howsoever it was got, said the Prince, I meane to keepe and defend it, (when it shall bee mine) with my Sword, as you by Sword have obtained it. Which the King hearing, hee entred discourse of advise, shewing him that hee feared some discord would arise betwixt him and his brother *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, who with better respect had borne forth his youth then Prince *Henry* had done, and whose distemper was like to breed great troubles, if it were not in time stayed. If my Brethren (quoth *Henry*) will be true subjects, I will honour them as my Brethren, but if otherwise, I shall affoone execute justice upon them, as on the meaneſt of bireh in my Kingdome. The King rejoycing at this unexpected answer; both prudently and Christianly charged him "before God, to minister the law indifferently, to "ease the oppressed, to beware of flatterers, not to "deserve justice, nor yet to be sparing of mercy. Pu- "nish (quoth he) the oppressors of thy people, "so shalt thou obtaine favour of God, and love "and feare of thy Subjects, who whiles they have "wealth, so long shalt thou have their obedience, "but made poore, by oppressions, will be ready to "make insurrections. Rejoyce not so much in the "glory of the Crowne, as meditate on the burthe- "nous care which accompanieth it; mingle love "with feare, so thou, as the heart, shalt be defended "in the midst of the body: but know, that neither "the heare without the members, nor a King with- "out his Subjects helpe is of any force. Lastly, "my sonne love and feare God, ascribe all thy victo- "ries, ſtrength, friends, obedience, riches, honour, "and all, unto him, and with the *Psalmist* say with all "thanks, *Not unto us Lord, not unto us, but to thy holy* "*name be given the laud and praise.*

(52) Vpon what soyle these most Christian, true and excellent Councels fell, the following life will shew, being nothing else, but a full representation in act, of such things as are here in precept only, shewing to the World how divine a beautie Christian goodnesse hath.

His Wives.

(53) The first wife of King *Henry* the fourth, was *Mary* one of the daughters and heires of *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*, Constable of *England*, &c. She died *An. Dom.* 1394. before he came to the Crowne.

(54) His second wife was *Ioane*, Queene, daughter to *Charles* the first, King of *Navarre*, she being the Widow of *Iohn de Montfort*, Sir-named *Streani*, Duke of *Britaine*; and died without any Children by King *Henry*, at *Havering in the Bower* in the county of *Essex*, 1437. the tenth day of Iuly, in the fifteenth yeare of *Henry* the sixt, and was buried by her husband at *Canterbury*.

His Children.

(55) *Henry*, the Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Chester*, and afterward King of *England*, whose glorious life and acts next insue.

(56) *Thomas*, Duke of *Clarence*, President of the Councell to King *Henry* the fourth, and Steward of *England*, was slaine at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, without any issue. Hee married *Margaret* daughter to

Thomas

Thomas Holland Earle of *Kent*, the widow of *Iohn Beaufort* Earle of *Somerset*.

(57) *Iohn*, Duke of *Bedfort*, Regent of *France* in the time of King *Henry* the fixt, Duke also of *Anjou* and *Alanson*, Earle of *Cenomannia*, *Harecourt*, of *Kendall* and *Dreux*, *Viscount Beaumont*. Hee married first with *Anne*, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*. Secondly with *Iacoba*, daughter to *Peter de Luxemburgh*, Earle of Saint *Paul*. And died without any issue.

(58) *Humfrey*, was by his brother King *Henry* the fift created Duke of *Glocester*, was Protector of the Kingdome of *England* for 25. yeares, in the time of King *Henry* the fixt, in whose first yeare he stiled himselfe in his Charters thus: *Humfrey, by the grace of God, sonne, brother, and uncle to Kings, Duke of Glocester, Earle of Henault, Holland, Zeland, and Pembroke, Lord of Friesland, Great Chamberlaine of the Kingdome of England, Protector and Defendor of the same Kingdome, and Church of England.* He was a man, who nobly deserved of the Common-wealth, and of learning, as being himselfe very learned, and a magnificent Patron and Benefactor of the Universitie of *Oxford*, where he had beene educated; and was generally called, the *Good Duke*. He married first *Iacoba*, heire to *William* Duke of *Bavaria* Earle of *Holland*, who (as after was knowne) had first beene lawfully troth-plighted to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, and therefore was afterward divorced from the said *Humfrey*. His second Wife was *Elianor* daughter to *Reginald*, Baron *Cobham de Scarborough*. Queene *Margaret*, Wife to King *Henry* the fixt, repining at his great power in swaying the King and State, secretly wrought his ruine, he being murthered in his bed at *Bury*, dying without any issue, 1446. His body was buried at *Saint Albans*, yet the vulgar errour is that he lies buried in Saint *Pauls*.

(59) *Blaunch*, married to *Lewis Barbatus*, Palatine of the Rhine, Prince Elector.

(60) *Philip*, married to *Iohn* King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*.

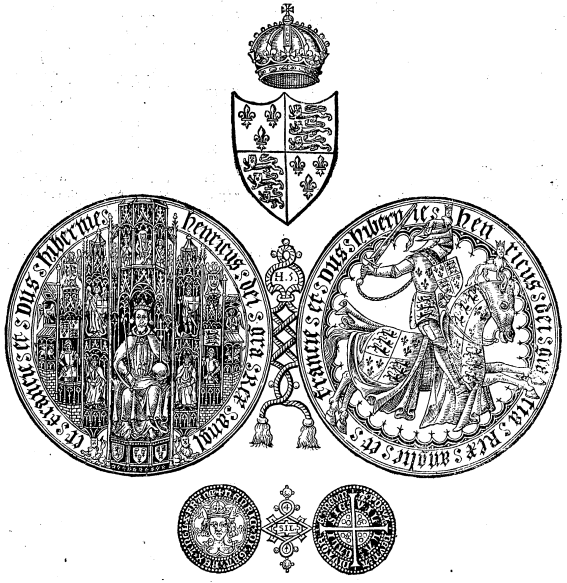
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HENRY

Henry V.

HENRY THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE TWO AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 52.



CHAPTER. XV.

An. Dom. 1412.

AMongst the many Monarchs of this most famous Empire, none is found more compleat with all heroicall vertues then is this King, of whose life by order and succesſe of Story weeare now to write; which is, *Henry* of that name the Fifth, the renowne of *England*, and glory of *Wales*. Of whom, what was spoken of *Titus* in the flourishing times of the *Romans*, may for the time of his raigne be truly verified in him: both of them being *the lovely darlings, and delightfull joy of Mankinde*. But as *Titus* is taxed by his Story-Writers, in youth to have beene riotous, profuse, wastfull, and wanton, *for which* (as he saith) *with the dislikes of men he stept into the Throne*; so if we will beleeve what others have writ, *Henry* * was wilde whiles he was a Prince, whose youthfull prankes as they passed with his yeeres, let us have leave here to rehearse, and leave them motives to our owne use, as he made them for his.

(2) His birth was at *Monmouth* in the marches of *Wales*, the year of Christs assuming our flesh, 1388. and the eleventh of King *Richards* reigne, his father then a subject, and Earle of *Derby*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, afterwards created Duke of *Hereford*, in right of his wife, then of *Lancaster*, by the death of his father; and lastly, by election made the Soveraigne of *England*, that unfortunate *Richard* being deposed the Crown. His mother was *Mary*, second daughter and co-heire of *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, and *Northampton*, high Constable of *England*, * as wee have said.

(3) His young yeares were spent in literature in the Academy of *Oxford*, where in *Queenes-Colledge* he was a Student under the tuition of his uncle *Henry Beaufort*, *Chancellor* of that *Universitie*, afterwards Bishop of *Lincolne* and *Winchester*, and lastly made Cardinall by the title of *Eusebius*. But his Father obtaining the Crowne, and himselfe come

Edm. Hall.

Henry borne at Monmouth in Wales.

* Rastal in vit. Thedo.

* Tho. Livius lib.

come to the age of twelve yeares, had the succession thereof entailed on him by Parliament, and accordingly was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*, and presently had the Title of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine* conferred upon him, the better to effect the thing then intended, which was to have obtained in marriage young Queene *Isabel*, late Wife to the murthered King *Richard*, Daughter of *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*.

Halinsh.

Richard Groft.

Edward Hall.

(4) From *Oxford*, Prince *Henry* was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Percy* then Earle of *Worcester* made his Governour; but being himselfe false to his Father, could give no good example unto the sonne, whose hostile attempts in the field of *Shrewsbury* cost that disloyall Earle his head, and almost had done Prince *Henry* his life, who in battell against him was wounded in the face with an arrow. This marke of his manhood, with the overthrow of *Hotspur* in that bloudy conflict, were hopefull signes of his following successe, which presently were seconded with as fortunate proceedings against *Owen Glendowr* that scourge of his Country, and Arch-rebell unto *Englands* peace, whom this Prince so pursued through the vast mountaines of *Wales*, that from the Dennes of those deserts hee durst not shew his face, but therein perished by famine and natures other wants, though the Prince had then scarcely attained unto sixteene.

Tho. Walsingh.

Rich. Grafton.

(5) But growne from his tutors command, or controll, and come to the yeares for disposé of himselfe, as his youth stood affected, so were his consorts, and those (many times) whose conditions were none of the best; whether led by an inclination of youth (which commonly lets the raine loose unto *Will*) or, to know that by proofe, which other Princes doe by report, I will not determine: yet unto the latter doe I rather incline, knowing that *Salomon* the wisest of Kings did so himselfe; and rather by *Rosse* I am lead, who writeth that Prince *Henry* in *Oxford* had in great veneration, such as excelled in vertue or learning, and among many, two he nameth, *Thomas Rodban* of *Merton Colledge* a great *Astronomer*, by him preferred to the Bishopricke of S. *Davids* in *Wales*, and *John Carpenter* of *Oriel Colledge*, a learned Doctor in *Theology*, whom hee advanced to the *See* of *Worcester*. But let us heare how his wilde oates were sowne, and with what increase the harvest was got. The translater of *Livy*, who wrote the Story of this worthy Prince, and dedicated his paines to King *Henry* his sonne, affirmeth for truth, that many actions he did, farre unfitting his greatnesse of birth; and among other, doth taxe him with no better then theft, who in the raigne of his Father, accompanyed with such as spent their wits upon other mens paines, laide waite in the way for his Rents receivers, and robd them of that which indeed was his owne, when sometimes in shusting he nothing was spared, but bare away many knockes, the lenders whereof hee would frankely reward, when they complained unto him of their losses received, which ever were abated in the foot of their accounts.

Eccles. 2.

Joh. Rosse.

(6) Our learned Knight *Eliot* setting his pen to portrait a perfect Governour, recordeth a Story, retaining this Princes great fame, the credit whereof let it lye upon himselfe. It chanced (saith hee) a servant of his to bee arraigned for felony at the *Kings Bench-Barre*, where standing ready to receive sentence of death, the Prince had intelligence, and posted thither, where finding his servant made sure for sharing, commanded his fetters to be strucke off, and the Fellon arraigned to be freed the Court. All men amazed at this his approach and speech: the *Chiefe Justice* stood up, and shewed the Prince that his feare was the Kings, that Lawes were the finewes of the Common-wealth, that himselfe was sworne to doe Justice, and must yeeld an account for all that he did, that he honoured him as the eldest sonne of his Soveraigne, and Prince, but to set free the prisoner, hee could not, having so apparantly endangered his life to the Law; and therefore desired the Prince, if he held him in such esteeme, to save him by pardon from the King, and not to infringe the Law, which he told him plainely he should not doe.

Sir Tho. Eliot Governour.

(7) The Prince inraged to have deniall, assayed himselfe to set free the Prisoner, which the Chiefe Justice forbad, commanding him upon his allegiance to cease from such riot, and to keepe the Kings peace: whereat Prince *Henry* in a fury stept up the Bench, and gave the *Iudge* a blow on the face, who nothing danted, sate still, and with a bold countenance, spake thus to the Prince: "*Sir, I pray you remember your "selfe, this seate of Iudgement which here I possesse, is "not mine, but your Fathers, to whom and to his lawes "you owe double obedience. If his Highnesse bee thus "contemned, and his lawes violated by you, that should "shew your selfe obedient to both, who will obey you "when you are a Soveraigne, or minister execution to "the Lawes that you shall make? Wherefore, for this "attempt, in your Fathers name, I committ you prisoner "unto the Kings Bench, there to remaine untill his "Majesties pleasure be further knowne.* With which words the Prince greatly abashed, stood mute by the Iudge, and fixing his eyes upon his reverend face, presently laid from him his weapons, and with humble obeysance done, departed to prison. The King understanding the whole circumstance, greatly rejoyced that hee had a *Sonne* of such obedience to his lawes, and a *Iudge* so upright to administer them without either favour or feare of the person; notwithstanding for this, and other like actions of his youth, he removed him from being *President* of his *Privy-Councell*, and placed in his stead *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his second Brother; to Prince *Henries* no little griefe and discontent.

Deuteron. 16. Exodus. 18.

Rich. Grafton.

(8) Howbeit his followers were nothing diminished, but his Court frequented more then his fathers, which bred some suspition in the crazy Kings head, left among his other wilde parts, he would attempt to play with his *Crowne*; which was encreased by his domesticall flatterers, who daily buzzed new jealousies into his eares. This made Prince *Henry* (as *Otterborne* noteth) to strengthen himselfe with his chiefest friends and well-willers, and with such a troupe repaired to his fathers Court, as a greater in those dayes had not beene seene. The translator of *Livy* reports the manner of his approach, even from him that was an eye-witnesse, and the same no lesse then the Earle *Ormond* of *Ireland*, whose relation is this.

The Otterborne.

(9) The King somewhat crasie, and keeping his Chamber, hearing newes daily of his sonnes loose exercises, too meane for a Prince, and their constructions ever made to ayme at his Crowne, hee both began to withdraw his fatherly affection, and to feare some violence against his owne person, which when Prince *Henry* heard of, by some that favoured him of the Kings Councell, in a strange disguise hee repaired to his Court, accompanyed with many Lords and Noble-mens sonnes. His Garment was a Gowne of blew Satten, wrought full of *Eylet-holes*, and at every *Eylet* the Needle left hanging by the silke it was wrought with: about his arme hee ware a *dogs-collar* set full of *S.S.* of Gold, the *Tirrets* thereof being most fine Gold. Thus comming to *Westminster*, and the Court of his Father, having commanded his followers to advance no further then the fire in the Hall, himselfe accompanied with some of the Kings Houshold, passed on to his presence, and after his duty and obeysance done, offered to make knowne the cause of his comming. The King weake then with sickneſſe, and supposing the worst, commanded himselfe to bee borne into a with-drawing Chamber, some of his Lords attending upon him, before whose feete Prince *Henry* fell, and with all reverence observances, spake to him as followeth.

Rot. Rivard.

Tho. Otterborne.

Hall.

Rich. Grafton.

Ann. Dom. 1413.

"(10) Most gracious Soveraigne, and renowned "father,

"father, the suspition of disloyalty, and divulged re-"ports of my dangerous intendments towards your "royall Person and Crowne, hath enforced at this "time, and in this manner, to present my selfe and lite "at your Majesties disposé. Some faults and mis-spent "time (with blushes I may speake it) my youth hath "committed, yet those made much more by such, flee-"ring pick-thanks, that blow them stronger into your "unwilling and distastive eare. The name of *Sove-"raigne* ties allegiance to all, but of a *Father*, to a fur-"ther feeling of natures obedience; so that my sinnes "were double, if such suggestions possessed my heart: "for the Law of God ordaineth, that he which doth "presumptuously against the Ruler of his people "shall not live, and the childe that smiteth his father "shall die the death: so farre therefore am I from any "disloyall attempt, against the person of you my *Fa-"ther*, and the Lords annointed; that if I knew any "of whom you stood in the least danger or feare, my "hand according to duty should be the first to free "your suspition; yea, I will most gladly suffer death "to ease your perplexed heart; and to that end I have "this day prepared my selfe, both by confession of my "offences past, and receiving the *blessed Sacrament*. "Wherefore I humbly beseech your Grace to free "your suspition from all feares conceived against me, "with this Dagger, the stabbe whereof I will willing-"ly receive here at your Majesties hand, & so doing in "the presence of these Lords, and before God at the "day of judgement, I clearely forgive my death. But the King melting into teares, cast downe the naked Dagger (which the Prince delivered him) and raising his prostrate sonne, embraced and kissed him, confessing his ears to have beene over-credulous that way, and promising never to open them againe against him. But the Prince unsatisfied, instantly desired, that at least his accusers might bee produced, and if convicted, to receive punishment, though not to the full of their demerits; to which request the King replyed, that as the offence was capitall, so should it be examined by the *Peeres*, and therefore willed him to rest contented untill the next Parliament. Thus by his great wisdome he satisfied his father from further suspition, and recovered his love that nearely was lost. Hitherto of *Henry* as hee was Prince (some other of whose youthly actions we also touched in his fathers raigne) and now to his Acts after he was King.

Tho. Otterborne.

Hall.

(11) *Henry* ordained successour and over-seer of his dying Fathers Testament, had in his entrance so fortunate proceedings, as hee seemeth to exceed all his Predecessors; his Nobles proffering the oath of their Allegiance, before himselfe had made his, for the just government of the *Common-weale*, which so farre was from *acceptation*, that he desired God never to admit him to the Crowne, unlesse he should to his glory raigne, and rule the Scepter to the good of the *Subiects*. The day of his entrance and of his Fathers death, being the twentieth of March, and yeare of Christs Incarnation, according to our account, 1412. on the ninth of Aprill following hee was solemnely crowned at *Westminster*, *Thomas Arundell* Archbishop of *Canterbury* performing the royall Ceremonies: which no sooner was ended, but to begin a good government, he began with himselfe, banishing from his presence and Court the unbridled youths which had beene his consorts, commanding them either to change their manners, or never to approach within tenne miles where he lay. Then chose he worthy and prudent men for his *Councell of Estate*, and advanced his *Clergy* with dignity and power: being himselfe as zealous in *devotion*, as liberall in building, and indowing of places for devotion of others. His Justice was found of all that sought it; *for every day after dinner, for the space of an houre, his custome was to leane on a Cushion set by his cupbord, and there himselfe received petitions of the oppressed, which with great equity hee did redresse.* And for a further testimony of his tender and compassionate heart, the slaughtered body of King *Richard*, over-meanely

Tho. Walsingh.

Upon Trinity Sunday.

Nich. Pigenot, in hijs de Eccles.

entered at *Langley*, in great estate he removed into *Saint Peters Church* at *Westminster*, and there laid him enshrined by Queene *Anne* his first wife (as himselfe had defined and prepared) founding a weekly memoriall to be celebrated, and sixe shillings eight pence thereon distributed unto the poore, and yearely twentie pounds given upon his anniuersary day, besides foure tapers to burne before his monument, day and night for ever. And so neerely did his death touch this innocent King, that he sent to *Rome* to be assoyled from that guilt of his fathers Act, by the *Popes* Holinesse, then accounted another God; whose penance enjoyned, he willingly performed, and afterwards purposed to have made warre in *Palestina* against the enemies of Christ; for which end, he sent Sir *Hugh de Lavoy* of *Henault* to *Ierusalem*, to discover the state of things there; but before his returne he was departed to the heavenly *Ierusalem* himselfe.

Rob. Fabian.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

* Opera Joh. Huss. Tom. 2.

(12) The obsequies of his Father being solemnized at *Canterbury*, and the King in person attending the Corps, sit occasion was given unto Archbishop *Arundel* to complaine of the *Wickliffians*, (then termed *Lollards*) great rubs in the waies of the Clergies pride and proceedings; whereof Sir *John Old-Castle* was thought a chiefe; who by his marriage contracted with a kinswoman of the Lord *Cobhams of Cooling in Kent*, obtained the title thereof; he was a man strong and valourous, and in especiall favour with his Prince. This Knight in a Synode assembled at *London*, immediately after the Kings Coronation, was accused by them to have rent Christs seamelesse coat, in maintaining *Wickliffes* doctrine to be taught, especially in the Diocesse of *London*, *Rochester*, and *Hereford*: against whom also some choise *Inquisitors at Oxford*, appointed for *Heresies*, (though * that whole Vniversity had formerly upheld both *Wickliffe* and his doctrine,) informed and presented his name with two hundred fortie sixe conclusions, which they had collected to be *hereticall*.

Tho. Walsingh.

(13) The King incensed (by the Archbishops suggestions) against these discontented discipliners, was further made beleeve that they themselves had set up Bills in divers places, threatning that an *hundred thousand persons* were ready for armes, against all that withstood their reformation, and among these that *Oldcastle* his knight was reputed the chiefe. The King graciously inclined, heard the Archbishops complaint, and being at *Kennington*, promised to conferre with the Lord *Cobham* himselfe, which accordingly he did, instantly willing him to submit himselfe to the censure of the Church, and obedience of the Archbishop: But *Cobham*, no turne-coate from his profession, humbly told the King he owed his subjection onely unto his Majestie, whom God had placed in these his Dominions, as his onely *Vice-gerent* to governe his people and Subjects, and that himselfe forced nothing *Romes* leaden sword, unsheathed by the *Pope* (that Antichrist) against the Lords servants, nor would suffer the key of *Canterbury* to open the closet of his conscience, where the spirit of God was residing, bearing witnesse with his, that he stood in the truth, for whose defence as his Champion, he was ready to live or die.

Acts and Monuments.

(14) This answere received, was so delivered unto the Archbishop, with power to cite, examine and punish, as their owne Canons in such cases had decreed. The Lyon thus laide for, whose paw they still feared, was served by processe to appeare in the Archbishops Court, and the same delivered by one *Butler* a servant of the Kings Privy-Chamber, for that the bold Summer durst not doe it himselfe, and the Archbishop (diligent lest hee should forget the day) caused his letters citatorie to bee set upon the gates of the Cathedrall Church of *Rochester*, which were prefently torne downe, and others againe set up, were again pulled off, to the great offence of the Clergies eye, and the rather, for that the Actor could not be knowne. The Knight not appearing (as knowing their malice, and his owne danger) was condemned

Oulde castle pronounced an heretik

of contumacie, and afterwards in a *Synode* at *Rochester*, was by the Archbishop pronounced an heretike, where himselfe then enacted that hereticall decree, *that the holy scriptures should not bee translated into the English tongue.* But marke the judgement that fell upon his owne tongue, whose roots and blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speake nor swallow downe meat, but in horror lay languishing, till lastly he so died, starved by famine.

Tho. Walsingh. Antiq. Britan.

Balsbro Vigorn.

Archbishop Arundells death.

(15) In the meane time the Lord *Cobham* wrote his * *Beliefe*, which was very Christian-like, and presented it himselfe to the King, who (being much prepossessed) in no wise would receive it, but suffered him to bee summoned in his presence, and privie Chamber, when the Knight for his purgationoffered an hundred Knights and Esquires, which would not be accepted; then, according to his degree of Order, and law of Armes, he required the single combat to fight for life or death, with either Christian or Heathen in the quarrell of his faith, the King and Councell onely excepted. This notwithstanding could not bee suffered, but needes must he appeare before the Archbishop his judge: where, after divers examinations (in all which hee most religiously justified himselfe and his profession) hee was condemned of *Heresie*, and committed Prisoner unto the Tower of *London*, whence shortly he escaped, and got into *Wales*. Vpon which escape great feares were conceived, especially of the Clergy, the causers of his troubles, and mortall enemies to him & his wel-willers; for the king was confidently (but as it seemeth malitiously) informed; that *Oldcastle* with his adherents laid for his life, and that in S. *Giles* Fields neere unto *Holborne* twenty thousand were to assemble in hostile manner, with an intent to destroy the Monasteries of *Westminster*, S. *Albans*, all the religious houses in *London*, and the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Pauls*. The King therefore in person himselfe, after mid-night, with a great Army came into these Fields, where (if we will believe their professed enemies) foure-score of that faction were apprehended, who said they came to seeke the Lord *Cobham*. But as the answerer of *Copus*, from more ancient times hath observed, that in daies of persecution, such assemblies often had been made to heare the Gospell preached, which otherwise they could not enjoy: so in this place * then over-growne with bushes, and unfit for battell, those few were in likelyhood assembled unto *John Beverley*, a godly man their Preacher, without any intent of treason, having for their Chiefetaines no greater persons then Sir *Roger Acton* a Knight of no great account, a Minister, and a malt-man. But their Apologies we leave to * others; onely the Lord *Cobham* could not be found, though the King by Proclamation had promised a thousand markes to his taker, besides many liberties to the City or Towne that would disclose him; *whereby* (saith *Walsingham*) *it may bee ghessed, that the whole Kingdome, well neere, embraced his opinions, which that Fryar calls his madnesse.* Thirty seaven of that assembly were condemned, whereof seaven were consumed with fire, and strangled, *Acton*, *Beverley*, and *Murley*, were likewise executed.

Reb. Fabian.

Touching Oldcastles innocency from Treason, see Foxes defence against Cope in Martyrologie.

John Stow.

John Fox in Acts and monuments.

* Then called Theiets-fields.

* See Fox at large.

Tyrolig. Nauclr.

Tho. Walsingh. B. Bishop of Saint Davids.

(16) As the zeale of this King is much commended for his favours towards his Clergy, so is his Princely pittie in the commiseration of young *Percies* distresse, whose father *Hotspur* slaine at *Shrewsbury* (as we have saide) and he by his Grand-father sent into *Scotland* for security, was there notwithstanding detained a Prisoner, for that *Iames* their King was forcibly kept in *England* by *Henry*, and as they tooke it against all Iustice. But sit occasion being offered for young *Percies* release, and exchange made betweene him and *Alrede* sonne of *Robert* Duke of *Albany*, (who had beene taken prisoner at the battell of *Halidon*) the King restored him not onely in bloud, and to grace in his Court, but also invested his person with the Title and State of his Grand-father, to his owne no little honour, and faithfull service attained of that honourable Family.

(17) Vpon Archbishop *Arundels* death, starved by famine, as wee have said, * *Henry Chicheley*, a stout Champion also against *Wiclisses* doctrine, was with the Kings consent, by the Monkes of *Canterbury* elected their Archbishop, which the politicke Elect neither accepted nor refused, but left it to the will and pleasure of the Pope: who first tooke snuffe that it so farre proceeded without his direction, yet was soone pacified by *Chicheleys* submission, and (as saith mine Author) with other Gratulations besides. The man, though not so rich by birth, as *Arundel* was, yet as strong for the Clergy, and more gratious with his Prince, as the sequele prooved.

* Henry Chicheley made Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thom. Walsing.

(18) The first assayes of both was made knowne in a Parliament holden at *Leicester*, where in a Bill exhibited, complaint was made, that the temporall Lands given to Religious Houses and spirituall persons for devotion sake, were either superfluous, or disorderly spent; whose revenues (if better imployed) would suffice for the defence of the Land, and honor of the King; fifteene Earles, fifteen hundred Knights, sixe thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hnndred Almes-houses, for the relieife of impotent and diseased persons, and unto the Kings coffers twenty thousand pounds by yeare. Which Bill (saith *Hall*) made the fat *Abbots* to sweate, the proud *Priors* to frowne, the poore *Fryers* to curse, the silly *Nunnes* to weepe, and all her Merchants to feare, that *Babel* would downe: and indeed heere it began to fall, when by the authority of this Parliament, one hundred and tenne *Priories* aliant were suppressed, and their possessions given to the King, and to his heires for ever.

A complaint against the Clergies excesse.

(19) But to stop the breach of this searching Spring, no better meanes could be found, then to divert the Parliament with other businesses, and to drive other projects into the Kings minde; "whose "head (as this new Archbishop there told him) "had the best right to the Crowne of *France*: for "not onely the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, "and *Anjou*, the Counties of *Gascoigne*, *Maine*, "and the rest, were his lawfull (though unlawfully "detained) inheritance; but therewithall the whole "Realme of *France*, as true heire unto his great "Grand-father King *Edward* the third, and unto "*Philip the faire*, in right of his mother Queene *I-*"*sabell*, the onely daughter and Child living of the "said French King. As for the law *Salique*, alleaged "against the English claime, he affirmed, that Texe "touched onely those parts in *Germany* which lay betwixt the Rivers *Elbe* and *Sala*, conquered by "King *Charles* the Great, who placing the French "there to inhabite, for the dishonest lives of those "Germaine women made this Law. *In terram Sali-*"*cam Mulieres ne succedant*, which the *Glosse* did "falsly expound for the whole Kingdome of *France*; "Whose practise notwithstanding hee shewed to bee "the contrary, by many experiences both in King "*Pepin*, which deposed *Childericke* by the claime of "heire Generall (as descended of *Blithild* daughter "to *Clotheir* the first,) and by *Hugh Capet*, who, usur-"ping the Crowne upon *Charles* Duke of *Loraine* "(the sole heire male of that line, from *Charles* the "great) to make his claime good (which indeed was "starke naught) derived himselfe as heire to the "Lady *Lingard*, daughter to *Charlemaine*, sonne to "*Lewis* the Emperour, that was sonne to *Charles* the "Great. King *Lewis* also called the Saint, (who was "the heire to the usurper *Hugh Capet*) could not bee "satisfied in conscience, how hee might justly keepe "and possesse the Crowne of *France*, till he was ful-"ly instructed that *Isabell* his Grand-mother was "lineally descended of the Lady *Ermengard*, daugh-"ter and heire to the above-named *Charles* Duke of "*Loraine*, by the which marriage the bloud and "line of *Charles* the Great was againe united, and re-"stored to the Crowne of *France*. Whereby (said "the Archbishop) it most manifestly appeared, that "the

The Archbishop Chicheleys oration.

Jos. Serres.

The Law Salique.

touched the Germans,

but not the French.

Their claiming by the same title.

Num. 27.

An addition.

Chron. 24.

Edw. Hollin. &c. Rich. 2.

Louis Matines.

"the title of *Pepin*, the claime of *Capet*, the posses-"sion of *Lewis*, yea of the French Kings themselves "to this day, derive their onely rights from the "heires female, and that this pretended Law *Salique* "was but a shifting device to debarre the English "Kings from the claime of the French Crowne. "Which excluston howsoever they pretend to bee "right, yet the law of God (said hee) hath made it "meere wrong, which with better regard of the Sex, "alloweth the woman to inherite her Fathers pos-"session, as we see in the practise of that state, where-"of Christ himselfe is called King, where the five "daughters of *Zelophehad*, for want of heires males, "were admitted to succeed in their Fathers inheri-"tance, allotted them in the Tribe of *Manasses*; and "a law made by the Lord himselfe, that if a man di-"ed and had no sonnes, then his inheritance should "be transferred upon his daughters. Neither is it to "be doubted, but that the daughter of *Shesham* was "the sole heire unto her Fathers patrimony, he dying "without issue male; though she married an Egyp-"tian, whose posterity had their possessions among "the Tribe of *Iudah*, even to the Captivity of *Baby-*"*lon*: so that if such a law were, as in truth there "was no such, better were the breach, by the warrant "of divine direction, then the continuance by colour "of such prescription, seeing God hath ordained as-"well for the daughter as for the sonne.

(20) The Archbishops unexpected, but not unpremeditated Oration thus ended, so stirred the bloud of the young couragious King, that his heart was all on a flame; and so tickled the eares of his Auditory, as they presently conceived that *France* was their owne; the Title whereof descending from *Isabel*, the mother of the famous third *Edward*, and shee the daughter and surviving heire unto *Philip the faire*: his right was lineally derived thence as followeth. First, *Philip* by *Ioane* his first wife intituled Queene of *Navarre*, had three sons and one daughter, namely *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, all three successively Kings, and this Lady *Isabell*, by whom the English claime. His second wife was *Constance* the daughter of the King of *Sicile*; who bare him a sonne after his owne decease, which lived not many dayes after his Father. *Lewis* his eldest sonne, and tenth of that name, succeeded *Philip* in the Kingdome of *France*, and by *Margaret* his wife the daughter of *Burgundy*, had his daughter *Ione*, intituled Queene of *Navarre*, who made claime also unto the French Crowne, but never attained it; so that her Title fell with her death. *Lewis* by his second wife *Clemence* of *Sicil*, had a sonne named *John* borne unto him, but presently both Father and sonne departing this life, left the Scepter to his second brother; who by the name of *Philip* the fift, a while wore the Emperiall Crowne of *France*: his wife was *Ione* the daughter of *Burgonne*, who bare unto him onely foure daughters, but none of them had issue, saith *Hall*.

(21) Vnto King *Philip* succeeded his Brother *Charles the faire*, the fourth of that name, whose first Wife was *Blanch*, detected of incontinency, and brought him no fruit. His second wife was *Mary* daughter to *Henry Luxembourg* the Emperour, who bare him a sonne that dyed soone after his birth, and the mother likewise shortly came to her grave. *Margaret* the daughter to the Earle of *Eureux* was his third and last Wife, who at his death hee left with-Child, and thus the three sonnes of *Philip* were branched, raigned, and dyed, whom Queene *Isabell* their sister survived, and in that right her sonne King *Edward* the third, by his royall consanguinity, whileft the Crowne stood thus at suspence, till a Prince should be borne, claimed to bee Regent in the *Interregnum*, and in the non-age of the looked for issue, against which, *Philip de Valois*, sonne of *Charles* the hardy, who was brother to *Philip the faire*, being a second branch from *Hugh Capet*, and first Prince of the bloud of *France*, maintained that the Regency of the male (if so he were borne) as also of the Realme (if a daughter, or the sonne dyed) belonged onely unto him as the next in bloud. The state thus standing, and a daughter borne, *Philip* was saluted and proclaimed King, no other right alleaged then this foysted and falsely termed fundamentall law *Salique*, for no otherwise doth *Ottoman* the French famous Lawyer esteeme of that ungodly and unjust Ordinance, if any such had beene ordained.

(22) The Kings right thus made apparant, and sufficient possessions to be had in *France*: the Bill of complaint against the Clergies excesse was quite dasht, and all mindes addicted for the affaires that way; thinking it unreasonable to pull the Provisions from their natives and brethren, when as the circuit of their inheritance extended more large in compasse: and therefore with the *Danites* they determined no longer to sit so pent with increase, seeing God had given them another Kingdome, but would free their owne straightnesse by dint of sword, and spread their Tents wider in the continent of *France*: Neither was there any motive more forceable in conference, then was the successe of those intruding Princes, who assayed the Crowne by that unjust claime of law *Salique*.

Iudges 18.1

(23) For, did not the sword of God (rather then man) in the hand of King *Edward* the claimer, cut downe the flower of *France* in the Battell of *Cressy*, with the slaughter of *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, of *Charles* the French Kings Brother, of *Iames Dolphin of Viennois*, the Dukes of *Loraine*, and *Burbon*, the Earles of *Aumarle*, *Savoy*, *Montbilliard*, *Flanders*, *Nivers*, and *Harecourt*, the *Grand prior of France*, the Archbishop and Bishop of *Zanxinus* and *Noyone*, of Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500. with 30. thousand of the French Souldiers, and *Philip* not able of himselfe to defend himselfe, inciting *David* of *Scotland* to invade and weaken *England*, therein did but onely vexe his owne spirit, for in that attempt the Scottish King was taken prisoner, and brought to *London*, leaving *Philip* to struggle with his hard fortunes in *France*, which with bad successe hee did to the day of his death.

Jos. Serres.

(24) *John* his sonne, by the same title and claime felt the same stroke of justice from the hand of that thunderbolt in warre, *Edward* surnamed the blacke Prince, the sonne of *Englands Mars*, who farre inferiour to the French in number, farre exceeded them in marshall power, when at the battell of *Poytiers*, the French royall Standard was stroke downe, an hundred Ensignes wonne by the English, the Constable, Marshall and great Chamberlaine of *France*, with fifty two Lords, and seventeene hundred Gentlemen slaine in the field. King *John* himselfe, his sonne *Philip*, two Bishops, thirteene Earles, and one and thirty Lords taken prisoners by the Prince, to his great praise, and confirmation of his just cause.

John Serres.

(25) Nor was the punishment of the Father any whit lessened in King *Charles* the sonne then raigning, who besides the intestine warres in his owne dominions, was by Gods just judgement strucke into a Lunacy, being unable to governe himselfe, much lesse his Kingdome, upon which advantage (as the French would have it) King *Henry* now played; though it bee most certaine hee fought his right farre otherwise, for so it standeth upon record, dated the ninth of February, and first of *Henry* the fift his raigne, that he sent his Ambassadors unto the French King, who could not bee admitted to his presence, and him whom they imployed to procure accesse, was by the French committed to Prison: whereat King *Henry* most justly conceived a grudge. *Paulus Æmilius* their owne Story-writer saith, that *Henry* King of *England*, *sent honourable Ambassadours to demand in marriage the Lady Katherine Daughter unto the French King*: which (as hee saith) was neglected with this answer, *that the King had no leasure to thinke on that businesse*: whom *Franciscus Rosenius* doth further inlarge, saying: *The King scornefully smiling, answered, that France was neither destitute*

Ex Record. apud Wesh.

Paul. Æmilius.

Fran. Rosen.

of

of Dukes, nor bee at leasure to thinke of the Proposition; and being jealous left *Burgoine* would match his daughter with *Henry*, sent him a command to the contrary, and againe at their conclusion of peace, expressely enjoyned the said Duke, and all other Princes of the bloud, not to make any alliance of marriage with *England*, whereby King *Henry* was further exasperated against *France*. And lastly, by his councell and conference upon the Archbishops Oration, sent a Summons and demand of the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Guyen*, and *Anjou*; in derision whereof, as *Caxton* recordeth, the *Dolphin* of *France* sent him a Tun of *Tennis-Balls*, as Bullets most fit for his tender hands, who had spent his youth (as he thought) more among Rackets, then regard of his person or matters of State so forward is man to be an Actor in common miseries, when the Fates have made the Subject of the Scene Tragicall, that he drawes the hand of *Destiny* sooner to strike, and heavier to fall upon that project decreed to be cast downe: for by these disdaines and unprincely dealings, the Crowne of *France* was grasped by the English hard hand, and that faire soile stained with her Natives owne bloud: for the Present received as it was sent, had promise to be repayed with bals of more force, whose stroke should be such as the strongest gates of *Paris* should not bee rackets sufficient to bandy the rebound.

(26) Grudges thus growne, and warres in preparing, the French thought it fitteth to make *Scotland* their friend, whom they incited to molest the English Marches, which accordingly was done, and that with such violence, as it was a question decideable, whether of the kingdomes was first to be dealt with. *Westmorland* thought it fateth to checke the Scots, as the neerer and continuall backe-friends. But *Exceter* held it better policy to begin with *France* the stronger, especially now disquieted through the factions of *Burgundy*, and *Orleance*, and unto this the most voyces give way, whose forwardnesse was such, that the Clergy granted a Tenth, and the temporall Lords their aydes to the King, as followeth.

The Earles {*Northumberland*, *Westmorland*.} 40 men at Armes, & 120. Archers a peece.

The Earles, {*Warwicke*, *Stafford*.} 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Earle of Suffolke, a ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers.

The Earle of Abergaveny, 20. men at Armes, and 20. Archers.

The Lords {*Lovell*. *Barkley*. *Powis*. *Camois*. *S. John*. *Burrell*.} A ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lords {*Fitzwalter*. *Darcy*. *Seymour*. *Rosse*. *Willoughby*.} Halfe a ship, 20. men at Armes, and 40. Archers a peece.

The Lord Morley, 6. men at Armes, and 12. Archers.

The Lords {*Scales*. *Randolph*.} Proffered to attend the King in their persons without entertainment.

The whole number thus granted and appointed, amounted to, of *Men at Armes*. 346, *Archers*. 552, *Ships*. 9½

To put backe the Scots, Sr. *Robert Umfreville* was sent, who in a skirmish upon *Mary Magdalens* day, tooke 360. of them prisoners, and with great spoyle returned to *Rocksburough* Castle, whereof he had charge; the newes whereof King *Charles* understanding, and the great preparation made against *France*, being better advised, upon the dangerous event, sent his Ambassadors into *England*, whereof the Archbishop of *Bourges* was principall, who at *Winchester* made offer of money, and some other Territories (but none of the best) with the Princesse Lady *Katherine* to bee given in marriage unto King *Henry*, so that he would dissolve his Army, and conclude a peace. To this Oration the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made answer, that his King demanded the Dutchies of *Aquitaine* and *Anjou*, with the other Seigniories anciently appertaining to his Progenitors the Kings of *England*, which as they were his most rightfull and lawfull inheritance, so would he with all possible diligence endeavor (if not otherwise) by fire and sword to recover, which his assertion the King himselfe in presence confirmed.

(27) But *Bourges* the Archbishop, presuming more upon his Prelacy, then respective unto whom hee spake, with an unreverend boldnesse (liberty obtained) seconded his Ambassage with the termes of an Herald, and with bended browes thus spake to the King: "*Thinkest thou, O King, wrongfully to put downe* "*and destroy the most Christian, the most renowned, and* "*the most excellent King of all Europe, both in bloud* "*and prehominence, or thinkest thou that our mighty* "*Sovereigne Charles hath offered thee lands, summes* "*of money, and possessions, with his most beautifull* "*daughter, either in feare of thee, of thy English Na-* "*tion, or of all thy well-willers whomsoever? I tell* "*thee no, but mooved in pity, as a lover of peace, and* "*to save the shedding of Christian bloud, hath made thee* "*these offers: and his cause being supported by equity* "*and truth, God and his good Subjects hee trusteth will* "*set a period soone to thy quarrell. Wee therefore his* "*Ambassadors demand thy safe conduct to passe out of* "*thy Realme, and that thou wilt write thine answer, and* "*send it under thy seale.*

(28) *Henry*, no whit daunted with his big lookes and words, answers the Archbishop with milder and better set tearmes; "My Lord (said hee) I littlee-"steeme of your Gallant bravadoes, and lesse weigh "your imagined power or French brags. I know "my owne right to your Region, and so doe your "selves, unlesse you will deny a most apparant truth: "the strength of your Master you daily see, but mine "as yet you have not tasted: he (you say) hath many "loving subjects and friends, and (God be thanked) "I have both as well affected to mee, with which, ere "long I hope to make the highest Crowne in your "Country to stoope, and the proudest Mitre to kneele "downe: And say to the Usurper your Master, that "within this three Moneths I will enter *France*, not "as into his Land, but as into mine owne lawfull pa-"trimony, entending to conquer it, not with brag-"ging words, nor flattering Orations, but by power "& dint of sword, through Gods assistance, in whom "I trust: and I assure you, I will not speake the word, "the which I will not write and subscribe, nor will "I subscribe to that to which I willingly will not set "my seale. Therefore your safe conduct shall be dis-"patched, and mine answer in writing delivered, "which once received, you may depart into your "Countrey, where I trust sooner to visite you, then "that you shall have cause to bid me welcome.

(29) The Statute enacted, the first of his raigne hee now put in execution, and commanded the French out of his Land, according to that made the 13. of *Richard* 2. which disabled the Alien Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, and now fearing to nourish a snake in his bosome, King *Henry* forbad the French from all preferments Ecclesiasticall, and those Priors Aliens conventuall, who had institution and induction, to put in security, not to disclose, or cause to be disclosed, the counsell nor secrets of the Realme: and that the French might hold

hold his dealings honourable, and open, he sent *Antelap* his Pursevant at Armes unto King *Charles* with letters of defiances: next making Queene *Ioan* his Mother in law the Regent of the Land, he drew his forces unto *Southampton*, commanding his followers there to attend him in readinesse by the feast of Saint *Iohn Baptist* ensuing.

(30) *Charles* the French King expecting present invasion, sent his Ambassadours unto *John* the sixt Duke of *Britain*, who had married his daughter, with an hundred thousand Crownes, to levie forces for his aide, and a Iewell worth five thousand Crownes more to himselfe, which the Duke promised to come in person to performe. And as it is reported, King *Charles* sent to *Scroope*, *Grey*, and *Cambridge* (all three in speciall favour with the King) a million of gold to betray *Henry* into his hands, or to murther him before he should arrive in *Normandy*. These to make their faction stronger, though *Scroope* was Lord Treasurer, *Grey* a Privie Councellour, and *Cambridge*, the sonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Torke*, yet meant to draw in *Edmund* Earle of *March* the sonne of *Roger Mortimer*, and lineally the heire unto *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, the next in succession for the house of *Torke*; and revealing their intended purpose, forced him to sweare to their secrecie, which if hee refused, they threatned his death; whereupon he required but an houres respite, which hardly granted, he went to the King and revealed the conspiracy, even the night before the day that he meant to put to sea.

(31) The parties apprehended and brought before him in presence of many Nobles, King *Henry* thus "spake; With what horror, O Lord, may any true "English heart consider, that you for pleasing of a "forreine enemy, should imbrue your hands in our "bloud, as also in the bloud of our brethren, to the "ruine of your owne Native soyle: revenge herein "touching my person though I seeke not; yet for the "safegard of you my deare friends, and for due pre-"servation of the Realme, I am by place and office to "minister remedy against these Offenders; Get you "hence therefore, you miserable wretches, to receive "the just reward of your deserts, wherein God give "you repentance for your so foule sinnes.

(32) Notwithstanding this their offence, their indictement, as it standeth in the Record, includes matter of other quality; *that, Richard Earle of Cambridge of Conesburgh in the County of Torke, and Thomas Grey of Heton in the County of Northumberland Knight, for that they in the twentieth of July, and third of King Henry the fifts raigne, at Southampton had conspired together with a power of men, to have led away the Lord Edmund Earle of March into Wales, and to have procured him to take the Government of the Realme, in case that King Richard the second were dead; with a purpose to have put forth a Proclamation in the name of the said Earle as heire to the Crowne, against King Henry, by the name of Lancaster usurper, and further, to have conveyed a Banner of the Armes of England, and a certaine Crowne of Spaine set upon a Pallet (layde in gage to the said Earle of Cambridge) into Wales; as also, that the said conspirators had appointed certaine into Scotland, to bring thence one Trumpington, and another resembling in shape, favour, and countenance, King Richard. And Henry Scroope of Masham in the County of Torke was likewise indited as consenting, to the Premisses.* Thus well appeared their purpole, though *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, confidering the poffibillity of his own iffue had fecretely carried that bufineffe: whofe forrowfull letter of his owne hand-writing, as it came to ours, we thinke not amiffe here to infert.

Moft dreadfull and Soveraigne Liege-Lord, I Richard Torke your humble fubject, and very Liegeman, befeech you of grace, of all manner of offences which I have done or affented unto, in any kinde by ftirring of other folke, egging me unto, wherein I was well I have highly offended to your Highneffe, befeeching you at the reverence of God that you like to take me into the hands of your mercifull and piteous grace, thinking yee will of your great goodnes my Liege-Lord: my full truft is, that you will have conſideration (though that my perſon be of none value) your high goodneſſe (where God hath ſet you in ſo high eſtate) to every Liegeman, that you longeth plentiouſly to give; that you like to accept this my ſimple requeſt for the love of our Lady, and the bleſſed holy Ghoſt, to whom I pray that they move your heart ever to all pittie and grace for their high goodnes. Notwithſtanding this his humble petition, upon the ſixt of Auguſt following, hee, with *Scroope*, and *Grey*, were beheaded, and his body with head interred in the Chappel of *Gods-houſe* in *Southampton*; whoſe apprehenſions, arraignments, and deaths, were ſo followed each after others, as the French knew not, but that the treaſon had ſucceſſe, and their returned Ambaſſadors told it for certaine, that King *Henry* had either dimiſſed his Army, or (which was thought more true) himſelfe was ſlain by the Conſpirators; ſoeaſie an entrance hath babling report into the wide eares of credulous deſire.

(33) But King *Henrie* now ready to embarke his men upon Wedneſday the ſeaventh of Auguſt, with fifteene hundred Saile tooke to Seas, attended with fixe thouſand ſpeares, and twenty foure thouſand footmen beſides Gunners, Enginers, Artificers, and Labourers a great number, and the fifteenth of the ſame month caſt Anchor in the mouth of *Seyne*, at a place called *Kideaux*, about three miles from *Harflew*; where hee landed his men; and falling devoutly upon his knees, deſired Gods aſſiſtance to recover his right, making Proclamation upon paine of death, that Churches ſhould be ſpared from all violence of ſpoyle, that *churchmen*, *women* and *Children*, ſhould not be hurt, abuſed or wronged: then giving the order of Knighthood to many of his followers, he affigned his Standards to men of moſt ſtrength and courage, which done, he tooke the hill neere adjoyning, and thence ſent his ſpiall to the Towne of *Harflew*, making that the firſt aſſay of his fortunes in *France*. But before wee enter any further diſcourſe in the affaires of that Kingdome, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeake of things commenced in *England* before that King *Henry* tooke to the Seas.

(34) The Churches throughout Chriſtendome, having beene diſquieted the ſpace of twenty nine yeares, and now growne intollerable, through the ſchiſmaticall ambitions, maintained by three Papall Monarchs, mounted into *Saint Peters* ſeat, each of them graſping the Chaire with ſo faſt a fiſt, that the joynts thereof were forced aſunder; and the triple Crowne ſo battered with their thunderbolts of their curſes that it was flatted and made unfit for any of their heads. The perſons arreared were *Benedict* 13. by the *Spaniard* elected; the ſecond was *Gregory* 12. whom the *French* had ſet up; and the third was *Iohn* 24. preferred to the place by the *Italians*. Theſe ſtriving for the Helme, the ſhip was ſo ſteered, that her wracke was apparant upon theſe raging and unquiet Seas. To prevent which the Chriſtian Princes put their helping hands, and by a Generall conſent, ordained a Generall Councell to be held at *Conſtance* in *Germany*, which began in February, 1414. and continued above the ſpace of three yeares; whereunto were aſſembled beſides the Emperour, the Pope, and the *Palſegrave of Rheine*, foure *Patriarks*, twenty ſeaven Cardinals, forty ſeaven Archbiſhops, one hundred and ſixty Biſhops, Princes, Barons and Gentlemen with their attendants above thirty thouſand.

(35) Vnto this Councell King *Henry* ſent *Richard Clifford* Biſhop of *London*, *Robert Halam* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, made Cardinall, & dyed at the ſame Councell, *John Keterich*, Biſhop of *Coventree* and *Lichfield*, *Nicholas Bubwith* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wels*, *John Wakering* Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Robert Maſcall* Biſhop of *Hereford*, *Stephen Patrington* Biſhop of Saint *Davids*; the *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, and *Prior* of *Worceſter*, in company of whom, and for whoſe greater honour

Engueryant. de Monſtrel.

Nich. Pregeur. vvill Parradin. in Annal. de Burgain. Caxton Chron. Elmham.

Ex Recordo Turell.

An. Dom. 1414.

Ypod. Neuſtr.

Ex Record.

John Harding, Roger Hoving.

John Bouchet in Annals of Brit.

Annotations Manuſcript.

Titus Livius.

Engueryant. de Monſtrel.

John Stow.

Holinſh.

Holinſh.

John Stow Anal.

Ex Parl. 1. Hen. 5.

An Original.

Harding 1500. John Stow 1600. Holinſh. 1000. Grafton. 1400. Old Manuſc. 1500. Caxton. 1500. Nicholas Gilles.

Titus Livius.

Gonzale de Illeſcas Hiſt. Pontif.

Platina.

Nichol. Daſſien in Theatro Univerſal de Princ.

Sebaſtian. Munſter.

Francis Godwin upon the lives of the Biſhops.

honour, *Richard Earle of Warwicke* was sent, themselves and attendants amounting to eight hundred horse: so as it stood in suspence whether their honorable presence more graced the assembly, or their learning or judgement bettered the whole body of the Councell: insomuch that two of these Bishops were there made Cardinals, and of the 30. in best esteeme appointed to assist the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, *London*, *Couentree*, *Bath* and *Wels* were chosen, wherein *Robert Bishop of London* was first nominated for Pope, and he first nominated him that succeeded, which was *Otho Collonna* by the name of *Martin* the fifth. Whose Coronation with great magnificence was celebrated of the five Nations assembled, and this honour given to the English, that the *Prior of Saint Johns* was a supporter of the triple Crowne. Touching the decrees that this Councell enacted, let it suffice us to know that *Wicliffes* bookes were condemned for hereticall, that *John Hus* (notwithstanding the Emperours safe conduct) and *Ierome of Prage*, were both of them burned, the holy maide *Bridget* canonized a Saint, and that *England* was made a Nation in rancke before *Spaine*.

Ia Mer. des Hist.

Nichol. Doglia. Schedl. Mac. fter.

Fox in Acts and monuments.

Nichol. Vigenier.

Gedwin Catal. of English Bps.

(36) The deaths of these two Divines many lamented, especially the *Bohemians*, who had reaped much fruit from the seed they had sowen, for whose doctrine they sent a defence unto the same Councell, and often became humble Petitioners for their lives, as largely appeareth in their letters written on their behalfe; in whom may truly be verified, that the bloud of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church, which so increased in the parts of *Bohemia*, that Pope *Martin* fearing all would be mard (*Zisca* the scourge of the Papacy then in Armes to defend them) sent for aid out of *England*, to represse the *Lollards* (as he termed them) and publisht his Buls against those *Hussites*, with as terrible roarings as vsually were his *Croysadoes* against the Turkes.

Edward Hall.

(37) His Legate for these holy warres hee made *Henry Beaufort*, the rich *Cardinall of Winchester*, who with foure thousand English, assisted with a fubstitie of the Clergies Grant, did there very valiantly for certaine months together, untill he was re-called by the Pope: wherein Country *Zisca* (though ever a victor) lost both his eyes, and being blind, led forth his army with such terror to his foes, as his name became fearefull, and oft times was sufficient to attaine victory without any stroke, insomuch as he commanded his owne skinne to bee flead off after his death, and to be made the head of their Drum, affirming that the very sound thereof would drive the enemy out of the field. But from these Church-matters and Prelates proceedings, let us returne from whence wee have stept, and continue the affaires of our famous King *Henry*, having now set footing in *France*.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

John Harding.

(38) His followers and fellowes in these new begun wars were his two brethren the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Glocester*, as also his Vncles the Duke of *Yorke*, and Earle of *Dorset*, accompanied with the Earles of *Kent*, *Cornwall*, and *Huntington*, besides a most noble fellowship of the other Lords, Barons and men at armes: with these from *Kideaux* hee marched towards *Harflew*, affecting that Towne the first, being a port commodiously seated upon the mouth of the River *Seyne*, and a safe entrance unto his intended Conquest, aswell for the landing of his men, as to hinder the passage unto *Roane* and *Paris*, both which received trassique by the same River.

(39) The Towne being seated betwixt two hils, that next the Sea the King tooke, at the foot whereof, he caused a deepe trench to be cast, bringing in water to impeach the bottome, and raising the rampier to a great thicknes, whereon he erected many sconces of earth, like unto Castles, set thicke together: for betwixt them there was not above a cubite wide, for the Souldiers to sally as occasion served: the trench thus finished, from the rocke to the Sea, his horses, munition, and victuals all brought a shore, with his whole army, the King marched up the hill, and from the height presented himselfe before *Harflew*. His brother *Clarence* hee sent with certaine Regiments of horse and foot, to lodge upon the other hill, which before hee could approach, (by reason of the nature of the ground and way) he was forced to march fully nine miles: which hill attained, hee commanded his ships to cast anchor as neere the Towne as with safety they might, whereby the place became besieged both by land and Sea; then mounted he his Artillery, began his mines, brought his workes close to the Counter-scarfe of the ditch, prepared faggots to fill it, and presently wanne the base Towne.

Le Sieur de Gaucourt de France.

(40) Within the Towne it selfe *Mounsieur Gracourt* was Generall, accompanyed with *Gwylony de Stontevile*, *Chastellaine de Beauvais*, *Lionet de Bricquemount*, and others, to the number of an hundred Knights and Squires, who with the Townesmen issued out of the *Bastile*, upon that quarter where *Huntington* and *Cornwall* lay, by whom with losse on either side, they were beaten backe, the gates fired, some breaches made, and fire workes throwne into the streetes, to no little annoyance of the besieged; but nothing dismayed them more, then did the Mines made under the wals: against which, though they within countermined, and came to fight hand to hand with the besiegers, yet they saw it little prevailed, the wals being ready to fall, and such batteries therein already made, as they well perceived King *Henry* was resolved to carry the towne by assault: whereupon *Mounsieur de Gracourt* fore-seeing the eminent danger, demanded a Parley, promising to render the Towne if it were not relieved by a certaine day assigned.

Titus Liuius.

Alain Chartier secretary to *Charles* King of France.

(41) And albeit that *Iehan de Boneigunit*, and *Charles de Albret* Marshall, and Constable of *France*, the one at *Caudebec* Castle, the other in *Harflew*, either of them having in their companies one thousand and five hundred men at Armes, were yet so curbed by the English, that no great service they did, and lesse hope was looked for from the French King, whose strengths were not ready as the *Dolphin* returned answer, either to remove or releeve the siege at *Harflew*: whereupon the twenty two of September, *Gracourt* the Governour with twenty foure selected Captaines and Burgesses came to King *Henry*, who sate in his Pavilion under a cloth of estate, his Noblemen about him, and the Earle of *Kyme* upon his right hand, bearing his casket, whereon was an Imperiall Crowne set with stones of great price: The Governour and the rest prostrating themselves at the Kings feet, delivered unto him the keyes of the towne, according to the covenants betwixt them compriled, which was a respite for five dayes, and then if no succour came, to surrender the Towne unto the King, and to deliver into his hand thirty of their chiefest perfonages to stand for life or death at his owne pleasure; the rest to depart without armour, weapons, or any of their goods.

Gaill. Gaguin. Fabian.

History of Normandy.

John Harding.

Rolls &c.

(42) *Harflew* thus surrendred in so short a siege continuance, the King sent *Thomas* Earle of *Dorset* with sufficient troupes to possesse the Gates, who then erected the Kings Standard, and S. *Georges* Banner upon the principall Ports, and assured the Towne with guards competent. Moreover, he sent the said *Mounsieur de Gracourt*, and with him *Gwyen* King at Armes unto the *Dolphin* to let him know, *that hee would stay eight dayes in Harflew, to expect his comming, where they might treat of an accord, whereunto himselfe was well inclined, if hee were not obstinate, for his purpose was not to demand more then his right, and if they could not accord, for the sparing of Christian bloud, hee was pleased to decide the quarrell by single combate betweene them two.*

September 22.

History of Normandy.

(43) His entrance into *Harflew* was not as *Cæsars* into *Rome* with Coronets, Ensignes, and Triumphs, attending his Chariot, but in a more humble manner he passed along the streets *barefooted*, untill hee came to the Church of Saint *Martin*, where with great devotion he gave most humble thankes unto God for this his first atchieved enterprize. Then that the Towne might bee English, and free from French dangers,

Pithoemeus.

Iacob of Bourgoigne.

John Harding.

Alain Chartier.

October 8.

Iacob Meyer. in Chron. Flan.

Caxton Chron.

Gaill. Gaguin. Fabian.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Paul. Æmil.

Bertrand de Argentre, Mar. vallet, & Serres.

King Henries care that the Church might not be spilled.

1558. Paradin de Annal. de Bourgogne.

John Harding.

dangers, he made proclamation, that whosoever of his English Artificers would transport themselves unto *Harflew*, houses there should be given to them and their heires; whereby in short time the Towne was re-peopled with English Artisans. Here King *Henry* abode the space of twelve or fifteene daies, expecting an answer of his message sent to the *Dolphin*; but the time prefixed (and more dayes expired) hee commanded his souldiers to furnish themselves with victuals for eight dayes; leaving his Vncle *Thomas*, *Beaufort* Earle of *Dorset*, Governour of *Harflew*, himselfe with two thousand horse, and thirteene thousand foot, marched towards *Callis*, through the Counties of *Caux* and *Eu*.

(44) The French Court notwithstanding it swarmed with factions (whilest under a weake and braine-sicke King the great-ones fought to make themselves greater, and the common enemy endangering all) King *Charles*, the *Dolphin*, his brother of *Pontbieu*, the King of *Sicil*, the Dukes of *Berry* and of *Britaine*, with the whole force of *France* assembled at *Roan*, and in Councell concluded, that the English should be fought with, before they got *Callis*, and forthwith decreed to endammage King *Henry* on his way, which presently was attempted. For besides their continuall skirmishes upon his marching Army, they brake down the Bridges, plashed the woods, intrenched the wayes, strucke stakes in the Foords, and in places of advantage, layd store of souldiers to and in places of advantage, and convayed all victuals our of the Countries, through which hee should goe, whereby they well hoped, as a Decree taken in the toyle, so both he and his hoast should have beene infnared, who now was approached to *Virron*, with purpose to have passed the river *Soame* at *Blanchetague*: but there the French had fortified against him, so as hee well saw that was not the way; and thereupon changing his Counsell, hee marched by *Wormes*, and lodged at *Baillew*, with an intent to have passed the river at *Port le Remy*, but that also guarded, he kept along the River to *Hargest*, the French Army marching upon the other banke, under the leading of *Charles de Albert* Constable of *France*.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Titus Liuius.

Caxton Chron.

Gaill. Gaguin. Fabian.

Alain Chartier Secretary to Charles King of France.

Iacob Meyer. in Chron. Flan.

Iacob of Bourgoigne.

Pithoemeus.

(45) *Henry* still seeking to get over *Soame*, meant to assay it, even to the head, and passing by *Amiens*, *Bowes*, and *Corby*, in a valley adjoyning, there lodged his hoast, where hee commanded his Archers to provide stakes sharpned at both ends, which afterwards stood them in singular good stead: Then hearing by his spyals that the water was passable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent guard of them of Saint *Quintins*, he got over the river. His souldiers both weary and faint, many of them sicke, and their provisions spent some twelve dayes before, were forced to feed upon Nuts, Roots, and Berries, such as they could get, and their drinke was the water that ranne in their way.

Bertrand de Argentre, Mar. vallet, & Serres.

Titus Liuius.

Caxton Chron.

Gaill. Gaguin. Fabian.

Alain Chartier Secretary to Charles King of France.

Iacob Meyer. in Chron. Flan.

Iacob of Bourgoigne.

Pithoemeus.

(46) The day they spent with great toile and long march, the night were cold and wet, and no where good lodging, alwaies standing upon their own guard, and the French alwayes swarming about them without intermission. These things moved *Henry*, as the French. Writers report, *to proffer the restitution of Harflew, with other holds in Normandy, and to make satisfaction for the harmes done in France, to suffer him free passage unto his Towne of Callis.* But certaine it is, that great reliefe hee got by the justice and piety that he used in those parts: for albeit he was in the middest of his enemies, and his souldiers pinched with penury and want, yet made hee Proclamation upon paine of death, that none of his Army should rob any Church: wherein a souldier offending, hee caused restitution to be made, and commanded the fealer to be put to death: the fame of which piety moved the people (albeit they were forbid by the French King) plentifull to supply the fainting English with their owne provisions.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Titus Liuius.

Caxton Chron.

Gaill. Gaguin. Fabian.

Alain Chartier Secretary to Charles King of France.

Iacob Meyer. in Chron. Flan.

Iacob of Bourgoigne.

Pithoemeus.

(47) But the Nobility understanding that the English had got over *Soam*, the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, sent unto *Henry* an Herald with defiance, demanding battell upon Thursday following; which the English King granted, but therein failed, saith the French Secretary, and tooke his march toward *Callis* without any stay. True it is, that *Henrie* was not desirous of fight, his impediments being such as we have said, and therefore returned answere, that he meant to keepe on his march unto *Callis*, and would not seeke them: but if they would disturbe him, he committed the issue thereof to God, assuring himselfe that it would be to their owne great danger and perill, and so passing forward to *Forceuil*, to *Boniers-Lesfaillon*, to *Bangy* upon Thursday the 24. of October, he came to *Azincourt*, where the French in a field of advantage (purposely chosen) in the County of S. *Paul* (and neere unto *Azincourt*) had pitched their Banner-royall, with an infinite hoast, whereof the Constable of *France* had the conduct.

Alain Chartier The fight was not of *Henries* seeking.

Engh. errant.

Azincourt in the County of Saint *Paul.*

Pierre in Annal. de Burg.

La Sieur Valum de conquete de Prussia. The chiefe commanders in the French Army.

Lewis de Bour.

(48) His power (saith *Paradin*) consisted of an hundred and fifty thousand horse (besides them for carriages, which were innumerable) wherein were ten thousand men at armes, all of them (a very few excepted) Princes, Noble-men, Knights, and Esquiers. The vantgard was led by the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and *Bouciquale* the Marshall, *Dampier* the Admirall, *Guychard* Dolphin *de Auvergne*, and *Clwvet* of *Brabant*. The maine battell by the Duke of *Barre*, the Earles of *Alenzon*, *Nevers*, *Blaumont*, *Salines*, *Grandpre*, and *Roufe*. And the reregard by the Duke of *Brabant*, Earles of *Marle*, *Furquenberge*, and *Mounsieur de Lorney*; the right wing was commanded by *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, and the left by *Lewis de Bourbon*, *Count de Vendosme* great Master of *France*, whose particular retinues *Franciscus Rosenius* doth largely * declare: all ranged together in their array appeared to the eye (saith *Parradin*) fixe times to exceed the English, but * *Peter Divors* esteemed them to be ten times more.

Parradin.

Alain Bouchart in Annal de Bret.

Bertrand de Argentre vita de Bretons.

** In Stemmate Barri Ducum.* Three cuubers fix times, yea, ten times more then the English.

** In Rerum Brabanticarum.*

(49) King *Henry* seeing himselfe so farre ingaged, and many of his men sicke of the fluxe, sent the second time unto these assembled Princes his profers, to furrender *Harflew*, & what else he had wonne, so as without disturbance he might depart for *Callis*. Whereunto the Constable and Marshall were willing, but the other young Princes despising the small number of their adversaries, refused all conditions of peace, and were not onely negligent in the duties of Commanders, but with an assurance of victory divided the prey, dispofed of prisoners, and prepared a Chariot to carry the captive King in triumph; commanding the Cities and Townes adjoyning to ring their Bels, and to render thankes unto God, who had delivered their enemies into such place of advantage, as an assured victory must presently follow: and so confident were they thereof, that they sent to King *Henry* to know what ransome he would give. But saith *Chartier*, what answer the King made is uncertaine: for that all who were privie thereunto were slaine, the Duke of *Orleance* onely excepted, and he a prisoner retained in *England*. They also sent for King *Charles*, and the *Dolphin* his sonne (then residing in *Roane*) to come in their persons unto the battell, that so they might have the honour of the field. Whereat the Duke of *Bery* was highly offended, and advised the contrary, laying before the King the hazard of warre, out of his owne experience, being himselfe at the battell of *Poytiers*, where King *John* unfortunately was taken by the English, which proved (as he alleaged) a great breake-necke unto *France*.

Parradin.

Alain Bouchart in Annal de Bret.

Bertrand de Argentre vita de Bretons.

The French thoughts themselves invincible.

Polydor. Virg.

They send to *Henry* for his ransome, as if they were sure to conquere.

Alain Chartier Secretarie au Roy Charles 7.

(50) The face of these hoasts were divers and in-different, the French gallant, fresh, and through vaine hope of honour, already mounted above men of meane rancke; The English weake, weary and sore starved, made no such shew, and yet their courage no lesse then the other. The one spending the night before Battell, in Feasts, Triumphes, and other like sports, distributing their Captives, dividing their spoyles, and decreeing none to be saved but the

The Councell of Sage men neglected.

The French flattions in the, but the English conquerors.

Caxton Chron.

King, and his Nobles; all others must die or be incurably maimed: the other trimming their arrowes, sharpening their speares, buckling their armours, and refreshing their bodies for the next day; and besides other observances, by the light of the great fires made in the French Campe, the English discerned what was therein done, and tooke the advantage of their order and ground.

The English discerned what was done in the French army. *Paulus Æmil.*

(51) The morning approached, the French tooke the field, thronging forward, who should be first to this most easie and certaine victory (as they tooke it) their greatest strength consisting in horse. Against whose violence King *Henry* commanded two hundred strong Bow-men to lodge in a low meadow, where a deepe ditch full of water might secure them from the Horse, and the bushes cover them from sight. These having stakes prepared and shod with Iron at both ends, were appoynted to sticke them slope-wise in the ground, yet so that they might bee removed as occasion was ministred, to guard them from the danger of the horse: which policy accomplished, King *Henry* (whose hope was in God, and the goodnes of his cause) about ten of the clocke ranged his English against the French then in field: hee disposed his hoast into three battels, placing his Bow-men on both sides of the maine.

Alein Bouchant. crfet Annales de Bretagne

The stratagem with stakes.

(52) The vantgard, consisting of Archers, was led by the Lord *Edward* (his cosen) the Duke of *Yorke*, and with him the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. In the maine Battell all in compleate and bright shining armour, the King rode himselfe, his shield quartered with the royal atchievements of *England* and *France*; upon his helmet he wore a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with Pearle, and stones of an unestimable price: his horse of a fierce courage carreerd as hee went, the bridle and furniture of Goldsmiths worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the English Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious colours the Royal Standard was borne, and many other banners in warlike order waved with the winde.

Guil. Parvadyn.

The two Walsingh. The chiefe Leaders of each part of the English army.

(53) The French had framed their Battels into two sharpe fronts, as intending with their poynts to have runne through the English squadrons; altogether relying upon their horsemen, and shining in bravery with an incredible excesse. And surely the beauty and honourable horrour of both the Armies, no heart can judge of, unlesse the eye had seene it, the *Banners*, *Ensignes*, and *Penons*, streaming in the aire, the glistering of armours, the variety of colours, the motion of Plumes, the Forrests of Lances, and the thickets of shorter weapons, made so great and goodly a shew; but the silent expectation of the bloudy blast was as the bullet ramd into the Canon, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as the stroake of death felt by the aimed-at marke.

The noble abiliments of King Henry in the maine battell.

Titus Livius.

(54) The Battels thus raunged, a while stood still, and faced each other even in the face: The French (whether upon errour, like to that of *Pompeis* at the battel of *Pharsalia*, where *Cæsar* was victorious, or to draw the English farther from their advantage of ground, is altogether unknowne) but certaine it is, that King *Henry* was resolved to open his way for *Calis* over the enemies bosome, or else to dye: and thereupon with a cheerefull countenance and words full of courage, he comforted his followers, and said. "My most faithfull Companions and worthy soul-"diers, we now goe into the field of honour, and to "the worke of man-hood, which your great valours "so long have expected and prayed for; loe the day "is now come, and your worke the noblest in the "world, poure forth therefore your utmost forces, "that ages may know what the Lance, the Axe, the "Sword and the Bow can doe in the hand of the va-"liant: Whosoever therefore desires riches, honour, "and rewards here he shall finde them. *Nimirum hoc "medio posuit Deus omnia Campo.* When he had thus said, his army fell prostrate on the ground, and committed themselves unto God, every man taking into his mouth a peece of earth, in remembrance of his owne mortality, (being thereof made) or of the holy Communion, whereof he was incorporated to be a partaker; and so resolved, arising, the King with cheerefull countenance commanded his Standard to advance forward, saying, *because our injurious enemies doe attempt to shut up our way, let us upon them in the name of the most glorious Trinity, and in the best houre of the whole yeare.*

John Serres.

King Henrie seeketh to passe to Calis.

Tho. Walsing.

(55) The ranging of the Battell King *Henry* committed to an old experienced Knight called Sir *Thomas Erpingham*: who with a warder in his hand led the way, which when he saw time, he threw up into the aire, whereat the whole army gave a great shout; which done, he alighted from his horse, and came to the King, who was in his place on foot. The French beholding this Offer, kept still their owne standing, which the English perceiving, made forward and came on, giving another shoute, when immediately the Archers, layd in the meadow, darkened the aire with a showre of sharpe arrowes, most fearefull to the sight, but more deadly to be felt; and withall, the English charged their Battell with an admirable courage; the most of them for nimblenesse being but halfe cloathed, without hat, and bare-legged. And such was their courage notwithstanding their wants, at he that ere-while could scarcely bend his Bow, is able now to draw his yard-long-arrow to the very head, whose roaving marke was the flancke of the French, so rightly aimed at, and so strongly stucke on, that their sides were altogether larded with arrowes, whereby the vantgard was instantly distrest, and disordered into such a confused presse, as they were not able to use their weapons at any advantage. Their wings likewise assayd to charge the English; but *Mounsieur de Lignie* in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced backe; and *Guillaum de Surrerer* charging home, in the other, was slaine. The Battallions now broken, for safety fled to the Maine, where they bred both feare and confusion by the unrulinesse of their wounded horses, so galled with arrowes as they could not be governed.

Stowes Annals.

Tho. Walsig.

Fresh Soures in Chron. Flan.

Enguerrand de Monstrel.

The English prosper Battell.

Their Archers put the enemy to the greatest losse.

Tpodig. Neust

(56) The first troope of the French horse were exquisitely appointed, whereon their riders much presumed, and meant to have burst through the Archers with a violent course, but they giving backe, left their sharpe poynted stakes sticking, which till then were unseene; the French supposing the Archers had fled, came on with their horse upon the spur, and that in such heat, as the earth seemed to tremble under their thundering feet, and being forced forward, without forefight of danger, carried their proud Riders into the jawes of destruction: for falling by troopes upon those goaring stakes, they were miserably overthrowne, and paunched to death. The tempests of arrowes stil whissling in the aire sparkled fire in their fals from the helmets of the French, and with their steeled heads, rang many thousands their knels that dolefull day, who like to corne cut downe with the sithe, fel by whole plumps in that fatall field; the English still following the advantage: against whom *Anthony Duke of Brabant*, hoping by his example to encourage others (followed with a few) turned head, and brake into the English Battell, wherein manfully fighting he was slaine.

After some sharpe execution the English flew mercy to the French.

Enguerrand de Monstrel.

Tpol. Neustre.

Certain French on the Kings carriages.

They steale a Crowne and a Sword, and faine that King Henry is taken prisoner. History of Normandy.

Tpolyd. Virg.

A new power of French appearing, king Henry causeth all his prisoners to be slaine.

Titus Livius.

Enguerrand de Monstrel.

Guil. Parvadyn. in ex Annals de Burg.

King Henry requesteth her brother the Duke of Glocester.

Enguerrand de Monstrel. The Duke of Burgundy imprisoned the robbers of King Henries Carriages.

(57) With the like manhood *Duke Alenzon* a lusty French Lord, pressed into the Battalion where King *Henry* fought, and incountring *Humfrey Duke of Glocester*, the Kings brother, both wounded and overthrew him, to whose rescue if *Henry* had not come, hee had dyed more honourably then afterward he did: for King *Henry* be-striding him, delivered his said brother from danger, and wanne himselfe much honour by the deed. *Alenzon* then coped with King *Henry* in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so surely laid on, that there-with his helmet was battered into his brow, but the Lyon enraged, with re-doubled strength, stroke the French Gallant unto the ground, and

Alenzon encountring King Henry putting him in some danger.

and slew two of his men that seconded their Master. The Duke thus downe, cryed to the King, I am *Alenzon*, whom *Henry* sought to have saved, and so had done, had not the deafe eares of revenge stopt all sound of life, against him, that so had endangered their Soveraigne Lord.

Richard Grafe.

The French ravine battell put to flight.

Polydor. Virg.

Walsingham. description of the Frenches overthrow.

(58) The *French* Reregard surprised with feare, at the disaster of the Vantgard, & the maine battell, fled, not striking one stroke (except some principall Leaders, and they not many) the *English* horsemen fetched a compasse, and wheeled about upon their backes, which no sooner was perceived, but that the taxe of fighting was ended, and the worke of killing began; as by the words of *Walsingham* doth manifestly appeare: *The way* (saith he) *is at length made by fine force; the French did not so much give place, as fall dead to the earth: for when they saw those beaten indeed under-foot, whom they reputed invincible, their minds forthwith grew amazed, and such an icie feare slid through their marrow, that they stood still like senselesse Images, while our men wrested weapons out of their hands, and slew them therewith as beasts. Slaughter then had lost the stay of it selfe, and fight did follow no longer, but all the warre was made at throats, which (as it were) offered themselves to be cut, neither can the English kill so many of the enemies, as may be killed. Thus therefore the whole glory of the French name is almost perished by the hands of those few, whom immediately before they held in most extreame contempt.* But the sword now made weary and drunke with bloud, all danger past, and humanity retired, prisoners were taken, and lives spared, which hitherto was neglected, left mercy might have proved the destruction of themselves.

Enguerrand de Monstrel.

(59) Whilst the King was thus busied, and the successe of the battell in dispute, his carriages (but slenderly guarded) by the French were assailed, and all made spoile of that was to be had. The Captaines of this cowardly enterprize were *Robinet de Bourneville*, *Rifflant de Clamasse*, and *Ifambert de Azincourt*, with six hundred Peasants, who had turned their faces at the first brunt of battell, as men of better practise to pilfer, then to purchase by manhood the spoyles of the field. Where among other things they found a rich Crowne and Sword, which they bare away in triumph-wise, faining that K. *Henry* was taken, and as a prisoner followed their troupes, the sight of certain *English* prisoners, by them taken and led away, confirming the report more strongly in the beholders conceit. But King *Henry* breathlesse, and in heat of bloud, seeing certaine new troupes of the King of *Sicile* appeare in the field, & the same strong enough to encounter with his weary men, fearing (as he had cause) that the *Bourbon Batallian* upon sight of fresh succours, would gather into a body, and againe make head, considering with all how his men were overcharged with multitude of prisoners, who in number surmounted their Conquerours: that the charge would be double at once to guard and to fight, and that the prisoners would be ready upon every advantage to take armes, and free themselves from their takers: these and other necessities constraining, King *Henry*, contrary to his wonted generous nature, gave present commandement that every man should kill his prisoner, which was immediately performed, certaine principall men excepted. Which done, and falling againe in order, he sent his Herauldes unto these troupes assembled, commanding them forthwith to come unto battell, or else to depart the field, either of which if they delayed, he threatned to revenge with their deaths, without any redemption or mercy; at which severe sentence, their hearts were so daunted, that with shame and dishonour they departed the field. The base surprisall of the Kings Carriages (the onely cause, as some alleage, of the French prisoners death) was so ill-digested by the French themselves, that the Duke of *Burgundy* imprisoned the actors thereof, and was minded to put them to death, had not his Sonne the Count of *Charolois* mediated for them, unto whom they presented King *Henries* rich Sword, the guards whereof was gold, set with stones of great price.

Tpodig. Neustl

(60) The day almost spent in spending French bloud, and evening approaching, neere the set of the Sunne, the field cleared, and no enemy seene, the retreat was founded, and all were assembled to give thankes unto God; which done, while his souldiers pillaged the dead, King *Henry* (sent for *Montioy*, Herauld at armes in *France*, and for other Heraulds both *English* and *French*: unto whom he said, *we have not of our selves made this great slaughter, which the sword in our weake hands hath laid at our feet, but the as one of God for the offences (no doubt) of the French hath done it, whose bloud let now rest upon their owne heads, and we guiltlesse in following our right*: and then demanding name of the place, was answered, it was *Azincourt* then said he, to all posterities following, *this Battell shall be called the Battell of Azincourt.* Thus dismissing the Heraulds, he returned to *Maisoncelles*, where he lodged the night before. The spoyle was great, and the prey rich in armours, jewels and apparell, for which by the Countrey Peasants many (left as dead) were stripped starke naked, who afterward crept from the place, but most of them mortally wounded without reliefe, lay in great dolor, and died in the ditches: so certaine is the calamitie of war, and uncertaine the sword till it be quietly sheathed.

Enguerrand de Monstrel.

(61) King *Henry* lost his cosen *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* that day, besides some others, the *French* Writers say three or foure hundred, yet *Caxton* will have them but twenty and sixe: and *Paulus Aemilius* addeth to the two slaine Lords, two Knights, and onely ten private souldiers, without any more; unto whom an ancient Manuscript addeth * *David Gam* an Esquire, and twenty eight private souldiers, affirming confidently, that no more of the *English* died that day.

Nich. Giles. Latters volume de Chron. Franc.

(62) A farre larger role is writ of the *French*, slain at this battell, yet divers and different among their owne Authors, the true Catalogue as we cannot certainely set downe, yet as we have many Collections we will deliver the same in part, and referre the rest to be seene upon Record: Onely naming the Officers and Leaders in the same field either slaine, or taken prisoners, by this famous King *Henry*, in this his triumphant and fortunate day.

Charles D'Albert, high Constable of *France*.	*Iehan de Barre.*
Geffrey Bouciquale Marshall of *France*.	Great Lords
Iaques Chastilion Admirall.	*Sig. de Croy.*
Guiscard Dolphin of *Aragon*, great Master of the Kings Horse.	*Sig. de Helly.*
	Sig. de Auxi.
	Sig. de Brimeu.
	Sig. de Poix.
Edward Duke of *Barre.*	*Sig. de Lauroy.*
Anthony D. of *Brabant.*	*Sig. de Rainevalt.*
Duke Alenzon.	*Sig. de Longuevall.*
Count Nevers.	*Sig. de Inche.*
Count de Marle.	*Sig. de Neufuille.*
Count de Vaudemont.	*Sig. de Dampierre.*
Count de Blaumont.	*Sig. de Morevill.*
Count de Grandpre.	*Vidame de Amiens.*
Count de Rouſſie.	*Mes. Alain.*
Count de Farquembourg.	*Mes. de Saveſes.*
Lewis de Bourbon.	*Mes. de Mocont.*
Sig. de Preaux.	*Mes. de Poix.*
Robert de Barre.	*Mes. de Bethune.*

Nich. Giles. Latters volume de Chron. Franc.

The small number of English slaine. The * signifie. * Ex Æmilio.

To be short, *Iehan Tillet* saith, that there were ten thousand slaine, and almost as many more taken: and most of their owne Writers account the successe of this battel to be with the slaughter of foure thousand Princes, Nobles, Knights, and Esquires: but the history of *Normandy* accounted eight thousand to bee slaine of that ranke, whereof an hundred and twenty bare Banners: among whom dyed foure Dukes, nine Earles, one * Archbishop, and tenne thousand

Iehan Tillet. Recueil de Arguments. Ex. Mem. Mich. Giles. Legend Flond. Cron. Fran. 3. vol.

The number of Dukes, Earles, &c. slaine. * Odetus.

common souldiers, as the Heralds relation in that behalfe hath reported.

Denis Sauage.

(27) Prisoners of account taken in this field, were *Charles* the Duke of *Orleance*, and *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, extreamely wounded and left for dead, as he lay gasping among the slaine, was by the English recovered and reteined their prisoner. *Lovis de Bourbon Comt de Vendosme*, was there taken Captive, so was *Charles* Earle of *Eu*, being carried into *England*, where hee remained prisoner twenty three yeares. Others of great account were likewise taken & put to ransome, as *Edward de Roven*, *Oliver de la Field*, and *Iohan Giffart*, with these and many more the next day King *Henry* marched to *Calis*, leaving the *French* to search for their wounded, that in ditches & bushes had made their heavy beds: In commiseration whereof, the *Counte Charolois* extreame pensive for the losse of his Vncles, and other his friends, in charity came to the field, and caused the dead to be buried, the charge whereof hee committed to the Abbot of *Rousseauville* and the Bailiffe of *Ayre*, who inclosed a piece of ground with a deepe ditch of two hundred and fifty yards square, fensing it with an hedge of thornes against the Ravenings of Dogs and Wolves. Wherein were interred five thousand and eight hundred Christian carkasses, in regard whereof it was sanctified by the Bishop of *Esguines*, and made a Church-yard.

Bertrand de Argentre in Hist Brec. Iohan Tillet. Alain Bouchart. Annal. de Bret.

Guil. Paradyn. Annal. de Burg.

Hollor. Norm.

5800. slaine *French* buried in one plat of ground.

Alain Bouchar. Annal. de Bret.

(28) The Duke of *Britaine* with his forces was come to *Amiens* within two dayes march of *Azincourt* to aide King *Charles*, but the *French* upon a conceived assurance of victory, would not stay his comming: who now hearing of the glorious day obtained by the *English*, dismissed his troupes, and retired to his owne Countrey, not meaning any more to intermeddle in the warre betweene *England* and *France*. Now King *Henry* upon Saturday the 26 of *October*, being the next day after battell, tooke his march towards *Calis*, but in passing the field wherein they had fought, he caused search for all the *English*, which he caused to be interred according to their estates. But the bodies of his slaine cosen the Duke of *Yorke*, and of *Michael de la Poole* Earle of *Suffolke*, hee tooke away thence, carrying them both into *England*, and so passing to *Guisnes* with his prisoners, he entred *Calis*, whither, those left at *Harflew* resorted to pay their ransomes to them assigned.

The History of Normandy.

Stowes Annals.

Richard Grafton.

(29) His hoast now refreshed and courage augmented, it was disputable in Counsell, whether the King should returne againe into *France*, to pursue his enterprize already begun, or els to embarke for *England*. But the time of yeare spent, the Winter wet, and the field Campes very much subject to fluxes, wherewith many of his souldiers were as yet infected, and more unhealed of their wounds; it was thought fittest to make for *England*, and the sooner, for that victuals became somewhat scarce in *Calis*. These things premised, King *Henry* upon the sixteenth day of November spread sayles for *England*, and in the passage was met with such stormes, that his *French* prisoners were in as great feare, as they had beene in danger at the battell at *Azincourt*: but arrived at *Dover*, and all dangers past, upon the three and twentie of November in triumph-wise he made his entrance into *Loudon*, foure hundred Citizens riding before him in red and white hoods, the gates and streets were garnished with Pageants, and the Conduits plenteously powring forth sweet Wines. The Religious men met him with Procession, and foureteene Mitred Bishops attended his approach unto Saint *Pauls*, where, out of the Censers the sweet Odours filled the Church, and the Quier chanted Anthems cunningly set by note: in all which the honour was ascribed onely unto God, the King so commanding it. And so farre was he from the vaine ostentation of men, that he would not admit his broken Crowne, nor bruised armour to be borne before him in shew, which are the usuall Ensignes of warlike triumphes. The City presented him a thousand pound in gold, two golden Basons worth five hundred pounds more, which were received with all Princely thankes.

King Henry returneth into England.

He and his company in danger at Sea. Tho. prælium.

The King is received at London with great state. Caxton. Chron.

(30) And now to doe the last office of a Souldier for those two Noblemen slaine at *Azincourt*, he willed the body of the Duke of *Yorke* to be interred in his Colledge at *Fotheringhay* in *Northamptonshire*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* at *Ewhelme* in *Oxfordshire*, commanding most of his Bishops and Abbots to celebrate the Exequies in *London*, whereunto likewise resorted his Vncle *Dorset* the Governor of *Harflew*, whom for his good service done, hee created Duke of *Excester*, and gave him a thousand pounds by yeare out of his owne Exchequer: but in his absence some attempts were made by the *French* against the said Towne, whereby he was enformed the sooner to returne.

All sorts both Clergy and Laity shew their affection to the King, and he to God.

(31) The calamities of these times by the stirred schismes of the Church, and these bloody warres among Christian Princes, *Sigismund* the Emperour a man of great wisedome and integrity, much lamented at the Councell of *Constance*, and as another *Constantine* sollicited the three stiffe stirring Popes unto unity, but failing of that purpose, from those farre parts he travelled into *France*, and thence into *England*: seeking to make peace betwixt these two Westerne Monarchs, the better to withstand the common knowne enemie of Christendome the Turke. King *Charles* he sollicited, finding him in words very forward, with many faire shewes to imbrace the motion, whereupon taking with him the Archbishop of *Rheims* as Ambassadour from the French King, came unto *Callis*, where he was most honorably entertained by the Earle of *Warwicke*, Deputy of the Towne, and divers other Lords, sent thither by King *Henry* to attend him, as also thirty of his tallest ships to waft him to *Dover*, gallantly rigged and manned with a noble traine. The Duke of *Gloucester* accompanied with many of the Nobility, was appointed to receive him at *Dover*, where they attended his comming.

The Duke of Yorke interred at Fotheringhay. The Earle of Suffolke at Ewhelme.

Gerards de gestes en bell. Troiall.

Ingerrant de Monstrel.

The Emperour out of hope to make a mutuall amitie between France & English.

May. 9. The Emperour *Sigismund* commeth into England.

Titus Livius.

The Pope mightest be appealed.

(32) The Emperour arrived, and ready to take land, *Gloucester* and the other Lords with their drawn swords entred the water, and thus spake to the Emperour, that if his Imperiall Majestie intended to enter as their Kings friend, and a mediator for peace, they would receive him with all willingnesse accordingly, but if as an Emperour to claime any authority in *England*, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to resist and impeach his entrance. Which rough demand being most mildely answered by *Sigismund*, he had present accesse, and by them was attended towards *London*.

The sterne manner of entertaining the Emperour at his landing.

Well liked of by the Emperour.

(33) This worthy Emperour, King *Henrie* greatly respected, as well for his owne worthes, and the amity held ever with the house of *Beame*; as also for that hee had married * *Barbara* the daughter of the Earle of *Zilie* the Kings Cosen-Germane removed. His entertainment was Princely, and * charges altogether borne by King *Henry*, who the more to honor him at *Windsore*, solemnly enstalled him Knight of the Order of Saint *George* or *Garter*, with a most sumptuous feast purposely prepared, at which the Emperour sate in his Collar and Robes; but not foreslowing the cause for which he came, hee instantly urged the peace for *France*, wherein hee was gently heard by the *English* King, but upon new displeasures for some losse of men in the Territories of *Roane*, the motion at that time was dasht, and would not proceed, left (as King *Henry* alledged) the *French* should suppose that a small losse had weakened his spirits: yet the Emperour continuing his intercession for peace, had brought it to that passe by his pithy perswasions, as had not the *French* at that very instant besieged *Harflew* (both by Sea and Land) it had beene effected.

*Rich. Graston.

* Paulus Æmil.

The King willingly heareth the Emperour for a peace.

Ingerrant de Monstrel. Upon an unexpected assault by the French the King flatly refuseth further talke of peace.

(34) For not long before *Thomas* Earle of *Dorset*, having made a Roade into the County of *Caux*, was set upon by the Earle of *Armagnac*, Constable of

An. Dom. 1415. March 19.

of *France*, with other strong men at armes ncere unto *Vademont*, who so distressed the *English*, that *Dorset* tooke into a Garden for defence, and having had private conference there with the Constable, early before day, departed with the losse of * 400. men. *Armagnac* pursued up by his got victory, with his French powers followed the *English* in a hasty march toward *Harflew*, and upon the sands intercepted their passage, where betwixt them a cruell conflict was performed, with the overthrow of the *French*, and flight of the Constable, who retired to *Monstrevillier* for safety.

Agellius Giustinianus Prefatus. de Nebio.

(35) This his unluckly attempt he tooke greatly to heart, and therefore purposing to re-purchase againe his honour, he determined for *Harflew*, where he set down his land-siege, before the *English* garrison, within, were well aware; when also the *Vicount Narbon Vice-Admirall of France*, with a Fleet of tall ships entred the haven, so that the Towne was begirt on every side, as we have said. King *Henry* hearing of these newes, called home his Ambassadors, which were the Bishop of *Norwich*, and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* in commission then at *Beauvois*, and in conference for a Peace; and the Emperour well perceiving that the *French* plaid upon advantage, and that King *Henry* was not of temper to turne edge at their strokes, saw it vaine to prosecute the peace for *France* further, and therfore fought to enter league with the *English* himselfe, unto the which King *Henry* was so willing, as he confirmed the same upon these Articles following.

Paule. Æmil. Alain Chartier Secretarie.

French Navy overthrowne.

(36) That the said Emperour & King, their heires and successors * should be friends each to other as Allies and Confederates against all manner of persons, of what estate or degree soever, the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope for the time being onely excepted (for he was the Master-Bee that then lead the swarme.)

History of Normandy. Le mer des Hystoires.

(37) That neither themselves, their heires nor successours, should be present in Counsell or other place, where either of them, their heires or successors might sustaine dammage in lands, goods, honours, states or persons: and that if any of them should understand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or if that lay not in their powers, they should advertise the others thereof with all convenient speed. That either of them, their heires and successours should advance the others honour and commodity without any fraud or deceit. That neither of them, nor their heires or successours should permit their Subjects to leavy warres against the others. That it should be lawfull and free for each of their Subjects to passe into the others Countrey, and there to remaine and make Merchandise either by Sea or Land, paying the Customes, Gables, and duties due and accustomed according to the Lawes and Ordinances of the places, and Countries where they should traffique. That neither of the faide Princes, nor their heires, nor successours should receive any rebell, banished man, or traitour of the others willingly, but should cause every such person to avoyde out of their Countries, Realmes, Dominions, and Iurisdictions. That neyther of the said Princes, their Heires nor Successors, should begin any other warres against any other person, other then such as they had warres with at that present, without the consent of the other his Confederate, except in defence of themselves, their Countries and subjects, in case of invasion made upon them. That it should be lawfull for the King of *England* to prosecute his warres against *France* for the recovery of his right, as should seeme to him expedient, and for the Emperor, for the recovery of any part of his right reteined by the *French*. Lastly, that either of them should assist other in recovery and Conquest of their rights, lands, and dominions, with-held and kept from them, by him that calleth himselfe King of *France*, and others, the Princes and Barons of *France*. These conclusions and agreements bare date the 19. of *October*, in *Anno* 1416. In the meane while the *French* that had felt the hard hand of the *English*, and seene that *Henry* had with-drawne his Commissioners for peace, King *Charles* made a league with the States of *Genoua*, requiring their ayde against this dangerous enemy, who supplyde him with five hundred Crossebowes, and eight tall ships of warre, and as many Gallies with munition and victuals. These wafting the Seas with many bravadoes, King *Henry* in person meant to have met with himselfe, but the Emperour diswading his purpose, the charge of that Enterprise was committed to *Iohn Duke of Bedford*, accompanied with the Earles of *March*, *Marshall*, *Oxford*, *Warwicke*, *Huntington*, *Arundell*, *Devonshire*, and *Salisbury*; these falling upon the *Viscount de Narbon*, a fierce encounter was begun, and long fought, till at length the victory fell to the *English*, so that the *French Navy* was most of them battered, suncke and taken; amongst others, three great carricks of the *Genoaes* were sent to *England*, with whom the bastard of *Burbon* was brought away Prisoner; and the *Viscount de Narbon*, *Le Sire de Montaine*, and *Le Sire de Berrar* chased into *Britaine*. This victory obtained, the Duke past forward to the towne of *Harflew*, and refreshed it with victuals; without any impeachment; for *Armagnac* the Constable hearing how his Consorts had kept tune on the Seas, thought it not best to set to their note, lest his meane would not be heard, the base of this musicke sounding too deepe, and therefore he put up his pipes, and got him to *Paris*. This service performed, was so commended by the Emperour, as he openly said, that Realme was happy that had such a King, but the King more happy that had such Subjects, and ever after held *Bedford* in a most speciall account.

The Emperour applaudeth the felicity of England.

(38) His affaires now finished, and Princely entertainements thankefully received, he prepares for his returne toward *Germany*, and King *Henry* to doe him the more honour would needs accompany him to his towne of *Calis*, whither after their arrivals, the Duke of *Burgogne* repaired to doe his homage unto the Emperor, which *Burgogne* some moneths before, had concluded a peace with the Earle of *Warwicke* in the behalfe of King *Henry*, for the Countries of *Flaunders* and *Arthois*. *Henry* therefore in hope of a further friendship with him, sent his brother the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earle of *March* unto St. *Omers* to lye hostages with the Count *Charolois*, for *Burgognes* passage and safe returne, with whom he sent *Warwicke* to conduct him to *Callis*.

He prepareth for Germany.

Denis Sauage. Chron. de Flan.

(39) His entertainement was honourable both by the Emperour and King, which as acceptably he received, and unto *Sigismund* performed his homage, and with *Henry* renewed the truce for the time of two yeres, both which were so distastive to the *French* stomackes, that the Emperour is taxed, he came not with an intent to worke the good of *France*, but rather to augment her miseries by animating *Burgundy* to bandy against *Orleance*: and that King *Henry* was puft with an humor of pride, his affaires so prosperous against a weake King. But this businesse ended, *Burgundy* returned to *Graveling*, *Henry* into *England*, and the Emperour toward *Germany*: at whose departure from *England* towards *Calis*, being attended by the Duke of *Bery*, and many other Noblemen; *Sigismund* the Emperour is said to have taken his leave, with this speech: *Farewell, thou happy and blessed Iland, which as thou art in nature Angelicall, so may thou ever rejoyce in glory and victorie, thou true adorer of Iesus: Hanc tibi do laudem quam rectio jure mereris.* And from *Calis* (where all his expences had beene defrayed by King *Henry*) passed to *Durdraughe*, Sir *Iohn Tiptofe* and many other Knights attending him for his better guard: where in larges he gave unto them a thousand crownes in Gold: and to their King sent a Vnicornes horne above five foot long, with many other choyce and precious guifts as pledges of his love and thankfulnesse. During all the time of this Emperours journey, stay, and returne, the Seas for the security of his person and people, were guarded with a Navy of Ships, and three thousand English Souldiers under the

The Duke of Burgundy doth homage to the Emperour, and taketh a truce with King Henry.

Iohn Speed. in vit. Henrici 5.

En Bibliotheca Rob Cotton milita & Baronetti.

the conduct and truft of the Baron of *Carew* of Devonſhire.

(39) At *Callis* King *Henry* had made great proffers unto *Burgundy* to enter with him into the warres againſt *France*, promiſing him part of his Conqueſts, and to ſpare and favour all his vaſſals, allyes, and friends, but *Burgundy* refuſing the offers, remayned his enemy for *France*, howbeit he ſent Embaſſadors into *England* to treat a continuance of the Truce, which was granted to his Commiſſioners to indure from the next Michaels-tide unto Eaſter euſuing, which was confirmed at *Portcheſter* the 23. of July and yeare of Chriſt 1417. For the ſigning whereof King *Henry* ſent the Keeper of his Privy Seale to *Amiens*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* delivered the ſame ſigned, which began in this ſort: *Iohannes Dux Burg. Comes Flandriæ, Arthuſius & Burgundiæ, Palatinus, Dominus de Salinia & Muchlinia, univerſis preſents literas inſpicien: ſalutem, &c. datum in villa Ambianenſis 17. die Menſis Aug.* 1417. This notwithſtanding, the ſaid Duke reverted, and in November following made a league (whereunto he was ſworne) with the King and *Daulphin* of *France* againſt *England*, which his doings King *Henrie* tooke nothing well. But his proceeding proſpering in *France* he called a Parliament at *London*, where the Lord *Chancellor, Henry Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinall, in the Kings behalfe made an eloquent Oration, declaring the great deſire his Maſter had to make Peace with the *French*, which the King notwithſtanding reſiſted, and againſt the law of Armes denied, upon ranſome, to render his priſoners taken at *Azincourt*, ſo that the peace which was to be expected muſt be with the ſword, concluding with this ſaying; *Let us make warre that we may have peace, becauſe the end of war is peace.* Whereunto the whole body conſented, and granted to the King a Subſidie and a Tenth, which was graciouſly accepted, but was farre too ſhort to defray the great Charge, ſo that he was forced to pawne his Crowne unto the ſaid Biſhop *Beaufort* his Vncle, for a great ſum of money, as he did certaine Iewels to the Lord Major of *London* for ten thouſand Markes.

(40) Money thus got and the Seas made ſafe, King *Henry* purpoſed further to follow his fortunes in *France*, his advantages many (as the *French* would enforce) through the weake-braind King, not able to correct the Factions of the *Burgundian* and *Orleance*, which troubled all *France*; and the death of *Lewis* the *Daulphin*, whoſe funerall might have beene ſolemnized by the mourners for *Azincourt*, his death (as was thought) happening immediately upon that diſaſter; and to heape more diſtractions upon the miſerable *French*, *Iohn* the Kings ſecond ſonne, and new made *Daulphin*, ſhortly left both his title and life, who together were entombed at *Campeigne*. Theſe, ſay the *French*, were the bane of the *State*, and the baits that made King *Henry* to bite; Notwithſtanding we ſhall finde them but curtaines to ſhadow the light, if we looke into the proiect with an indifferent eye, for the Kings weakenes was ſupported by *Burgogne Armagnac* and other potent eſtates; *Burgundy*, by Oath, made a mortall enemy againſt King *Henry*. *Orleance* in *England* a priſoner, and without racket in hand could not bandy the ball to marre the *French* plea: & as touching the deaths of the two *Daulphins* their raked-up-aſhes kept in the ſpark that after ward was the only light of *France*, for theſe (though crowned) were not the pillars of ſtrength able to ſuſtaine the great weight of that Empire: The firſt a Prince of little valour, & great toyle, preſuming to know much, and unwilling to learn the leaſt, buſying himſelf with his ſelfe, and by his inſufficiency rather troubled, then managed the eſtate. The other, none of the wiſeſt, and of nature ſo remiſſe, that he was ever ready (as waxe) to take the ſtampe of any impreſſe, but as the proverbe is, Let the looſers have leave to ſpeake, and us to relate our *Engliſh-French* buſineſſes.

(41) All now in a readineſſe, King *Henry*, with a puiſſant army, prepared his ſecond expedition into *France*, his Fleet conſiſting of fifteene hundred ſaile, many Lords and men at armes, the muſter-roll ingroſſed with twenty five thouſand five hundred twentie ſeaven ſouldiers, every fourth being a horſeman, beſides a thouſand Carpenters, Artificers, and Labourers: But before his departure he ordained his brother *John* Duke of *Bedford* to be the Protector of *England* in his abſence, which done, upon the 28. of July he tooke to Seas, the ſailes of his owne ſhip, being of purple ſilke moſt richly embroydered with gold: and the firſt of Auguſt arrived in *Normandy*, to ſuch terrour of the inhabitants, that they fled further into the maine, leaving the Country bare of men and beſtiall: Inſomuch that twenty five thouſand families of them repaired into *Britain*, ſo dreadfull was the approach of the *Engliſh*.

(42) No ſooner King *Henries* foot had touched the ſhoare, but to the incouragements of his Marſhall followers, he dubbed forty eight Knights, and then ſending to view *Harflew*, laide his ſiege againſt *Conqueſt*, the ſtrongeſt Caſtle in *Normandy*, which he tooke the 16. of Auguſt, and gave both it and the whole demaines belonging, unto his brother *Thomas Duke of Clarence*: And unto *Salisbury* the Leader of his ſecond Battell, he gave the Caſtle *Aumbelliers*, which at the ſame time he had won, as alſo that of *Lovers* unto the Earle Marſhall, and theſe were the firſt that were inveſted with any revenew in *France*.

(43) *Cane* to withſtand the enemy was ſtrongly fortified, well mand, and victualled, ſo that nothing was wanting needfull for defence: yet the King fate downe before it, and his battery not working the expected effect, he atteempted it by mine, and ruinated ſome parts of the Wall: Notwithſtanding the defendants made ſtiffe defence, and manfully put backe the entrance or ſcale. Neverthelesſe *Henry* ſeeing that they could not long ſubſiſt, unwilling to carry it in fury, which muſt be the deſtruction of the Inhabitants, whom he ſought to ſave, and to make his true ſubjects, ſummoned them by an Herault, and promiſed them mercy; which they in hope of reliefe utterly deſpiſed: hereupon his entry was forced, and great ſlaughter made, till the King ſtayed his ſouldiers furies, and cauſed the Citizens to diſarme themſelves, ſetting a ſtrong guard, aſwell to keep the ſpoilers from pillaging, as the townesmen from all hoſtile attempt; and they that did, were either put to death or ranſome, which was freely diſtributed among his Captaines and ſouldiers, by which regular action King *Henry* got him the eſtimation of a great Captaine, and an upright Prince.

(44) But whether by the working of the *French*, or by inſtigation of the diſcontented reformaliſts (as *Walſingham* hath it) The *Scots* would worke wonders in reviving a dead King *Richard*, that ſhould indammage the *Lancaſtrians* cauſe, and diſpoſſeſſe King *Henry* of his Crowne: who now abſent and forward of Conqueſt in *France*, at home was endangered by theſe his emulating neighbours, and his confines in hoſtile manner entred upon, by the Duke of *Albany*, together with the Earle *Douglas* the *Scottiſh* Leaders: Theſe bringing with them their ſtage-like King *Richard*, laid ſtrait ſiege againſt *Roxborough*, and *Barwicke*, where all affaires were attempted, by undermining the wals, and turrets, all extremities uſed and nothing left unattempted, that might annoy, either by Sea or by Land.

(45) But *Beaufort Duke of Exceſter* being at *Bridlington* in doing his devotions, had preſent newes of this preſent neceſſitie, and therefore ſcarſe come to the end of his Orizons, he layd by his Beads and tooke to his Armour, which was not ruſty with lying, ſo lately put off; neither did *Iohn Duke of Bedford* the Protector, fore-ſlow any time, but with ſixe thouſand ſtrong, repayred into the *North*, where, with the Earles of *Weſtmorland* and *Northumberland*, his power was increaſed, unto whom alſo the Archbiſhop of *Yorke Henry Bewet* ſided, with age ſo decrepit,

Virtus Livius.

An. Dom. 1417. *Stowes Annal. Alein Bouchart. Annales Brit. Polydor. Virgil.*

Hiſtor. Norm.

Denis Sauage. Chron. de Flan.

Rot. Parliament.

Polyd. Virg.

Pat. Acts and Monuments.

The review by Rot. part. 3.

King Henry ſeeth great mercy to the buliged.

Papists and Foes of the conformiſts for Elſtow. Alein Copus Town Officer.

Tho. walſing.

Thom. Otterbor.

Stowes Annals.

Virtus Livius.

Polichronicon.

pit, that he was borne in the Field in his Chaire, the fame of whoſe comming, and the feare of their worthy Generals, ſo daunted the *Scots*, that leaving their ladders and other engines of warre, in the night they broke up their ſiege, and well was he that could firſt ateaine *Scotland*.

(46) The Kings affaires thus effected in the *North*, the Clergies eye-ſore was alſo ſomewhat eaſed by the apprehenſion of Sir *John Ouldcaſtle* their diſturber in the *South*; who not contented to ſet the *God of Rome* at nought, but likewiſe defaced the faces of his Saints, trimly limmed in their Letanies and other like maſſe-bookes; a matter indeed of ſuch moment, that the Abbot of Saint *Albanes* (in whoſe precinct they were taken) ſent theſe poore miſuſed and ſcratched-faced pictures, to complaine of their injuries unto the King, but his peace not broken, (for no bloud was drawne) he remitted the offence and puniſhment thereof unto *Chicheley* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who ſent them to *Pauls*-Croſſe to ſhew their Countenances unto the people, the Preacher that day being their mouth, inſinuating the offence to bee done unto the triumphant Saints in heaven.

(47) A Parliament aſſembled by the Regents authoritie for the ſupply of money to maintaine the warres in *France*; a matter of as great importance was therein handled, and that was the apprehenſion and judgement of the Lord *Cobham*, with a conſideration of reward for his taker, the Lord *Powyſſe* in *Wales*, from whence ſore wounded he was brought to *Weſtminſter* before the Lords, and having heard his convictions, would not thereunto anſwere in his excuſe, upon which record & proceſſe, it was adjudged that he ſhould be taken as a Traitor to the King and the Realme, that he ſhould be carried to the Tower of *London*, and from thence drawne through the ſtreets unto St. *Giles*-fields, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging, which accordingly was done. That *N. D.* author of the three Converſions, hath made *Ouldcaſtle* Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebell, and his authority taken from the *Stage-players*, is more befitting the pen of his ſlanderous report, then the credit of the judicious, being onely grounded from this Papiſt and his Poet, of like conſcience for lies, the one ever fayning, and the other ever falſifying the truth: that *Copus* hath made the Lord *Cobham* a Traitour: and *Stow*, from *Otterborn*, alledgeth indentures drawn betwixt him and the *Scots*, to bring in a counterfeit *Richard*, and to invade the Land with forraine power, that he acknowledged no King but the ſame counterfeit in *Scotland*, and made himſelfe a falſe Chriſt in riſing againe the third day (as *Walſingham* will have it) I am not ignorant: but his attainture of Treaſons, I leave it to the anſwere of Maſter *Fox*, who largely handled it: and for his combination with the *Scots*, unto the letter of King *Henries* owne hand, who having intelligence of the *Scots* intent, and the meanes by which they meane to worke, ſignifieth unto his brother and Vncle in theſe words, as from the Originall is taken.

Part of a Letter written with King Henry the fift his owne hand to the Duke of Exceſter.

*Furthermore, I will that yee commune with my * brother, with the * Chancellour, with my Coſen of Northumberland, and my Coſen of Weſtmorland, and that yee ſet a good Order and Ordinance for my North-Marches, and eſpecially for the Duke of Orleance, and for all the Remnant of my Priſoners of France. And alſo for the King of Scotland, for as I am ſecretly informed by a man of right notable eſtate in this Land, that there hath beene a man of the Duke of Orleance in Scotland, and accorded with the Duke of Albany that this next ſummer he ſhall bring in the manuel of Scotland to ſtarre what hee may. Alſo that there ſhould bee founden wayes to the having away ſpecially of the Duke of Orleance; and alſo of the Knights, as well as of the remnant of my foreſaid Priſoners, that GOD defend. Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleance bee kept ſtill within the Caſtle of Pomfret, without going to Roberts place, or to any other diſport, for it is better hee lacke his diſport, then we were deceived; of all the Remnant doth as he thinketh.*

(48) Wherein we ſee the Complot, but heare not a word that it ſhould be of *Cobhams* compoſing. But as I affect not to juſtifie the wicked, nor to make crooked things ſtraite, ſo am I farre from diſcrediting authorities; onely the eye of thoſe times looking through the thicke foggy Cloudes, made the Sunne (which is bright in it ſelfe) to ſeeme in their ſights all bloudy and darke.

(49) The like troubles (though not for the like cauſe) happened unto Queene *Ioane* in the Kings abſence, and time of *Bedfords* Regency, whoſe offence was Capitall, if the accuſation were true; that ſhee ſhould by ſorcery ſeeke the death of the King; ſhee therefore was committed to ſafe keeping in the Caſtle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pemſey*, attended only with nine of her ſervants: her Confeſſor, Frier *Randolph* a Doctor of divinity, was likewiſe apprehended as her Counſellour and worker in this diveliliſh art, for which he was committed to the Tower, where falling at words with the Parſon of Saint *Peters* (the Church of that place) he was wounded to death; and Queene *Ioane* thereupon, preſently delivered.

(50) King *Henry* proceeding in his Conqueſt of *Normandie*, about *Hollantide*, laid ſiege to the ſtrong Towne and Caſtle of *Fallais*, continuing the ſame unto the twentieth of December, when the defendants not able longer to reſiſt, demanded and had Parley, with whom *Thomas Earle of Salisbury*, *Henry Lord Fitz-hugh*, *Sir Iohn Cornwall*, and *Sir William Harrington* Knights, were by the King appointed Commiſſioners, who after ſome conference, laſtly accorded upon theſe conditions. 1. That if the King of *France*, the *Dolphin*, or Conſtable, did not by force raiſe the ſiege before the ſecond of Ianuary enſuing, that the Towne ſhould be rendred to *Henry*. 2. That all the ſtrangers that were not properly Inhabitants of *Fallais*, & had formerly fought againſt King *Henry* in any place, beſieged and taken within *Normandie*, ſhould be left to his mercy. 3. That all *Engliſh* Priſoners which were in the Towne ſhould be ſet at liberty, ranſome free and acquitted of their Oathes made unto them whoſe priſoners they were. 4. That all natives of *England*, *Wales*, or *Ireland*, that had ſerved againſt the King, ſhould be left to his Iuſtice. 5. That neither Captaine, Burgeſſe, nor Townesman of *Fallais* ſhould give any reliefe to the Caſtle, or victuall, or munition, during the Truce accorded. 6. That no perſon within *Fallais* ſhould receive the perſons or goods of any within the Caſtle, whereby they or their goods might be protected. 7. That the Captaines and ſouldiers ſhould receive no prejudice in their Horſes, Armes, or Goods; great Artillery, Shot, Powder and Croſſe-bowes excepted: but the ſtrangers formerly ſpoken of in the ſecond Article were exempted from that favour. 8. That the Artillery, Powder, Shot, and Croſſebowes afore-mentioned, ſhould not, during the truce, be embezelled, wilfully broken, or made away. 9. That during the Truce, the ruines made ſhould not be repaired, and no new workes of defence erected. 10. That no oppreſſion bee uſed by the ſaid ſouldier upon the Burgeſſe, and if any were found faulty, and not preſently baniſhed for the ſame, they ſhould loſe the benefit which otherwiſe they ſhould have by the accord. 11. That no Captaine, Souldier, or Townesman ſhould under-hand convey away any priſoner, Ornaments, Iewels, or Church-Reliques, either belonging to *Fallais*, or to any other Church or Religious Houſe, that were brought thither for ſafetie. 12. That no goods ſhould be purloined or carried out of the Towne during the treaty. 13. That none of the Captaines nor Souldiers, nor any Burgeſſe ſhould forſake the Towne, untill the ſecond

Yeerwant de Waſſ.

Burgundy maketh a league with England, but afterwards with France, contrary to his Oath.

Denis Sauage.

Parliament Roll. 5. H. 5.

A ſubſidy granted the King for his warres in France.

King Henry had three great advantages for the better conquering of France.

Denis Sauage Chron. de Flan.

Iob Scores bill. France.

The ſtory of Sir Iohn Ouldcaſtle.

Scratched-faced pictures ſhewed at Pauls-croſſe.

Rot. Record. Parliament.

The Lord Cobhams reaſon given by the Lord Powyſſe.

Pat. Acts and Monuments.

The review by Rot. part. 3.

Papists and Foes of the conformiſts for Elſtow. Alein Copus Town Officer.

Tho. walſing.

Thom. Otterbor.

Out of the Originall.

Stowes Annals.

Walſord. Dunſtaw.

Stowes Annal. The ſtrong Towne of *Fallais* beſieged by the King.

The conditions agreed upon for ſurrendring.

That if their King reſted not the ſiege, they ſhould render. M. S.

That certaine perſons ſhould be left to the Kings mercy.

That all *Engliſh* priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty.

That certaine *Engliſh* ſhould be left to his Iuſtice.

That none ſhould reliefe the Caſtle of *Fallais*.

That they ſhould have no commerce with them.

The Captaines ſhould be well dealt with.

That theſe like munition ſhould not be imbezelled.

No ruines to be repaired, nor new defences erected.

That the Burgeſſes ſhould not be ill uſed by their ſouldiers for the time of the truce.

That they ſhould not take away any thing from the Church.

No goods to be carried out of the Towne.

That no perſon ſhould forſake the Towne, for being true to King Henry they ſhould be ſafe.

The ignorance of thoſe times being ſo generall in all places, the truth worthie diuely diſcerned.

Queene *Ioane* committed to priſon upon ſuſpition of ſorcerie.

Frier *Randolph* wounded to death by the Parſon of the Tower of *London*.

second of Ianuary next: and his Majestie of his grace and mercy, was pleased that all such as would remain in *Fallais*, should remaine there in safety both in body and goods, so as they would be true Subjects unto him. 14. That none of the defendants of the Castle should be received into the Towne, nor their goods secretly kept by the Inhabitants under any pretence or colour whatsoever. 15. That during the Treaty, no assault or offence should be offered by the Kings Army to the Towne, or to the Inhabitants, so as they doe not aide, assist, or relieve, the defendants in the Castles. 16. That for the true performance of the Articles, twelve Knights and Squires should be delivered hostage to the King, and to be set at liberty when the covenants above mentioned were fulfilled. These things concluded and subscribed with their names and seales, the 20 of December; upon the second of *Ianuary* no succours appearing, the towne of *Fallais* was accordingly delivered, but the Castle standing obstinate, the King was as diligent, til the defendants failing in their spirits, the first day of *February* demanded a Parley. Whereunto *Henry* consented, making *Clarence* his brother his sole Commissioner. The Articles accorded for the most part were as the former, whereto were added these which ensue.

(51) That upon the 16. of the said moneth of *Februry*, if the King in person, the *Dolphin* his sonne, or the Earle of *Armignac* Constable of *France*, did not with force raise the siege, then Sir *Oliver de Mauny* Knight, governour of the said Castle, should render the same unto King *Henry*. 2. That the said Governour and all other within the Castell should at the day assigned, submit themselves to the King, and remaine his prisoners, trusting to his Majesties royall promise not to receive offence either in life or goods: (*Geoffrey Chasteaux* only excepted) who was left simply to the Kings mercy. 3. That after the rendring of the said Castle, Sir *Oliver de Mauny* the Governour, should at his owne charges repaire all the breaches and ruines made in the wals during the siege, and leave it in the same sort as it was before the same was besieged. 4. That for the performance of these Articles, eight Gentlemen should remaine Hostages with the King. 5. That when the Castle was repayred, Sir *Oliver Mauny*, and all his Company should be set at liberty, and untill then to remaine the Kings prisoners, *Geoffrey de Chasteaux* above mentioned only excepted. These agreements concluded, the Indenture subscribed, and King *Henries* seale of Armes thereunto fixed, at the * prefixed day, according to these Articles, the Castle of *Fallais* was rendred unto him: which done, he divided his army into many parts, under the severall conducts of the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Glouceſter*, and the Earle of *Warwick*: who wan divers Castles, himself the while marching to besiege *Roane*, where he set downe his siege, and began the assault in a furious manner: the defendants as obstinately bent to hold him out: so that to win the Towne by force, *Henry* found it very difficult, as well for the strength of *Bulwarkes* and *Ramparts*, as for the number of hands within it, to make resistance, and therefore to reduce them by famine, was his onely designe.

(52) For *Burgoine*, from King *Charles*, had sent many worthy Captaines, with a thousand selected Souldiers to defend the City, and within it besides were fifteene thousand Citizens wel trained and furnished: and the Towne stored with victuals for tenne moneths continuance; notwithstanding King *Henry* quartered about the Towne, and for his safety cast up a Trench betwixt the wals and his men: Himselfe lodged upon the East of the City, the Duke of *Clarence* on the West, and the Duke of *Excester* on the North: betwixt whom, the Marshall lay quartered, and with whom, joyned the Earle of *Ormond*, the Lords *Harrington*, and *Talbot*. Before the Port of S. *Hilary*, the Lords *Ros*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, and Sir *William Porter*, set downe their Battalions. The Earles of *Mortaine*, and *Salisbury*, lodged about the Abbey of Saint *Katherines*; Sir *John Gray* about the Chappell-Mount Saint *Michael*: and Sir *Phillip Leech* upon the Hill adjoyning. The River *Seine* was blocked up with three Iron chaines, one of them laid two foot above water, another with the levell, and the third, two foot under water, to impeach all relife into the Citie by Boats; the charge whereof was committed unto *Thomas*, Baron of *Carew*, who nothing failed in the trust reposed. On the other side of the River, were encamped the Earles of *Warren*, and *Huntington*, the Lords *Nevill* and *Ferrers*, and Sir *Gilbert Vmfreville*, directly before the Gate Port *de Pont*; and for intercourse the one unto the other, a Bridge was foreed over the said River *Seine*, sufficient for carriages, as occasions should be minisired.

(53) With the *English*, sixteene hundred *Irish* Kernes were enrolled, from the Prior of *Kilmainham*, able men, but almost naked; their armes, were targets, darts, and swords, their horses little, and bare no saddle, yet very nimble, on which upon every advantage they played with the *French*, in spoyling the Country, rifeling the houses, and carrying away children, with their baggage, upon their Cowes backes. Thus from *Iune* unto *December*, the siege had continued, and now Victuals fayling, and the Towne in distresse, the *Rovennois* sent foure Gentlemen, and as many Burgesses, unto King *Charles*, and the *Burgoigne* (then at *Beauvois*) to signifie their miseries; fifty thousand already famished with hunger, and twelve thousand starvelings put out of the towne, but not suffered to passe, by the *English*, dyed by multitudes in the ditches (whose unburied carkasses did infect the Towne with contagious diseases, so that without present relieſe they must be inforced to render.

(54) Ayde was promised and earnestly expected, but in stead of supplies, the Bishop of *Beauvois* accompanied with others, and the Cardinall of *Vrsins*, sent from Pope *Martin*, were dispatched to King *Henry*, to entreate a peace; for the better accomplishing thereof, they brought with them the picture of the Lady *Katherine*, according to life, which King *Henry* well liked, yea, and (as *Serres* saith, fell in love with: but demaunding a hundred thousand crownes, with the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Aquitaine*, *Anjou*, and other Seignories, for her dowry, nothing was concluded or done.

(55) And now the *Rovennois* helpeleſſe of succor, and despairing of peace, resolved to make a brave sally upon the kings quarter: to performe which resolution, ten thousand chosen men, with their Leaders issued out of the Towne: The Vant-gard (which was 2000) being past & in fight, by misfortune the drawbridge with over-weight of men brake, many were drowned, slaine, and hurt: neither was there any more passage that way, to relieve their followers engaged in fight with the *English*; whereupon they made haste to the other Gates: but before they could come to give ayde, the Vant-gard was broken, and most of them slaine, and taken Prisoners. Vpon this disaster the Souldiers within mutined against *Guy de Boutellier* their Generall, murmuring that he had contrived the breaking of the bridge.

(56) In these disasters King *Charles* returning towards *Paris*, sent the besieged word to make what shift they could for themselves, which unexpected message stroke a sad feare into the miserable defendants hearts, who now weake in men and victuals, knew no way to subsist, and thereupon in Counsell concluded to send unto *Henry*, which presently they did. For whose entertainment, he caused two Tents to be set vp at *Port S. Hillarie*. Their Commissioners were two Gentlemen, two Clergy-men, & two Burgesses of the Towne. Commissioners for the King were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*: the demaunds of the *Rovennois* were many, but their answers were short; that no conditions would be accepted, but simply yeelding to the Kings mercy; whereupon the conference brake up, and these returned into the Towne, bred sundry distractions,

The River *Seine* blocked up with Iron Chaines.

Neither person nor goods of the Castles to be received into the Towne During the Truce no assault to be made on the Towne. Twelve knights and Squiers to be Hostages to King *Henry*.

Ann. D. 1417.

Fallais yeelded to the King.

The Articles agreed upon,

That if they were not succoured by the French power, to surrender.

That they should cruft to the Kings royall promise, *Geffry Chasteaux* excepted.

That the Governour should repay the wals.

Eight Gentlemen to be Hostages. The Castle repaired, the Governour should be let at liberty.

* Febru. 16.

The City of *Roane* besieged.

Polyd. Virg.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

1500. Citizens well trained within *Roane*.

Hall. Hollinsh.

The Articles of the composition of *Roane*, betwixt the Citizens & the Gouernour.

King *Henry* requireth three hundred fifty five thousand Crownes, for ransome of *Roane*, three principall persons to be left to his mercy. All to sweare fealty to King *Henry*. That their privileges should be confirmed to them. That who so would, might depart but their goods to be left. The souldiers to resigne up their armes and depart, promising a twelve-months truce. The hungry Citizens plentifully relieved from Henries Campe. Ann. Mundi 5582. Six Sowses. King *Henry* royally entereth the City.

Queene of France before the now winning of it, was won by King *Philippian* King *Iohn* of England.

Many townes & yeild after the surrender of *Roane*.

Intreate enormities to make a peace betweene *Charles* and *Henrie*.

Polyd. Virgil.

The place of enterview was at *Melun*.

They returne distracted.

(58) *Charles*, *Isabel*, *Buagogne*, and *Katherine*, the *Count* S^t. *Paul*, with a thousand horse garding them thither, came first. King *Henry* with his brothers of *Claurence* and *Glouceſter*, attended upon with a thousand hose, held the appointment; and now met, the two Kings embraced each other; *Henry* kiſſed *Isabel* and *Katherine*, who indeed became a precious pearle in his eye: *Burgogne* a little bending his knee, did his reverence to *Henry*, who tooke him in his armes: and the two Nations, though mortall enemies, demeaned themselves so civilly, as no cause of quarrell was offered on either side, much conference passed, but nothing concluded; *Henries* demands seeming to the *French* to be so unreasonable. The Treaty thus dissolved, and all ready to depart, King *Henry* not well pleased, spake thus unto *Burgogne*, "*Cosen*, *I may not well digest this refusall, but bee you* "*assured*, *that either I will have your Kinges daugh-* "*ter*, *and all my demaunds*, *or else I will banish both* "*you and them out of France*, *You speake your pleasure*, "*said the Duke*, *but before you shall thrust the King*, "*them and me*, *out of the Realme*, *you will be weary of* "*the enterprize*.

King Henry displeased at their refusall.

The Dukes reply.

(59) The Treaty thus broke, and danger nothing leſſe, the *Burgundian* altogether *French*, and in heart no friend to the *English*, reconciled himselfe unto the *Dolphin*, which deed was soon after the cause of his owne death; and *Henry* displeased with this combination, quickened his thoughts (full of revenge) to prosecute the warre more sharply then heretofore: the first enterprize he made, was upon *Ponthois*, unto which Towne the last day of July hee sent three thousand foote, which before the breake of day, and not discovered by the Centinels, set their Ladders to the Wals, mounted up, crying, *Saint George*, and so opening a Port let in their companions. The *Signeur de L'Isle-Adam*, Marshall of *France*, and Governour of the Towne, affrighted at the surprize, fled out at another Port towards *Paris*, after whose example about tenne thousand inhabitants did the like, so as the *English*, without resistance, were Masters of the Towne, wherein great riches fell to the Souldiers shares. When King *Charles* at *Paris* heard of the losse of *Ponthois*, in great feare, with his wife, daughter, *Burgundy*, and many Noble-men, to be further from the fire fo neere at hand, went unto *Troyes en-Champagne*, leaving *Paris* under the government of the *Count* Saint *Paul*, and *Eustach de Laitre* Chancellor of *France*, whilst *Henry* went forward with his intended enterprizes.

Burgoigne sideth with the Dolphin, who after-ward slew him.

Ponthois besieged.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

The Soulsiers' got great riches in the towne.

King *Charles* upon the losse of *Ponthois* fly-eth from *Paris*.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

(60) For his brother of *Clarence* by three weekes siege wanne the Castle *Gisors* by composition, the Earle of *Huntington* sacked *Preaux*, burnt *Bretuiell*, *Clermont*, and the Castle of *Vendueil*, and *Henry* himselfe besieged the Castle of *Guillart*, and *Rochguien*, two of the strongest holds in *Normandy*; which upon compositions were surrendred, and further prevailed more then the *French* wished. For the *Dolphin*, the only man that stood for the publike defence of *France*, was miserably poore, and for want of pay could make no great shew of followers in the Field, whose chiefe Councellor was the Constable *Armagnac* an old crafty Foxe, that had ever sided with *Orleance* against the *Burgundian*. And now fearing least his owne esteeme should be lessened, or that *Burgundy* should be the *Archite* to crosse him the wise *Achitophel*, or rather indeed thrust forward by destiny to be the scourge and fall of *France*, he counselled the young *Dolphin* to seize upon his Mothers money, jewels, and plate, for his further supply to the publike use, (which immediately he did) to advance the estate: but Queene *Isabel* impatient of these wrongs received, in a womanish splene studies the revenge; wholly neglecting the common cause, which gave the *English* surer footing in *France*: but the *Dolphin* to make good what he had done, leades the King in jealousie that the Queenes designes were dangerous, and altogether set for the alienation of the Crowne, which he, weake man, no sooner heard then believed,

Guillart and *Pont Arcuin* two strong Forts in *Normandy*.

A cunning plot of the Constable *Armagnac*.

2 Sam. 17.

Queene *Isabel* ruled by her Iewels and plate.

The *Dolphin* draweth the King to suspect Queene *Isabel*.

being ever ready to take her at the worst, and never overgone in her love at the best.

Annals of Burgundy.

(61) These sparkes of sedition thus blowne in the Court, suspitions increasing, and maligners still working, Queene *Isabel*, with her sister in law the Dutchesse of *Bavier*, were sent prisoners to *Blois*, and from thence to *Eours*, where they were kept with strait guard, three Gentlemen in Commission to take care of their safeties: till then her favours had gone with *Orleance*,, and with him had contested ever against *Burgogne*, but now to quit her imprisonment, she reconciled her selfe unto him, and sollicited his assistance for her deliverance. *Burgogne* well perceiving how much it would advance his part, to draw the Queene to be of his faction, brake up his siege then laid before *Corbeill*, and with certaine choyse troupes repaired towards *Trours*, from whence immediately he sent the Queene word of his comming. She faining devotion to the Abbey of *Marmoustier*, seated somewhat without the towne, made it known to her Keepers, and they not daring to contradict so great a Princesse, mistrusting no danger, attended her thitherward with a competent guard as they supposed, where *Fossieux* and *Vergie*, two speciall men in the Dukes trust, were laid in the Ambush neere unto the Abbey, and having notice the Queene was come to Church, came to salute her, and to signifie that the *Burgogne* was in person to attend her service. Her Keepers conceiuing their seconds were not far off, as men dismayed, told the Queen of some feare, and that an enemy was neere at hand; whereunto she answered, I am not ignorant who they are, and thereupon commanded to apprehend those her keepers: Her liberty thus got, she became wholly for *Burgogne*, and by his meanes was made the Regent of *France*, and her picture stamped upon the Seale of that State.

She solliciteth Burgogne for her deliverance.

Burgogne sendeth to the Queene.

The manner of her escape from her Keepers.

(62) By birth she was a Germane, and daughter to *Stephen Duke of Bavier*, of an imperious spirit, and un-reconcileable envy, nor over much beloved of her Husband, and (as the nature of most women are) not over-much favouring his favorites, whose female authority and harred against her owne sonne *Dolphin Charles*, sore bruised the Crowne, which her weake husband ware: his fore-gone infirmities and her new-sprung Regency, were now as two fludgates, set open to let in the deluge of *France*; hers is to be spoken of in the intercourse of the *English*; his, many times hath beene, but not made knowne how it came: therefore a while in that subject, before wee passe forward; in this place let us reade what others have writ.

She is made Regent of France.

(63) This *Charles* the sixth, and sicke-braind King of *France*, was the son of King *Charles*, surnamed the wise, who with *Salomon* his wiser, might have demanded this question; *Who can tell whether his sonne shall be a wise man, or a foole?* for the flower of his youth, and commendable dispositions of his middle age, promised great hopes of a valiant, moderate, and most happy Prince, onely inclined to choller and reuenge, as by the occasion of his lunacy is easily seene, which chanced on this manner.

John Yerres. The causes why the French were the easier conquered by King Henry.

Eccles 2.19.

(64) *Peter Craon* a Courtier, his minion, and an inward Favourite of the Duke of *Orleance* the Kings brother, blabbed out some secrecy of the said Dukes amorous passions upon a wanton Lady, unto his Duchesse *Valentine*; who but lately married, and so soon deceived of bed, tooke the wrong no lesse then it was, nor letted she (as who can let a women to speake) to tell him his faults on both sides of his head, the Duke could not hide what she too-well knew, and therefore sought to satisfie her with complements of kinde words, but the Curtaine-sermons nightly enlarged upon the same Text, made him many times to lye awake with little devotion (God wot) to heare, and often to rise when he would faine have slept, which caused him lastly to complaine to the King that *Craon* had, and would, betray their over-much trust. The cause no more, but yet too much against a Prince,* *Craon* with all disgrace was discharged the Court, who not able to brooke such an open indignity, assaulted *Clifton* the Constable in a murthering manner, as the only man (as he thought) that wrought his disgrace, and escaping *Paris*, fled into *Britaine*, whose Duke was his kinsman, and an enemy to the Constable.

The occasion of King Charles distemper.

Orleance newly married, is in love with another.

** Craon dismisst the Court, for telling the Duchess of the inconstancy of her husband.*

(65) King *Charles* transported with choller of this double offence, mindes to draw *Craon* by force out of *Britaine* to justifie himselfe, whom the Councell had declared guilty of high-Treason, and enemy to the Crowne of *France*, and resolves in person to enter into *Britain*: forthwith the expedition formen, and manner of proceeding, made *Charles* to loose both meate and sleepe, so as the vexation of minde, and distemperature of body, carried apparant shewes in his face: insomuch that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgogne* mistrusting the worst, counselled that his journey might be staid; his Physitians diswade him in regard of his health, the summer extreame hot, and his bloud as then over-subject to dangerous Fevers. New devises were wrought to stay him at home, giving it forth that *Craon* was fled *Britaine*, and in *Arragon* was imprisoned by the Queene. All this notwithstanding, needes would be forward, so forward is man when his fate will so have it.

King Charles purposeth crosse into Britaine.

Ioh. Serres.

(66) He departed *Meaux* in July: the yeare very hot, his head covered with a great Cap of Scarlet, his body wrapped in a thick Velvet Ierkin, warme enough for winter, his mind distempered with choller, griefe, and despite, and his body wearied with watching, distasture, and want of rest. Thus entring the Forrest of *Meaux* above noone-tide, a man bare-headed, and bare-legged, attired in a coat of white rugge, stepped suddenly forth from betwixt two trees, and caught hold of his bridle, staid his horse, saying; *King ride no further, but returne backe, for thou art betrayed. Charles*, whose spirits were otherwise dulled, and his bloud greatly distempered, was amazed at the voyce: which seene, his servants ranne to this man, and with blowes forced him to leave the reines of the horse: and so without any further search the man vanished away.

Burgogne repayring to the Dolphin, is charged with breach of promise.

Notwithstanding his sickenesse continueth his journey.

(67) The troupes of his Nobles, divided because of the dust, King *Charles* was followed by the Pages of his Chamber, who overcharged with heat and distemperature, tooke no great paines to guide their horse, so that thronging together, he which bore the Kings Lance, let it fall upon him, who had on his head the Kings helmet, and in the falling made a clattering noise. The King much musing upon the words spoken, and now withall hearing this unexpected noyse, was from a pensive melancholy, suddenly strucke into a raging Lunacy, supposing himselfe to be betrayed indeed: and transported with this frensie he drawes his sword, and made towards his Pages with a maine cry: his brother *Orleance* not knowing the cause, hasted among them, whom *Charles* likewise pursued, and with the like rage ranne at his Vncle of *Burgogne*; thus spending himselfe and his horse out of breath, all incompassed the still raging man, tooke from him his sword, dis-robed him for heate, and cheared him with flatterings and faire spoken words; his brother and Vncles falured him, but hee knowes them not, sits mute, sighing and panting, and with troubled amazement moves both body and head, so that all signes of Phrensie appeared in this poore Prince, and the eminent misery that was to fall upon *France*, very apparant to the in-seeing Statists: but now to proceed.

He is slaine by Tanneguy de Duchel, and others.

Queene Isabel incites her sonne, to revenge it, and moves Charles to disinherite the Dolphin, and adopt King Henry.

Charles in the Forrest, at noonetide saith an appakion.

Gobl. Parravlyn.

(68) *John Duke of Burgogne* ill-digesting the threats that King *Henry* had given, and joyned in league with the *Dolphin*, as we have said: was notwithstanding suspected to be a great enemy to the State, and as the Giants are faind, to heape mountaine upon mountaine, for steps of assent to pull *Iupiter* out of his Throne, so by sinister Counsellours *Burgogne* was accused of some intended stratageme, as meaning to mount the Chaire where the *Dolphin* should sit: *Charles* therefore from *Monstreau-Surfault-*

His followers thronging confusedly to helpe, dot distempt him the more.

A peace concluded betweene King Henrie, King Charles, and the new Duke of Burgoyne.

He ranneth distractively at every one with his sword.

King Henry solicites the Pope to confirme him King of France.

The calamities of France for withholding the right of the English.

John Duke of Burgogne, murthered at the Grand Mct.

La legende des Flemens.

The Pope flouts for the Dolphin.

Charles the Dolphin indicteth his remorall.

Surfault-yonne, a Towne in *Brie*, sent for the Duke unto *Troyes* in *Champagne*, to conferre further upon the effecting of their affected accord, as also to imploy their united forces upon the common enemy the *English*, a third cause likewise was alledged, and that was to have him his meanes for a reconciliation to his mother the *Regent*, whose wrath, besides him, no man could pacifie.

(69) The Duke mistrusting no Snake in the grasse, thought all things as sure as they are faire in shew: and accompanied with many Noble men, five hundred horse, and two hundred Archers, hee repaired to *Monstreau*, at whose Gate the *Dolphin* had built two Barricadoes, and himselfe in armes stood there to receive the Duke. *Burgogne* approched, kneeled downe upon one knee, and with an honourable reverence saluted him most humbly, the *Dolphin* neglecting all courtesies to him-ward, charged him with breach of promise, for that the civill warres and his Garrisons were not surceasit and with-drawne, the Dukes sword hanging too-farre backe, and somewhat troubling his kneeling, he put his hand upon the hilt, to put it more forward, whereat *Robert de Loire* standing by, said, Doe you draw your sword against the Lord *Dolphin*? at which words, *Tanneguy de Castell* with a Battle-axe stroke him on the face, and cut off his Chin, and others with other wounds made an end of his life, before he could arise from his knee, or get out his sword.

(70) Queene *Isabel*, another cruell *Medea*, and unnaturall mother, having a double offence done her, re-doubled her wrath, and continued her tragicke passions against her sonne the young *Dolphin*, who not onely incites *Philip* now the new Duke of *Burgogn* to revenge his murthered fathers death, but torments her poore husbands spirits, in perswading him to disherite *Charles* their sonne, and to give in marriage Lady *Katherine* unto King *Henry*, who now had set his foote farre into *France*. Duke *Philip* for his part ready for revenge, sent the Bishop of *Arras* with other his Ambassadours unto *Roane* to King *Henry* to entreat a peace, and againe not many dayes after their returne sent backe the said Bishop, whose message was so pleasing, that *Henry* sent the Bishop of *Rochester*, the *Earle of Warwicke* and *Guien* unto *Arras*, who were as welcome unto Duke *Philip*; so that betwixt *Roane* and *Arras* messengers continually passed till a peace was concluded; which was proclaimed to continue from that day (then about the Feast of the *Epiphanie*) unto mid-March ensuing, betwixt King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*.

(71) King *Henry* thus farre gone in his affaires for that Crowne, sent his Ambassadors unto the new made Pope *Martin* the first, such was the fate of *Romes* Apostolicall fathers in those faire Sun-shine and Golden dayes, that the greatest Monarch was but a vassal to attend upon their stirrop, & their Crowns subject to be spurned off, with their feete. *Henrie* therefore minding to stop the violence of these narrow Seas, and to make the streame milde betwixt his two Realmes, had now none to let, but onely him that was all in all, and bare an Oare in every mans boat: and therefore from King *Charles*, *Burgogne*, and himselfe, his Ambassadour sollicited his fatherly consent, to admit him his most Christian sonne of *France*, and to give his holy blessing for the confirmation of the marriage, and peace concluded betwixt those two famous Princes. King *Henries* right to the *French* Crowne they plainely laide foorth, what calamities *France* had felt in their resistance, *Azincourt*, *Normandy*, and *Aquitaine* (as they shewed him) were most lamentable witnesses, and the hold that the Lyon had got (at that day) of the *Flower de Lnce*, was not to be wrested out of his fast grasped pawes. But his dull eare was deafe hereunto, answering that this peace was prejudiciall to the right of *Charles* the *Dolphin*, and therefore he denied to confirme it.

(72) But with what quill these wines were vented from the setled Lees for the *Dolphin*, unlesse it was the golden vice, (a powerfull key indeed to unlocke the Popes silent lips, (I know not; most true it is, the conditions went forward, and the place for the confirmation of covenants was *Troyes* in *Champagne*, where King *Charles*, and his Queene then lay, and whither *Burgogne*, *Guien*, the Lord *Rosse*, and others, attended with five hundred horse, were sent Ambassadors from *Henry*. In their way they besieged (and after fifteene dayes wan) the Towne of *Cressie*, razed the wals, and departed upon composition.

Alain Chartier Enquerrant de Anvillrel.

Ambassadours from K. Henry.

These comming to *Troyes* were honourably received, and lovingly concluded on a finall peace, where *Lady Katherine* was attended as the *English Queene*, and some left to guard her by King *Henries* commaund. His Ambassadours returned, and affection enflamed, himselfe attended with the *Dukes of Clarence*, and *Glouceste*r, his brethren, the *Duke of Excester*, the *Earles of Warwicke*, *Huntington*, *Salisbury*, *Guienne*, and many other Nobles, (his Guard consisting of 1600. Launces and Archers) departed from *Roane* to *Pomhoit*, to Saint *Denis*, and from thence into *Province*, where he was met neere unto *Troyes* by the *Duke of Burgundy*, and many other *French Lords*; and with all Princely attendance was conducted into the Towne. The joy was great with which hee was received, especially of the King, the Queen, and *Lady Katherine*, whom he found in S*t. Peters* Church expecting his comming, where forthwith he and the *Lady* was affianced; and falling efrsoones into conference of the conditions of amity, these were consented unto by the *French* and King *Henry*.

History of Normandy.

Lady Katherine attended as Queene of England.

Henry goeth in person to Troyes.

History of Normandy.

1. That K. *Henry* should take *Lady Katherine* to wife.

The Articles agreed upon betwixt the two Kinges.

2. That *Charles* and *Isabel* should retaine the name of King and Queene, and should hold all their dignities, rents, and possessions belonging to the Crowne of *France*, during their naturall lives.

3. That the *Lady Katherine* should have her Dowry in *England*, as Queens heretofore were wont to have, that is to say, the summe of forty thousand Sceures, that is, two to a Noble.

Queene Katherines Dowry.

4. That the same summe of forty thousand sceurs yearely, shall be confirmed unto *Queene Katherine* by our Lawes, according to our usuall rights, at the time of our death.

5. That the said *Lady Katherine* so over-living us, from the time of our death, shall have for her Dowry in the Kingdome of *France*, the summe of twenty thousand Francks yearely, out of the Lands, Places, and Lordships, that *Blanch* sometime wife to *Philip Beauvisall* held and enjoyed.

The Crown of France intailed to England.

6. That after the death of *Charles* our said father, the Crowne and Realme of *France* shall with all rights and appurtenances remaine unto us, and to our heires for evermore.

7. And for as much as our said father is infirme by reason of sicknesse, and may not entend in his own person to dispose of the affaires of the Realme, therefore during the life of our said father, the faculties and exercise of the governement, and disposition of the publique utility of the Realme of *France* shall be, and abide to us, so that thence forth we may governe the Realme, and admit to our Councell and assistance to the Councell of *France*, such of the *English* Nobility as we shall thinke meete.

The government of France affigned to King Henry.

8. That also we of our owne power shall cause the Court of *France* to be kept and observed in as full authority, and in all manner of places, that now or in time comming, is, or shall be subject to our said father.

9. Also that we to our powers shall defend and helpe all, and every of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, Cominalties and singular persons, now or in time to come, subjects to our father, in their rights, Customes, priviledges, freedomes, franchises, belonging, or due unto them, in all manner of places, now or in time comming subject to our father.

10. Also that we shall to our power travell truly

and diligently, to see that Iustice be administred in the same Realme of *France* according to their Lawes, Customes, and Rights of the same Realme, without personall acception; and that we shall keepe and hold the Subiects of the said Realme in tranquility and peace to our power, and shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11. Also that we to our power shall provide that able and profitable persons shall execute the offices aswell of Iustices and other offices belonging to the governance of the demaines of the realme of *France*, for the good and peaceable Iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed unto them.

12. Also that we of our power, so soone as it may commodiously be done, shall travaile to put into obedience of our said father, all manner of Cities, Townes, Castles, Places, Countries, and persons within the Realme of *France*, disobedient and Rebels to our said father, syding with them that be called the *Dolphin*, or *Armagnac*.

13. And that wee may the more commodiously and freely exercise and fulfill those things aforesaid, it is accorded, that all worthy Nobles and estates of the same Realme of *France*, aswell spirituals as temporals, and also the Nobles, Citizens, Burgesses, and Cominalties of *France*, in obedience at this day to our said father shall make these oathes unto us.

The subiects of *France* sworn to King *Henry*.

14. First to us having the faculty, exercise, disposition, and governance of the foresaid common profit at our hests and commandements, these shall meekely and obediently obey in all manner of things concerning the exercise of Government in the same Realme.

15. Also that the worthy, great, and Noble Estates of the said Realme as well Spirituals as Temporals, Citizens, Burgesses, and Cominalties of the same Realme, in all manner of things, well and truely shall keepe, and to their power shall doe to be kept in asmuch as to them belongeth, or to any of them, all those things that be appointed and accorded betweene our foresaid father, our mother, and us.

The veue of the Oath.

10. And that continually from the death, and after the death of our said father *Charles*, they shall be our true Liege-men, and our heires, and they shall receive and admit us for their Liege, and Soveraigne, and very King of *France*, and for such to obey us without opposition, contradiction or difficulty, as they be to our father during his life. And never after, this Realme of *France* shall obey no man as King and Regent of *France*, but to us, and to our heires. Also they shall not be in Counsell, helpe, or assent, that we loose life or limme, or be taken with evill taking, or that we suffer harme or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods, but if they know any such thing to be contrived or imagined against us, they shall let it to their powers, and shall doe us to witten thereof, as hastily as they may by themselves, by message, or by letters.

17. That all manner of Conquests that shall bee made by us in *France* upon the disobedient in the Dutches of *Normandy*, shall be done to the profit of our said father, and that to our power, all manner of Lands and Lordships, that be in places to be conquered, belonging to persons, obeying to our forefather, which shall sweare to this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons, to whom they belonged.

18. That all manner of persons of the holy Church beneficed in the Dutchie of *Normandie*, or any other places in the Realme of *France*, subject to our father, and favouring of the parts of the *Dukes of Burgundy*, which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shal peaceably injoy their Benefices of holy Church in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or in other places next aforesaid.

19. Likewise that all manner of persons of holy Church, obedient to us, and beneficed in the Realme of *France*, and places subject to our father, that shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enjoy peaceably their Benefices of holy Church, as is aforesaide.

Churches, Vniversities, and Colledges to enjoy their liberties.

20. Also that all manner of Churches, Vniversities and Studies-generall, all Colledges of Students, & other Colledges of holy Church, being in places now, or in time comming, subject to our father, or in the *dutchy of Normandy*, or other places in the Realm of *France* subject to us, shall enjoy their rights, possessions, rents, prerogatives, liberties, and franchises, belonging, or due to them in any manner of wise, in the said Realme of *France*, saving the right of the Crowne of *France*, and of every other person.

21. Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth us to come to the Crowne of *France*, the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all other places conquered by us in the said Realme, shall bow under the Commandement, obeysance, and Monarchy of the Crowne of *France*.

Normandy to be under the Crowne of France.

22. Also that we to our power shall see recompence to be made by our said father, without diminution of the Crowne of *France*, to persons obeying him, and favouring the party of *Burgundy*, to whom Lands, Lordships, Rents, and possessions belongeth in the said Dutchie of *Normandy*, or other places in the Realme of *France* conquered by us hitherto, given by us in places, lands, gotten, or to bee gotten in the name of our said father upon Rebels and inobedients to him; and if so be that such manner of recompence bee not made to the said persons in the life-time of our said father, we shal make that recompence in such manner and places of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of *France*, and if so be that the Lands, Lordships, Rents, or possessions belonging to such manner of persons in the said Durchie and other places, be not given by us, the same persons shall be referred to them without any delay.

23. And during the life of our father in all places, now, and in time to come, subject to him, letters of common justice, grants of offices, gifts, pardons, remissions, and priviledges, shall be written and proceed under the Name and Seale of our said Father. And forasmuch as some singular case may fall that may not be fore-seene by mans wit, in the which it may be necessary and behovefull, that we write our letters; in such case if any hap, for the good and surety of our father, and for the government that belongeth to us, as is aforesaid, and to avoide perils which otherwise might fall, to the prejudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge, and defend, after the nature and quality of the need in our fathers behalfe, and ours, as Regent of *France*.

Letters, Grants Gifts, &c. signed by King *Charles*.

24. Also that during our fathers life, we shall not call, nor write us King of *France*, but shall verily abstaine from that name, so long as our saide Father liveth.

And by King *Henry*.

25. Also that our said father during his life, shall name, call, and write us in French in this manner. *Nostre treschier Filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretere de France*: and in Latin in this manner, *Praclarissimus filius noster, Henricus Rex Anglie, & Hares Francie.*

King *Henries* Stile during King *Charles* his life.

26. That wee shall put no impositions or exactions to charge the Subjects of our said father, without cause reasonable and necessary. No otherwise then for common good of the Realme of *France*, and according to the Lawes and Custome provided for the same Realme.

The punishment of the peace-breakers.

27. Also that we shall travell to our power, to effect that by the assent of the three States of the Realmes of *England* and *France*, all manner of obstacles may be done away, and this chiefly, that it be ordained and provided, that from the time that wee, or any of our heires come to the Crowne of *France*, both the *Crownes*, that is to say, of *France* and *England*, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers life to us, and from the terme of our life thence forward, in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after another, and

The union of the Crownes.

and that both Realmes shall be governed from the time that we, or our heires, come to the same, not severally under divers Kings in one time, but under the same person, which for the time shall be King of both Realmes, and our Soveraigne Lord, as is aforesaid, keeping nevertheless in all manner of things, to either of the said Realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, usages and lawes, not making subject in any manner of wise, one of the same Realmes to the rights, lawes or usages of that other.

The union of the Subjects.

28. That thenceforth perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all manner of wise dissentions, hates, rancours, envies, and warres, betweene the same Realmes of *France* and *England*, and the people of the same Realmes drawing to accord of the same peace may cease and be broken.

29. That from henceforth for evermore, peace and tranquility, good accord and affection, and stable friendship shall be betwixt the said Realmes and the Subjects of the same, and shall keepe themselves with their Counsels, helpes, and common assistance against all men that inforce them to doe, or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or grievances to them or either of them, and that they shall be conversant in marchandizing freely and surely together, paying the Customes due and accustomed, and that all the confederates and allies of our said Father, and the Realme of *France*, as also our confederates of the Realme of *England*, shall in eight moneth space from the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended under the treaties and accord of this peace, saving nevertheless their obedience to either of the same Crownes, and to all manner of actions, rights, and revenues, that belong to our said Father and his Subjects, and to us, and our Subjects against all manner of such Allies and Confederates.

Noyance with the dolphin.

30. That our Father, neither our Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, shall begin nor make with *Charles*, calling himselfe the *Dolphin* of *Viennes*, any treaty, peace, or accord, but by Counsell and assent of each of us three, or of other the three estates of either the said Realmes above-named.

Aid by King *Henry*.

31. Also that we, with the assent of our brother of *Burgundy*, and other of the Nobles of the Realme of *France*, which ought thereunto to be called, shall ordaine for the Governance of our said Father, surely, lovingly and honestly, after the degree of his royall estate and dignity, in such wise, as shall be to the worship of God, of our said Father, and of the Realm of *France*.

32. Also that all manner of persons, that shall be our Fathers, to doe him personall service, nor onely in office, but in all other attendances, aswell the Nobles and Gentlemen, as others, shall be such as have beene borne in the Realme of *France*, or in places belonging to *France*, good, wise, true, and able to doe him service, and our said Father; shall dwell in places under his obedience, and no where else, wherefore we charge and command our said Liege-subjects, and other being under our obedience, that they keepe, and doe to be kept, in all that belongeth to them, this accord and peace, and after the forme and manner as it is accorded, and that they attempt in no manner wise, any thing that may be prejudiciall, or contrary to the same accord, and peace, upon paine of life and limme, and all that they may forfeit unto us.

33. Also, that we for the things aforesaid, and every one of them, shall give our assent by our letters Patents, sealed with our seale unto our said Father, without all approbation, and confirmation of us, and all other of our bloud-royall, and of the Cities & Townes to us obedient, sealed with our great Seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory, and confirmed of the Peeres of his Realme, & of the Lords, Citizens, and Burgesses of the same under his obedience, all which Articles we have sworne to keepe, upon the holy Evangelists. Yeven at *Troyes* the 30. of May, *Anno* 1420. And the same were proclaimed in *London* the 20. of Iune following; for the Copies of this treaty, the French king sent to every towne in *France*, as King *Henry* did likewise into *England*, there to be published by Proclamation. These Articles were concluded betwixt the two Kings, in the presence of Queene *Isabell*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Kings Councell, the Prince of *Orange*, *Seigneur Chastellaux* Marshall of *France*, with many others the prime Nobility, both of *England* and *France*, both the Kings with the Queene, taking their solemne oath there, upon the holy Evangelists. as did likewise the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the rest, *Burgundy* * being the first man that layd his hand on the booke, and * sware homage to King *Henry*; who thereupon was stiled and proclaimed *Regent of France*.

Hollinshed. The cellies of these Articles, vid. Paradin. A mass of lying.

* Note Lipton set down his Oath in oratione * Sequestrant Nisi Regnum Italiæ sibi.

(33) In whose presence also, upon the third of Iune, (being the morrow after *Trinity* Sunday) the marriage of King *Henry* and Lady *Katherine*, with all pompous solemnity was celebrated in Saint *Peters* Church at *Troyes*, the Bishop of that See doing the Ceremonies. And after royall feasts and Princely entertainments, before the dissolution of that royall assembly, King *Henry*, inviting the French King and others his great Peeres to a sumptuous banquet, made a pithy and pleasing Oration unto them, thus testifying his Princely desire to advance their weale, and demerit their love.

King Henry married to Lady Katherine.

History of Normandy.

Hollinshead; but Polydor saith, this Speech was delivered before at their swearing of faith. *Polydor. Virg.*

King *Henries* Oration unto the States of *France*.

" (34) As the chiefe marke whereunto my cares
" and endeavours have hitherto levelled, hath beene,
" to unite and concorporate these two Kingdomes
" of *France* and *England* into one, which now by
" Gods goodnesse is most happily effected; so is it
" still, and ever shall be, both my desire and care, that
" unto posterity we may leave it setled in the same
" sort, and free from all empeachments of factious
" discords: that being (as it is) the greatest, it may
" bealso the happiest Monarchy of *Europe*. For the
" cleere accomplishment of which worke, there rests
" now nothing, but the depressing of the *Dolphin*,
" who is by your doome already, not only deprived
" of that dignity, but of succession to the Crowne,
" and prosecuted as a Traitour to the State; and of
" whom this we must be assured, that while he lives
" *France* cannot bee be in a perpetuall combustion.
" For preventing whereof, I both neede and intreate,
" both your Counsels and aide, nothing doubting
" of our readinesse in either; for how can we expect
" any safety, or you any goodnesse at his hand, who,
" in his young yeares, did so perfidiously murther the
" Duke of *Burgundy* his Vncle? I am now, you see
" your Regent in present, and Successour to the
" Crowne in hope; Let it not therefore sticke in
" your hearts, that I am an Englishman borne, for
" you know I have much French bloud in my veines,
" which warmes my affections as well to French as
" English; but looke on me as the lawfull heire to the
" *Diademe*, both by just Title, and your owne con-
" sents, who therefore am, and ought to be, wholly
" yours; and your kindnesse and just dealing bind me
" so to be. Yours also am I now by fresh affiance,
" as sonne in Law to your King, unto whom I will
" performe all offices of love and honour, as to mine
" owne Father; and you his Subjects shall I love and
" cherish, as mine owne children, and will defend
" *France* and the French, so long, as you defend my
" right with your loving aide, and will deserve my
" love with your loyall affection.

Polydor. Virgil

(35) These affaires thus accomplished at *Troyes*, the Kings, the Queenes, and the rest of the Peeres, in great estate rode unto *Paris*, where all faire countenances were shewed, and great entertainment given to the English. But the *Dolphin* and his followers neither feared nor fainted, though the present courses pleased not their palats. Their first Counsell therefore was how to preserve themselves in so eminent danger; to sit still and doe nothing, they knew it was but to increase and advance the successes of the English; and to rise without strength, was to fall into

The Dolphins counterplots to uphold himselfe.

into further misfortunes, having no meanes to hold warre with so potent an Enemy. In this distraction their voice was best hard, that spake most for the safety of the *Dolphin*, (whose onely life gave breath unto the after-hopes of *France*) and for the strengthening of those places which might be of most advantage to themselves, and offence to the Enemie. This then past by decree in that Counsell of warre, that the *Dolphin* should at no time hazard his person in field, and that a levy of Souldiers should be had, to lie in Garrison in places convenient; for *Time*, which never stands still, they well hoped might yet turne the rice for them, fortune being (said they) as subject to fawne, as to frowne; in which resolution each man tooke to his charge, and all to withstand the doings of *Henry*.

Denis Sauage in Chron. de Eland.

(56) As these consulted for the state of the French, so in *Paris* a Parliament of the three estates was assembled, wherein such as were guilty of the death of *Burgundy*, were iustified, the ditherizing of the *Dolphin* confirmed, and wars prepared against those Townes which held for him. Against *Sens* the two Kings with their Queenes, *Clarence*, and *Burgundy*, marched, which after 12. dayes was rendered upon composition of life, those excepted as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* death. *Monstreau* was the next, which by force was entred, where the body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, undecently buried by the *Dolphinois*, was taken up, and by his sonne *Philip* sent in great pompe to *Dijon* in his Dutchy, and there honourably interred. The Towne being taken, the Castle held out: unto whose Captaine twenty Captive Gentlemen were sent, whose lives from King *Henries* mouth (say the French) were sentenced to death, unlesse they could perswade the Castelan to surrender; but those men (say our English, to mollifie that severe doome) were all especiall friends of that Captaine, and such as had given opprobrious words to the Kings Herauld, being sent unto them in the siege of *Monstreau*. Howsoever, in this extremity they sollicited *Guily* unto their knees, urging their owne deaths, and his great danger if he held out; but *Guily* a true Frenchman, and friend to the *Dolphin*, withstood the assault, and thereupon these Gentlemen Petitioners were presently hanged in the sight of the defendants: so bloudy is *Mars* to maintaine his owne Lawes, and so eager was *Henry* of his full conquest of *France*, whose thirsting sword had heretofore beene somewhat over-lavish in bloud, but never more (perhaps) then in this bloudy act; which I wish might be obliterated from the number of his other glorious actions. Yet at length was that Castle enforced to surrender upon composition of life, excepting the guilties of *Burgundies* death.

Enguerrant. Monstreau besieged and gotten.

John Millet.

Hollinsh.

(57) Then was the siege removed to *Melun*, a Towne of great strength, and made more strong by the valours of her Commanders, who were *Signieur Barbason* an absolute souldier, *Pierre de Bourbon* a Prince of the bloud, *Preaux*, and *Burgeois*, whose Garrison was seven hundred *Dolphinois*: and indeed no default in defence could anywise be imputed, but the Cannon opening a breach, the *English* and *Burgundians* made an entry into the Bulwarke, and over the River *Seine* built a Bridge with Boates; so that from either quarter they had passage one to the other without impediments, and encamped themselves for their best advantage; upon whom the enemy nevertheless made divers sallies, with the losse of either parties. King *Henry* inforced his siege to the utmost, and made a myne underneath the wals, which being perceived, the defendants countermined against him; where the King (too forward) as the very first man entring his myne, and *Barbason* likewise his within the Towne, met each other at point of sword, where they performed nobly the parts of private souldiers, (nobly indeed, if private souldiers they had been, but Princes should remember they are not such) till lastly they agreed to discover themselves, and first *Barbason* made knowne his name, then King *Henry* did his, whereupon the French Lord suddainely getting backe, caused the Barriers to be closed, and *Henry* returned to his Campe.

Tiens Liuius Melun besieged and gotten.

Enguerrant. King Henry fighteth in single combat.

(58) This enterprize failing, King *Charles* himselfe came into the Campe, to induce the defendants to render, at the presence of their naturall Lord; which nevertheless was little respected; for answer was made, that if their King were at liberty, and free from King *Henries* power, they would doe him the duty of naturall subjects, and yeeld him their charge as their Liege-Lord: but being as he was, they desired to be excused, for to the mortall enemy of *France* they would not yeeld.

Translation of Liuie.

(59) Whilest King *Henry* lay at the siege of *Melun*, the Duke of *Bauier* (who was *Palsegrave of Rhyne*, Elector) came to King *Henry*, having married his sister, and thence sent a defiance unto the *Dolphin*, his kinsman by Queene *Isabell* his mother; the Prince of *Orange* likewise came thither unto *Henry*, but because he required an Oath of him, as a subject of *France*, he went away displeased, saying, he was a free Prince, and ought neither obedience to *England* nor *France*. At which time the *Parisians*, with more respect of their owne safety, committed their Citie unto King *Henries* devotion, who deputed his brother *Clarence* (though *Count Saint Paul* with his French displeased) Governour thereof, and put Garrisons into the *Bastile* of *S. Anthony*, the *Loure*, and the *Hostill de Nesle*. During this siege, mandatory * letters were sent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all places that held for him in those quarters into *Henries* possession, and to take the Oath of their obedience unto him as to the *only heire*, *Successor*, *Regent*, *and Governour of France*; the execution whereof was committed to the *Count of Saint Paul*, the *Bishops* of *Therovenne* and *Arras*, the *Vidame of Amiens*, the Lord of *Vendueill*, the Governour of *Lisle*, *Pierre Marigny* Advocate of the Parliament, and *George Ostend* the Kings Secretary, beginning thus; *Charles par le Grace de Dieu, &c.*

Enguerrant. A noble example of Iustice. John Millet.

John Millet. The two Kings entred Paris.

Nich. Gilo.

Paris yeelded up to King Henry.

The two Queenes entertained Straunge.

* Dat. 23 Iuly. Anno 1420. Denis Sauage.

Millet.

Picardy fearfully taking Henry.

(60) The distresse of *Melun* was wonderfull great, as well upon the siegers, as defendants; the one afflicted, and their troupes fore weakened with mortality, the other oppressed with famine, and other defects incident to a long endured siege. In this state eighteene weekes were spent, and more had been, but that the English were supplied with souldiers out of *Picardy*, whose colours displayed a farre off put the Towne in hope of relief as sent from the *Dolphin*, but upon their neerer approach, *Melun* was rendred by these capitulations. 1. That the Towne and Castle should be delivered to the King. 2. That as well the men of warre, as the Burgesses, should submit themselves to King *Henry*, to be dealt with as pleased the King. 3. That all such as should be found guiltie of the Duke of *Burgundies* murther should suffer death. 4. That all the rest of the souldiers should be received to mercy, but to be prisoners untill they put in good caution for their true obedience in after times. 5. That the Natives of *France* should bee sent home to their owne Countryes. 6. That all the moveable and Armes in the Towne should be carried into the Castle. 7. That all the Prisoners they had taken either before or during the siege, should be enlarged ransome-free, and acquitted of their promises. 8. That for the performance of these Articles, 12. of the principall Captaines, and 6. of the wealthiest Burgesses should deliver themselves in hostage. 9. That all the English and Scots, should be delivered to *Henry*, and left at his disposition.

Enguerrant. Enguerrant de Monstrel.

The two Kings sit personally in judgement.

Enguerrant.

Preuues against the murtherers of the Duke of Burgundy.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

These things accorded, an English Garrison was put into *Melun*, commanded by *Pierre Varrols*, *Pierre de Barbon*, *Signieur de Preaux*, and valiant *Barbason*, when sixe hundred Prisoners of qualitie, were sent with a strong guard unto *Paris*. The guilties of *Burgundies* murther were all of them put to death, amongst whom were two Monkes, and *Bertrand de Charmont* a *Gascoigne*, (a man in great favour with King

King *Henry*) for that he at King *Henries* entry into *Melun*, had convayed thence one *Amenion de Lau*, who was prooved guilty of *Burgundies* death. The Duke of *Burgundy* himselfe, as also *Clarence* earnestly laboured with King *Henry* for *Bertrands* pardon, but the King, though much grieved, and protesting that he had rather have lost 50000 Nobles, yet was resolved he should die, for example to all such as should dare to offend, upon presumption of their neerenesse and grace with their Princes.

John Serues. The Dolphin goes on appeace, and dissembleth.

King Henry humanitie giues entrance iudicially.

(61) *Melun* being rendred, and these things thus disposed, the two Kings with their Queenes most honourably attended, returned to *Paris*, before whose entrance the Citizens and Students met them in most solemne manner, having beautified the City with flags, streamers, and rich hangings, throughout the streets where they should passe. The two Kings rode together under a rich Canopy, *Henry* upon the left hand, next unto whom followed the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Bedford*, and upon their left hand the Duke of *Burgundy* clad all in blacke, the Princes and Nobles of either Nation mingled together in their degrees, the Clergy with processions, and their venerable reliques, going before them to *Nostre dame Church*; and the next day the two Queenes entred the City with as great a shew. King *Henries* Pallace was prepared in the *Loure*, which was most rich and magnificent, and *Charles* his Court in the Hostel of *S. Paul*, being but homely and meane; for (saith *Millet*) young *Henry* commanded all, and his brethren exercised supreame authority, whiles olde *Charles* stood as a Cypher, and the French Nobility had nothing to doe.

Hollinsh.

A quirke of Heraldry to overthrow a iudiciall sentence.

(62) During the two Kings abode here, a great Assembly was called as well of the Spiritualty, as of the secular Nobility, in whose presence, in the great Hall of the Hostell, a State for Iustice was prepared, where the two Kings sitting as supreame Iudges, under one Cloath of estate, the Court was furnished with Princes and Officers in most solemne wise. Before whom, *Nicholas Rollin* Advocate from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Dutchesse his mother, craved audience (& had it granted) unto an invective and long Oration against *Charles Viscount Narbone*, *Tanneguy*, *Barbason*, and others, for the cruell murther of *Iohn* Duke of *Burgundy*; and not only that the murtherers might be accordingly executed, but withall, that a Church might be founded and furnished with sacred Ornaments for twelve Canons, sixe Chaplaines, and sixe Clerkes to pray for his soule for ever, every Canon to have yearely two hundred pound *Paris* money, every Chaplaine one hundred, and every Clerke fifty, to be levied upon the Lands of the *Dolphin*, and his associates in the murther: that the same foundation should be engraven upon the Porch thereof, and the like inscription set up publikely in the Cities of *Paris*, *Roane*, *Graunt*, *Dijon*, *Saint Iames of Compostella*, and *Ierusalem*. This motion was seconded by a Doctor of Divinity appointed by the *Rector of the Vniversity*, who concluded with an humble request to the King and those Princes, that justice might be done. Whereunto the *Chancellor of France*, in the behalfe of King *Charles*, promised that no endeavour on his part should be lacking; and thereupon caused his sonne to be solemnely called to the Marble-Table, to answere his accusation, by the name of *Charles* Duke of *Tourraine*, and *Dolphin de Vienne*, which done three severall times, and he not appearing, by arrest of the same Court of Parliament, he was banished the Realme, and judged unworthy to succeed in any of the Signiories, as well present, as to come. But the *Dolphin* appealed from this sentence, to God and his sword, and still was the same, though his fortunes were changeable. *Mounsieur de Barbason* was vehemently accused to have his hand in the murther, and therefore King *Henrie* accordingly gave sentence on him to suffer death; but he in open Court defended himselfe, not to bee guilty of the crime, although he confessed to be a true servant to

Hollinsh.

A Parliament at Paris. Hollinsh.

(63) This execution of Iustice on those Murtherers, was a great, but not the onely act of King *Henry* at this great Parliament of three Estates of *France* in *Paris*. For therein also was the finall accord betwixt the two Kings openly acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free assent, and with advise of all the Councell of *France*; whereupon it was there also ratified by the generall states of *France*, and sworne unto particularly upon the holy Evangelists, by all their Nobles and Magistrates, spirituall and secular, who also set their seales to the Instruments thereof, which were sent into *England* to be kept in the Kings * Exchequer at *Westminster*. King *Henries* glory thus ascended to the highest verticall in *France*, his Court was not onely honoured dayly both with Courtly and military shewes and pastimes, but also was still frequented both with forraine Ambassadours, and domesticke Commissioners, whose directions depended only upon his voluntary assigne, himselfe redressing all things at his pleasure, placing and displacing Officers and Governours, causing also a new Coyne to be made, called a *Salute*, wherein were the Armes of *France*, and the Armes of *England* and *France*, quarterly stamped. King *Charles* the while in his Pallace, was but for fashions sake visited, and but by some of his olde servants, his Sunne was drawne so neere unto the setting. The great affaires of *France* thus setled, (as well as that unsetled time would permit,) King *Henry* minding to Crowne his Queene in *England*, ordained his brother of *Clarence*, (a wise, valiant, and a great Captaine) his Lieutenant-generall of *France*, leaving also the Duke of *Excester* with 500. men of Armes to keepe *Paris*; and so attended with great state, he came to *Amiens* and *Callis*, where taking to Sea, he arrived at *Dover* upon the third of February, and was received of his Subjects as an Angell from heaven, or another victorious *Cæsar* on Earth.

* Where they yet remaine, saith Hollinsh. p. 578.

King Henry returneth into England.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(64) All things in a readines for his faire Queenes Coronation, upon the foure and twentieth of the same moneth, with all royalty the same was solemnized at *Westminster*, and the English rich diademe set on her head. The feast was great, with all Princely services, and the state such as deserveth the report; for the Queene sitting at Table, at the right side of her Chaire kneeled the Earle of *March*, holding a Scepter in his hand; the Earle *Marshall* kneeling on the left side, held another; and the Countesse of *Kent* sate under the Table at her right foote; upon her right hand at Table sate the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*, and upon the left the King of Scots, the Dutchesse of *Yorke*, and the Countesse of *Huntington*; the Nobles giving their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

Ex Antiq. MS. D. Pub. Custod.

(65) Presently, after *Easter*, in the moneth of *May*, a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, whose chiefest intent was to have meanes to continue the Kings Conquest in *France*; but such was the state of those lavish times, that, to stop the current of this melting mint, some, minding more the heapes of their money, then the spreading abroad of *Englands* faire Monarchy, exhibited their Bils unto the three estates in Parliament, and petitioned unto the King, to commiserate the poverty of the commons, which (as they said) were beggered by these warres. For which

Ex Record. Parl. 9. Henr. 5.

The King pawneth his Crowne for money. *Pontus Heterus.*

which cause, as it seemeth, no subsidy or ayde was demanded, but the King againe pawning his Crowne to his Vncle *Beaufort*, the rich Cardinall, for twenty thousand pound, before the said month was expired, with foure thousand horse, and foure and twenty thousand foote returned into *France* to follow those warres.

(66) Neither was his hast more then needed: for *Iohn* Earle of *Bucquhanan*, and *Archbald Douglas*, two valiant leaders of seaven hundred resolute Scots, repaired into *France* to ayde the *Dolphin*, and joyning with the French in *Anion*, meant to have surprized the Duke of *Clarence* before he had beene aware: in which enterprize, foure stragling Scots, taken and brought to his presence * as he sate at dinner, revealed the intent and strength of the Enemy, whose approach was very neere at hand. This newes no sooner came, but the Duke over-hastily got to horse (saying, *they are all ours*) leaving his troupes to follow him with as much celerity as they might. His suddaine and unlooked-for approach, caused the Scots to take into the Church of *Bargie* for their safety, where whilst they were making defence, the rest tooke the Alarme, and the Earle of *Bucquhanan* manned the Bridge, to whose ayde *Hugh Kennedie* with an hundred horse presented himselfe.

Alain Chartier.

Bucquhanan.

(67) The Duke of *Clarence* seeing no possibility to free the passage with his slender troupe of horse, alighted on foot, and gave forth with a furious charge, where the Earle of *Bucquhanan* came to blowes, being followed by two hundred horse; and either side fighting with equall courage and rancour. *Clarence* gave singular demonstration of his great valour, untill, as he was re-mounting, one *Iohn Swinton* a Scot wounded him in the face with his Lance, and threw him to the ground, being the first man of the English that there was slaine, where likewise died the Earle of *Kyme*, the Lords *Gray* and *Rosse*, besides other men of marke, and fifteene hundred common souldiers, the Earles of *Huntington* and *Somerset*, with *Thomas Beaufort* his brother, were taken prisoners. The * cause of this overthrow, is imputed to the Dukes hast in not staying for his Horsemen. *Clarence* that day upon his Creſt ware a Circlet set with precious stones, which being taken off his Helmet by a Scot, was sold to *Iohn Steward* of *Derby*, for a thousand Angels. For this fortunate dayes succesſe (where in yet the Enemy also lost eleaven hundred, and sundry of them men of principal note,) the *Dolphin* made the Earle of *Bucquhanan* Constable of *France*. This losse received, the Earle of *Salisbury* (who followed with the other forces, but came too late to the encounter,) thought to requite, and bringing forward his troupes, the enemy gave ground, whereby yet hee recovered the dead body of *Clarence*, and sent it to *Roane*, from whence it was covayed into *England*.

The Duke of *Clarence* slaine.

Alain Chartier.

* *Enguerrant.*

Idem.

Denis Sauage in Chron. de Eland.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

(68) After this victory the *Dolphinois* besieged *Alenzon*, which the Earle of *Salisbury* with his best forces sought to relieve; but finding the enemy too strong, retired to the Abbey of *Becq*; in whose retreat the French charged upon him, and slew 300. of his troupes, but finding no meanes to possesse *Alenzon*, raised their siege and returned to *Anion*.

Denis Sauage.

(69) King *Henry* therefore upon notice of his brothers death, was much perplexed, for besides the naturall affection of a brother, his wisdome, valour, and councell in the warres was highly esteemed by him, and to speake truth, there were very few Princes of that age to be equalled unto him. Wherefore ordaining his other brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford* his Lieutenant, and leaving his faire Queene most honorably attended, upon the tenth of Iune he landed at *Callis*, having in his company *Iames* king of *Scotland*, in hope either to draw the Scots unto his service, or else to withdraw their ayds from the *Dolphin*, by the sight of their own king under his royall standard. But the Scots, constantly French, being demanded why they would fight against their Soveraigne, answered directly, that they might not acknowledge any duty unto *Iames*, who as yet lived under the obedience of another. His desigue thus failing, his confidence was in his right and his sword.

Bucquhanan.

(70) The morrow after his arrivall he dispatched the Earle of *Dorset*, and the Lord *Clifford* with twelve hundrid horse and foot unto *Paris*, to relieve the Duke of *Excester*, who was straightened of victuals by the *Dolphinois*, that harrased the Country adjoyning, taking *Bonneval*, *Galandon*, and some other forts, and in his fortunate succesſes, and new conceived hope then marched to *Chartiers* with seaven thousand men at Armes, foure thousand Crosse-bowes, and sixe thousand Archers strong, where he began the siege, whom the Bastard of *Thian* bravely resisted, and sent to King *Henry* for aide.

Enguerrant.

(71) *Henry*, after a few dayes stay in *Callis*, marched to *Monstrelet*, and there lodged, quartering his Army in the villages about, where he found the Duke of *Burgogne* somewhat impaired of health: three daies spent in conference, King *Henry* marched into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbevill* upon *Some*, to facilitate his passage there to be made, whereof some doubt was held by reason of the Inhabitants disposition, altogether unsetled, and as ready to offend, as affect. *Henry* in his way tooke the Fort called *La Ferte*, commanded by the Bastard of *Bellay*, which upon summons rendered, and being committed to the custody of *Borsflers* a Picard, was betrayed againe by him unto the *Dolphin*: from hence departing, he passed the river at *Abbevill*, where hee was royally received, and richly presented, whence he marched to *Beauvois*, *Gisors*, and so to *Bois-de-Vincennes*, where *Charles* and his Queene resided, and received him with great honour, and lastly to *Paris* where he was received in triumph.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Hilbert of Normandy.

(72) But more minding a Conquest then the delicate pleasures of Court, after he had consulted upon his affaires, and levied French forces to adde to the English, he marched toward *Meaux*, intending (in revenge of his brothers death) to fight with the *Dolphin*, who had now laine before *Chartiers* the space of three weekes, and given it forth he would come into the field. But hearing of King *Henries* comming, and that his Army by the accesse of supplies from *Paris*, and *Normandy*, was much increased, he brake up his siege and departed: which newes related, *Henry* marched to *Dreaux*, and sate downe before it. The Inhabitants and Garrison sensible of the danger, praied parley, and accorded to render the Towne, if the *Dolphin* did not relieve them by a certaine day, which expired, the Towne was delivered, and eight hundred of the *Dolphins* souldiers permitted to depart upon their Oathes, not to beare Armes against King *Henry*, nor his allies, for the space of one yeare: then following the *Dolphin* (who fled still before him) in his march he tooke *Baugency*, *Rougmont*, and other places of defence.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(73) Seeing his pursuit of the flying *Dolphin* to be fruitlesse, hee diverted his Army unto *Luigny* upon the river of *Marne*, where * he caused many engines and habiliaments for the warre to be made; having a desigue to besiege *Meaux* in *Brie*, and infest the *Faulxbourg*, sending before him the Duke of *Excester* with foure thousand strong, to prevent the burning of *Meaux*, by the Inhabitants, and a * few dayes after followed himselfe. His first worke was to secure his Armie, by entrenching his Quarters, which done and the Artillery mounted, hee beganne to batter the wals, and to make his Mines, wherein neither his industry nor personall labour was spared; and within, the *Bastard of Vaurus*, with many men of marke, besides the Inhabitants, and a thousand trained Souldiers, were as busie and resolute for the defence. Meane-while *Iaques de Harecourt*, in service of the *Dolphin*, with seven hundred souldiers harrased the parts about *Vimeu*, against whom, some English Garrisons thereabout assembling, slew three hundred of his retinue, himselfe hardly escaping by the swiftnesse of his horse.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

* *Circa festum nativitis Septemb.*

(74) Whilst

An. Dom. 1421. December 6.

Hollinsh.

(74) Whilst King *Henry* lay in his siege before *Meaux*, newes was brought him that his Queene, at the Castle of *Windsore*, was delivered of a Sonne, named also *Henry*, whereat he exceedingly rejoyced, though (as some will have it) he liked not well the place of her delivery, having before commanded the contrary, and prophecying, that *what Henry of Monmouth should get, Henry of Windsore would loose*. At the same time likewise he heard that *Auranches* in *Normandy*, was surprized by the *Dolphinois*; and above three hundred English there in Garrison put to the sword, or taken Prisoners; to remedy which, King *Henry* sent part of his owne Armie unto the Earle of *Salisbury* his Lieutenant of *Normandy*, who within few daies recovered *Auranches* and revenged the death of the surprized.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(75) But *Henries* siege lessened through these stirs in *Normandy*, and his minde busied upon his affaires that way, fitted opportunity to *Signieur de Offemont*, unto whom the besieged had many times made knowne their desires to have him their Governour; on a night therefore (ladders made ready to put over the wals to receive him) he secretly approached the place, but being discovered by the Centinels, and the alarum taken, he, not able to recover the ladders, fell into the ditch, whence by reason of his heavy armour he could not free himselfe, and in taking was wounded in the face: the King esteeming the taking of so brave and valiant a Captaine, as a prize of much importance. The Defendants now hopelesse of succour and finding themselves not able to hold out, carried all their goods from the Towne into the * Castell: but the affailants discovering their actions, and perceiving their feare, gave a fierce assault, and by force made way into the Towne with their swords: Then *Henry* planting his Canons, began to batter the Castell, and shortly brought it to that extremity, that besides want of bread, most of their hand-weapons were broken, and all of them in a manner dangerously wounded; yet desisted they not to provoke the English with opprobrious words, which caused such heavy conditions to be laid on them, as the like had not beene of any furrender before.

* *Called the South Enguerrant.*

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

1. That the march of *Meaux* should be rendred upon the eleventh of May next ensuing. 2. That *Messier Lovis de Gast*, the Bastard of *Vaurus*, *Iehan de Romieres*, *Tromagon*, and *Barnard de Meureville* should be left to K. *Henry* to execute. 3. That *Guicchard de Sissayi*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Geraines*, *Philip de Gamaches*, and *John de Ouraye* should be at the kings will untill they had rendred, or caused to be rendred, all the Townes, Castels and Fortresses which they or any of them held in *France*, and then to be secured of life. 4. That all the *English*, *Welsh*, *Irish*, and *Scots* that heretofore had beene in the Kings obedience should be left to the Kings discretion. 5. That all the rest, as well Souldiers as Burgesses should be left to the Kings pleasure, their lives only excepted. 6. That the Earle of *Converson*, who had been prisoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, and at the beginning of the siege of *Meaux*, was delivered at the instance of *Henry* for a ransome, should now bee freed without ransome. 7. That all the Armes and goods in the *March* should be brought to one place, there safely guarded, and an Inventory of the same delivered unto King *Henry*. 8. That all the Reliques and Church-ornaments should likewise be put in safety. 9. That all the Prisoners, as well in the *March*, as in any other place, under any of their commandements, should be set at liberty, ransome-free, and acquitted of their promises. 10. That no man untill the affigned day of rendring should goe out of the *March*, and that none should be admitted to enter into it, but such as King *Henry* affigned. 11. That these Articles should be subscribed and sealed by an hundred of the best men amongst them. 12. That for the true performance of the concord, foure and twenty persons, elected by King *Henry*, should remaine in hostage.

Hilbert of Normandy.

(76) The place thus rendred unto the King, hee presently sent eight hundred selected persons prisoners to *Paris*, *Roane*, and *England*. The Bastard of *Vaurus*, and the Governour of *Meaux*, the King caused to be hanged before the Towne on a Tree, named (by the Bastard himselfe) *Vaurus*, whereon he had formerly hanged many *English* and *Burgundians*, and his head was fixed upon a pole on the top of the same tree. *Mesiter Lovis de Gast*, *Denis de Vaurus*, brother to the Bastard, *Iehan de Ramieres*, and *Barnard de Meureville* were sent to *Paris*, and there executed; the goods of the *March* were distributed by *Henry* amongst his Captaines, and deserving men. Then order was taken for repairing of breaches, and a strong Garrison left in *Meaux* and the *March*. After whose surrender, *Creſpi*, the Castell of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and sundry others, submitted themselves to *Henry*, whilest the true *Dolphinois* set fire on theirs, before he could attaine to their siege.

Enguerrant de Monstrel.

(77) Queene *Katherine*, in *England*, daily hearing of the Kings succesſe, desired greatly the sight of his person, and to that end prepared her voyage for *France*, under the conduct of Duke *Iohn*, the Kings brother, then Regent of *England*, who deputed for the time of his absence his brother *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, and tooke ship at *Southampton*. The winds prosperous, the 21. of *May* she landed at *Harflew*, and with still-encreasing troupes of Noblemen, by easie journeyes came to *Roane*, and thence to *Bois de Vincennois*, whither her Husband, her Father and Mother with great state came to meete her, of all whom she was received as some Angelicall person, who together removed to *Paris*, where King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* in the *Lowre*, upon the Festuall of *Pentecost*, sate in their royall roabes, with their imperiall Crownes on their heads, and kept their Court with great confluence of people, King *Henry* assigning the affaires of the Provinces.

An. Dom. 1422.

Enguerrant. Monstrel.

(78) But though *Champagne*, *Picardy*, *Brie*, and *Normandy*, with the Ile of *France*, were in *Henries* possession, yet was not all reduced to his quiet obeysance, a great and strong part holding out still for the *Dolphin*, who with 20. thousand strong, besieged *La Charity* upon *Loire*, and tooke it, from whence he marched to *Cone* upon the same River, whose Defendants agreed, that if *Burgundy* did not raise the siege by the 16. of *August*, they would surrender; which the said Duke accepted, and thereupon sent proffer of battell to the *Dolphin*, who was likewise as ready (and by his Herauld gave his faith) to tric his fortune in the field: The day affigned, and preparation made, the Duke of *Burgundy* sent to king *Henry* for his assistance; whose answere was, that himselfe and his forces would not faile to be with him that day, and run the same fortunes with him in the field.

King *Henries* sicknesse.

(79) But great *Henries* stout minde was crossed with his now crazy body, his health being so impaired with a burning feaver and fluxe, that he was dissuaded from the March; so the command of the Army was committed to his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, who joyning their forces, for avoyding of contentions, through all their rankes intermingled the *English*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardes* together, and so the night before the desigued day of battell, came to *Cone*, and encamped neere to the Towne; yet undaunted *Henry*, who never miscarried in any of his personall enterprises, taking his leave at *Senlis* of K. *Charles*, and the two Queenes, in his horse-litter (with a guard for his person) marched (though weake) after them; but at *Melun* finding this sicknesse to encrease, and himselfe (who erst could endure all things) now unable to endure travel, he returned to *Bois de Vincennois*.

(80) The English colours displayed in the *Dolphins* eye, and his power inferiour in shew unto them, howsoever he had vaunted, he thought it not best to adventure the field; and therefore dislodging from *Cone*, he marched to *Barry*, both to protract time, and to weary the enemy. *Cone* thus relieved, the Dukes marched to *Troyes* in *Champagne*, and set

downe their Army for the siege; but before the cords of their Tents could be sufficiently made fast, the Duke of *Bedford* had heavie newes of Great *Henries* encreased sickneſſe, and danger of death: wherefore leaving the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Army, he posted to *Bois de Vincennois*, where finding the relation too true, he greatly lamented his dying brothers estate: but the King much rejoycing of his brothers comming, cheerefully comforted his mourning friends and Nobles, and made unto them this grave and his laſt dying ſpeech.

His cheerefulneſſe in his ſickneſſe.

His laſt exhortation.

"(81) I well ſee you lament my death; but I doe "not ſo: for this ſhort life of mine ſhall leave behind "me the witneſſe of my faith, integritie, juſtice, honeſ- "ty and mercy, which ſhal crowne my memory with "glory, and free me from blame and ſlander, which "in long Raignes can hardly be avoided: but you "have juſt cauſe to mourne at my untimely death, "and it cannot be but a generall griefe to my people, "that in ſuch an Ocean of buſineſſe yet depending, I "ſhall leave you and them deſtitute of a Prince able "to governe: but your ſorrow ought to be ſo much "the leſſe, when you call to mind the frailty of world- "ly things, and that evermore there will be ſome what "wanting which we deſire. My firſt requeſt unto you "ſhall be this, that with an unanimous affection to "adviſe, fore-ſee and provide, that the counſel which "I name may be followed. I further earneſtly en- "treat you to love my Infant *Henry*, to inſtruct him "with your wiſedomes, that by your counſell, care "and love, he may be made able and worthy to weild "ſo great an Empire. Comfort my deare Wife, the "moſt afflicted creature living, extend your loves un- "to her in the ſame proportion as I have ever loved "you. Touching the publique, I admoniſh and ex- "hort you to brotherly concord, and never to breake "league with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*; and if you "ſhall thinke it good, let my brother *Humfrey* Duke "of *Glocester* governe *England*, and not depart upon "any occaſion whatſoever, untill my Sonne *Henry* "be of yeares to ſway the eſtate; and my brother "*Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, with the aſſiſtance of *Philip* "D. of *Burgundy*, to manage the Realme of *France*, "Concerning *Charles* (commonly called the *Dol-* "*phin*) either he muſt by your ſwords be made to ſub- "mit himſelfe, or elſe you ſhall never be in quiet, and "it were as good to render him the poſſeſſion of what "you have: wherefore ſleep not, and while you have "meanes and oportunity be induſtrious. Laſtly, I be- "ſeech, charge, and command you, (howſoever time "or occaſion may perſwade, or invite you to the con- "trary) that *Normandy*, received by my induſtry, and "your ſwords, being the ancient inheritance of the "Crowne of *England*, be not alienated for any cauſe "whatſoever. Among other things then enjoyned, he willed that the Duke of *Orleance*, the Earle of *Eu*, *Gnacourt*, and *Guicchard de Siſay*, ſhould not be ranſomed, untill yong *Henry* were of yeares to governe.

Vngouernant de Menſtrel.

Vngouernant de Menſtrel.

(82) This ſaid, and drawing neere to the period of his ſhort but glorious life; he demanded of his Phyſicians how long (in their judgement) he might live? whereunto when one of them anſwered, Sir, thinke on your ſoule, for your time is not above two houers: he made his confeſſion, and his Chaplaines afterward kneeling in prayer, when one of them out of the *Pſalmes* made mention of *Ieruſalem*, the *King* no ſooner heard the name, but with a loud voice he ſaid; *Lord, thou knoweſt that my purpoſe was to conquer Ieruſalem from the Infidels, if it had pleaſed thee to have given me life*: and then *in a right faith, aſſured hope, perfect charitie, and ſound memory, he* * *rendred his ſoule to his Creator, after hee had raigned nine yeares, five moneths, and* * *foureteene dayes, leaving none like unto him amongſt all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, for which cauſe his death was not onely bewailed of the Engliſh, whom he glorioſly had ruled, but alſo of the French, whom he had victorioſly conquered.* This was the manner of this triumphant Monarchs end, which moves men juſtly to wonder at *Hector Boetius*, who ſaith, he was ſtricken by God for ſacriledge, & died miſerably: *Hectors* friends have occaſion to wiſh that his Readers ſhould not make that miſerable judgement the rule and meaſure of crediting or diſcrediting his other writings, yet lamentable his end was indeed, if he periſhed by poiſon, whereof there was a vehement ſuſpition, as *Polydor Virgil* hath averred, and the carriage of the French affaires afterward makes it more then probable.

His death. Tho. Walſing.

* Auguſt 30. Fabian.

* Some reckon but 11. dayes, Stow addeth five moneths more.

Boet. l. 16. f. 339.

Polydor.

(83) His workes of pious affection were ſhewed in erecting the Monaſteries of *Bethlem* and *Brigee*, neere unto his Manour of *Richmond*, as alſo his Princely gifts unto the workes and furniture of *Weſtminſter* Church, beſides the brother-hood of S. *Giles* without *Creple-gate London*. And (which had ſurpaſſed all the reſt) he inrended (ſuch was his love to learning, and to the place where himſelfe was a learner) to have founded in the great Caſtle at *Oxford*, a magnificent Colledge for *Divines*, and Students of the ſeaven liberall Sciences,* the plot and ordinations of which foundation he had already drawne, and * reſolved to endow it with all the lands in *England*, belonging to Priors-Aliens; but his untimely death prevented both that, and many other noble workes. To leave a domeſticke teſtimony of his affection to Armes, he firſt inſtituted *Gartar* principall King at Armes: beſides other augmentations to the Order of Saint *George*. In a word, never lived Engliſh King with more true glory, nor ever died any in a more unſeaſonable time, nor more lamented: for *he was godly in heart, ſober in ſpeech, ſparing of words, reſolute in deeds, provident in counſell, prudent in judgement, modeſt in countenance, magnanimous in action, conſtant in undertaking, a great Almeſ-giver, devout to Godward, a renowned Souldier, fortunate in field, from whence he never returned without victory.* Theſe, with many other (I might almoſt ſay, *all other*) vertues are attributed to this moſt renowned amongſt Engliſh Kings; the more to be admired in him in ſo ſhort a raigne, and in thoſe yeares, he being but of 36. yeares, when he breathed forth his glorious ſoule.

Fab. Stowes Annal. His workes of devotion.

* Iob. Roſſus. * Tho. Oſbaſton in Vit. Hen. 6.

Tho. Walſing.

Stow Annal.

(84) His bowels were interred in the Church of Saint *Mauro de Foſſes*, and his embalmed Corps was cloſed in Lead, and attended upon by the Lords of *England*, *France*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*, was brought unto *Paris* (where in the Church of our Lady ſolemne exequies were performed) and thence to *Roane*, where it reſted till all things were ready to ſet forward for *England*; though the Cities of *Paris* and *Roane* ſtrove, and offered great ſummes of gold to have *Henries* royall remaines enterred amongſt them. His picture artificially was moulded of boyled hides, and countenance painted according to life, upon whoſe head an imperiall Diademe of gold & precious ſtones was fer, the body clothed with a purple roabe, furred with Ermine, in his right hand it held a ſcepter royall, and in the left a ball of gold; in which manner it was carried in a Chariot of State, covered with red velvet, embroidered with gold, and over it a rich Canopy, borne by men of great place. Thus accompanied by *Iames* king of *Scotland*, many Princes, Lords and Knights of *England* and *France*, he was convaied from *Roane* to *Abbeville*, to *Heſdin*, to *Menſtruill*, *Bologne*, and *Callis*, the Chariot all the way compaſſed about with men all in white garments, bearing burning Torches in their hands; next unto whom followed his houſhold-ſervants, all in blacke, and after them the Princes, Lords, and Eſtates in veſtures of mourning adorned; then two miles diſtant from the corps followed the ſtill-lamenting Queene, attended with Princely mourners, her tender and pierced heart more inly mourning, then her outward ſad weeds could in any ſort expreſſe.

The manner of his bringing into England.

(85) And thus by Sea and Land the dead King was brought unto *London*, where through the ſtreets the Chariot was drawne with foure horſes, whoſe Capariſons were richly embroidered, and embroſſed with the royall Armes; the firſt with *Englands* Armes alone, the ſecond with the Armes of *France* and

and *England* in a field quartered, the third bare the Armes of *Fraunce* alone, and the fourth three Crowns *Or* in a field Azure, the ancient Armes of King *Arthur*, now well beſeeming him who had victorioſly united * three Kingdomes in one. The body with all pompous celebrity was interred in the Church at *Weſtminſter* (for ſo *Henry* had by his laſt Will commanded (next beneath King *Edward the Confeſſor*, upon whoſe Tombe Queene *Katherine* cauſed a royall picture to be laid, covered all over with ſilver plate guilt, but the head thereof altogether of *maſſy-ſilver*. All which at that *Abbeys* ſuppreſſion, (when the battering hammers of deſtruction did ſound almoſt in every Church) were ſacrilegiouſly broken off, and by purloyning transferred to farre prophaner uſes, where, at this day, the headleſſe monument, (worthy to be reſtored by ſome more Princely and ſacred hand) is to be ſeen, and with theſe verſes written upon his Tombe.

* France, England, Ireland.

Legenda Plantag.

Dux Normanorum, verus Conqueſtor eorum,
Hares Francorum, deceſſit & Hector eorum.

Here Normans Duke, ſo ſtil'd by Conqueſt juſt,
True Heire of France, great Hector lies in duſt,

His Wife.

(86) *Katherine*, daughter to King *Charles*, the ſixt of *France*, upon an agreement peace of forementioned, was married unto King *Henry* at *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, *Iunii* 3. A. D. 1420. and after *Febr.* 14. was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* with all ſolemnities. Shee was his Queene two yeares, and about three months; and ſurviving him, was re-married unto *Owen Theodore* of *Wales*, unto whom ſhe bare three ſonnes, *Edmund*, *Iaſper*, and *Owen*, and a daughter, who lived not long, *Owen* tooke the habite of religion at *Weſtminſter*, the other two by King *Henry* the ſixth (their halfe-brother) were honourably preferred; *Edmund* was created Earle of *Richmond*, and marrying *Margaret*, the ſole heire of *Iohn Beaufort* Duke of *Sommerſet*, was Father by her unto *Henry* (the onely heire of *Lancaſter*) afterwards King of *England*. *Iaſper* the ſecond brother, was created the ſame yeare Earle of *Pembroke*, who requited his brothers kindneſſe with continuall aſſiſtance againſt the houſe of *Yorke*; and when that faction prevailed, hee was forced to flie into *Flanders*, but it againe waning, he was both reſtored, and to his greater honor created Duke of *Bedford*, dying without any iſſue legitimate. This Queene, either for devotion, or her own ſafety, tooke into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwarke*, where dying, *Ian.* 2. A. D. 1436. ſhe was buried in our Ladies Chappell within Saint *Peters* Church at *Weſtminſter*; whoſe Corps taken up in the raigne of King *Henry* the ſeventh her Grand-childe (when he laide the foundation of that admirable ſtructure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her husbands Tombe, hath ever ſince ſo remained, and never re-buried: where it ſtanderth (the Cover being looſe (to be ſeene and handled of any that will; and that by her owne appointment, faith *Report*, (which doth in this, as in moſt things, ſpeake untruth (in regard of her diſobedience to King *Henry*, for being delivered of her Son at the place he forbad.

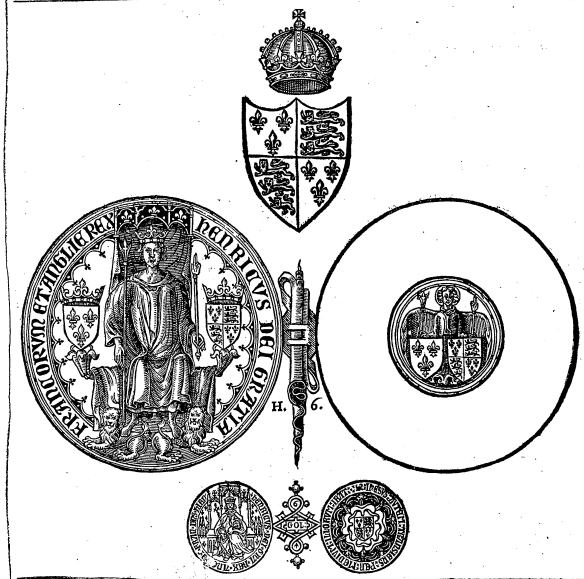
His Sonne.

(87) *Henry* the onely childe of a royall couple borne at *Windſor*, and not nine moneths old at his fathers death, ſucceeded in his dominions, though not holding his Empire with the like glory. Crowned he was with the Crownes of two Kingdomes, but unable by much to weild the Scepter of one, that of *France* was loſt by the factions of his Nobles, before it was well won; and *Englands* Crowne twice pluckt from his head before his death. Of whoſe adventures and variable raigne (the times when *England* lay goared in the bloud of her civill warres) we ſhall ſpeake in the enſuing relation of his innocent, but unfortunate life.

Hen. VI.

HENRIE THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND: THE THREE AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 53.



CHAPTER XVI.

HEnry the sixth began his raigne the last day of August, being the day of his Fathers death. An. Dom. 1422.

* Dan. cap. 2. ver. 21.

HEad God Almighty (the * giver and transferrer of Kingdomes) thought good that the *English* should have setled in the *Continent* of *Europe*, and not have beene shut up within their Ilands, he would not so soone have deprived them of their late incomparable Captaine & Soveraigne *Henry* the fifth. But it seemes that God having humbled the *French* Nation under *Henries* victorious hand, meant now againe to restore them to his wonted favour by taking away their terror and triumpher, substituting his son (an Infant) in his place, *Henry* of that name the 6. born at *Windsor*, who was crowned about the eighth moneth of his age. The prety hands which could not feed himselfe, were yet made capable to weild a Scepter, and he that was beholding to Nurses for milke, did nevertheless distribute the sustenance of law and justice to so great and warlike Nations. Counsell supplies the defect of age. At his Fathers death he had Vncles, men of approved valour and discretion, to whom the principall care of all publike affaires by the Fathers last provisions was committed. *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester* (the yonger brother of two) had the * government of *England* entrusted to his fidelity: the Regency of *France* was assigned for Province to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, the eldest living uncle of the King, as to a Prince of much magnanimity, prowesse and felicity in conduct, with whom was * joyned *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*. The guard and custody of the royall Infant was assigned to *Thomas* * Duke of *Excester*: the nurture and education to his * mother, the Queen *Dowager*: upon the two Vncles (as betweene the two Poles of the *English* Empire) the whole glohe of government moved: whatsoever is done by the Kingly power, is said to be done by the King. We shall behold notwithstanding in the tragicall glasse of this *Henries* raigne, how farre the imbecillity of the kingly person may

* Titus Livius

* Iohn Vil. Cron.

* Stowes Annal. * Pol. Virg. hist. lib. 23.

* Pol. Virg. hist. lib. 23. The Regents Oration to the French.

may affect the body politique with good or evill. If Histories were ordained to stirre affections, not to teach and instruct, never any Princes raigne since the Conquest did better deserve to be described with a tragicall Stile, and words of horror and sorrow, although the beginning (like the faire morning of a most tempestuous day) promised nothing more then a continuance of passed felicities.

(2) For the State of the *English* affaires was great and flourishing, *England* without tumult, the naturall fierce humours of her people consuming or exercising themselves in *France*, and *France* her selfe (for the nobler parts, together with the grand City of *Paris*, head of that Monarchy) was at their devotion. There wanted nothing which might advance the worke begun. Most noble and expert Leaders, as those which had beene fathioned in the Schoole of Warre, under the best Martiall-Master of that Age, the late *Henry*, armes full of veterane Souldiers, most of which were of skill sufficient to be Commanders themselves: their friends firme, no defect nor breach (by which dissipation might enter to the overthrow of the *English* greatnesse) as yet disclosing themselves. Wisdome, piety, riches, forwardnesse at home, courage and like forwardnesse abroad. It is a fruitfull speculation to consider how GOD carrieth his part in the workes of men, alwayes justly, sometimes terribly, but never otherwise then to bring all worldly greatnesse and glory into due contempt and loathing, that the Soule may be erected to her Creator, and aspire to a Crowne celestiall. The first disadvantage which happened to the *English* cause (after the late Kings decease) was the death of *Charles* the *French King*, who survived the other but * fifty and three dayes. This we may worthily call the first (as it was a great, as wel as the first) disadvantage, for the imbecillities of that Prince were a strength to the *English*; On the other side (God observing a *talio* and *parilitie*) the infancy of young *Henry* was an advantage to *Charles* the *Dolphin* of *France*, now by them of his faction called King of *France*, as the *English* used in derision to enstyle him King of *Berry*, because little else was left unto him.

* Pint. Æmil. in cat. 9.

A Parliament at Westminster.

(3) In *England* (whose condition the order of nature wils us first to describe, because there was the seat of Counsel, by wch all the actions of the generall State were directed) a Parliament was assembled to establish the Crowne upon the Infant, and to provide for the publike uses and necessities of State. Money * (alwaies one of them) was liberally granted. It was a strange sight (and the first time that ever it was seene in *England*) which in the next yeare happened, an Infant sitting in the Mothers lap, before it could tell what *English* meant, to exercise the place of Soveraigne direction in open Parliament. Yet so it was, for the Queene to illumine that publique convention of States with her Infants presence, removed from *Windsor* to *London*; through which Citie (her selfe royally seated, with her young sonne upon her lap) passed in majesticke manner to *Westminster*, and there tooke Seat among all his Lords, whom (by the ordinary mouth of that high Court) he saluted and spake to them at large concerning the premises; where, as he uttered the minde of his place by anothers tongue, so he elsewhere prosecuted all affaires by other mens hands and Organs.

* The levie whereof was five Nobles on every sacke of Woolt.

(4) The Duke of *Bedford* (as the nature of his place exacted) to settle and preserve the State of *France* for his young Nephew the King, together with *Philip Duke of Burgoigne*, who as yet continued a stedfast friend to the *English* Soveraignetie, (knowing the *Dolphin* busie to recover *France*) strengthned the confines of their governement with Garrisons, assembled their powers, and laboured to retaine the hearts of their owne party. The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, had * words to them to this effect in open assembly: *That they should not violate their plighted and sworne Allegeance, neither by themselves endeavour, nor endure that by others their Soveraigne Lord young Henry should be defrauded of his inheritance, or that the hatreds and enmities which now began to die between the French and English names, should through the practises of most faithlesse men be renued, and re-inflamed: That they would remember how (by Gods speciall favour and goodnesse) the two Kingdomes of France and England were united under one most faire and goodly Monarchie in an eternall league, and lately so established, that no humane force could resist. That albeit they had sustained dammage by the warre, yet the same would be recovered with advantage, if they honoured, loved, and obeyed their lawfull Soveraigne Lord King Henry, and prosecuted his enemies with extremity, according to bounden dutie.* This Oration found plausible admission in shew: *Henry* is proclaimed King of *England* and of *France*, and such chiefes as were present did their Homages, taking oath to be true: The like Obligation and Sacrament of alleageance was put upon all the *French* through the *English* Dominions in *France*.

(5) *Charles*, (who as sonne and heire to the late King, entitled himselfe King of *France*, by the name of *Charles* the seaventh) being then about the seaven and twentieth yeare of his age, full of courage and new hopes, gathered what force he could: his chiefe Levies were made in *Dolphinois* and *Italy*, from whence (for money) he drew sundry troupes. But the best sinewes of his Army moved in certaine thousands of the *Scottish* Nation, which served under him. The first step which the *Charolines*, or forces of *Charles* made into hostile action was unfortunate, for comming to raise the siege which the *English* held about * *Crepan*, they were put to flight, with the losse of about two thousand of their numbers. This was noble in *Charles*, and his *Charolines*, that their minds sunke not at the horrour of such an evill *Omen*. It was, saith *Aemylius* of them, *resolved to encounter adverse fortune with encrease of courage*. The Regent on the other side was vigilant upon all occasions: the power of his Regency extended it selfe without contradiction * *through Vimew, Ponthieu and Picardy, from Paris to Reines, Chalons and Troyes, up to the water of Loire, and the Sea*: A goodly scope of territory, and absolutely the best of *France*. That late losse and foile of the *Charolines* was repaired shortly after by an overthrow in skirmish which they gave to the *English* partie, from whom (with the slaughter of about fifteene hundreth) they recovered a great bootie, specially of Cattell which the *English* had gotten in the Countries of *Nugion* and *Main*, but thus intercepted upon their returne into *Normandie*. *Charles* (which *Paul. Aemylius* omitteth) doubleth that successe: for * *Meulan* upon *Seine* is by him taken, where all the *English* are put to the Sword: but the possession was short, and the revenge speedy: *Thomas Montacute* Earle of *Salisbury* (a man (saith *Polydor*) more like the old Romans, than people of that age, so great was his vertue and chevalry) having with him *John* of *Luxemburg*, Generall of the *Burgundian* horsemen, recovers the place, killing all the *French* which were found therein.

* Paul. Æmil. in cat. 9. * Cratuen saith Polyd who placeth this action in the following yeere.

The bounds of the English Regency in France.

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 23.

(6) At the City of * *Amiens* in *Picardy*, the three great Dukes of *Bedford* (Regent of *France*) *Burgoigin* and *Britaine* meet to consult of the whole course and summe of affaires. There they renued the League, adding, *that each should be others friend, and that all of them should defend King Henries right with their best forces.* For the better assurance of this profitable amitie, the Regent (then a Bachelour) tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, sister to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*: while the Regent was absent from *Paris* upon these just occasions, the *Parisians* (who not long before had * sent Ambassadors into *England*, to acknowledge their obedience to King *Henry*) practised with *Charles* to deliver their Citie. The Regent had notice of this dangerous treason, and with his presence retained them in dutie. The chiefe Actors payed their lives for satisfaction of the trespasse. In good time

* Stowes Ann.

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 23.

The whole Fieldfocen of the English in France under the Duke of Bedford.

time there arrived out of *England* ten thousand freſh Souldiers. Over them he ordained Captaines, the famous Earle of *Salisbury*, *William Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Robert Willoughby* and others. Himſelfe led about with him for the generall ſervice, eighteene hundred horſemen, and eight thouſand foote. With theſe field-forces the maine of the *Engliſh* eſtate in *France* was held togeather, though not without difficulty, and divers adventures. In them he tooke from *Charles* ſundry ſtrong Townes, and Fortreſſes * as *Crotoy*, *Baſide*, *Rial*, *Rula*, *Gyrond*, *Baſile*, *Mermound*, *Milham*, *Femel*, *Seintace*, and many other.

* Rob. Fab.

(7) The Regents chiefe deſigne was to draw *Charles* to fight, hoping by his over-throw to conclude many dayes workes in one. For this cauſe he drew into *Normandy*. *Charles* was then in * *Tourain*, where hee muſtereth his people. The Regent proſpers in the meane time, and takes by ſiege a place of good importance, preſuming ſo to dare the *French*, out to a Battell. *John Duke of Alanzon* is ſent with an Army and inſtructions to fight, if occaſion ſerved, but *Charles* himſelfe was not ſuffered to hazard his perſon. Not farre from the Towne * of *Vernoil*, which the * *Engliſh* had taken before the * Duke of *Alanzon*, and his *Charolies* could ſuccour it, the two Armies embattelled themſelves. The fight began with ſhot, which ſeeming not quicke enough to diſpatch the worke, the Battels came to hand-ſtroakes, where for ſome houres, there was maintayned a conſtant and doubtfull Battell, with great fury on both ſides. The Engliſh enured to the French Warres, having borne the firſt heats of their enemies, (which are in that Nation moſt ragefull:) by perſeverance utterly brake and put them to flight. The Regent * himſelfe with a Battle-axe fought moſt fiercely, winning immortall honour in that bloudy journey. There were ſlaine of the enemies ſide: *John* * *Earle of Boughmban* Conſtable of *France*: *Archembald Douglas Duke of Tourain*, and Lieutenant of *France*; *Archembald* his ſonne *Earle of Wigton*, with many other of the Scots. Of the French there were ſlaine the *Earle of Vantadowr*, and ſundry others. In all there died upon that ſide certaine thouſands: None writes of fewer then foure or five thouſand, nor any of above fifteene. The great number of the ſlaine, is not the meaſure of a victiory, but the uſe and effects which it drawes. The Duke of *Alanzon* himſelfe was taken Priſoner, with about two * hundred others of ſpeciall worth. The *Engliſh* payed for this noble victory, the bodies of about two thouſand of their Souldiers which loſt life there, for it was fought upon faire tearmes in the open Fields, and carried by meere man-hood. That which followeth till the ſiege of *Orleance*, *Paul* * *Aemylius* comprehendeth in ſome few Lines. *The fierce Conquerour beſiegeth Mauz in Main, and with Ordnance beates downe part of the wals. It yeelds hereupon. The Engliſh Garriſon left therein, after the taking not being ſufficient to containe the Towne in due ſubjection, is compelled to flie to a Tower for their ſafetie, the enemies which were admitted into it by the Burgers enjoying the reſt. The Lord Talbot (the moſt noble Captaine of the Engliſh) preſently arrives to the reſcue, and puts the malefactors to death. The Engliſh Empire extends it ſelfe to the River of Loire. Charles they call in ſcorne the King of Berry.* Thus roundly he.

The Regents victory at Vernoile in Perch.
* Stowes Annal.

* Hall. Battell. fol. 16.

This battell was fought 17. of Auguſt Anno Domini 1425. Iaith. * Stow.

* Polydor. Virg. fol. 23.

In ſcarce, 7.

In nine Articles and capitulations drawne and concluded at the yeelding of *Mauz*, this was one, as perhaps it was in every like occaſion. *That if any perſons were found within the City, which had beene conſenting to the murther of John Duke of Burgoine, father to Philip Duke of Burgoine, in full revenge whereof, he had hitherto adhered to the Engliſh, that * they ſhould ſimply be at the Regents mercy.*

The murtherers of John Duke of Burgoin excepted in the capitulations.

* Rob. Fab. Chro.

(8) The chiefe things which paſſed in *England*, during theſe happy proceedings in *France*, were briefly theſe:

Iames Steward the young King of *Scots*, having beene caſually taken upon the Sea, in the raigne of King *Henry* the fourth; and after his fathers death not ſufficiently tendered nor reſpected by the *Scots*, remained ſtill a Priſoner. The rather therefore to hinder the Scots, (that was the hope) from ayding the French, it was now thought fit by the Councell of *England* to enlarge him. Which was accordingly done upon pledges. Not long after the which, he married the Lady *Ione*, daughter to *John Earle of Sommerſet*, neere Coſen to King *Henry*. Principall ſetters-forward of this marriage (as by likelihood of his liberty alſo) to honour their Family with a Kingly alliance, were the *Earle of Sommerſet* and the *Biſhop of Winchеſter*, both of them *Beauforts*, who together with ſundry other of the *Engliſh* Nobility, conducted the new married Couple to the Scottiſh Borders. Much of his ranſome was abated, and his new kinſemen beſtowed upon him * ſtore of Plate, Gold, and Silver, and among other gorgeous Ornaments ſuits of hangings, in which the labours of *Hercules* were moſt curiouſly wrought. But this wiſe King (having had the benefit of excellent and Princely education in *England*) did not ſuffer any obligations contracted in the time of his durance, to preponderate with him the Generall State of *Scotland*, whoſe freedome did much depend upon the fortune of *France*, whereby the maine drift of his enlargers was not much advanced. The reaſon notwithſtanding which led this action was probable, and ſo much the more commendable, for that it was tempered with humanity. The forreine miſchiefe thus howſoever intended, hereby to be avoyded or qualified, *Sir John Mortimer*, (a dangerous fire-brand at home) being Priſoner in the Tower, was arraigned for many treaſonable ſpeeches uſed to a yeoman, (ſervant to *Sir Robert Scot* *, Keeper of the Tower of *London*) to draw the ſaid yeoman to let him eſcape: promiſing him great matters. The points of his ſpeeches were as that fellow charged upon him in open Parliament.

* Hall. Scot. in Graſton.

Stowes Annal.

Court-factions in England.

Sir Fear his Mayorlogy in Hen. 6.

* R. Robert. Scot.

* Polyd. Virg. 123.

1. *That the ſaid Mortimer meant to flie into Wales to the Earle of March, and with an army of forty thouſand men to enter England, and ſtrike off the Protectors head, and the Biſhop of Winchеſters.*

2. *That the Earle of March ought by right to be King of England, and if the Earle would not, that then he himſelfe was next Heire.*

The title of Mortimer to the Crowne, ſought to be cruſht.

3. *That if he could not ſafely reach to the Marches, he would ſaile to the Dolphin of France, and there ſerve with honour, which he was aſſured of.*

Thence Conſtabled France miſcontents in his firſt enterprize.

For theſe overtures of eſcape, and conſpiracie the Knight was drawne, hanged, and headed: Of whoſe death no ſmall * ſlander aroſe. Perhaps he that writes ſo, doth meane that the whole was but a ſtratageme to rid him out of the way. *Edmund* Lord *Mortimer Earle of March*, the party whom the ſaid Knight mentioned, was ſent not long after with many other Lords, and competent numbers of men, into *Ireland*, where he deceaſed without iſſue, whoſe great Patrimony deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge*, the fatall diſturber of the realme of *England*, upon the pretence of *Mortimers* title to the Crowne.

* Hol. Chron.

(9) The amity with the Duke of *Burgoin*, which the Engliſh had hitherto found ſo availeable toward their Conqueſts, having otherwiſe received ſome few ſlight flawes, was now in danger of utter breaking upon this occaſion: *Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter* Protector of the Realme, following councell unworthy of his perſon and place, contracted himſelfe with the Lady *Iaqueline of Bavaria, Inheritrix of Holland, Zeland, Henault*, and many other faire Dominions in the *Netherlands*, notwithſtanding that *John Duke of Brabant*, her former husband was then living, and that the ſuit of divorce commenced by *Iaqueline* * depended ſtill betweene them. The Duke of *Burgoin* held with *Brabant*. This bred bitter humor in the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who being not uſed to meete with any rubs or confrontments, and now when in perſon he came with an army to take ſeaſon

Camb. Britan.

* Bivinſg.

The Duke of Bedford returnes into England to appeaſe the Counteſſes.

The Duke of Glouceſter raſhly marrieth another mans wife.

* Gener. Hiſtor. by Edw. Grimſton.

The Duke of Burgoine challenged by the Duke of Glouceſter to fight. Stow. Annals.

ſeiſon of *Henault* in right of his ſuppoſed wife, finding himſelfe hard ſet unto, by the aides which *Burgoin* miniſtred to the Duke of *Brabant*, hee challengeth Combat of the Duke of *Burgundy*, calling him traitour. It was accepted, and the * lie ſtrongly thruſt upon *Glouceſter*, who (leaving the light Lady at her Towne of *Monts* in *Henault*) returned into *England*, doing nothing of that for which at that time hee came. Mediation tooke up the quarrell afterward betweene the Duke of *Burgundy* and him. Not long after the returne of the Duke of *Glouceſter* into *England*, the firſt marriage which had beene made and conſummated betweene the Duke of *Brabant*, and the ſaid Lady *Iaqueline*, was pronounced lawfull by Pope *Martin* the fifth. Hereupon the Duke of *Glouceſter* (having ſuſtained many loſſes, aſwell of friends as treaſure, in puniſhment of that great ſinne, in taking anothers Wife) forthwith marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Reignald* Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, whereby hee made her amends for that * unlawfull familiarity which had formerly paſſed betweene them.

An. Dom. 1425. *An. Reg.* 4.

Mean-while the Court of *England* doth well ſhew that the King was an Infant, for it was full of dangerous emulations and ſidings, the Duke of *Glouceſter* (whoſe high office it was to tender the wel-fare of the King and State) lying ſundry grievous accuſations againſt the Cardinall *Beaufort* (ſonne of *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*) Biſhop of *Winchеſter*, and Lord Chancellor, as being a perſon very dangerous unto both.

(10) The newes of theſe home-contentions comming to the Duke of *Bedford* into *France*, eaſily drew him home, though the State of that Realme could not well want his preſence. For *John Duke of Britaine*, (notwithſtanding his late renovation of league with the Regent at *Amiens*) jealous of the * *Engliſh* greatneſſe, turned ſuddenly to *Charles*, and with him, *Arthur*, *Earle of Richmond* his brother. This puts freſh ſpirit into the drooping *Prince*. *Arthur* is by *Charles* made Conſtable of *France*, in place of the Scottiſh Earle, who was ſlaine at the bloudy Battell of *Vernoil*. The Duke of *Britaine* over-lives this revolt but a ſmall time. *Arthur*, to declare his forwardneſſe on the behalfe of *Charles*, aſſembleth about twenty thouſand men, and with them ſodainely beſiegeth S. *Iean* a towne of *Normandy*, upon the Frontier of *Britaine*; which *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, Governour of *Normandy*, had lately fortified and ſtuft with Souldiers. The unexpected arrivall of the *French*, did greatly at the firſt perplex the *Engliſh*, but upon better adviſe, they valiantly fallied out upon them, both before and behind, which ſtroke ſo great terrour into the enemy, that with loſſe of their Artillery, and many of their people they forſooke the ſiege. To redeeme this diſhonour, he turnes his fury upon the Countrey of *Anjou*, which in many parts he depopulates and ſpoyles. The Regent being reſolved to returne into *England*, leaves behinde him *Beauchamp* * *Earle of Warwick*; as Lieutenant, who was lately arrived in *France*, having fixe thouſand freſh Souldiers in his company.

Stowes Annal.

Set Fear his Mayorlogy in Hen. 6.

* Polyd. Virg. 123.

(11) The preſence of the *Duke of Bedford*, Regent of *France*, was to the State of *England* very neceſſary. For the wiſdome and authority of ſo great a Prince, being eldeſt Vncle to the King, and one whom many great deedes made famous, allayed the diſtemper which he found at his arrivall. It was a worke worthy of his labour, and he alſo found it to be a worke indeede, and not eaſily effectuable. The differences were debated firſt at St. *Albans*, then at *Northampton*, laſtly in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, which continued there till toward the end of Iune. The Duke of *Bedford* himſelfe, to avoyd the note of partiality, for that his brother of *Glouceſter* was a party, did not intermeddle otherwiſe then as in generall words to perſwade amity, but the whole cauſe was referred to arbitrators of greateſt Nobility and prudence: by whoſe endevours all thoſe differences and grievances were equally thruſt into one ſacke, to be ſealed up for ever by oblivion, and without mention of amends on either ſide, the Duke and Biſhop, (the one hauing ſworne by his * Prince-hood, the other by his Prieſthood, truely to obſerve the award,) ſhooke hands; and were fully for that time reconciled. After which holy and neceſſary worke of private attonements, enſued acts of feſtivitie and honour. For in the ſame Towne of *Leiceſter* the young King, not then five yeares of age, was at the high Feaſt of *Pentecoſt* dubbed Knight by the Regent of *France*. Immediately whereupon the King honoured *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge*, (who by the fatall errour of the Counſell, was at this Parliament Created Duke of *York*, the ſame who was father to *Edward* the fourth) with the order of Knighthood, and about forty more with him. This *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* was hee, who brought upon this Kingdome and Nation moſt dolefull diviſions, to the utter extirpation of all the male lines of either Houſe, that is to ſay, his owne, and that of *Lancaſter*, whereof the yong King was head. From *Leiceſter* the King was conveighed to *Killingworth*, and *Thomas Duke of Exceſter* dying, *Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke*, was conſtituted *Guardian* and Tutor to the King.

* H-linſh.

The King receives Knighthood, and dubbeth *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*.

(12) The Regent having thus worthily provided for the quiet eſtate to the King and Country, returnes to his charge in *France*. There went over at the ſame time a choiſe and great number of freſh men, under the conduct of that immortally renowned, the Lord *Talbot*, whoſe victories (ſaith *Polydor*) were ſo many, that his name was not onely moſt dreadfull to the *French*, but moſt famous through the World, even at this preſent. That yee may know the man not to have beene ſtudious of fine Phraſes; upon the one ſide of his ſword-blade was engraven, *Sum Talboti*, and upon the other this boyſterous blunt ſentence;

An. Dom. 1427. *An. Reg.* 5. The Regent and the Lord. *Talbot*, with freſh forces paſſe into *France*.

Talbots Motto.

Pro vincere inimicos meos.

The Duke of *Alenzon* (taken at the Caſtle of *Vernoil*) was ſet at liberty upon payment of two * hundreth thouſand Sceuts of gold. At *Mountarges* about *Orleance* the *Engliſh* received an overthrow with the loſſe of about fifteene hundreth of their numbers, and in *Britaine* the *French* ſuſtained great dammages by a Captaine of the Duke of *Sommerſets*. Theſe were petty matters: They of *Mauz*, in *Maine* had drawne in the *French* by night, who maſſacred the *Engliſh*. *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, Captaine of the place ſends to *John* Lord *Talbot* for ſuccour. It came, and that ſo unexpectedly, that the *French* were alike diſtreſt. All but Souldiers were ſpared, and many alſo of them, though thruſt into priſons. The Traitours which had cauſed ſo much miſchiefe, had their deſerts by death. From hence the Lord *Talbot* marched to other enterpriſes. The quality of our taske cals us to the maine.

* Gagvin.

(13) *Thomas* Lord *Montacute* Earle of *Saliſbury*, being with the Regent at *Paris*, and conſidering what forces of men, and all proviſions the *Engliſh* then enjoyed, be-thought himſelfe of ſome action which might anſwere the greatneſſe of his owne name, and of the publique meanes. The ſiege of *Orleance* is by him propounded to the Councell; The credite of the Motioner was alone an argument of power to convince the poſſibility. His deſires were therefore furniſhed with all competent proviſions. They of *Orleance* hearing what a ſtorme was comming (for the Name of this Earle was worthily terrible) with great diligence ordaine for their defence. The * Suburbes (anſwerable in bigneſſe to a good City) they levell with the earth, that the enemy might not from thence annoy them. Men, victuals, munition, and conſtant intentions to fight for their liberty, and ſafegard abounded. The Earle of *Saliſbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and a dreadfull puiſſance under moſt expert Commanders preſent themſelves before it. *Orleance* was and is an Epiſcopall See, a Parliament-

* Paul. Aemil.

The ſiege of *Orleance*.

The Protector and the Biſhop made friends.

* H-linſh.

The whole Fieldfocen of the English in France under the Duke of Bedford.

* Rob. Fab.

* Polydor. Virg. lib. 23.

* Gagvin.
* Paul. Aemil.
* Hall. Bott. fol. 16.

The Regents victory at Vernoilin Perch.
* Stowes Annal.

* Hall. Battell. fol. 16.

This battell was fought 17. of Auguſt Anno Domini 1425. Iaith. * Stow.

* Polydor. Virg. fol. 23.

* In Carol. 7.

The murtherers of John Duke of Burgoin excepted in the capitulations.

* Rob. Fab. Chro.

Iames the firſt King of Scots ſet at liberty out of England.

Parliament-towne, and Vniversity, richly scituate upon the River of *Loire*, whose best glory it is, being the chiefe City which that renowned streame watereth. No enemies appearing abroad, hee * approacheth close to the wals. Assaults * proving vaine, hee entrencheth about it, and to secure his Camp, casts up ramparts and other workes, one of which (by reason of the hugenesse thereof) was called *London*, by the name of chiefe City of *England*. The Fort which stood at the Bridge-foot beyond the *Lorie*, hee fortifieth upon, and closeth them up on every side. *Charles* of *France* could minister no sufficient succour. God, when mans helpe failes interposeth his hand, which as all of us daily feele, so is it most conspicuous in the deliverance of Nations. The City is driven to some misery through the beginning want of all things; for the siege had now endured about 60. dayes, *not without much bloud-shed on both sides. The Earle of *Salisbury* impatient of such delay, purposeth to give a generall assault. The better to consider upon the course, hee stands to take view at a window, barred with Iron, which over-lookt the City toward the East. Behold how God began to uncut the knot of those bands with which the *English* held *France* bound; a Bullet of a great piece (which lay ready leveld at that window) discarged by the Gunners * sonne, a lad, stroke the grates, whose spinters so wounded the Earle, and one Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, that they both dyed of the incurable hurts within few dayes. Heare now the common judgement of Writers concerning this Earles losse: * *Presently after the death of this man the fortune of the warre changed. * Now both mortall and immortall powers began to looke favourably upon the State of France.* This to the * *English* was *Initium malorum: for after this mishap they rather lost then won, so that by little and little they lost all their possession in France: and albeit that somewhat they got after, yet for one that they won, they lost three.* So that *Polydor* not without cause (after many other great praises) both elsewhere call him the man in whom the safety of the *English* State consisted. *The vertue therefore of a fortunate General is inestimable.*

(14) Howbeit the siege did not determine with his life, *William* Earle of *Suffolke*, the Lord *Talbot*, and the rest maintained the same all the Winter. The wants of the Campe were relieved from *Paris* by a convoy, under the guard of Sir *John Fastolfe*, and fifteene hundred soldiers, who arrived safe in despite of all the attempts to distresse them, which the *French* made. The City would yeeld it selfe, but not to the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundy* they were content should have the honour. A subtile stratagem, rather then an offer of yeelding, for there was likelihood in it to breake thereby the amity betweene the *English* and him. The Regent and his Counsell being sent unto, thought it not reasonable (*Aemilius* erroniously makes the late Earle of *Salisbury* the Author of that refusall) neither indeed was it, theirs having beene the cost and labour. The Duke of *Burgundy* construed this repulse sowerly, which marred his taste of the *English* friendship ever after: yet the Regents answer was just and honest. *That the warre was made in King Henries name, and therefore Orleance ought to be King Henries.* Among these difficulties stood the *French* affaires. *Charles* of *France* understanding the miserable straits of his deare City, and ignorant how to remedy so neere a mischiefe; there presented herselfe unto him, at *Chinon*, a yong maide about eighteene yeares olde, calling *Ioan* of *Loraine*, * daughter to *Iames* of *Arck*, dwelling in *Domremy* neere *Vaucalcurs*, a * Shepheardesse under her father, whose flockes she tended, *bids him not faint*, and constantly affirmes, that *God had sent her to deliver the Realme of France* from the *English* yoake, and restore him to the fulnesse of his fortunes. She was not forthwith credited; but when the wise of both sorts, as well Clerkes as Souldiers had sifted her with manifold questions, shee continued in her first speech so stedfastly, uttering nothing but that which was *modest, chaste, and holy, that honour and faith was given unto her sayings. An * old woman directed her. *Ioan* armes her selfe like a man, and requires to have that sword which hung in * S. *Katherines* Church of *Fierebois* in *Touraine*. This demand encreased their admiration of her; for such a * sword was found among the old Donaries or Votive tokens of that Church. Thus warlikely arrayed she rides to *Blois*, where forces and fresh victuals lay for the reliefe of *Orleance*. She with the Admirall and Marshall of *France* enters safe. This did greatly encourage the fainting *French*. *Ioan* the Maid of God, so they called her, (though * some have written that it was a practise or impositure) writes thus to *De la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, who succeeded *Salisbury* in the maine charge of that siege.

"(15) *King of England, doe reason to the King of "heaven, for his bloud-royall; yeeld up to the Virgin "the Keyes of all the good Cities which you have forced. "She is come from heaven to reclaime the bloud-royall "and is ready to make a peace, if you be ready to doe "reason: yeeld therefore and pay what you have taken, "King of England:* I am the chiefe of this war, where-"soever I encounter your men in France, I will chase "them, will they or no. If they will obey, I will take "them to mercy. The Virgin comes from heaven to "drive you out of *France. If you will not obey, she will "cause so great a stirre as the like hath not beene these "thousand yeares in France. And beleeve certainly, "that the King of heaven will send to her, and her good "men of Armes, more force then you can have. Goe "in Gods name into your Countrey: be not obstinate, "for you shall not hold *France of the King of heaven, "the sonne of S. *Mary*, but Charles shall enjoy it, the "King and lawfull heire, to whom God hath given it.* "He shall enter *Paris* with a goodly traine; *You Wil-"liam de la Pole Earle of Suffolk, John Lord Talbot, "Thomas Lord Scales, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bed-"ford; and you Duke of Bedford, terming your selfe "Regent of the Realme of France, spare innocent bloud, "and leave Orleance in liberty. If you doe not reason "to them whom you have wronged, the French will doe "the goodliest exploit that ever was done in Christen-dome.* Vnderstand these newes of God, and of the Virgin. Yet *Charles* had at this time no whole Countries under his obedience, * but *Languedoc* and *Dolphin*, against which both the *Savoyard* and *Burgundian* prepared, but miscaried, the Prince of *Orenge*, the third Confederate, being discomfited.

(16) This letter was entertained by the *English* with laughter. *Ioan* reputed no better then a Bedlam, or Enchantresse. Though to some it may seeme more honourable to our Nation, that they were not to be expelled by a humane power, but by a divine, extraordinary revealing of it self. *Du Serres* describes this Parragon in these words: *She had a modest countenance, sweete, civill, and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable, and retired, her actions colde, shewing great chastity without vanity, affectation, babling, or courtly lightnesse.* Let us not dissemble what we finde written: by her encouragements and conduct the *English* had *Orleance* pluckt out of their hopes, after they had suffered the Duke of *Alanzon* to enter with new force, and with much losse were driven to raise the siege. *Ioan* her selfe was wounded at one sally in which shee led, being shot through the arme with an arrow. Iudge what the esteemed of that hurt, when she used these admirable and terrible words: *This is a favour, let us goe on; they cannot escape the hand of God.* In all adventures she was one and formost. The *English* lost at this siege, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Poinings*, and many other. But doe not rashly beleeve *Serres* in saying, that of all sorts were slaine in such Sallies, as the martiall Virgine made eight thousand. Our Writers say but * fixe hundreth. The Lord *Talbot* marched away with above nine thousand, whom *Ioan* would not suffer the *French* to pursue. In memorie of this admirable deliverance, they of that City erected a monu-

* Polyd. Virg. * Paulus Æmil.

* Pol. Virgil. 23.

The Earle of *Salisbury* slain, with a great shot, before *Orleance*. * Hollinsh.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Paul. Æmil.

* Ballin.

The siege continued notwithstanding the Earles death.

Orleance offers to become Burgundian, but not *English* would not admit thereof.

* Serres Iomles by Edward Grimston. *Ioan* the martiall maid, miraculously sent to deliver Orleance and *France*.
* Paul. Æmil.

* Stowes. Ioan.

* Pol. Virg.

* Serres Ioan.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Gerard Leigh de Heillin, and some other *French* Authors.

Serres out of the originall Copie, translated by Edm. Grimston.

Polid. Virgil.

* Stowes Anna.

The Lord Talbot taken in battell.

* Polyd. Virg.

The Pope againe Leiger to the *English* Counsell before Orleance

Charles crowned King of France at Rhiems.

* Serres

The description of Ioan le Pucelle de Dieu, or the Maid of God. The siege of Orleance raised.

* Stowes Ann.

* Paul. Æmil. Hollin. Chron.

monument, where *Charles* the seventh K. of *France*, and *Ioan* the Martiall-Maide were represented, kneeling in Armour, elevating their eyes and hands to heaven, in signe of thankes and acknowledgement.

(17) There was an interchangeable taking and recovering of Townes and places of importance upon both sides. The Lord *Talbot* tooke *Lavall*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* puts himselfe into *Iergeaux*. Thither the Duke of *Alanzon* with *Ioan*, and other great Captaines come, which they force by assault. Sir *Alexander Poole* the Earles brother was slaine, with many others in the fight, the Earle himselfe remained prisoner. The Duke added some other places to this Conquest: Soone after his numbers are augmented by the repaire to him of *Arthur* Constable of *France*, the Earle of *Vandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others, so that now their whole Army contained about twenty and three thousand men. With these they encounter the Lord *Talbot* (who had scarce the fifth part of their numbers) at a Village called *Patay*, whom they charged so sodainely, that his Archers had no time to fortifie their battels (after their manner) with a Palizado, or empalement of stakes, so that the chiefe fight must bee made upon horse-backe. After three houres bloudy resistance, the *English* were put to the worst.* The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Rampstone*, and even the Lord *Talbot* himselfe (being first wounded in the backe) were taken. The footmen enforced to trust to their * swords, under the shelter of such horsemen as remained, retreated in order, and came to a place of safety. The *English* lost above a thousand, the *French* above 600. This blow shooke the whole fabricke of the *English* greatnesse in *France* at the very foundations, awaking multitudes (even of those who before had vowed fealty to the *English*, and now had colour of divine warrant for violating that vow) to joyne with the victors for the recovery of common liberty. There followed the present revolt of sundry Townes; neither was it long before *Charles* himselfe issues out in Armes, recovers the City of *Aunerre* and *Rheimes*; where, according to the Maides direction, hee was solemnely crowned King. Hitherto she might be thought prophetical and fortunate. It should seeme now that the chiefe part of her imployment was accomplished, yet shee flourished a while longer. The Duke of *Bedford* to burthresse the shrinking state of *English* affaires in *France*, and to encounter evill fortune in the face, upon the unpleasant newes of *Orleance* refused, and *Talbots* taking, musters his whole present forces, which made above tenne thousand *English*, besides certaine wings of *Normans*: with these hee marcheth out of *Paris*, and opposeth himselfe to the Current of *Charles* his new hopes, who meant to attempt that City, (some of whose Citizens held strict and secret correspondence with him. But upon this affrontment, he suspended the execution of that designe, having as then no hope to atchieve it. The Regent returnes to *Paris*, *Ioane* the *Pucell* dissuaded *Charles* from fight.

(10) Places of speciall note, as *Champaigne* and *Beauvois* yeelded themselves voluntarily to *Charles*. The Regent having setled the Estate, and Garrisons of the chiefe City, passeth into *Normandy*, to provide for a safe retreat there, if perhaps the *English* (by the inevitable will of God) should bee enforced to quit their other holds and dominions: which hee began to suspect, for that hee had intelligence of a secret purpose, which the *French* pursued, to winne the *Burgundians* from King *Henries* side. While the Regent was absent upon this occasion, *Charles* got the Towne of Saint *Denis*, (a neighbour to *Paris*) though hee held it not long by practise. From thence he sends the Duke of *Alanzon* and *Ioan* to try their friends and fortunes at *Paris*. They found not hoped successe, for the *English* gave them so rough an encounter, that *Ioan* her selfe was * wounded; and the rest with much slaughter driven to fall off. The Regent hearing of these attempts, entrusteth the Coast-Townes of *Normandy*, to the care of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and *Roan* (the Capitall City of that Dutchy) to *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerset*, himselfe speedes to *Paris*, where he commends the Souldiers and Citizens for that they had not imitated the disloyalty of their Neighbours. New supplies came out of *England*. The next enterprize was to reduce *Champaigne* to obedience. *John* of *Luxemburgh* with *Burgundians* and some *English* besiegeth it. Here the glory of *Ioan* unfortunately ended; for comming to the rescue shee entred indeed, but afterward sallying forth, her troupes were beaten, and her selfe (being betrayed, say her favourers) taken prisoner by the said Burgundian * Knight, who for the value of her ransome (ten thousand pounds *Turnoys*, and three hundreth Crownes yearely rent) delivered her unto the *English*. The siege was notwithstanding raysed; they sent her to *Roan*, where she (about nine or tenne moneths after) was burnt to death. *Clelia* was saved by * *Porsenna*; and it is not to be doubted but that the magnanimity of the *English* would have spared her, had they not found it necessary to deface the opinion which the French, even with superstition, had conceived of her. Our * Writers shew how the course of her life being legally examined by the Bishop of *Beauvois* (in whose Diocesse shee was taken) and shee thereupon for sorcery, bloudshed, and unnaturall use of man-like apparrell, and habiliments contrary to her Sexe, condemned to dye, was notwithstanding upon her solemne abjuring of such her lewde practises, pardoned her life, till againe convicted of perjurious relapsing, though acknowledging her selfe a * strumpet, and saying to be with child, she deservedly underwent that punishment which shee fought to delay. The rumor of her end, and the ignominious cause thereof, was somewhat incommodious to the affaries of *Charles*. It was thought that the comming of King *Henry* to *Paris* would be much more.

(19) Hee had already with great solemnity received the Crowne of *England* at *Westminster*, being about nine yeares old, a most fathionable and waxen age for all impression either of good or bad. The next yeare after his Coronation in *England*, he passeth over into *France*, there also to receive the Diademe thereof. The Constableship of *England*, was before his departure, affigned by *Patent*, for tearme of life, to *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* (which gave him a more feeling of greatnesse, and secretly whetted his ambitious appetite,) upon this occasion. One *John Upton* of *Feversham* in Kent *Notary*, accused *John Down* of the same place Gentleman, *That hee and his complices did imagine the Kings death at his Coronation*. The Combate was granted, and in *Smithfield* (the Duke of *Yorke* exercising the office of high Constable) they fought in lists. In the end the Kings name was used to part and forgive them. It is a vice to suspect too farre. The Duke of *Yorke* (a most subtile man) seemes never in heart to have beene a true subject to King *Henry*: yet no man saith, hee was any author in this. *Henry*, (the Common-wealth having yeelded to liberall grants of money) is now ready to enter *Paris*. *England* remained under the government of the Duke of *Glocester*.

(20) There is no doubt that the English there, at their Kings presence, set forth their greatnesse to the full shew. The young King attended upon with two *English* Cardinals, *Yorke* and *Winchester*, and great Princes of his bloud, *Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates*, and the flower of our nation, with many, as well *French* and *Burgonians*, as *Normans* and others, excellently well appointed, makes a triumphant entry into the head City of that most noble Monarchy. There was no signe in the People but of joy and welcome, the showes were many and magnificent. Vpon the seventh day of *December*, hee was solemnely Crowned King of *France*, by the * Cardinall of *Winchester*, his great uncle in the * chiefe Church of *Paris*, called of our *Lady*. The Duke of *Bedford* entertained the minds

Xxx

The re-flux or ebbe of the *English* greatnesse in *France*.

Ioan taken prisoner.

Chron. de Rebus Gest. apud Hoveden pag. 604. * *Serres* saith by the hilliard of *Pandonus Hollinsh.*

She is burnt for a witch at *Roan*. * *Tit. Liv. Patav. Decad. 1.*

* See *Holinsh.* in *Hen. 6.*

The French goe this sentence to be reversed by the Pope 26. yeares after.
* *Stow.*

King *Henry* is to come in person into *France*.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Constable of *England*.

An. Dom. 1431. *Ætat.* 10.

Henry crowned King of *France* at *Paris*.

* *Paul. Æmil.* * *Iuvenal. Urs.*

minds of the Assembly with a set speech, wherein he declared, *King Henry his Nephewes undoubted title to that Crowne, and commended the same to their fidelities, adding ample promises of honour and emolument.* Such of the French Nobility as were present, did their homage. The people had good and gracious words given unto them and certaine * quantities of money, corne, and wine, in the nature of a donative, liberally distributed among them. *Proclamations* were made, that all *French-men* who came in by a day there named, should be protected. The Kings Patents and grants touching *French* matters, passed under the Seale and stile of *Henry King of the * French men, and of England*, which Seale (for variety) wee have prefixed, as we found it annexed * to a writing directed by the King *to his Court of Requests in his Palace at Paris*; but for English affaires he used another Seale, being in every point like unto that * of King *Henry* the fourth, and (as some thinke) the very same stampe, (which therefore we have here omitted,) as likewise some * Charters of his there are, whereunto he affixed the seale of his father. *Charles of France* esteemed not himselfe the lesse a King for all this, but pursues his affaire. His people tooke the City of *Chartres* by a stratagem, the Bishop whereof (because a *Burgundian*) they also put to the sword with others. Neither were the *English* idle. *John Duke of Norfolke, Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Beauchamp Earle of Warwicke, the Earle of Suffolke*, and others, made up this losse with advantage. Their actions are placed by some, as done before the Coronation, which is likely. The King having thus taken possession of *France*, not long after tooke his farewall thereof. His returne was by *Roan*, and so overland to *Calis*, from whence upon the eleventh day of *February*, hee arrived safe at *Dover*. His Uncle the Duke of *Glocester* was able to give an honest, and good account of the Government during the Kings absence. The suppression of an Insurrection, beginning at *Abington* in *Oxfordshire* was not the least service. A weaver (the Bayliffe of the Towne) was the ulcerous head, to which that corruption gathered; who had changed his own name, and called himselfe; *Iacke Sharpe of Wigmores land in Wales*. The speciall colour of his attempt was, * *to have massacred Priests; whose heads* (hee said) *hee would make as cheape as Sheepes-heads; that is, two or three, or ten for a penny.* But the mention of *Wigmores lands*, the ancient inheritance of *Mortimer*, (then the possession of the fatall *Duke of Yorke*, who afterward in the right of that name, challenged the Crowne of *England* from King *Henry*) insinuates somewhat further. The varlet forfeited his head and foure quarters for his attempt. It is to bee wondred that the *Councell of Estate* under King *Henry*, hearing that title so often glanced at, provided not better against the mischiefe. But the eies and hearts of the wise are blinded, when God hath a purpose to reserve a scourge, or to hide the fire which shall afterward be used to consume a nation. Vnquiet humors were aswell abroad as at home. The souldiers of *Calis* discontented with their wages, as too little, began to be mutinously troublesome. The Regent comes thither in person in *Easter weeke*, where he exerciseth necessary discipline severely. Foure, the most faulty lost their heads, one hundred and ten are cashiered, and baniſht from the Towne, as sixe-score others had formerly beene. Why dwell wee upon so petty accidents? The losse of the Kingdome of *France* is imminent. Let us diligently note the degrees which God found out to deprive our Nation of that honour. In this journey of the Regent, King *Henries* intereſt was not advanced. The Regent (a widdower) roade from thence to *Turwin*, where (without the *Burgundians* privity) hee married the *Lady Iaquet*, aged about * seventeene yeares, * daughter to *Peter of Luxemburgh* Earle of Saint *Paul*, no friend to the *Burgundian*. This was nothing prosperous to the *English* affaires. For *Anne*, the Regents former wife, sister to the *Duke of Burgundy*, being while shee lived, a strong reason and assurance of amitie, weakened the same by her death; and this second marriage, not pleasing the *Burgundian*, did yet more diminish it. These were but degrees.

In the meane space, the accidents of warre between the English and French, were manifold and perplext, now wee, now they leesing, or gaining, as opportunity served: which uncertainties brought forth their ordinary progenies, fearefull outrages, and * scarcity of all things needfull for the use of man. It would be wearisome, and not much necessary, to recount the particular lesser actions, neither indeed is it casie; for who can readily tell the sieges, surprises, skirmishes, and the like, being so confusedly set down by Authors, wherein divers of both Nations wanne to themselves much honour, and served the uses of those times, and their owne? The uttermost effect of those great labours, was, that the English *Regency* fell not forthwith into nothing. Permanent leaders in those publike services were the Regent himselfe; their maine Pillar and chiefe life, *Thomas Earle of Arundel, Richard Earle of Warwicke, Henry his Sonne, the Lord Willoughby, the thrice noble John Lord Talbot*, (who was now at liberty,) the *Lord Scales*, besides Knights, Esquires, and other valiant Captaines a multitude.

(21) The fortune of *Renate Duke of Barre*, is nor to bee omitted, for that afterward, our King unluckely married into his house. Hee had to * wife *Isabell* the daughter, and heire of *Charles Duke of Loraine*, by whom hee had issue two sonnes, and two daughters, the youngest of which was *Lady Margaret*, whom King *Henry* afterward tooke to Wife. *Charles Duke of Loraine* dying, *Renate* thinkes to succeed in that Estate. *Anthony Earle of Vallemont*, brother to *Charles*, presumes he hath a neerer right. The matter comes to bee determined by blowes. *Charles* King of *France* was a stedfast supporter of *Renates* claime, in lieu of like offices performed by *Renate* to him in the times of moſt difficulty. The Regent, and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, stood for the Earle. Their aydes prevailed so much, that *Renates* forces were beaten, with losse of about * three thousand, from the siege of *Vallemont*, and himselfe with not fewer then two hundred others remained prisoner to the *Duke of Burgundy*, one of whose subjects commanded in chiefe at that enterprise. This * *Renate* was afterward entituled to the Crowne of *Naples*, and *Sicilia*, by the Testament of *Ioane* Queene of them. The King of *France* might seeme to have sustained a grievous losse by the enthralment of this Duke: but the *English* gained nothing thereby: for his perswasions, and private offices on the behalfe of King *Charles*, did not a little prepare the *Burgundians* heart (which now was knit to the *English*, but with feeble Arteries) to accept in time the holy impression of reconcilement. The French, who lived under the Regency, or in danger of the *English*, made choise of the *Burgundian* to protect them, which could not be embarred to them, for that hee was as yet King *Henries* pretended friend. Indeed this Scene and unstable state of affaires was full of horrour, which *Polydore Virgil* describeth well enough. *While the English and French* (quoth hee) *contend for Dominion, Soveraignty, and life it selfe, mens goods in France were violently taken by the licence of warre, Churches spoiled, men every where murthered, or wounded, others put to death, or tortured; Matrons ravished, Maydes forcibly drawne from out their parents armes to bee deflowred, Townes daily taken, daily spoiled, daily defaced, the riches of the Inhabitants carried whither the Conquerours thinke good; houses and villages round about set on fire: no kinde of cruelty is left unpractised upon the miserable French; omitting many hundreth kindes of other calamities, which all at once oppressed them. Adde hereunto that the Common-wealth being destitute of the helpe of Lawes, (which for the most part are mute in times of warre and mutiny) floateth up and*

* Polid. Virgil.

* Gallicum, to distinguish, (it seemeth) from the former meere titular, of *Gallie Rex*; so also the *French* Kings usually stile themselves.

* *In conflictu In. Guillim Heraldi peritiſſ. Dat. H. 6. 7.*

* *Inter Charters college Eton.*

The King returnes into *England*.

The Protector breakes an insurrection at *Abington* in the North.

* *Stowes Annal.*

A mutiny beginning in *Calis* appeased.

The Duke of *Bedford* marrieth the Earle of Saint Pauls daughter.

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Stowe.*

* Iohn Tit. Livius.

* Polid. Virg.

* Iuvenis Jouvenc.

* Paul. Æmil.

The Commons of *Normandy* rise against the *English*.

* *Hollinsh.*

* *Polid. Virgil.*

Renate Duke of Loraine and his captivitie.

* *Polid. Virgil. lib. 23.*

* Paul. Æmil.

The Earle of Arundel slaine.

Paul. Æmil.

The miserable state of France by occasion of these warres.

and downe, without any anchorage at right or justice. Neither was England her-self void of these mischiefes, who every day heard the newes of her valiant Childrens funerals, slaine in perpetuall skirmishes and bickerings, her generall wealth continually ebd, and wained, so that the evils seemed almost equall, and the whole Weſterne world echoed the groanes and sighes of either Nations quarrels, being the common argument of speech and compassion throughout Christendome.

(22) The course certainly which the *English* held, did onely faintly keepe alive the generall State of the Regency, without giving period to the warre, eyther by finishing the Conquest, or setling that which was conquered. Some would have had large supplies of men, and treasure levyed, that King *Charles* might no where have any rest: Of this opinion were *Bedford* * himselfe, the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Somerset*. This Counsell was not followed, but another, in shew more frugal, which fed the evils, but redressed none. Present sparings doe oftentimes draw after them infinite wasts, and no husbandry proves so ill as unseasonable Parsimonie. In the meane time, the Earle of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Talbot*, carry about victorious Armes, and terrifie *Anion, Main*, and other places, with their successes. In *Normandie*, nevertheleſſe the common people drew together in huge multitudes. There were three-score * thousand of them rebelliously knotted together in *Pexin, Norman*, and twenty thousand in *Caux*. Their purpose was, (through dislike of the *English* Government, or practise of the *French*) to have reacht one hand to King *Charles*, and to have thrust King *Henries* Officers out. What is a Multitude without advice? To stop their insolency and course which * they held toward *Caux*, the Earle of * *Arundel*, and *Robert* Lord *Willoughby*, with about thirteen hundred light horse, and sixe thousand Archers, march against them, by direction of the Dukes of *Yorke* and *Somerset*, who had the chiefe Lieutenancies in *Normandy*. They divide their forces to use them with the more advantage. The Earle stayes in ambush with two parts, the Lord *Willoughby* drawes them into it with the third. A thousand of the Rebels were cut downe before the souldiers hands could be stayed to spare the rest, who basely (as it became them) threw away their weapons, and fel to the earth, crying mercy. The multitudes were suffered to return, their ring-leaders lost their lives. All that the World could collect by this popular Insurrection, was, *that the Normans would bee glaidy rid of the English.* Nothing else was done. This Earle of *Arundel* having done sundry noble deedes during the warres in *France*, received his deaths-wound shortly after in a skirmish at *Gerberoy* in *Beauvoisine*, where *La Hire* (a famous Captaine among the enemies) had the day.

(23) The *Regency* yet held, and the miseries of *France* (being burnt up by the fiery reflections of two Counter-Suns) were nothing diminished: Who should give to them a Period? while the Duke of *Burgundy* continued *English*, it could not be. To prepare therefore a seperation between them, such of the Nobility as went over to the Burgundian Duke told him, * *That King Charles upon all occasions (when speech was mimisired) spake of him honourably, and inwardly wished him well, and that he never heard any mention of the murther committed upon the Duke his father, (cause of the sonnes hatred to France) but hee heartily sighed, protesting hee was neither partie nor privy thereunto.* These and the like mollifying salves applyed to the tumors of his revengefull affections, did worke strongly, the rather for that his minde heretofore possessed with the English amitie, was now vacant in that part, the same (by the meanes of sundry jealousies and aversions) lying open to contrary impressions. There wanted but an outward honourable meanes to fashion him entirely to the French party. Let us heare * *Serres* in this poynt: The Deputies of the *Generall Councell* presse both French, English, and Burgundians to end all quarrels by some good composition. The Citie of *Arras* is allowed of them all to treat in. From the * Pope and *Counsell of Pisa*, there came the Cardinals of S. *Crosse* and *Cypres*; with twelve Bishops. For the King of *France*, there was the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earle of *Richmond* Constable of *France*, the Archbishop of *Rheims*, Chancellor of *France*, and many others, great noble, wise, and learned men. For the King of *England*, the two Cardinals of *Yorke* and *Winchester*, the Earles of *Suffolke* (* *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*) the Bishops of Saint *Davids, Iohn Ratcliffe* Keeper of the great Seale, the Lord *Hungerford, Ralph*, the wise Officiall of *Canterbury*, and some Doctors of Divinity. For *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Guelders*, the Earle of *Nassau*, the Bishop of *Cambray*, Count *Fernambourg*, the Bishop of *Leige*; five other great Earles, besides the Deputies of many his best Townes, sufficient to shew, that though he was in title but a Duke, yet that his greatnesse was equall to a King. When it came to communication, the *English* being also in possession, *urged farther for themselves the right of descent, and the act of Charles the sixth, father to this Charles, by which act the Crowne of France was setled upon Henry the fifth, and the issue of the Lady Katherine his wife, and therefore they propounded no other condition of peace, but that Henry their King might have all, and * Charles to hold of him. The French offered Normandie and Guien.* There ended the hope of agreement between them, for neither party would accept. King *Charles* therefore resolving to mayme the *English* faction upon any termes (how baie soever) sends Duke *Philip* a blanke, bids him therein to preſcribe his owne conditions and demands: he did so: and his *Conditions were so unreasonable, and so many, even a great volume full*, (saith a French man) *as it is strange, so great a Monarch should stoope so much to his subjects and vassall, but that necessitie hath no law.* They * joyne hereupon moſt firmely, and the Duke (a man wholly transported by profit) declares himselfe a publique enemy to all the enemies of King *Charles*, and friend to all his friends. This was the first parting-stroake which severed the French Dominions from the English Soveraignitie: the event declared, that the English had done more wisely, if they had accepted *Normandy* and *Guyen*; but as the case stood then, they could not in honour doe it; and Councels are not to be measured by events; for so the moſt foolish may sometimes passe for prudent. King *Henry* not onely lost now hereby a moſt needfull friend, but was compelled to relye upon his single strengths, aswell against King *Charles* his naturall enemy, as against the Duke of *Burgundy*, who plainely seemed to have betrayed the cause. To set a glosse upon this fact, the Duke * dispatcheth Ambassadors into *England* to King *Henry* (who, as * *Aemylius* erroneously saith, was present at this treaty of *Arras*) to make known the reasons of his peace with King *Charles*, and to perswade the King to entertaine the same. This Ambassage was so odious to the *English*, that they forbare not to call the Duke *a deceitfull man, a turn-sorver, a perjured person, and a Traytor.*

(24) The popular hatred also was such against the Dukes Subjects, reſtant in *London*, that they were beaten and slaine many of them, before the furie thereof coude be stayed by Proclamation. The Ambassadours returne with honest admonitions to their Master, against which, his eares and senses were strongly mured; for King *Charles* had set about them as it were a Barricado of royalties, priviledges, honours, money, Cities, Townes, and whole Provinces, which he confirmed to the Duke, onely to with-draw him from us. The whole Counties of * *Aux, Erre, Ponthieu, Bolein, Artois*, the towne of *Abbeville*, and other lands, the Cities and Townes in *Picardy*, upon the water of *Some, Amiens, Corbie, Peron, S. Quintin*, but these last as it were in gage till

* Eugenius 4 Commissioners at *Arras* to compose the quarrels of the English, French and Burgundians.

* *Holinsh.*

* *Polyd. Virg. l. 23.*

Serres in Chron. 7

Serres.

The French and Burgundian agree * 24. Sept 1435. Serres.

The incredible rate at which King *Charles* purchased the Burgundians good will.

* Paul. Æmil.

* Polid. Virgil

* Paul. Æmil.

* foure hundreth thousand Crownes were satisfied: Briefly, what not? the Charity of King *Charles* was so fervent to make ten Duke of *Burgundy* a true French man once againe; he payde so deare for it, that we may thinke him worthy to obtaine his desire; yet was it worth his cost; for *Aemilius* saith most truely, that *the ceasing of that indignation did redeeme the French from a forraine governement, as the first assuming thereof had made the Englishe, Lords over France.* But, howsoever the high and just displeasure which this Prince took for the wicked murther of his father, (abundantly satisfied before this treatie) moved him first to embrace the English amity, he after-ward most subtilely converted the revenge (by way of taking amends) to the enlargement of his proper riches, power, and amplitude. After his Ambassadors returned, he sends backe all contracts to the Duke of *Bedford* at *Paris*, and renounceth the alliance of *England* with a watch word, *that every one should looke to himselfe.*

An. Dom. 1435. *An. Reg.* 14.

(25) Each man hereupon (saith * *Serres*) sharpens his sword, and scoures his Armes, to recover that by force which they could not obtaine by *reason*; *Serres* might better have said, *reasoning.* All things certainely favoured the *French* desiignes, for this was the generall estate of the *English* affaires. King *Henry* scarse out of his Child-hood; and when he came to mans age, not Man enough to manage so turbulent occurrents; the Princes of the bloud weakely united in love, for the common good; the Protector vigilant over *England*, the Regent carefull for *France*, but both privately envied; *Richard Duke of Yorke* (whose strengths daily increased, which in time he meant nothing lesse then to use for the benefit of King *Henry*,) ambitiously reserving himselfe for a deare day; most of the great warriers slaine; and in briefe, a great inability (for want of a Soule, willing and fit to looke so sterne and dismall adventures in the face) through the whole body of the *Englishs* forces; which though otherwise they might have lingred out the warre, and kept their footing, yet the death of the great Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, doubled the difficulty, or rather the impossibility. In taking this triumphant Peere away, God made it manifest, that he held the *English* unworthy and unfit to continue their Empire among the *French* any longer. This Prince not long after this revolt of *Duke Philip*, dyed at * *Paris* uncertaine to some, whether through griefe of the evils he foresaw, or other malady. But the *Analogy* and colohr of his whole former life, doth contradict their conceit, who thinke that such a griefe should determine his daies, because it could not but proceed from a kind of feare and despaire, an humour absolutely opposite to Magnanimity, wherein he abounded. How mighty a *Prince* he was this his * *style* sheweth: *Regent of France; Duke of Bedford, Alanzon, and Anjou, Earle of Maine, Richmond, and Kendale; and Constable of England*, But (which excelleth his greatnesse) he was one of the best Patriots and Generals, that ever blossomed out of the royal *Reisar* of *England*. His valour was not more terrible to the enemy, then his memory honourable. For (doubtfull whether with more glory to him, then to the speaker) * *Lewis* the eleventh being afterwards counselled by certaine envious persons to demolish and deface his stately Tombe, (wherein, *with him*, * saith one, *was buried all the Englishmens good fortune in France,*) which was erected over his body in the North-side of the high Altar in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, used these indeed most Princely words.

(26) *What honour shall it bee to us, or you, to breake this Monument, and to pull out of the ground the bones of him deadt whom in his life-time, neyther my father, nor your Progenitors with all their puissance, were once able to make flie one foote backward? who by his strength, pollicie, and wit, kept them all out of the principall dominions of the Realme of France, and out of this noble Dutchy of Normandy? wherefore I say first, God save his soule; and let his bodie now lye in rest: which when hee was alive, would have disquieted the proudest of us all: And as for the toombe, I assure you it is not so worthy or convenient, as his honour and acts deserved.*

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France* dieth at *Paris.*

* Camdden in *Britannia* saith he was slaine in battell before *Vernuyl.*

* Master Camdens Stat.

* *Serres Ann.* but Master Camden saith it was Charles. * Camdenibid.

King Lewis his Princely testimony of the late Regents vertues.

(27) The Regent being now dead, the late peace made at *Arras* betweene King *Charles* and *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, presently disclosed, and put forth effects most dangerous to the *English*; for many Townes voluntarily yeeld, and multitudes of the French, (who hitherto through feare contained themselves) starting away, all the English Dominions were full of private conventicles, practises, and correspondences with the enemy. Such Englishas then were in *France*, are not altogether sloathfull, but yet, through a fatall either security or negligence at home, there was not speedy sufficiencies of resistance ministred.

(28) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, (whose services never did good to the *English* common-wealth) is created Regent of *France*, and *Edmund Duke of Somerset* (his perpetuall rivall, or perhaps an intelligent censor of his manners) continues his commands in *Normandy.* The Duke of *Sommerset* * opposed the advancement of *Yorke* to that slipperie dignity. He was no babe in so doing, but more fore-seeing then the Protector, and all the Councell of *England*: Yet his opposition was unseasonable, and fruitlesse; for the others carriage had wonne such a party about the King, (whom he meant by embracing to pull down) that notwithstanding the disadvantage of his silenced title, which was alone a great cause to have made him everlastingly incapable of so great trust & means he prevailed. But before he could arrive, *Paris* was lost. *Robert* Lord *Willoughby* was Governour there for the *English*, who had with him but about two thousand, the faith of the Citizens was presumed upon to make up the rest at a pinch, for a common resistance. On the contrary, they perceiving upon what tearmes the English affaires stood in *France*, chiefly after the late Regents death, conspire against them. The treason was carried so cunningly by some of the principall Magistrates of the Town, who capitulated for a generall pardon from King *Charles* (which was gladly yeelded unto,) that the mischiefe sooner tooke effect, then it could bee discovered. *Thomas Lord Beaumont* began the losse with his misfortune; for *Arthur* Earle of *Richmond*, Constable of *France*, hovering about *Paris*, in hope to recover the same, the Lord *Beaumont*, with certaine hundreths of *English*, fell into his danger about *Saint Denis*, and were distressed. While as yet the terror of this discomfiture (not great in regard of the numbers slaine, but in regard of the Circumstances) was freshest, the French advance their Banners up to the City, where a gate was opened unto them by their partisans. What should the *English* doe in this generall mischiefe? The townesmen, lately vassals, turne enemies on a sodaine: women and children assaile the *English* from their windowes with all sorts of misfill things. Many are beaten downe and massacred in the streets. The Lord *Willoughby* Governour of *Paris*, *Lewis* of *Luxemburg* Bishop of *Therouenne*, Chancellour of *France* for the *English*, the Bishops of *Lisieux* and *Meaux*, with other, flie to * S. *Anthonies* gate, and the Bastile, places which they had reserved for defence till extreame necessity. Many more had beene saved in those places, but that the perfidious Citizens drew chaines thwart the streetes, and empeached their retreat. Heare the rest in a * *Erenchmans* words.

(29) *All runne to the Bastile. The Tournels are presently seized, and all approaches unto the Bastile are soone wonne. Such as were within it, at first made some shew of defence, but all things were prepared to force them: they demand a Parlea, and agree to depart with their lives and baggage. They are conducted about the Towne beneath the Loure, to embarke upon the River of Sein, and so passe to Roan. They could not well have passed through the Citie. The people hereof advertised,*

Robert Fabians Chronicle. Gaguin.

* 15. Febr. An. Dom. 1436. The new Regent comes with an Army into France.

Richard Duke of Yorke made Regent of France.

* Stellens. Stow Annal.

* Serres Anno.

The Parisians conspire in diffidence the English.

Gallobelgicus lyres Bisgnatius.

* Paul. Æmil.

The Protector of England re-leases Calis with a great Fleete and Armie.

* Serres. Iron by Edward Grimston.

The City of Paris yeelded up to the French.

*advertised, runne to the walles, and cry out with great shoutes, * baiting the English like Dogs, who in a little before they had feared, and honoured as their masters.* Who of the English reades these things, without indignation? but they are the perpetuall maners of the base multitude, and the fortune therein of the English the same which followeth all like accidents. Some will thinke that the Lord *Willoughby*, and his people might have done more nobly, to have taken up their graves in the place which they pretended to make good against the French. Fortitude is never separated from Prudence. Succour was despaired. The Duke of *Yorke* was not as yet arrived, and in maintaining their strengths against the whole City of *Paris*, and all the present French forces, for the space of about ten dayes, they sufficiently cleared themselves both in point of honour and loyalty. *Paris* * is thus lost in the worst time for an Army to march in. They did wisely to choose so unseasonable a season, their marker might have else beene marred; for the new Regent (or so much hindred from sooner comming by the Duke of *Sommersets* emulations, which some affirme, as by the very quality of the winter weather) arrived afterward, accompanyed with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, and other worthy persons, with an Army of eight thousand men. *But this Regent did never good in France:* He who so * writes, might have also safely added, *nor elsewhere.* The English affaires were not as yet come to the very breake-necke point. They held (in the late conquered parts of *France*) *Normandy* entire, though not without much trouble; for the people againe rebell in *Caux*: but that mischiefe was destroyed with the greater and more merciesse confusion of the authors and actors, then the former. About five thousand of them were trampled to death by the just fury of the English, under the leading of the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hoo*, and others. They burnt all their dwellings, made booty of their goods, drave their whole numbers out of the country. The Lord *Scales* not long after discomfited *La Hire*, and his Company not farre from *Roane* The warre was handled on all sides without full or compleat armies: Skirmishes were the ordinary formes of fighting. The French were schooled from setling their rest upon a pitcht field. Thus hovered the affaires.

(30) *Philip* Duke of *Burgoigne* had as yet in person given no proofe against the English of his affection to King *Charles*. Now he addresseth himselfe to an enterprise worthy of that expectation, the recovery of *Calis*. You would suspect that hee continued still a friend to the English, in making choyce of a service, wherein he was most likely to waste his time in vaine, and yet make shew of much forwardnesse; but he was reall, though the rather stirred thereunto by the desire of private revenge. The English, upon his forsaking their alliance, had attempted to kindle the *Gauntois*, and other of the *Flemish* Townes (Subjects to the Duke) to rise in rebellion: but the opinion that King *Henries* fortunes in *France* were desperatly stooping, made their wils too danke to take fire. The notice notwithstanding of this attempt came to the Duke, which sharpened him to revenge, whereof (as the former passages abundantly declare) hee was not ordinarily thirfty. Hee brings his Army before *Callis*. Chiefe commanders there for King *Henry*, were the Lord *Dudley* who had charge of the Castle, and Sir *John Ratcliffe* of the Towne. The Dukes purpose was to have cloyed the harbour by sinking ships laden with stones, and such like choaking materials: but upon the ebbe-water the *Calisians* delivered the haven from that perill. The King of *England* advertised that his precious Fort and Towne of *Calis* were thus emperilled, *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector comes in person with a very great Fleete (some write five hundreth saile) to the rescue, and in it a great puissance, with full purpose to give battell; glad perhaps that he might now revenge old grudges. It is able to move choler, to consider how

* Writers torture us with the diversities of reports, but the generall agreement is, that the Duke of *Burgundy* did raise his siege before he was fought with. Some * say the very rumour of the *Protectors* approach drave him away, and that the Protector came the next day after the Burgundians flight. Others excuse him (probably enough) in saying that the *Flemings* grew unweikly to his commandements, and would needs home.

(31) The *Protector* was master of the Dukes Camp, and spent eleven dayes in his Dominions, burning *Popering* and *Bell*, and greatly damnified him about * *Gravelen* and *Bolognois*, then setteth he the state of *Callis*, and * returnes, with great honour to his charge into *England*. But the English were thought to have created store of worke for this busie Duke at home, where many great tumults rose, in * one of which, his owne person was indangered at *Burges*, *Lisle-Adam* the Captaine of his guard being there presently slaine. Hence it came perhaps that a meane * was found, by contracts made with *Isabel* the Dutcheese, his third wife, (a most witty woman, a Portugesse,) to hold a league with *England*, and yet no breach with *France*.

(32) These have hitherto beene the actions of Men, let us not neglect two great Ladies, because much concerning our History depend on their courses. Queene *Katherine*, the widdow of King *Henry* the fift, and mother by him of this sixt *Henry*, about this time departed out of the world. This most noble Lady, when her Husband the King was dead, being not of judgement (by reason of her tender yeares to understand what became her greatnesse, or having found perhaps that greatnesse was no part of happinesse,) secretly marrieth one *Owen ap Theodore* or *Tedor*, [b] the most noble and most goodly Gentleman of all the *Welsh* Nation, and endued with [c] admirable vertues, who drew his descent from holy *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britaines*. This Husband had by her sundry children, two of which, *Edmund* and *Iasper* doe beare a part in the royall history, and King *Henry* the sixt (their halfe-brother) created the first of them Earle of *Richmond*, the other of *Pembroke*. This *Edmund* is he, who by *Margaret* the daughter of *Iohn* Duke of *Sommerset*, (grand-child to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*,) had *Henry* the 7. the most famous and prudent King of *England*.

(33) In that yeare in which this excellent Queene dyed, the yong Dutcheese *Dowager* of *Bedford* (widdow to the late Regent of *France*) married also (below her degree) a vigorous English Knight, one Sir [d] *Richard Woodvile*, of which match yet *Serres* needed not to have spoken so contemptibly, calling him an English adventurer, of small account; the thereby (saith he) giving cause to laugh at her: which censure tasteth perhaps of the French leven and prejudice, because the Lady was sister to the Earle of Saint *Paul*, who would not make one in the peace of *Arras*, but held with the English.

(3) But let us see the sequell. Out of this Matrimony also sprung Queenes; for her Husband (afterward made Earle of *Rivers*) had fundry children by her, whereof *Elizabeth* being one, had the honour to marry *Edward* the fourth King of *England*, and hereby was both her selfe a Queene and a Progenitresse of those glorious Kings and Queenes which followed: for from her and this match sprang another *Elizabeth*, the renowned Wife of King *Henry* the seventh, as King *Henry* himselfe did of the former: both these marriages proved most fortunate to *England*: but another marriage which then threatned present danger to King *Henry*, was that which *Iames* the first King of *Scots* made with *France*, who gave his daughter the Lady *Margaret*, to *Lewis* the *Dolphin* for wife, and sent new supplies of men against the English: hee meant also to have attempted some personall hostilitie, but that hee was most wickedly murthered by certaine bloudy Traitors in *Perth*; suborned thereunto by *Walter* Earle of *Athol*, (his

* *Polid. Virgil lib.* 23.

He returnes with honour into *England.*

* *Serres.*

* *Rob. Fabian.*

* *Serres.*

Katherine Queene Dowager of *England* dyeth.

[b] Paul. Æmil.

[c] Polidor. Virg.

King Henry the 7. her Grand-child.

[d] Stows Annals. The Dutcheese Dowager marrieth *Woodvile.*

Elizabeth wife to *Edward* 4. a daughter of that bed.

The mother of King *Iames* the first of *Scotland.*

(his owne neere kinseman) in hope to attaine the Crowne; crowned indeed hee was, but not (as his Witches and Sorcerers had ambiguously insinuated) with the Crown of that Realme, but with a * Crown of red-hot yron, which was clapt upon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith hee ended at once his wicked dayes and desires.

* Holl. Boeth. lib. 17.

(35) Let us now cast our eye to the doings of our new Regent the Duke of *Yorke*, that we may be witnesses, how farre by his endeavours, the affaires of King *Henry* were advanced in *France*. The silence at this time is every where very great, yet had he opportunity to have atchieved somewhat. Two * thousand French horsemen were mutined, and roved up and downe in great disorder. *Paris* was fearefully punished with famine, and the attendants of famine, pestilentiall maladies. The Countries about lay open: the Courtiers were discontented and divided: Nothing is yet done by our Regent, which * some impute to *Edmund* Duke of *Sommersets* opposition, who out of envy and disdaine hindred his dispatch. Wee must in the meane time finde out them that did somewhat. The Duke of *Sommerset* himselfe, accompanyed with the Lords *Talbot* and *Faucenbridge*, with other Gallants, and a competent force of the English, besiege *Harflew*, which the Normans in the late rebellion tooke from them, and still maintained against them under French Captaines: King *Charles* sends some of his principall Commanders, with foure thousand men, to rescue the Towne; who did their best, but not able to effect any thing, *Harflew* was rendred to the Duke.

* Stow pag. 636.

Harflew recovered by the Duke of Sommerset.

The Earle of Warwicke becomes Regent into France, and Yorke returnes.

An. Dom. 1438.

(36) In November *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke* came as Regent into *France*, being surrogated in that office to the Duke of *Yorke*, who returned into *England*. Hee carried with him a thousand fresh Souldiers, and arrived at *Harflew*, from whence he repaired to *Roane*, the chiefe seat (*Paris* being now lost) of the English Dominions in North *France*, as *Burdeaux* was in the South; whither now the Earle of *Huntington*, with certaine troupes and companies of Souldiers, was sent as *Seneschall*. This new Regent busied himselfe in the generall affaires of his place. Vnder him the Duke of *Burgoins* forces were driven from *Crotoy*: *Abbeville* freed from the danger of a *Bastile*, with which the Duke had pent that Towne in; and the English for twenty dayes space together tooke their pleasure in spoyling the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. These and some other actions having beene worthily carried during this Regents government, himselfe dyeth. The Duke of *Yorke* againe succeeds him. Our interest in *France* was retained, not so much by King *Henries* ministers and Armies, as by remissenesse of King *Charles*, whom also *Lewis* the *Doulphin* (afterward King) did greatly trouble by rebellious decessions, and absentments of himselfe. The feare of the English reconciled the sonne to the Father the sooner. King *Charles* was now false in dislike with his people, but to redeeme his credit, hee attempts the recovery of *Pontoyse* (a towne neere to *Paris*) which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before surprized by stratagems and money (an ordinary meanes as then for the expugnation of places) and comes in person to the enterprise. There attended upon him for that service about ten or twelve thousand men. The Lord *Clifford* is within, and makes a brave defence.

The Duke of Yorke Regent againe.

King Charles and his sonne reconciled against the English.

The siege of Pontoyse.

(37) The Duke of *Yorke* lately landed in *Normandy*, as Regent, assembleth his maine strengths, being about seven or eight thousand; offers the French King battell. Hee keepes himselfe within his trenches. The Duke (according to the ancient humor and discipline of the English, who love to set all upon a push) desirous to fight, unexpectedly passeth the River of *Oyse*, which ranne betweene the two Campes. King *Charles* dislodgeth so fearefully, that the French doe not over-boldly excuse him of * flying. The Duke having had the spoyle of the French Kings Campe, re-fortifies *Pontoyse*, and assaults a *Bastile*, where *Charles* had left three thousand Souldiers to maintaine the face of a siege. It was held better to pursue the King, who was gotten to *Poyse*. There the Duke of *Yorke* against very nobly provokes him to a field. It would not bee; King *Charles* saw the hazards were not equall, and therefore endures his bravado. He could doe no more, but is of necessity to returne to the maine of his charge in *Normandy*, and doth so. King *Charles* ranne into such obloquy and contempt with his people by this dishonourable retreate, but chiefely with the *Parisians*; that if he had not attempted againe and prevailed against *Pontoyse*, it might have jeoparded his whole estate; for there was a faction which would have made use of his disgrace. He returnes in great fury to the siege, and finally enters the Towne, not without much bloudshed. *Serres* faith, that five hundred English left their dead bodies at the breach. The King was one of the first that entred, choosing rather to be thought temerarious then timerous. This exploit established his opinion among the people. A fatiety of warre filled both sides, and the estate of *England* under King *Henry*, whose softnesse and lenity gave way to sundry dangerous Court-factions, needed quiet Commissioners to meet at *Calis*: nothing is concluded but the enlargement of *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, for the summe of three hundred thousand Crownes. He had beene Prisoner in *England* about twenty and sixe yeares, ever since the Battell of *Azincourt*, where hee was taken. The Duke of *Burgundy* was a speciall Actor in his enlargement, with a purpose to secure his owne greatnesse by benefits: this high-borne Prince, for the murther of his Father, being naturally the head and chiefe of that deadly fewde, which had most mortally raged betweene the houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleance*. *Humphrey* Duke of *Glocester* prudently foreseeing the dangers like to ensue on *Orleance* his enlargement, stoutly opposed himselfe thereunto, and that upon important reasons which * hee required to have registred, that they might remaine on Record for a testimony and discharge of his duty in that behalfe.

King Charles pursued by the Duke of Yorke.

Pontoyse taken by King Charles

Charles Duke of Orleance set at liberty by the English.

* Rym. Fœder. de Hen. 6. in the copy whereof I had from the learned Master John Clapham.

A short truce and a match concluded for King Henry with the sister of Sonne daughter.

An. Dom. 1444. *A. Reg.* 22.

1. First, for that the French King wanted discretion and judgement to order his affaires, which defects might be supplyed by the Duke, (being a man of experience and very subtile) if he should be set at liberty.

2. That the said Duke might procure an union of the factions (now hotely maintained in *France* among the Nobility) to the prejudice of the Crowne of *England*, and hazard of the losse of the Kings territories in *France*.

3. That the Dutchy of *Normandy* (having sustained a great charge in maintaining the warre) seeing the Duke of *Orleance* delivered, and no royall Army on the English part to withstand the common enemy, was likely enough to revolt.

4. That if the Duke should be delivered, it might be probably conjectured, that he would sooner break his oath, which hee should (being prisoner) make to the King of *England*, then the oath of his allegeance to the French King his Soveraigne Lord, of whom he holdeth his lands and dignity.

5. If the Articles concluded betweene his Majesty and the French on the Dukes behalfe, should not be performed, what remedy might his Majesty have or expect?

6. That considering his cosen of *Huntington* was to leave the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and for that the alliance betwixt the said Duke, and the Earles of *Armignacke* and *Foix*, and the Lord *de la Bret*, was to be suspected as dangerous, it was very necessary that good provision should bee made for defence of that Countrey, being his Majesties ancient inheritance.

7. That his Majesty hath no allyance with any Christian Prince, but only the King of *Portugall* (being but of tender yeares, and farre off:) and therefore it was not safe for his Majesty to deliver him, that was likely to prove his Capitall enemy, and to seeke

seeke meanes to deprive him of those lands which his noble Father had left him.

8. That if any of his Majesties kindred, or other Lords on that side the Sea, should happen to be taken prisoners, the said Duke of *Orleance* might ransome foure or five of them.

9. That it were for to take advise of the Lords, and other his Majesties Subjects in the Realme of *France*, and Dutchy of *Normandy*, whether they thought it expedient that the said Duke should be delivered or not. Otherwise the world might cry shame thereon, when men should call to minde the losse of his brethren of *Clarence*, and *Bedford*, and other noble Personages, in defending and keeping those Lands.

10. If he (the said Duke of *Glocester*) should consent to the said Dukes deliverance (the same being also quite contrary to the last Will of his Majesties Father) such inconveniences as would ensue thereupon, should be imputed to him.

(38) Notwithstanding, the weight of so many thousand Crownes over-peyed all these important and ponderous reasons; and the warre eates on still in the body of *France*, but not with so sharpe teeth, nor so full engorgement as before. Townes and people are taken on both sides. The Countie of *Amiens* was spoyled by the English Lords, *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; The Regent and the Duke of *Sommerset*, march into *Anjou*, where they charged their carriages with much spoyle, and returned. Then the Duke of *Sommerset* severs himselfe, and doth sundry exploits in and about *Britaine*. *Diep* in *Normandy* being besieged, was rescued by the *Dolphin* of *France* to our losse. The contemplation of these mutuall violences touched all Christendome: for the Turke common enemy thereof, encreased. Ambassadours are sent from all parts, to determine these bloudy differences. *William de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, was chiefe for the English. A truce was hereupon taken for eighteene months, betweene King *Henry* and King *Charles*, and an hope of perpetuall amitie, weakly grounded upon a match which the Earle of *Suffolke* contracted for King *Henry*, with *Margaret* the daughter of *Renate*, titulary King of *Sicile*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem*, Duke of *Anjou* and *Loraine*, Prince of the bloud. To effect this, the Earle covenanted *that the English should abandon the possession of Anjou, and Main to her Father.* A strange purchase of a wife, who though shee brought youth, beautie and hope of a perpetuall Peace with *France*, (the more profitable opportunitie whereof, the English had more bravely then happily neglected) yet was she otherwise without portion. The Earle notwithstanding (whose drift herein could not be without manifest ambition, to make himselfe one of the greatest of *England*, by this gratification of the French, with his Masters charge and dishonour) is not abashed to expect publique thankes for this high service, and an whole fifteene for the charge of her transportation. Sundry Lords of Councell, and the King himselfe, thought him worthy, and according to his devise and overture, the whole affaire was carried. *Suffolke* made *Marquesse* is sent over with many honorable persons, both men and women, to conduct the faire and goodly (but most unfortunate and fatall) Bride into *England*. * *Polydore* gives us no unfitting Character of this Lady. *She* was provident enough, very desirous of glory, abounding in discourse, counsel, gracious behaviour, and manly courage; but not free from womens humour, which (faith he) is usually vehement and apt to change. In *England* ye may easily suppose, that she was most royally entertained; *Humfrey Duke of Glocester*, among others, meeting her with a traine of * five hundred horsemen in a livery, that worthy Poet *John Lydgate* Monke of *Bury*, devising the speeches for such gratulatory triumphs as were made at her entrance into *London*. The King being married lawfully enjoyes her embracements, from which he was often afterward violently separated by the miseries of a most cruell warre, wherein she had her piteous portion. *Suffolke* in the meane time having the most assured favour of the Queene, pursues his ambitious purposes. She in the meane time was solemnly crowned Queene of *England* at *Westminster* upon the * thirtieth of *May*.

* Hall. fol. 23.

* Polidor. lib. Fabian.

She is married to King Henry and Crowned.

(39) Would to God it stood now with the qualitie of this argument to turne our eyes from the view of those actions which ensued; for here the mournefull tragedies of our poore Country began. But we cannot but open those old and most execrable sores, that, in their example, all true English bloud may the rather be tender over their bowels, beholding such effects as the divell and all the furies of hell were (by Gods severe permission) Actors in. *Fabian* gives us the causes and contents of those effects, in these grave and few words.

* A. Dom. 1445. *A. Reg.* 23.

Fabian.

"(40) *It appeareth that God was not pleased with that "marriage. For after this day, the fortune of the world "began to fall from the King, so that he lost his friends "in England, and his revennes in France: For shortly "after, all was ruled by the Queene and her Counsell, "to the great disprofit of the King and his Realme, and "to the great maugre* (it is *Fabians* word) *and obloquy of "the Queene, who* as since hath beene well prooved) "*had many a wrong, and false report made of her. All "which misery fell for BREAKING OF THE "PROMISE, made by the King unto the Earle of "Armineks* daughter, as most Writers agree: which "misery in this Story shall some-deale appeare by the "losing of Normandy,* (as all things else, except *Calis*, "which the English held in *France*) *the division of "the Lords within this Realme, the rebellion of the "comminaltie against their Prince and Soveraigne, and "finally the King deposed, and the Queene with the "Prince faine to flee the Land, and lost the rule thereof "for ever.* Thus he: but all this farre short of the evils that were the brood and of-spring of the following times. The Parliament in the meane time grants aydes of money, that upon expiration of that truce, there might be prefent abilities to maintaine warre. The Duke of *Yorke* is revoked, and the Duke of *Somerset* (in an evill houre) is sent in his place, with such provisions as were repured competent.

* This contract by proxie is said to have beene made in the twentieth yeare of King Henry; and that the Earle of Suffolke was chiefe, if not sole actor in breaking it.

The Duke of Somerset Regent of English France. The Duke of Glocesters troubles.

(41) *Humfrey* the renowned Duke of *Glocester*, Lord Protector, felt the first stroke of the evill Angel, which was sent to punish *England*, and to roote out her Nobles. This Duke was much hated of the Queene, and her faction, as the onely man who by his prudence, as also by the honour and authoritie of his birth & place, seemed to empeach that soveraign command, which they pretended to settle in the Kings owne person, but meant indeed (as the manner is under soft Princes) to raigne themselves in anothers name. Many great Lords were drawne on (at the time of a Parliament then * holden at Saint *Edmunds-Bury*) to concurre for his ruine, not perceiving, that thereby they pluckt up the floud-gate, at which the Duke of *Yorke* entered, overwhelming all of them in a deluge of bloud. Whether they had any true or just feare of *Glocester* himselfe, least perhaps hee should take revenge upon some particular persons among them, is doubtfull, though it be probable enough, that they had. Heare some things that fore-went this Parliament. About five or sixe yeares before, * the Dutchesse of *Glocester Eleanor*, was convented for *witchcraft and sorcery*, and afterward endited of *treason* in the *Guild-hall* in *London*, before the Earles of *Huntington*, *Stafford*, *Suffolke*, and *Northumberland*, and certaine Lords, as *Fanhope*, and *Hungerford*, with others, and Iudges of both Benches; of which crime shee was appealed by one *Bolingbrook* an Astronomer, and *Thomas Southwell* a Canon, which *Southwell* was charged to have said Masses over certaine instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Necromancy against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as accessary, shee having desired the helpe of their Art, to know what would befall her. Some part hereof she

* In February.

* Stows Anna. The Dutchesse of Glocester arraigned of sorcery and treason.

she confessed, for which she was put to publike and solemne penance in *London*, upon three severall daies, with wonderfull shame to her person, and after shee was committed to perpetuall prison under the Ward of Sir *Thomas Stanley* in the Castle of *Chester*, but from thence removed to *Kenelworth*. *Her pride, fallhood, avarice, and lechery were causes of her confusion*, saith *Stow*; who hath set forth that businesse very diligently, though not seeming to attribute much credit to that accusation of treason. The Duke of *Glocester* her unhappy Lord and Husband (whom shee by love-cups and enchantments was said to have envegled, using therein one *Margery Gurdmain* a witch of *Ey* in *Suffolke*, who was burnt in *Smithfield*) stung with this reproach, might reasonably be thought not unwilling to doe somewhat. Howsoever that was, his destruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being cometo attend in this Parliament at *Bure*, was arrested of high treason by *John* Lord *Beaumont* high Constable of *England*, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Sommerset*, with others. Certaine of the Kings houshold were appointed to guard him. Not long after hee was found dead. His body was shewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had died of a palsey or an apostеme. Of thirtie and two of his servants which were attached, Sir *Roger Chamberlaine* Knight, *Richard Middleton*, *Thomas Herbert*, *Arthur Tursey* Esquiers, and *Richard Nedham* Gentleman, were condemned of high treason, and had this unexampled punishment. They were drawne from the Tower to *Tiburne*, hanged, let downe quick, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a Charter of pardon shewed for their lives by the *Marquesse* of *Suffolke*. But the yeomen * of the Crowne had their livelyhood, the executioner their cloathes. Their pardons were thus obtained by the earnest diligence of Doctor *Gilbert Worthington*, a famous Preacher, Parson of Saint *Andrewes* in *Holborne*. *Thomas Wilde* Esquire the Dukes servant also, being condemned and pardoned among other, had for a preamble in his Letters Patents words importing, * *that he had beene one among many other traitors against the King, with Humfrey Duke of Glocester, who went about, and practised, to deliver Eleanor, late wife to the Duke, from out of prison, for which purpose he had gathered a great power and number of men, to come to the Parliament at Bury, there to have contrived the Kings destruction.*

The Duke of *Glocester* dead

A strange spectacle of inconstancie in fortune.

* *Speed. Iohn Stowe. Holinsh.*

* *Rere dibid.*

(42) Such was the end of this great Prince, who, notwithstanding this open shewing of his body, and these pretended crimes, was by the people of *England* thought to be doubly murthered, by detraction, and deadly practise. He was not only a true lover of learned men but himselfe also * *learned*, and (saith our Author) *a father of his Countrey*. His maine opinion concerning the government of King *Henries* French dominions, was as mainely opposed by the Cardinall of *Winchester*, and others, who altogether perswaded *Peace*, to which the noble Duke (standing precisely upon the honour and Majestie of the English name,) was * an absolute enemy. From this troubled fountaine of divided Councell many following blacke adventures did flow. The Duke thus brought to his end, *good men* (saith *Polydore*) *fearefull of their owne safeties, did of their owne accord forsake the Court, into whose roomes many succeeded, who for the more part looking how to rise in dignitie made open an easie way for new factions*. The Cardinal of *Winchester* (the other halfe-arch of the Kingdome) over-lived not the Duke above fifteene or sixteene dayes. The whole frame of government was thus drawne to repose it selfe upon the Queene, and such favourites, as the King by her commendation the rather liked.

* *Polich. Virgil. lib. 24.*

* Hall in the Dukes Articles against the Cardinall.

The Cardinall of *Winchester* deceaseth.

(43) The *Marquesse* of * *Suffolke*, prime man in grace, was created Duke, which made him a more conspicuous marke of envie, then that any shadow of the King or Queene could shelter or protect. *After the Cardinals * death, the affaires in France (where Sommerset was now Regent) where neither duly looked unto, nor the governours of the Country well advised.* But the King and Realme of *England* lay, much more then *France*, open to the inevitable, deepe, and pernicious conspiracies of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. He (by the errour of King *Henry*, and the evill starres of our Countrey) being of himselfe a great Prince, and growne stronger by affected popularitie, *perceiving the King to be a Ruler, and not to Rule, began secretly to allure his friends of the Nobility, and privily declared to them his title to the Crowne, as likewise he did to certaine Governours of Cities and Townes*, which attempt was so politickly and closely carried, that his provision was ready, before his purpose was opened. The very state of things invited this fatall conspiracy: a milder King then *England* was worthy of; a Councell out of favour with the people; manifold losses and dishonours abroad; a turbulent and jealous condition of things at home. Of all which and much more, the Duke of *Yorke*, having King *Henry* the fourth (the enemy of his house (for a perillous example, made his precious use, cherishing the popular aversions, without seeking to redresse any evils, but representing them worse then they were, thereby to ripen that breach of loyaltie in the hearts of men, which his ambition wrought upon. His displacement from the Regency of *France*, did not a little (perhaps) offend him at first, because the Duke of *Sommerset* got it over his head; but it will not be long, before *Sommersets* evill carriage of that truft, and the declining fortune of *England*, will give him occasion to rejoyce at the foyle of his dreaded enemy. Let us not be long in the rehearsall of the publique shame and dammage of our nation.

Richard Duke of Yorke pursueth to attaine the Crowne.

Stowes Annals

(44) During the truce betweene *England* and *France*, one Sir *Francis Surien* an *Arragonois* (Knight * of the *Garter*) serving under the Regent, unlawfully surprized *Fougers*, a towne of *Britaine* upon the confines of *Normandy*. Restitution is demanded. The Duke of *Sommerset* (a *proud man* (saith *Serres*) who *thinking to do better then the reſt, did absolutely ruine the Englisſh affaires*) contrary to good discipline, cherishing his souldiers in their riots and disorders, neglected the justice of Nations in that point. The French make this their example, and surprize *Port de l' Arch*, and towne after towne, so many and so fast, that King *Charles* (who, that he might have God on his side, and wrong on his enemies, contained himselfe with great modesty, till * he saw all quiet restitution desperate) recovered *Roan*, *Cane*, and all *Normandy* within a short space after.

* *Serres.*

The losse of *Normandy* recompted by breachofvowe.

(45) Thus *Sommerset*, and the *Englisſh*, are compelled to quit *Normandy*, not only inglorious, but also in *England* it selfe uncommiserated. The next maine parcell of the *Englisſh* inheritance, beyond our Ocean, was *Gascoigne*. King *Charles* and his people desirous (against plaine right) to make all that theirs, whatsoever was comprehended within the *French* language invaded that *Dutchie* also, and within very * few yeares after (the fortune of warre, and disloyaltie of the people every where favouring them) extorted the same out of the *Englisſh-mens* possession, after it had continued theirs about two hundreth fourescore and nine yeares, to the immortall dishonour and dammage of our nation. The Duke of *Yorke* in the meane time, who thirsted for the Crowne of *England*, hath occasion ministred to impe more feathers into his aspiring wings. *Ireland* is in tumult. Thither the Duke passeth, and not onely appeaseth the disorder of that Nation, *but * was such favour among them, as could never be separated from him, and his lineage*. Thus diligently the Pioner makes his mines into the quiet and felicitie of his Country, calling his cause the quarrell of right and justice, as pertending that the Crowne of *England* appertained to his name and family.

* *Serres.* Anno Dom. 1449.

* A.Dom. 1450. *Secundum Iohn. Vitt.*

A Fuller execution of the same treason.

* A.Dom. 1452. *Saith Polydore and Vit.*

Gascoigne lost.

* *Stowes Annals.*

(46) But the odour of his vile successe in *France*, comming into *England*, filled mens hearts and senses with great perturbation. The Queene and *Suffolke*

Suffolke suffer obloquie for these effects in the generall judgement. The Common-wealth is not silent. A Parliament is called to be holde at *Westminster*, which from thence was assigned to be kept at *Leicester*. The place likes not; few appeare. It is brought backe to *Westminster*. There the whole body of publike counsell meets. Many * Articles are exhibited by the lower house against the Duke of *Suffolke*, wherein hee is charged *with evill demeanour, misprision and treason*: who thereupon is committed prisoner to the Tower: from thence, within foure or five weekes he is discharged, which more augmented the generall indignation then his commitment had ministred satisfaction. The perilous Duke of *Yorke* warmes himselfe at these blazes, and under-hand cherisheth them as opportunity will permit, having his cunning factors and instruments fit for such occasions secretly spread over the Realme, to instill the poysons of discontentment, and desire of change into the giddy multitude. When we reade in our vulgar Chronicles, *that about this time Adam Molins Bishop of Chichester, Keeper of the Kings Privy Seale (through the procurement of Richard Duke of Yorke) was by shipmen slaine at Portsmouth*, and yet no cause of so foule and wicked a murther expressed, it cannot but offend any curious Reader, who would receive satisfaction rather by the reason of actions, then by the events. His guiltinesse in the fact was so apparant, that King *Henry* in his answer, made a yeare or two after to the Dukes dissembling and deceitfull letter, confidently mentioned the same, where thus he speaketh. *Sooth it is, that long time among the people hath beene upon you many strange language, and in speciall anon after your disordinate and unlawfull slaying of the Bishop of Chichester, divers, and many of the untrue shipmen and other, said (in their manner) words against our state, making menace to our owne person by your sayings, that yee should be fetched with many thousands, and you should take upon * you that which you neither ought, nor as we doubt not will attempt, &c.* What cause led the Duke to commit this so impious a deed, may easily now be conjectured, being none other but the common hatred he bare to all such wise or valiant persons, as might in any fort uphold the most just & gracious *Henrys*; & this sincerity in the Bishop could not be but a grievous crime in the Dukes ambitious eyes, whose greatnesse was even then too intollerable; for where was the Kings justice when such a fact might hope of impunity? The Duke did effect it by his bloudy complices, as he did many other most seditious and perfidious things, while hee was absent in *Ireland*. *Thomas Thanie* notwithstanding, calling himselfe *Blew-beard*, being a *Fuller* of *Canterbury*, and attempting to gather the people, miscarrieth in his treason, and for that was hanged and quartered: this was a preamble to the following tumults. The Duke of *Yorkes* whole and onely hopes were reposed in the generall perturbations of his Countrey.

* *Gull chron.* The Duke of Suffolke committed prisoner to the Tower and enlarged.

The Duke of Yorke procureth the murther of the Lord Privie-Seale.

* The Crowne of *England*.

(47) The Duke of *Suffolke* (a principall pillar of King *Henries* safety) being set at liberty, attends the King and Queene in their Parliament at *Leicester*. Behold the humour of the Commons which were sowred with the pestilent leaven of *Yorkes* conspiracy. They cannot endure the sight of this Prince, because his re-advancement seemes done in despight of them. Calumniations and odious surmises are exhibited against him: he must downe, to make way for King *Henries* most unworthy ruine. The most vile part of this Parliamentall accusation was, that they should charge that for a crime upon *Suffolke*, which themselves had universally in another former Parliament assented unto, and ratified. Which was the delivery of *Aniou* and *Main* upon the marriage, concluded (for the good of *England*, if others had not inverted or interrupted the successe by their temerity) with *Renate*, Father of Queene *Margaret*. Neither did the envy only of the secret *Yorkists* overlade this noble Gentleman, but the impotency of the Duke of *Sommersets* faction, whose rashnesse and vanity having lost all *Normandy*, would gladly find any others shoulder, upon which to cast the imputation, either in part or whole. In that former Parliament assembled immediately upon *Suffolkes* returne from that treaty with *Renate* out of *France*, this was the summe of the whole proceedings: *Suffolke* (as he was very eloquent) made knowne to both Houses, his counsels and services, and the effect of his Embassie, praying they might be approved, and enrolled for his discharge. Whereupon * the next morrow, *Burley*, Speaker of the lower house, and the body thereof, repaired to the Kings presence, then sitting among the Lords, and there * humbly required, *that the requeſt of the Marquesse* (afterward created Duke of *Suffolke*) *might be granted*: and the Lords made the like petition, kneeling on their knees. The King condiscended to their desires, and so the whole matter was recorded for his acquitall.

The Duke of Yorke pursueth his end.

* This was in An.Dom. 1446.

* *Stow. Ann.*

(48) What can be more evident? or who can enough admire the vanity of popular mutability? The Duke (the principall marke, though the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Say*, and others were also accused) unable to stand the push of so generall an opposition, must be banished. The King unwillingly gives this sentence against the Duke, or rather against his owne life and safety: five yeares are limited to his exile. Being upon the sea, hee is taken by his enemies, who at *Dover-road* stroke off his head upon the side of a Cocke-boat. This divellish murther (for it was none other, the Kings authority being not used therein) committed upon so great a Prince, was the lesse pittied, for that he was noysed among the people to have beene a privie actor in the noble Duke of *Glocesters* death, who perished (saith a learned * Authour) *by the fraud and practise of a woman*, (belike) Queene *Margaret*. The Bishop of *Salisbury* beforesaid, more impiously, and irregularly lost his life in the following tumults, being murthered (after he had finished divine Service) by his owne Tenants, who dragged him from the Altar to an hill-top, and there (while hee was making his last prayers) cleft his sacred head: The Lord *Say* Treasurer of *England*, fell likewise into the peoples fury, and had his head cut off by the commandement of that execrable Rebell *Iacke Cade*, at the Standard in *Cheape*, as yee shall hereafter learne.

The Duke of *Suffolke* going into banishment is wickedly murthered.

* *Cambd. in Glocester.*

The bloudy effects of the Duke of *Yorks* popularity.

(49) *This William Duke of Suffolke * was indeed a great and worthy person; for when his Father, and three Brothers had valiantly powred forth their lives for their Countrey in the warre of France, he served in them foure and thirty yeares, in seventeene of the which hee never returned home, hee was once taken prisoner, being then but a Knight, and payed for his ransome twenty thousand pounds sterling, he was fifteene yeares Privy Counsellour, and thirtie yeares Knight of the Garter.* Notwithstanding all which, the same Authour truely addeth: *That as for these causes he was in highest grace with the King, so he was the more disgracious or hated of the people, and for * certaine very sleight matters, and those not very apparant, hee was driven into banishment, and* (as you have already heard) *was intercepted upon the Sea in his passage to France, and by his adversaries killed.* What honest heart doth not melt at the relation of these violent contempts of all Religion, honor, reason and justice? yet are they but the drops which doe fore-goe those many bloudy showres, which the cloud of *Yorkes* faction rainde upon our miserable Nation. They who murthered this great triumphant Gentleman, were certaine persons who wafted upon the Seas in a Barke called the *Nicholas* of the Tower, which belonged to *John* * *Holland* Duke of *Excester*, Constable of the Tower of *London*, whom Gods revenging hand shall not leave unpunished.

The noble and great deserts of the Duke of *Suffolke*.

* *Cambd. in Suffolke.*

* *Ethicalis de causis quæ parum liquet acc.*

* *Stow. Ann.*

(50) The *Yorkists* having thus rid *Suffolke* out of the way, thought it now a fit season to spring their practise. Hereupon the Commons of *Kent*, (who have seldome refrained in such turbulent times)

while the Duke of *Yorke* was a yet in *Ireland*, take Armes. One *Iacke-Cade* is their Captaine: hee had beene the servant of a *Suſſex* Knight, Sir *Thomas Dagre*; kils a woman with Childe; abjureth the land; turnes French; ſwearing ſervice to them, and now returning, is the inſtrument to hang out *Mortimers* name, like a flag, to draw a party, faining himſelfe to be a Coſen to the Duke of *Yorke*. A peſtilent deviſe, to ſound the affections of the multitude, and to proclaime the Title to the Crowne, which the Duke (as heire of that family) afterward challenged; for who would not aske, what ſhould moove him to uſe the name of *Mortimer?* This *Cade*, whom ſome (by contraries) call *Iohn Amend-all*, (that is, *John Marre-all*) having drawn great numbers to follow him, encamps at *Blacke-Heath* by *Greenewich*, and in his writings cals himſelfe the Captaine of *Kent*. His pretences (as of all like diſloyall actions) were the common good, and ſuch other. The King at the report of theſe ſtirres, is ſtirred. The Captaine of *Kent* demands,

The Kentiſh Rebels under *Iacke Cade* give out the name of *Mortimer.*

Cades demands.

1 *That* Richard *Duke of* Yorke *bee called out of* Ireland, *and (with certaine others named for ſtales and colour) he principally uſed in Counſell.*

2 *That as the Duke of* Glocester *was falſly proclaimed a Traitour, ſo the Authors of his death might be puniſhed.*

4 (For the third Article contained no demaund, but onely ſcandalous matter to aggravate hatred against the dead Duke of *Suffolke*, and his living adherents:) *That all the extortions* (ſo the Rebels phraſed them) *daily uſed among the common people, might be laid downe: that is to ſay, the greene waxe, which is falſly uſed, to the perpetuall deſtruction of the Kings true Commons of* Kent. *Alſo the Kings Bench, the which is too grievous to the Shire of* Kent, *without proviſion of our Soveraigne Lord, and his true Councell. And alſo in taking Wheat and other graines, Beefe, Mutton, and all other victuall, the which is importable to the ſaid Commons, without the briefe proviſion of our ſaid Soveraigne Lord, and his true Councell, they may no longer beare it. And alſo unto the Statute of Labourers, and the great extortioners, the which is to ſay, the falſe Traitors,* Sleg, Cromere, Iſley, *and* Robert Eaſt.

Stowes Annals.

(51) Thus traiterouſly, to the Kings welfare, and ſcandalouſly to his moſt gentle government, writes this arrogant Captaine of Rebels. The King upon view of theſe braves, beginnes to feele the indignity and danger. An Armie is raiſed, *Cade* retires to *Sevenoke* in *Kent*. The King ſuppoſing hee had fled, ſends after him * Sir *Humfrey Stafford* Knight and other Gentlemen, with ſome forces. Wee reade none of theſe things without a ſuſpition, that the King was alwayes betraied by ſuch hypocrites about him, as would not have him proſper. Marke the event. At *Sevenoke Cade* abides, probably not without encouragement from ſecret Traitours, and after long fight ſlew Sir *Humfrey*, with many others. He armed himſelfe in the dead Knights abillements, with guilt ſpurres. The King and Queene hearing of this miſhappe, leave the Tower of *London* to the cuſtody of the Lord *Scales*, and of that renowned Elquire *Mathew Gough*; and *London* it ſelfe to the Lord Maiors fidelity, themſelves departing to *Kenilworth*. The headlong crewes of *London* favour the Rebell, and give entrance. *Robert Horne* Alderman, like an honeſt wiſe man, would have had them reſiſted. This free neceſſary ſpeech endangered his life; honourable in his memory for the hazard onely, what ſhould hee have beene if hee had gloriouſly loſt it? but money buyes out his perill with the Tyrant, who fined him at * five hundred Markes. The time was very ſlippery and looſe; for the *Eſſex*-men alſo were encampted upon *Mile-end* by *London*: All men are afraid of their own eſtates; ſuch ſecret well-wiſhings attended upon the Arch-Rebels pretences. The King before he had left *London*, was enforced (by ſuch hollow friends as were about him) to commit the Lord *Say*, Treaſurer of *England* to the Tower, after that the valiant and loyall Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was ſlaine, and the newes of his unlucky deſeate were confirmed.

* *Pygot*

The firſt civill conflict under this King, where *Cade* hath the victory.

Horne, a worthy Alderman of *London*, perſwading the reſiſtance of *Cade* is in danger of his life.

* *Rob Fabian.*

(52) *Cade* therefore being admitted into *London* upon the ſecond of July with his forces, (where for a ſhort while, to delude the people with a ſhew of conſcience, they abſtained from robberies) ſtrikes with his ſword upon *London-ſtone*, ſaying; *Now is Mortimer Lord of this Citie.* At night he returnes into *Southwarke*: One * *Robert Poinings* of *Southwarke* Eſquire, was his Sword-bearer and Carver. It is needleſſe to be particular in this Rebels behaviour: The next day he returnes, and the Lord *Say* is beheaded in *Cheapſide* (as is before ſaid) at *Cades* commandement, and his body cut into quarters. The King being by the loſſe of ſo truſty and grave a ſervant, not a little weakened.

Cades behaviors in *London.*

* *Stowes Ann. ad A. Dom.* 1450.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

(53) The next tragedy was *Cromeres* an Eſquire, and high Sheriffe of *Kent*, (the Lord *Sayes* ſonne in law) who is drawne out of the Fleet (and to appeaſe the *Eſſex* Rebels) ſacrificed, by beheading, without any tryall, at *Mile-end*. The Citie ſtirres not for all this. *Malpas* and *Gerſtie*, two rich Citizens, at whoſe houſes *Cade* had ſeverally dined, being ſpoyled and robbed by him (leſt perhaps it might appeare, that he who durſt commit treaſons, had not alſo the heart to commit felonies) teach what others are to expect. The Maior, *Thomas Chalton* and the wiſer wealthy ones, over-ruled by faction till then, ſee their danger now, and ſecretly ſend to the Lord *Scales* for ayde. *Mathew Gough* at night is come among them as ſent by him. The Kentiſhmen, hearing their entry was barred, runne furiouſly to armes. *Cade* endeavours to open his way by force; but in deſpight of all his power, the Citizens made good and defended *London*-bridge againſt him, though with the loſſe of many valiant and honeſt men, for the conflict endured all night, till nine in the morning. Among ſuch as were ſlaine on the Kings ſide, were *John Sutton* Alderman, *Mathew Gough* himſelfe, and *Robert Heyſand* Citizen. *This Gough* (an Eſquire of *Wales*) *was a man of excellent vertue, manhood, and zeale to his Countrey, and of great renowne in the warre of France*, where he had ſerved with ſpeciall commendations faithfully, for the ſpace of above twenty yeares. His deſerts at this time deſerved a Statue in the City, for whoſe ſafety hee ſpent his laſt bloud. To give a quicke end to theſe miſeries, impunity is proclained for all offenders, and ſent to them in the Kings name by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord *Chancellour*, under the great Seale of *England*: the rebels are ſcattered with this aſſurance of their ſafeties, and every man retires in peace from following ſo peſtilent an Impoſtor. A * thouſand Markes (when *Cade* afterward attempted new troubles) are promiſed to him, who kils or takes this counterfeit: *Mortimer. Alexander Eden*, a Gentleman of *Kent*, had the happineſſe to diſcover and kill him at *Hothfield* in that County: his wretched carkaſe was brought to *London*, where his faſe head was ſet ſentinell upon *London-bridge*, and his quarters were advanced for terrour in ſeverall parts of *Kent*. There died alſo by the ſtroke of Iuſtice twenty and ſixe more, wherof eight were executed at *Canterbury*, and the reſt elſewhere in *Kent* and *Suſſex*. The multitude it ſelfe * came naked in their ſhirts to the King on *Black-heath*, humbly praying mercy, which they obtained.

Cades ſecond civill conflict upon *London*-bridge.

Alderman Sutton and another Gough ſlaine in the conflict. *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

* The Kings proclamation.

Cade proſcribed and killed.

* *Fabr.* 23.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

(54) The Kentiſh rebellion thus pacified, farre greater and farre more dangerous troubles enſued, *as it* faareth in humane bodies, which relapſing into ſickneſſes, are ſhaken ſo much the more terribly.* Theſe troubles had their fountaine and mediate Originall from *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, no degenerous ſonne of that *Richard* whom King *Henry* the fift had created Earle of *Cambridge*, and enriched with much wealth, honouring him above others, in regard of his bloud and parentage; *but * no bounty, nor benefits could change a treacherous diſpoſition*, for (as you have heard before) he

* The weakneſſe in Hen. 6.

he conſpired to murther his Benefactor King *Henry* the fifth, as the Duke of *Yorke* (his true progeny) laboured to diſpoſe this King *Henry* his advancer. The humours of the popular body, were, in the laſt commotion, not obſcurely diſcovered. The Commonweale had perhaps ſome few enormities, through the abuſe of Magiſtrates and men in place, but yet ſuch, as the malady was infinitely leſſe pernicious then the remedy. Vpon this intelligence the Duke comes ſuddenly out of *Ireland*, and to begin his uſurped cenſureſhip and dictature, apprehends * *Iohn Sutton* Lord *Dudley*, *Reignald* Abbot of Saint *Peters* at *Glaſtenbury*, and another, whom he impriſoneth within his Caſtle of *Ludlow*. Intollerable beginnings of more intollerable ſequele. *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet was the man*, who (after *Suffolks* death) moſt ſupported the Kings ſide by * his *vigilancie, cares, dangers, and good Counſels, endevouring by all meanes to cleare the Realme from factions, and to preſerve the King and State in quiet.*

The Duke of Yorke comes out of Ireland.

* *Stowes Ann.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

(55) *Yorke* ſeeing this, doth finde that *Suffolke* periſhed in vaine, if *Sommerſet* held like graces againſt whoſe perſon he had a particular pretence of quarrel, for that the City of *Cane* in *Normandy*, which was the Duke of *Yorkes* charge, was rendred up to the *French* by him, when the *Engliſh* affaires grew deſperate in thoſe parts; Sr. *David Hall* Knight, being at that time Captain there for his Lord and Maſter the Duke of *Yorke*, and not allowing it, although the renowned *Talbot* himſelf was preſent at the render, and became an hoſtage for performance of the Capitulations. *Yorke* hereupon conſults with his ſpeciall friends, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Richard* his ſon, (who was afterward that moſt feditious and great fighting Earle of *Warwick*) *Thomas Courtney* Earle of *Devonſhire*, *Edmund Brooke*, Lord *Cobham*; and others, how *Yorke might get the Crowne of England*, and for that cauſe *how to ruine or fret out the Duke of Sommerſet*, who ſtanding, they were to looke for ſtrong oppoſition. In the end, they conclude to take armes, but yet *to ſmother the mention of the Duke of Yorkes Title, giving out to the world for the reaſon of their doings, that they meant all honour and obedience to King Henry, and onely to remove certaine bad men from about his perſon, who afflicted the people, and made a prey of the Common-wealth:* which, to gaine the more credit, and to blind the good king, the ſubtile Duke declares by Proclamation; *wherein, thus ſpeaketh that ambitious Hypocrite. *God knoweth, from whom nothing is hid, I am, have beene, and ever will be, his true Liege-man, &c. And to the very proofe it is ſo, I offer my ſelfe to ſweare that on the bleſſed Sacrament, and receive it, the which I hope ſhall be my ſalvation at the day of doome, &c.* In that it was the evill hap of the Duke of *Sommerſet*, that *Normandy* was loſt during his Regency, his enemies had the more commodity to incommodate him with the people, who forbare not at his returne to offer to him ſundry diſhonours and injuries, till upon paine of death they were reſtrained, for breach of which Proclamation, one had his head cut off in *Weſt-Cheape London*.

The Duke of Yorke takes armes upon pretence to reforme the State.

An. Dom. 1452. *Pat. 31. Hen. 6. m. 6 at the Dukes Caſtle of Ludlow. Hypocriſie hath a dictionary of diſſimulation in his poſſeſſion.

The King marcheth againſt the Duke of Yorke.

(56) The King (notwithſtanding all his Coſens Arts and diſſimulations) ſeeing the hooke through the baite, and the Snake through the graſſe, by the adviſe of his truſty friends, chiefly of *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, thinkes not fit to relie upon his enemies good nature, but having a ſtrong power, and ſtore of honourable men to conduct them, hee marcheth toward *Wales* againſt the Duke. The King did herein wiſely, but not ſo much as the cauſe required. *Yorke* having notice of the Kings approach turnes aſide, and withall ſpeed marcheth toward *London*. That Citie, (the vain hope of all rebellions,) would not hearken; Thereupon hee ſlides with his people into *Kent*, the neſt of his hopes, and at *Brent-Heath* neere *Dertford* (a towne about twelve miles from *London*) encampeth, meaning to fight. The King is not ſlow, but leaving his march toward *Wales*, pitcheth up his Royall Pavillion upon *Blacke-Heath*, with a purpoſe to teach his Coſen of *Yorke* more duty. Behold the fortune of *England*. God puts an excellent opportunity into the Kings hands, of tearing up the danger of his houſe by the rootes, for the Duke was farre inferiour in numbers. Such therefore as ſecretly favoured him, fearing his overthrow, were willing to adviſe a reconcilement. Meſſengers goe betweene the hoaſts. The Duke in his wonted manner, *pretends loyalty and particular injuries, as that the Kings ſervants, Sir Iohn Talbot at Holt Caſtle, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheſhire, and others in other places, were ſet to beaken upon him. That by * two of the Norrices, Bulkley, Gruſt, Bould, (and other Gentlemen) hee was forbidden to land at Bewmaris, or to have any refreſhment, affirming that he* (the Duke of *Yorke*) *was againſt the Kings intent, and as a Traitor.* The King ſtoopes ſo much as to anſwer the letter, letting him to know: *That the ſuſpicion univerſally conceived of his behaviours moved thoſe effects: nevertheleſſe, in regard of the humble obedience which was now proteſted, hee, for the eaſing of the Dukes heart, doth declare, repute, and admit him as a true and faithfull ſubject, and as his welbeloved Coſen.* The Duke then advanceth his practiſe one ſtep further, and writes to the King, that Iuſtice might be done upon all perſons of what degree ſoever, which were guilty, or noyſed to be guilty of treaſon: aiming at the Duke of *Sommerſet*, whom he doubted not to overwhelme with ſleights and calumnies, as hee and his had done the Duke of *Suffolke*.

The Kings army being greater then the Dukes, peace is unhappily made.

* Exiſterit Regi & Duci.

(57) The King is contented (ſuch weake or treacherous Counſels hee relied upon,) that *Sommerſet* (for his ſatisfaction) ſhould be commanded priſoner to his * owne houſe; and *Yorke* (having firſt diſſolved his Armie) ſhould come in perſon, and put himſelfe into the Kings hand. When he was come, *hee exhibites a great complaint againſt the Pride and Avarice of the Duke of Sommerſet, and cunningly accuſing none but him, hee ſeekes the good will of all others.* A cunning drift as any, conſidering that hereby he derived upon his enemy all the envie of the people, and left him ſingle to withſtand the effects. *Sommerſet* (a Prince of great ſpirit and wit) not thinking it reaſonable, as well in regard of his owne honour as the Common-wealths intereſt, to endure ſuch indignitie, preſents himſelfe to the King againſt his accuſer, and reſolving not to be tender-mouthed in the ſo apparent perill of the King and Realme, whoſe quiet was undermined, anſwers *Yorke* face to face, and, in plaine tearmes, *accuſeth him of highest Treaſon, as having conſpired to depoſe the King, and take upon himſelfe the Soveraignety:* vehemently urging: That * the Duke of *Yorke might bee committed* and *arraigned, to the intent that by his deſerved death, and the diſ-enablement of his ſonnes, Civill warre might be extinguiſhed, praying finally that God would not ſuffer the enemy of the King dome to eſcape the hand of Iuſtice.*

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

* The Duke of Sommerſet confidently accuſeth the Duke of Yorke of Treaſon.

(58) This had in likelihood beene done, but that the publique faith ſeemed to ſtand engaged for the Dukes indemnity, hee having come in upon the Kings word, and alſo for that the hearts of men were not well aſſured to the King, which by executing *Yorke* would perhaps have beene more unſetled, becauſe (not looking into the depth of the Kings perill) it would have beene thought that he had beene deſtroyed to gratifie *Sommerſet*, and not to ſecure the Realme. There was hope likewiſe to recover *Aquitaine*, for that *Burdeaux* had offered to returne. Laſtly, the Dukes ſonne and heire, *Edward* Earle of *March* (after King) was reported to be ready with a great force of *Welſhmen* to ſuccour his Father. Vpon theſe and other reaſons, the Duke is no longer reſtrained, as upon *Sommerſets* moſt weighty accuſations he had beene, and to aſſure the gentle and indulgent King of his alleageance, hee *makes his ſubmiſſion, and ſolemnely TAKES HIS OATH to be true, faithfull and obedient ſubject.* This was done upon the tenth of *March* in the Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, the King himſelfe, and moſt of the chiefe

* *Polyd. Virg. lib.* 23.

The Duke of Yorke takes his Oath to be true to King Henry.

Nobility being present, as the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolke*, and *Sommerset*, nine Earles, the Viscounts *Beaumont*, and *Wels*, many great Barons: Of the Clergy, the Cardinall of *Yorke*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Elye*, and *London*.

The Dukes Oath and submission.

(59) Let us view the forme and words of this Caution upon which King *Henry* (measuring other mens hearts by his owne) adventured to repose his life and Kingdome, which are these:

"I *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, confesse and be knowne
"that I am and ought to be humble subiect and Liege-
"man to you my Soveraigne Lord, *King* Henry *the sixth*,
"and owe therefore to beare you faith and truth, as to
"my Soveraigne Liege-Lord, and shall doe all dayes to
"my lives end: and shall not at any time will or assent
"that any thing bee attempted or done against your
"most noble person, but wheresoever I shall have know-
"ledge of any such thing imagined or purposed, I
"shall with all speed and diligence possible to mee, make,
"that your Highnesse shall have knowledge thereof, and,
"over that, doe all that shall possible bee to mee to the
"withstanding, and let thereof, to the uttermost of my
"life: I shall not any thing take upon mee against your
"royall estate or obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer
"any other man to doe, as farre foorth as shall be in my
"power to let it. And also shall come at your comman-
"dement, wheresoever I shall bee called by the same, in
"humble and obeisant wise, but if I be letted by any sicke-
"nesse or impotency of my person, or by such other cause
"as shall be thought by you my Soveraigne Lord reaso-
"nable. I shall never hereafter take upon mee to gather
"any rowt, or to make any assembly of your people with-
"out your commandement, or license, or in my lawfull
"defence, in interpretation or declaration of the which
"my lawfull defence, I shall report me at all times to
"your Highnesse, and if the case require to my Peeres; nor
"any thing attempt against any of your Subiects, of
"what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But
"wheresoever I finde my selfe wronged and agreeved, I
"shall sue humbly for remedy to your Highnesse, and
"proceed after the course of your lawes, and none other-
"wise, saving in mine owne lawfull defence, in manner
"aboveseid, and otherwise have to your Highnesse as
"an humble and true subiect ought to have him to his
"Soveraigne Lord. All these things aboveseid I pro-
"mise you truely to observe and keepe, by the holy Evan-
"gelists contained in the Booke that I lay my hand here
"upon, and by the holy Crosse I here touch, and by
"the blessed Sacrament of our Lords body, that I shall
"now with his mercy receive. And over I agree mee
"and will, that if at any time hereafter, as by the grace
"of our Lord God I never shall, any thing attempt by
"way of feate, or otherwise against your Royall Maje-
"stie and obeisance, that I owe thereto, or any thing
"take upon mee otherwise then is above expressed, I
"from that time forth to be unabled, held, and taken as
"an untrue and openly for-sworne man, and unable to
"all manner of worship, estate, or degree, bee it such as
"I now occupie, or any other that might in any wise
"grow to mee hereafter. And this I have here promi-
"sed and sworne proceedeth of mine owne desire and
"free volunt, and by no constraining nor coaction. In
"witnesse of all which things above written, I Richard
"Duke of Yorke above writ, subscribe with mine owne
"hand and seale.

This oath he also tooke at *Westminster* and *Coventrie* at sundry times. Who now can consider the effects of this so publique and solemne Oath, and doth not tremble in every part? Let us hasten to their view, left God perhaps may quietly seeme to have beene mockt to his face by a vaine ambitious man.

Hope conceived to recover Gascoigne.

(60) To divert these home-breeding rancors and practises, by employing the wits and bodies of men in other more honest things, the Earle of *Candal* (sonne * to *Captal de Budie*, who had upon necessitie submitted his Segnories to *Charles* the *French* King, but reserved his person out of that obedience) and the Lord *L'Esparre*, come secretly from *Burdeaux* and pray an Armie, for that *Burdeaux* and the *Gascoignes* would returne to the *English*, if they might be supported. An Army is decreed for their reduction. *John* Lord *Talbot*, the first Earle of *Shrewsbury* of his name, as Generall in that enterprize, lands in *Gascoigne*, where he doth sundry exploits, and the fame of his former chevalrie flying before with terrour, makes many places the rather to yeeld. *Burdeaux* her selfe secretly opens a gate unto him, which the *French* Garrison perceiving fled out of a Postern, but many being overtaken were slaine by the Lord *L'Esparre* and the *English*. New supplies and victuals arrive, whereof the Earle of *Shrewsburies* younger Sonne, (*Viscount Lile* by his Wife,) was a principall conductor. *Burdeaux* thus throughly man'd and fortified, the Earle is advertised that the *French* lay at siege before *Castillon*, a place of importance upon the river of *Dardonne*. Thither the Earle marcheth, and with too great a confidence charging the enemy upon unequall termes, was there slaine together with his sonne the *Viscount Lile*, and others. *Burdeaux* received such as fled. The *English* fortunes and hopes which began to quicken, made this unhappy *Catastrophe* in * Iuly, to the infinite losse of our nation and griefe of the *Gascoignes*, who generally misliked the *French*, and inclined to the *English*, having so honorably, and for so long a time governed those dominions. This was the end of that great Earle, after he had for the space of twenty and foure yeares served his Prince and Countrey in the *French* warres, with highest commendation; * *a most Noble and most valiant man, by whose vertue the English name did chiefly become terrible in France. Burdeaux* it selfe, and all other places after this, were by siege brought againe under the *French* King, who profecuted those affaires in person. From that time forward the *English* never obtained there any hold or further footing, the felicity of this attempt breaking all combinations of the *Gascoignes*. This Dutchy of * *Aquitaine* contained foure *Archbishopricks*, *foure and twenty Bishopricks*, *fifteene Earledomes*, *two hundred and two Barons*, *and above a thousand Captain-ships and Baliwicks*. The losse of so goodly an inheritance, which had continued *English* for almost three hundred yeares, the world may easily conjecture how justly it was grieved and lamented for. In this false estate of the *English*, the Queene upon the thirteenth day of *October*, was delivered of her first sonne, who was named *Edward*, prooving the childe of sorrow and infelicity.

The Earle of Shrewsbury & his younger sonne slaine in Barnell.

* An. Do. 1453. *A. Reg.* 31.

* Camden in Shropshire. Polid. Virgil. in Hen. 6.

The Duke of Somerset fled and the King taken in battell.

The *English* quite expelled out of *Aquitaine*.
* Stowes Ann.

(61) It were to be wished we might now rather number the following evils of *England*, then describe them; for, what can we learne out of such unnaturall and savage destructions, but matter of horrour and detestation? but fith they must be handled, (the law and necessity of our taske exacting it,) the sooner to be quit of so unpleasing objects, it will be best abruptly to thrust into the narration. The Duke of *Yorke* (wickedly careless of an oath so religiously and publiquely taken,) to make his way to the Crowne more easie, hath now procured his chiefe and most feared enemy the Duke of *Sommerset* to be suddenly arrested of High Treason, (doubtfull whether by any authority but his owne) in the Queens great Chamber, and sent to the Tower of *London*, upon pretence that he had capitall matter to charge him with. *Yorks* principall friends (upon confidence of whom hee dared so high things) were *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Salisbury*, second sonne of *Ralfe Nevill* Earle of *Westmorland*, whose daughter the Duke of *Yorke* had married. This *Richard* was Earle of *Salisbury* in right of *Alice* his Wife, sole heire to *Thomas Montacute*, the famous Earle, slaine at the siege of *Orleance*. The Dukes other maine hope was *Richard Nevill* (Sonne of the former *Richard Nevill*,) who in right of his Wife, the Lady *Anne*, (sole-sister, and heire of the whole bloud to *Henry Beauchampe* Duke of *Warwicke*) was by this King *Henry* the fixth created Earle of *Warwicke*, in a most unhappy houre both for the King and Kingdome, being * *Invicto animo &c.* a man

Prince Edward is borne.

An. Dom. 1454.

a man of an undaunted minde, but flitting faith.

The King marcheth to Saint Albans against the Duke of Yorke.

(62) The King in the meane space, while the Duke of *Sommerset* was thus endangered, lay sicke; and *Yorke* (as Regent) swayed and over-swayed in Court; but when the King (perceiving malice and practise to be the chiefe bases of *Yorkes* accusations) had recovered his health, and resumed the government, *Sommerset* is set at liberty, and made Captaine of *Calis*; *Yorke* and his adherents repayre to open force: They levy their army about the Marches of *Wales*, with which they repayre toward *London*, the maine object of Prerendents. The King hearing of his enemies approach, is accompanied with *Humfrey Duke of Buckingham*, *Edmund Duke of Sommerset*, *Humfrey Earle of Stafford*, *Henry Piercie Earle of Northumberland*, *Iames Butler Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond*, *Beaufort Earle of Dorset*, *Iasper Teder Earle of Pembroke* the Kings halfe-brother, *Thomas Courtney Earle of Devonshire*, *the Lords*, *Clifford*, *Sudley*, *Berners*, *Rosse*, and others, and with them enters into *Saint Albans* in warlike manner, having certaine thousands of common Souldiers. Thither also the Duke of *Yorke* and his adherents came. This was toward the end of May: The Dukes request to the King was, *that hee would deliver such persons to be deservedly punished as he would name.* The King (to let them know who he was) returnes this confident answere: *That hee and the rest were Traitors, and that rather then they should have any Lord from him who was with him at that time, he himselfe would for their sake in the quarrell upon that day live and die.*

(64) The *Yorkists* hereupon assaile the Kings people within the Towne, and *Warwicke* breaking in through a Garden, a sharpe battell is begun. The losse fell lamentably upon King *Henries* side; for besides the Duke of *Sommerset*, there were slaine the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, with sundry worthy Knights and Esquires, of which forty and eight were buried in Saint *Albans*, there being slain above five thousand of King *Henries* party, and of the *Yorkists* about sixe hundreth. The King himselfe was shot into the neck with an arrow; & other of his chief friends were likewise sore wounded and taken. The Earle of *Wiltshire*, and *Thomas Thorpe* Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, with others, saved themselves by flight. The Duke of *York*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with the King, (whom they in shew did use most reverently, and as if they had meant nothing unto him but good faith) upon the morrow ride to *London*, where in Iuly immediately following, a Parliament is holden in King *Henries* name. The fore-runner whereof was a Comet, or Blazing-Starre, which appeared in the moneth of Iune, the beames whereof extended themselves into the South. The first popular act of this assembly was, *to restore the memory of Humfrey Duke of Glocester to honour*, *declaring him to have beene a true subiect to the King and Realme.*

Humfrey Duke of Glocester declared to have been a true subiect.

(65) The next provisions which the *Yorkists* made, were for themselves, and their owne security, willing and commanding that *the Duke of Yorke and his partakers should incurre no blame by reason of the journey at Saint Albans*: the whole fault whereof was laid upon the dead Duke of *Sommerset*, the Lord Chiefe Baron, and one *William Ioseph* Esquire, who (say they) kept from the King a pacificatorie Letter which the Duke of *Yorke* had sent. It is a wonder and a shame to reade how officiously these violent Lords (meaning nothing lesse) behaved themselves to the King, of whose Majesty they will needes seeme to be the onely Champions and Conservators. The Duke of *Yorke* in the same Parliament creates himselfe *Protector of England*, the Earle of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earle of *Warwicke* (his sonne) Captaine of *Calis*: they spared as yet to touch King *Henries life*, *because the people did wonderfully honour*, *esteeme*, *and reverence him for his singular holinesse*, *and for that he had great friends left alive*, *and a sonne*. In the meane space, *that they might without trouble*, *and at their pleasure*, *uncrowne or kill him*, *they by little and little displaced the ancient Counsellors*, *and substituted their assured favourites*. Another Act of that absolute force and fraud which they exercised in this dreadfull perturbation of all things, was the drawing of *John Holland* Duke of *Exceter* out of *Sanctuary* at *Westminster*, conveying him to *Pomfret*-Castle in the *North*.

The Duke of Yorke is Protector of the Realme.

Polid. Virgil. Henry 6.

(66) *Henry Beaufort Duke of Sommerset*, (sonne of the former) the *Duke of Buckingham*, (whose sonne and heire the *Earle of Stafford* was slaine at S. *Albans*) and other the Kings friends, perceiving whereunto this faire shew tended, consult with the Queene at *Greenewich* concerning her husbands danger, and how to prevent it. Hereupon the Duke of *Yorke* is displaced from the *Protectorship*, a ridiculous title to be assumed, where the *King* was aged about five and thirty, and had no other fault or unfitnesse, but that he was too good to live among them. The Earle of *Salisbury* was also deprived of his *Lord Chancellorship*.

A. Reg. 34.

The Duke of Yorke is discharged of the usurped Protectorship.

(67) The King having thus recovered his dignity and authority, but not sufficient means to suppresse his dangers, the *French* take courage at our intestine divisions, and landing at *Sandwich* with fifteene thousand men (part of their forces) they kill the *Major*, *Bailefs*, and other officers of that Towne, with sundry Gentlemen of the Country, spoyle all they could lay hand upon, and among all, they rob two great vessels laden with merchandise, which lay there bound for *London*, and departed. Another part of them, burnes *Fowey* and certaine other townes in *Devonshire*. On the other side, the *Scots* hostilly entred into *Northumberland*, but upon notice that the Duke of *Yorke* approached with a power, they returned, having not as yet done any great harme.

The French take Sandwich in Kent, and Fowey in Deuonshire.

(67) These indignities and losses might have united the disjoyned affections of true *English* hearts, which was greatly desired by such as loved their Countrey: For which purpose the King, Queene, and their chiefe friends, being at *Coventrie*, the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Warwicke* are sent for by the Kings Letters under his privy Seale, to give their attendance, whither they come, but they (either warned of some plot contrived against them, or fearing it, or faining to feare) sodainely leave the Court, without leave, the Duke departing to *Wigmore* in the *Welsh* marches, the *Earle of Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middleham* in the *North*-Country, and the *Earle of Warwicke* to *Callis*, whose bodies though thus divided, their mindes continued most firme factionated. But the King (a patterne of * *Christian* goodnesse) being tender over the generall estate of his Countrey, and wonderfully desirous to reconcile differences among his subjects, that they might the better withstand their imminent forreine enemies returnes to *London*, there to consult how to effect his holy wishes. The great Lords are perswaded to * meete there; which they did; but yet not without store of followers, for the Duke brought with him foure hundred men, the Earle of *Salisbury* five hundreth, the Earle of *Warwicke* sixe hundreth: The Dukes of *Exceter* and *Sommerset* eight hundreth, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Egremond* and *Clifford* fifteene hundreth. This was the fashion of that fwording age.

The King at Coventry, from whence the Duke of Yorke, and the Yorkists disquart sodainly.

* Cam. in Sussex pag. 324.

(69) In March, the King and Queene with a very royal company alight at *Westminster*, to accomplish (if it were possible) this charitable and necessary worke of attonement and reconciliation. *Godfrey Bolein* was at that time Lord *Major* of *London*, (being the ancestor of two renowned and vertuous *Queenes of England*, *Anne*, second Wife to King *Henrie* the eight, and *Elizabeth* their daughter,) through whose great vigilancie and providence, the Citie stood so well guarded, that the Kings peace was dutifully kept, notwithstanding the great Lords of doth the factions (*Yorkists* and *Lancastrians*,) were with so great troupes of followers lodged within, and about the

* In Ianuar. An. Dom. 1458. *A. Reg.* 36.

The Lords meete the King at London to compose all quarrels.

Godfrey Bolein as this time Major of London, the ancestor of two Queenes.

the same: for during the whole time of their abode he had * five thousand Citizens in Harnesse, himselfe riding dayly about the City and Subtirbes, to see the publique quiet preserved: and for the night watch there were assigned to three Aldermen two thousand corsler-men.

* Rob. Fab. Chr.

(69) During this watch, a great Councell was holden by the King and Lords, where at length by the diligent travaile, good exhortation, and prudent advise of the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and of other learned and godly Prelates, the parties offended were induced to a communication, and afterward to a finall accord: the points whereof, considering they held so short a while, (*for as* one saith truely, *the dissimuled love day hung but by a small threed*) it were frivolous to dwell in their rehearsall. The King himselfe (a singular testimony of the opinion which all parties had of his integritie) was whole arbitrator of their differences. Certaine satisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of *Yorke*, with the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, for the death of *Edmund Duke of Sommerset*, and others slaine at St. *Albans*. And the same Duke of *Sommerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Clifford*, (slaine in that battell by the *Yorkists*) are declared for true Liegemen to the King at the day of their deathes, aswell as the Duke of *Yorke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*. So both parts stand *iustè fide* and *recti in curia*. Many other articles and awards were made, to solder and give together their alienated hearts and affections. The rejoycement caused by this seeming peace (which on the behalfe of the Kings person was undoubtedly sincere and true) was wonderfully great among all good Englishmen, who flocked to the publique celebration thereof. For upon our * Ladies day in Lent, a solemne precession was made within the Cathedrall Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, where the King (adorned with Crowne and robes of Majestie) went in person, before whom went hand in hand the Duke of *Sommerset*, and the Earle of *Saliburie*, the *Duke of Excester*, and the *Earle of Warwick*, and so of either faction one and one, and behinde the King himselfe, came the Queene and Duke of *Yorke* with great familiarity in all mens sights. O religion, O honour, O sinceritie, that your divine vertue should not have contayned these spirits in the harmony of sweet obedience; but if you could not, what alas should *England* must be more severely scourged, then that so goodly a blessing of publike reconciliation should continue, whereby the proud tops of her Nation (offensive to God and men) being taken off, the way might be opened to other names or races, which as yet were nothing thought on.

The quarrels ended by the Kings award with shew of commonlikings.

* Martii 25.

(70) There is no reason to doubt, but that the Duke of *Yorke*, (a man of deepe retirement in himselfe) secretely continued his purpose for the Crowne, notwithstanding all these his vernished pretences, and did onely therefore not as then put for it, because he presumed the time was incommodious, Againe the Queene (true head and life of the contrary part) as well in regard of her selfe, her husband, and young sonne, may in likelihood be thought to have laide downe any thing, rather then the wakefulnesse and jealousie, which former perils, and the enemies present strength, might worthily keepe alive in her. The thinne ashes therefore, which covered these glowing coles, were thus againe first unraked and set to blaze.

The probable condition of things after the reconciliement.

(71) The King and many of the Lords, still being at *Westminster*, there hapned (or perhaps * was plotted) a fray betweene one of the Kings servants and a follower of the *Earle of Warwick*, who hurt the Kings servant. Hereupon his fellowes of all sorts, (as Cookes with their spits, &c.) in great disorder assaile the Earle himselfe, as he was comming from the Councell, and had there slaine him, but that the evill fate of *England* and his owne, reserved him to doe and suffer greater mischiefes. The Earle hardly gets to his Barge, and reputing all things unsure about the King, gets over to his place at *Callis*. The *Yorkists* directly charge the Queene with this, as with a plot drawne for the Earles destruction. Not long after this, the young Duke of *Sommerset* is sent Captaine to *Callis*. *Warwicke* will resigne no roome, notwithstanding the Kings command, alleaging he was made by Parliament: *Sommerset* is rejected, with danger to his person. *Warwicke* partly maintaines himselfe, and such as stucke to him in that charge, with spoyles which he got at Sea; How lawfully it appeares not; though *Warwicke* is said to have beene *Admirall* by Patent, though now revoked. The Ordinary Bookes have, that he, with foureteene sayle of men of warre, set upon three Caricks of *Gene* or *Genoa*, and two of *Spaine*, greater then the *Caricks*: three of which *Marchant-fleete* (which how they should be lawfull prize, we see not) he vanquished after two dayes fight, with he losse of about an * hundreth men of his owne, and a thousand of theirs: The booty was worth, at meane rates, ten thousand pounds; such also as followed the *Duke of Sommerset* comming into his hands, he beheaded at *Callis*. These were strange darings in the *Earle of Warwicke*; whom yet the unskilfull, and drunken multitude so highly praise: but what are these in regard of them which will presently follow?

* Rob. Fabian, who also reports a much greater number of Merchants ships.

(72) The *Duke of Yorke* in the meane time, and *Warwicke* with his father, the *Earle of Salisbury* (the *Triumvirs of England*) consult of their affaires: *Salisbury* is resolved with sword in hand to expostulate the danger and injury offered to his sonne at *Westminster*. The Queene (a Lady of incomparable magnanimity and fore-sight) confident in this, *that now King Henry, or the Duke of Yorke must perish, and that one Kingdome was not wide enough for both their Families*, bestirres her selfe to maintaine the possession of a Crowne, and to advance to the same her owne flesh and bloud Prince *Edward*, by ruining his house, whose whole building consisted of Lancastrian beneficence. She consults, she sends, she speakes, she gives, and strengthneth her selfe with friends on all sides, chiefly in *Cheshire*, causing her sonne to distribute silver Swannes (his badge or devise) to all the Gentlemen of that Countie, and to many other through *England*. *Salisbury* sets forward from his Castle at *Meddleham*, with foure or five thousand men, *James Touchet* Lord *Audeley*, encounters him unadvisedly upon *Blore-heath* neere *Muchelstone* The fight was long and bloudy, but in the end King *Henries* evill fortune gave the better of the day to the Earle of *Salisbury*, where, besides the valiant Lord *Audeley* himselfe, were slaine not fewer then two thousand and foure hundreth, but the chiefe losse fell upon the *Cheshire*-men, who ware the Princes Liverie.

The civill war begins again.

Buried at Mortpeath, after King Henrie side hath the worth.

(73) The Earle of *Salisbury* in this sort opened to himselfe a way to *Ludlow*, where the head of their combination, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, busied himselfe to gather forces: being met, they conclude, that seeing the matter was now become deadly, they would deale in cloudes no longer, but fight it out to the extremity. Men are drawne out of all parts with large hopes and promises of sharing in their fortunes, and the Earle of *Warwicke* bringing with him from *Callis* (which he left with his friends) that valiant Captaine *Andrew Trolop*, and a Band of stout and choyse Souldiers, comes to the generall Rendevou of the *Yorkists*, the Castle of *Ludlow*. The King in the meane space, (and not before it was neede and time) hath assembled a great puissance of faithfull Subjects, and being * attended with the Dukes of *Sommerset* and *Excester*, and other of his chiefe friends marcheth against his enemies. His first worke was, to offer them generall pardon. It is refused, and called by them *a staffe of Reede, or Glasse-Buckler*. The sword must decide the quarrells; whereupon the King commands his Standards to advance: while he was in his March, * a letter fraught with the wonted

The Duke of Yorke and others attainted (though reversed by Parliament.

* yrbeathem fled.

The Duke of *Yorke* and his friends take Armes.

* To Articuli de Archiepiscopo Dace Hist. Ecclesiast. Anglicanæ.

* Dated at Ludlow 10. October.

An. Dom. 1459.

wonted hypocrisies) is delivered to the King. There are in it among many other insinuations these also: *Most Christian King, right high and mighty Prince, and our most dread Soveraigne Lord, &c. Wee sent unto your good grace by the Prior of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester and divers other Doctors, and among other by M. William Linwood Doctor of Divinitie, which ministred unto us severally the blessed Sacrament of the body of Iesus, whereupon we and every of us deposed of our said truth and dutie.*

The horrible abuse of Christian Sacraments to beguile the King.

(74) Thus these prophane and ambitious men play with GOD, who in the end will severely be avenged on them for their impiety: but the letter made no overture of any course, upon which they would yeeld to lay downe Armes, alleadging, *they would but make their way to the King for redresse of abuses, and that they were enforced to stand together for their owne defence, against such great Courtiers and Favourites*, as (say they) *intended their destruction*; meaning indeede such persons whose vigilancy and manhood might protect and guard him from their practise and violence. The King is now in sight, whom the Triumvirs *Yorke*, *Warwicke*, and *Salisbury*, being strongly entrenched before *Ludlow*, * meane to assaile. *Andrew Trollop* (who had in the Kings pay done great service upon the *French*) was acquainted with all their counsell, and finding himselfe extreamly deceived, (for he thought, and so by the Earle of *Warwicke* was made to beleeve, that the preservation of the King was intended, and not destruction) abandons the *Yorkists* camp at mid-night, & with a choise number of trusty men presents himselfe and services to the King, who graciously received him and his. The truth of the Triumvirates plot, and bottome of their conspiracies was thus made clearely knowne: The *Yorkists* upon notice of *Trollops* act, despairing of successe at that present, flie. The Duke of *Yorke* with the Earle of *Rutland* his younger sonne into *Ireland*, the Earle of *March* his eldest sonne and heire, *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, with much difficulty escape to *Callis*, which place (as * one saith probably) *if Henry had in time taken from his enemies, they had without question beene forthwith irrecoverably ruined.*

* Guil. Gibon.

Captaine Andrew Trollop forsakes the Triumvirs or Yorkists Camp.

The Yorkists are scattered without battell.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

(75) The multitude which served under *Yorke* found mercy, but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or generally ransackt. The towne of *Ludlow* it selfe was spoyled to the bare walls, and Dutchesse of *Yorke* deprived of all her goods. What lesse could be the effects against the friends of such adversaries, upon so publike an act and advantage? The point is followed more sharpely upon the great Offenders in the next Parliament, which was holden at *Coventrie*: there *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, *Edward* Earle of *March*, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, *Richard* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Alice* Countesse of *Salisbury*, (in whose right her husband was Earle) two or three Lords, nine Knights, and certaine other, were openly of high Treason attainted, and their whole estates confiscated.

(76) *Callis*, a most important piece, being in the meane space violently possest by *Warwicke*, the Duke of *Sommerset*, the Lords *Rosse* and *Audley*, are sent with forces to take it; their successe was evill, for the Duke was glad to flie, his Souldiers were robbed, by *Warwicks* men, of their harnesse, the Lord *Audley* is taken into the towne, and the Lord *Rosse* hardly escaped. Letters are hereupon written into forraine parts, entreating * *that no relieſe be minisired to the Traitors who kept Callis* against the King, and all men are at home forbidden *to transport any victuall or refreshment thither*. Evident it is, that the Councell of *England* rather wished that the Town and Castle had beene *French* againe, then as it was; neither therein erred they, for it could not be so mischievous to the maine of their cause, as now it was. The Duke of *Sommerset* being in *Guines*, a neighbour Castle, doth daily by his Souldiers skirmish with the *Calisians*: *Warwicke* meditates other things. Hee must speake with the Duke of *Yorke*, at whose commandement all *Ireland*, (where he abode) seemed to be ready; but is advertised that the King had certaine ships, which lay at *Sandwich* to transport supplies and succours to the Duke of *Sommerset*. He meanes not to leave such a perill behinde him unremoved; having therefore espied his time, he wils his people to slip over in the night to *Sandwich*, which they accordingly did, tooke the Lord *Rivers*, and his sonne *Anthony Woodvile* prisoners, and brought away all the Ships, except one called *Grace de Dieu*: one Sir *Baldwine Fulford* Knight, having (after this) assumed to doe service upon the Earle of *Warwicke*, and to take him, returnes empty. *Warwicke* sayles now to *Ireland*. The King makes the Duke of *Excester* Admirall, and gives him commission to apprehend the Earle of *Warwicke*. The Duke with a great Navie puts forth to Sea from *Sandwich*. Behold the ill carriage of things: At *Dertmouth* many of his Souldiers, pretending want of money and victuals, forsake him. Meane-while the Earle of *Warwicke* passeth by, the Duke, not daring to affaile him, nor hee willing to assaile the Duke, for that he was Admirall and of the Kings bloud. Such was the act and cunning of the *Yorkists*, to pretend reverence unto that which most of all they thirsted to shed. Five hundreth fresh souldiers attend at *Sandwich*, to be shipt over to the Duke of *Sommerset* for safe-conducting him into *England*. *Warwicks* men sodainely come upon them, slew *Montford* their Captaine, and many other, and disarmed the rest. Such was the distracted estate of our poore Countrey at this time, through the pride and restlesse ambition of one or two unhappy men. But though nothing was more plaine then that the Duke of *Yorke* fought the Crown of *England*; yet nothing is truer, then that they as yet pretended nothing lesse, for the veneration of King *Henries* purity of life, would have prevailed with the people greatly to their prejudice.

The Earle of *Warwicks* men take the Lord *Rivers* and some other Kings Navie at *Sandwich*.

The King armes to Sea, but cannot take the Earle, who returnes from *Ireland* to *Callis*.

(77) The King failing thus to obtaine the person of *Warwicke*, or his Towne of *Callis*, the *Yorkists* send over certaine Articles into *Kent*, in which (as if they were the onely *Patriots* and best Subjects of the world) they complaine of *certaine generall enormities concerning injuries done to the Church, and the ill minsstration of justice, abuse of purveyors and takers, the Kings poverty by the corruption of his officers*, and the like plausible stuffe: where they speake of the King, they sequester him from all exception, as being of *so noble, so vertuous, so righteous, and so blessed disposition*: (these are their words and the truth) *as any Prince earthly*. Where they speake of their enemies, (that is, the Kings principall friends and faithfull Subjects) they name the *Earle of Salisbury, the Earle of Wiltshire, and the Lord Beaumont*, which must ever bee an honour to their memories, and put the blame (if it were blame-worthy) of such attaindors which were enacted against the *Yorkists* at *Coventrie*, upon these three Lords specially. Where they speake of themselves and their intentions, *they professe all sincerity* and loyalty to King *Henry*, and that they only meant to come upon their guard to speake with him concerning the common-wealth, and their owne safeties, and that now they would attempt the same againe, *in the name of the Land*, and not to suffer such mischiefes to raigne upon them. The conclusion of their cunning and painted pretences hath these fained holy words: *Requiring you* (the people) *on Gods behalfe, and praying you in your owne, therein to assist us, doing alway the duty of Liegemen to our persons to our said Soveraigne Lord, to his estate, prerogative and preheminence, and to the surety of his most noble person, whereunto we have ever beene, and will be as true as any of his subjects alive: whereof wee call God, our Lady Saint Marie, and all the Saints in heaven, to witnesse, and record.* But of the thing it selfe, (that is to Crowne the Duke of *Yorke*) they make not the least mention: What wanted in these men to the height and depth of humane malice? They prevaile with the multitudes; a shallow-braind, but a great

The *Yorkists* send over Articles to seduce the people.

great and many-headed beast. The Lord *Fauconbridge* is sent to found their affections, and to draw the purulent matter to an head: hee findes great forwardnesse. The Earles of *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Salisbury* advertised of all things, land in *Kent*. But the people onely were not deluded; for *Thomas Bourchier* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other grave men, beleeved they meant sooth; which that they might the rather doe, the Earle of *Warwicke* made open oath upon the Crosse of *Canterbury*, *that they had ever borne true faith and allegeance to King Henry*. A strange humour in the *English*, that could neither brooke bad nor benigne Princes. The King had before the comming quit the Citie of *London*, as not greatly trusting the affections which the people therof bare toward such as the *Yorkish* faction had made odious about him, and appointed the Rendevow of his forces at *Northampton*, where he abode. The enemy (shewing friend) advanceth thither. It is a shame to reade that some of the great Prelates would simply be drawne to countenance such an enterprise: but their intentions were different: they hoped to reconcile enmities, the Earles to make *Yorke* King. Meanewhile their complices labour to take the Tower of *London*, within which there were for King *Henrie* these loyall Nobles. The Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Vescie*, *Lovel*, *De la ware*, and *Candal* a *Gascoigne*, with sundry others.

The Earle of Warwick lends his side an Oath.

(78) At *Northampton*, things were carried thus: The King meaning there to abide his adversaries, when it was not thought meete to admit the Earle of *Warwicke* to his presence, (which thing was colourably sued for to raise a ground of justification for battell) they prepare on both parts. The Earles of *March* and *Warwicke* (with like or greater cunning, then they had desired admission to the Kings speech) let cry through the field, that no man should lay hand upon the King, nor common people, but upon the Lords, Knights, and Esquires.

(79) The hoasts joyne. No stroake they gave but seemes to wound us also. Let us swiftly turne our eyes from so unnaturall slaughters. The * Lord *Grey* of *Ruthen* began the discomfiture of the Kings side, for he (let the World judge with what commendation) having the poynt, did quit his place, and fled to the Earles. The Kings Army is defeated, and utterly broken. Many were slaine and drowned. *Polydor* and *Grafton* say ten thousand: The chiefe of the Nobles who there lost their lives, were the Duke of *Buckingham*, *John* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, (a * most hopefull young Gentleman, and in all points like his heroyicke Ancestors) *John* Vicount *Beaumont*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremond*; and among sundry other prime men,* Sir *William Lucie*, who making haste to the fight, was upon his first approch chopt downe with an Axe. The Kings Ordnance could not play, there fell so great a raine.

* The Battell at *Northampton*, where the King is taken.

* Stowes Ann. who varieth in many circumstances of this battell from some other writers.

* *Polyd. Virg. Grafton Chron.*

(80) This wofull Battell was fought upon the * ninth of July. The King (as a man borne to all calamities and miseries, though he not therefore the lesse, but the more happy through that excellent fortitude of minde, with which hee invincibly sustained them) comes into his enemies hands; but the Queene and the Prince, and the remaines of their scattered fortunes flye into the North, there to reenforce their powers, and *to* * *subdue* (as she caused them to be proclaimed) *the Kings Rebels and enemies*. The Tower of *London*, after this misfortune, renders it selfe. The Lord *Scales* is wickedly murthered upon the *Thames* by Wherrimen, belonging to the Earle of *Warwicke*, as hee intended to passe to * *Sanctuary* at *Westminster*. The Earles when they were possessed of the King, continued their admirable hypocrisies (which God will terribly plague them for) thereby to leade the people on, and had to him these words.

*Rob. Fab. Chr.

*Stowes Ann.

(81) *Most noble Prince, displease you not, though it hath pleased God of his grace to grant us the victory of our mortall enemies, who by their venemous malice have untruely stirred and moved your Highnesse to exile us out of the Land, and would have put us to finall shame, and confusion: we come not to unquiet or grieve your said Highnesse, but to please your noble person, desiring tenderly the high wel-fare and prosperity thereof, and of all your Realme, and to be your true Liegemen while our lives shall endure.* Our soules are amazed at these acts, and men blush to publish to the World things so unworthy.

The Earles words to the King.

(82) The * *Florentine Secretary* was scarce borne at this time, but the *Divel* was as great a Master then as afterward. The King and Earles in the meane-time goe to *London*, where a Parliament was summoned in his name to be holden in *October* following. The Duke of *Yorke* (advertised of his victory) speeds from *Dublin*, the chiefe City of *Ireland*, to be at that Parliament, where wee shall at last see the true face of his purpose, his owne selfe taking away the maske which hitherto concealed it.

* Machiavel.

(83) *Scotland*, by reason of late affinity with the house of *Beaufort*, whose chiefe and top was the Duke of *Somerset*, (descended from *John* Duke of *Lancaster* by the Lady *Katherine*) was a speciall back, and second, to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous adversities; but now that refuge was also hazzarded: for King *James* the second, partly in favour of King *Henry*, and partly as making use of the troubles in *England*, layeth siege to *Rocksbrough* (*Bellenden* the *Scot* calleth the same Castle * *Marchmont*) being in the custody of King *Henries* enemies, where while himselfe (whose * skill and delight in shooting of Ordnance was great) comming downe the trenches to see the * *Lion* (a new great piece which had lately beene cast in *Flanders*) and the other Artillery discharged, one of them brake, and with a shiver thereof slew the King, and dangerously wounded the Earle of *Angus*. This unhappy accident hapned upon a a Sunday, the * third day of *August*. The Queene of *Scotland* nevertheless maintaineth the siege, and as well obtaines that place, as the Castle of *Warke*, both which shee (in revenge) threw to the Earth. *James* the third, a childe of seaven yeares old succeeded to his father, as well to the cherishment of the distressed *English*, as to the Crowne.

The humanity of Scotland to King Henry friends distressed.

* Hect. Boet. transl. Ar. Fr. 15.

* Lesle. lib. 10.

* Grafton. (S. James the second King of Scotland slaine with the shiver of a great piece. An. Dom. 1460.

* Lesle. lib. 10.

(84) The Parliament being begun, about the * eight of *October* at *Westminster* in King *Henries* name, thither comes with flying speed, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, who brake open the Kings lodging-Chamber, and placed himselfe therein, suffering the King to provide else-where. Then makes hee his claime to the Crown of *England*, and publisheth it in open Parliament, together with his pedigree. The whole house (such among them excepted as were privie to the Dukes intention) was * greatly dismayed, both for that he did set himselfe in the Kings Seat, and for this his unexpected challenge: But the Duke though at first hee greatly meant to have deposed King *Henrie*, and with speed to be crowned himselfe at *Alhallontide* next, yet finding such amazement and silence, hee sends them his pedigree and his claime in writing, that they might the better consider, yeelding (as it seemes) to be ordered therein; according to their generall agreement; during the treaty whereof, hee would not visit King *Henry*, alledging, himselfe was peerelesse in *England*. The maine points of his Title were as followeth. *King Edward the third had issue, Edward Prince of Wales, William of Hatfield, Lionell* Duke *of Clarence, John of Gaunt* Duke *of Lancaster, Edmund* Duke *of Yorke, Thomas* D. *of Glouc ester, and William of Windsor. Edward Prince of Wales died, living his Father, and left issue Richard the second King of England, who dyed without issue: as did also William King Edwards second sonne.*

An. Reg. 39. The Duke of Yorke returnes out of Ireland to claime the Crowne of England.

* Rob. Fabian.

The maine poynts in the Duke of Yorks pedigree.

(85) *Lionel the third sonne had issue Philip his daughter and heire, married to Edmund Mortimer Earle of March, who had issue Roger Earle of March, who had issue Edmund Earle of March, Roger, Anne, and Eleanor, which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor dyed without issue.* *Anne* (*the heire of that house*) *marrieth*

Richard Earle of Cambridge, the sonne of Edmund Duke of Yorke, fifth sonne to King Edward the third, which Earle of Cambridge had Richard commonly (saith the Booke,) called Duke of Yorke.

Allegations for King Henries and the Lancastrians title.

(86) *Iohn of Gaunt the fourth sonne and younger brother to Lionel, had issue Henry, who immediately after King Richards resignation, unrighteously (saith the Booke) entred upon the same, for that Edmund Earle of March, sonne of Roger Earle of March, and of Philip daughter and heire of the before said Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder brother to Iohn Duke of Lancaster was then alive, and that aswell the said Henry, eldest sonne to Iohn Duke of Lancaster, as his descendents have hitherto holden the Crowne of England, &c. unjustly, for that himselfe the said Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke was the lawfull heire, being the sonne of Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge, and of Anne before said.*

(87) This was the effect of the Duke of Yorkes title, which for the poynts of the Pedegree was very true, though in barre thereof the friends of King *Henry*, (without denying any part of the premises, being all of them more evident then that they could be honestly denyed) had not a little to say for him: for they could among other things alledge, *That Richard the second resigned up his Crowne and Regality at large*; *and that none else making claime but Henry Duke of Lancaster, he was thereunto by the consent of all the three Estates admitted*; *that Richard Earle of Cambridge was for high Treason attainted and executed, and his Issue made incapable of any inheritance, that this Richard his sonne now challenging the Crowne of England, being restored by the meere clemency and goodnesse of this King Henry the first, had voluntarily acknowledged him for his lawfull Soveraigne, and sworne the same, and that the said Richard was finally for treason attainted, and adjudged uninheritable: they could hereunto have added sundry Acts of Parliament, made to establish the right of the Lancastrian line, the succession of three Kings, all Henries, that is to say, the fourth, fift, and sixth*; *the politicke addresses of the first of those Kings, the noble victories of the second, and the holy life of the third*; *which three Kings lives contained of raigne about threescore yeares, in which number this was the nine and thirtieth of King Henry the sixth, who was descended of the male line, and the Duke of Yorke but of a female: of which female line none had ever beene in possession of the Crowne.* Great and weighty poynts, (if any) and the rather to be considered, for that King *Henries* person being (in very truth) Prisoner, no act of his to establish *Yorkes* title could bind in law or conscience, and the lesse, for that he had a wife, and by her a sonne, who was at liberty, and ready with Armes to free his father, or hazard to destroy the whole English name. But they who (on *Yorkes* behalfe) abstractively disputed these highest questions, knew a rule of law, which saith, *Iura sanguinis nullo jure civili dirimi possunt*; and the Lancastrians were not without their speculative and remote considerations to countenance the particulars of their cause. Thus wee see that in Monarchies (though the noblest forme of Regiment) where lineall succession is the rule of inheritance, there sometimes fall out as great and as indeterminable difficulties, as where Election designeth the Successor: wherof the *French* tragedies which our Nation made among them, and now these in *England*, are without all exception, the most fearefull instances. For *France* had heretofore her time of affliction, but now (O dearest *England*) it was thine.

(88) While this weighty controversie was debated, a Crowne which hung for garnishment in the middle of the roofe where the Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament met to consult, and the crowne which for like cause stood upon the highest Tower of *Dover*-Castell, * fell sodainely downe, which were vulgarly construed * to portend, *That the raigne of King Henry was at an end, and that the Crowne should bee transferred from one royall line to another.* But the Queene,

Signes foregoing the end of King Henries raigne.

Grafton Chron.

Polydor Virgil.

her sonne Prince *Edward*, and her fast friends in the North (the seat of their hopes) being nothing discouraged at their late ill fortunes, prepare all the forces they can to recover King *Henry* and the Kingdome; which thing whiles they are pursuing, the conclusion of the Parliament concerning the Crowne was, *That Henry the sixth should raigne, and be King during his life, the remainder to rest in Richard Duke of* Yorke, *and the lawfull heires of his body in generall tayle, King Henries heires to be excluded.* The Duke in the meane time is proclaimed heire apparant, and called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earle of *Chester*, and Protector of *England*. The agreement was engrossed, sealed, and sworne unto. The Queen wil have nothing to doe in this bargaine, being so dangerous and prejudicious to her selfe, her Husband, and her sonne; and therefore when the King (at the Duke of *Yorkes* instigation) sent for her to repaire unto him, she relying upon the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exceter*, and other the Kings friends, utterly refuseth *Henry* continueth King. The Armes therefore, which she taketh for his deliverance, have the more justice. The Duke of *Yorke* missing the prey he expected, leaves the King with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* at *London*; himselfe with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, and certaine forces,* fetcheth forward to *Wakefield* to pursue the Queen and her son, sending direction to the Earle of *March* that he should follow with all his power. The Castle of *Sandall* standeth pleasantly upon a small hill, in view of the faire towne of *Wakefield*; there the Duke of *Yorke* (comming thither upon Christmas-Eve) reposeth himselfe, and expecteth the encrease of his numbers. The Queene advertised, thinks it wisdome to fight before the Duke grow too strong; and thereupon marcheth forward, having an Army of eighteene thousand men, led by the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exceter*, the Earles of * *Devonshire* and * *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Nevill*, *Clifford*, *Rosse*, and in effect all the Notherne Nobilitie. The host (or so much thereof as they thought necessary to shew) presents it selfe before *Sandall*, to provoke and dare the Duke to battell. His bloud impatient of these braves, and ignorant perhaps, that the enemy had so great a multitude will needs fight, though the Earle of *Salisbury*, and Sir *David Hall* (an ancient servant of his, and a great Souldier) gave him advise to stay, till his sonne (the Earle of *March*) approached with such Welshmen and Marchers, as he had in great numbers assembled. But God would forbeare him no longer, but like a severe Master meanes to take a present account: at which he found whether all the kingdomes of the earth are worth the least sinne, much lesse a wilfull perjurie.

Henry to be King for terme of life, and the Duke of Yorke after his death.

* Stowes Annal. * Grafs. Chron.

The Queenes Army comes to wakefield.

(89) The Queene therefore addeth strategeme and wit to her force, to the entent hee might not escape her hands; whereupon the Earle of *Wiltshire* upon one side of the Hill, and the Lord *Clifford* upon the other, lye in ambush to thrust betweene him and the Castle; the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exceter*, stand embattelled in the open field. Their policy had the wished successe; for the Duke being not fully five thousand strong, issueth out of the Castle downe the Hill. The battels which stood in Front joyne furiously, when sodainely the Duke of *Yorke* sees himselfe inclosed, and although he expressed great manhood, yet within one halfe houre, his whole Army was discomfited, himselfe and divers his deare friends beaten downe and slaine. There lay dead about him the Lord *Harington*, Sir *Thomas Nevill*, sonne to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Sir *David Hall*, with sundry Knights and others, about two thousand and two hundred; among which were the heires of many *Southern* gentlemen of great account, whose * bloud was shortly after revenged. Let us not linger upon the particular accidents of this battell, but consider what it wrought for King *Henries* advancement; yet these few things are not to be un-remembred. The Earle of *Rutland*, a younger sonne to the

They overthrow the Duke of Yorke and kill him.

* Grafs. Chron.

the Duke of *Yorke*) being about twelve yeares old, was alſo ſlaine by the Lord *Clifford*, (who overtooke him flying) in part of revenge for that the * Earles father had ſlaine his. A deed which worthily blemiſhed the Author; but who can promiſe any thing temperate of himſelfe in the heat of martiall furie? chiefly, where it was reſolved, *not to leave any branch of Yorke line ſtanding*, for ſo doth *one make the Lord *Clifford* to ſpeake.

* *Graft. Chron.*

* *Graft. Chron.*

(90) That mercileſſe propoſition was common (as the event will ſhew) to either faction. The Duke of *Yorkes* head, crowned with paper, is preſented to the Queene. Cruell joy is ſeldome fortunate. *Cæſar* wept over *Pompeis* head, but the Queene (ignorant how manifold cauſes of teares were reſerved for her owne ſhare) makes her ſelfe merry with that gaſtly and bloudy ſpectacle. The Earle of *Saliſbury*, after wounds received, being in this battell taken priſoner, is conveighed to *Pomfret Caſtle*; from whence the common people (who loved him not) * violently haled him, and cut off his head; which perhaps was not done without the good liking of others. The Dukes head, together with his, were fixed on poles, and ſet upon a gate of *Yorke*, and with them, (if *Grafton* ſay true) the heads of all the other priſoners which had beene conducted to *Pomfret*.

*Stowes Annal.

An. Dom. 1461. *A. Reg.* 39. The Earle of *March* purſues his fathers deſignes.

(91) This battell (called of *Wakefield*) was fought upon the laſt day of *December*; of whoſe weathers complexion if their courages had participated, miſchiefe might have made her ſtop here, which now is in her ſwifteſt courſe.

(92) For the *Earle of March*, ſonne, and heire to this late valiant *Duke of Yorke*, hearing of this tragicall adventure, gives not over: but, having gathered an army of about twenty thouſand to march againſt the Queene, he finds employment neerer hand: being certified, that *Iaſper Teder Earle of Pembrooke*, (half-brother to King *Henry*) and *Iames Butler Earle of Ormond* and *Wiltſhire*, had with him a great force of *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to take him. The youthfull and valiant Earle of *March*, whoſe amiable preſence and carriage made him gracious with the people, (and the rather for that he had the generall good word of * *women*,) meanes to try his fortune againſt the ſaid Earles. Hee ſodainly therefore turnes backe from *Shrewsbury*, and at a place called *Mortimers-Croſſe* neere *Ludlow*, where the enemy abode, he ſets upon them. It was *Candlemas*-day in the morning, at which time there appeared, (as ſome write) three Sunnes, which ſodainely joyned in one. This luckie prognoſticon, and ominous Meteor, exceedingly fired the *Earle of March*, and was (ſome ſay) the reaſon, why he uſed for his *Badge*, or royall deviſe, the *Sunne in his full brightneſſe*. The Battels maintaine their fight with great fury; but, in the end, the *Earle of March* obtaines the victory, killing of his enemies three thouſand, and eight hundreth men; the Earles ſaved themſelves by flight. The ſonne of honour and fortune did thus begin to ſhine, through Clouds of bloud and miſerie, upon *Edward*, whom ſhortly we are to behold King of *England*. There were taken * Sir *Owen Teder* (father to *Iaſper Earle of Pembrooke*,) who was beheaded by *Edwards* commandement, as alſo Sir *John Skudamor* Knight with his two ſonnes; and other.

* *Phil. Comin.*

The battell at *Mortimers-Croſſe* where *Edward* is victorious.

(93) The Queene on the other ſide (having ordered her affaires in the *North*, ſetled the eſtate thereof, and refreſhed her people,) within a while after drawes neere with her *Northerne* army to S. *Albans*. There came before them an evill fame of their behaviour to *London*, whoſe wealth lookt pale knowing it ſelfe in danger; for the *Northern* army, (in which were *Scots*, *Welſh*, and *Iriſh* as well as *Engliſh*,) made bold by the way with what they liked, making ſmall diſtinction of ſacred or prophane, after they were once paſt the river of *Trent*, Captaine *Andrew Trollop* being their Coronell. King *Henry* himſelfe in perſon, with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the Lord *Bonuile*, and other, with a great puiſſance encampe at Saint *Albans*, to give the Queene battell, and ſtop her farther paſſage toward *London*. But the Lords of her faction being ready to attempt on her behalfe, aſſaile the Kings forces within the towne, and after ſome ſharpe affronts, breake through, and drive their adverſaries out with much-bloud-ſhed, till they fell upon a ſquadron or battalion of the Kings, wherein there were about foure or five thouſand men, which made good their ground for a while with great courage, but in the end the Queenes ſide clearely wanne the day. There periſhed in this conflict about two thouſand.

The ſecond battell at Saint *Albans*, where the Queene is victorious, and recovers the King.

This hapned upon *Shrove-tueſday*, the ſeventeenth of *February*. The King, Queene, and Prince meet joyfully, where hee Knights his ſonne, (being eight yeares old,) and thirtie others. The Lord *Bonuile* and Sir *Thomas* * *Kiriel* of *Kent* being taken in the fight, were beheaded, but all the other great men eſcape. The common people of *London* doe notwithſtanding ſtand wholly for the beautifull *Earle of March*, and ſtand the more confidently, becauſe they had ſure intelligence, that hee had vanquiſhed the Earle of *Pembrooke* in the *Marches of Wales*, and that the Earle of *Warwicke*, eſcaping from S. *Albans*, had met with the *Earle of March* neere *Coſtwold*, and that both with joynt-forces were marching toward *London*. Theſe newes made the King and Queene retire into the *North*, and leave that Citie and the Southerne Countreyes to their Enemie, till they might recover a fairer opportunitie, or more ſufficiencies. *Edward* upon notice of the Kings departure, entreth *London*, and gives period to *Henries* raigne, which is accounted to take end after he had ſucceſſively ruled this Land the ſpace of thirtie eight yeares, ſixe moneths, and foure dayes.

* *Yrrel, falſh Rob. Fabian.*

The King and Queene come into the North.

His Wife.

(94) *Margaret* the wife of King *Henrie*, was the daughter of *Reynate* King of *Ieruſalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*, *Duke of Andegavia*, *Loraine*, *Barre*, and *Calabria*, *Earle of Province*, *Cenomania*, and *Cuize*. She by proxie was eſpouſed unto King *Henry*, at the City *Tours* in *Touraine* in the Church of S. *Martin*; *William de-la Poole* being Procurator to the King in the preſence of the *French* king & his Queen, which King was Vncle to the Brides Father, and the Queene Aunt unto her mother. She with great pomp was conveyed to *South-hampton*, and thence to the *Abbey of Tichfield*, where the yeare of Grace 1445. and twenty two of Aprill, ſhe was ſolemnly married to King *Henry*; and honourably attended by the greateſt Eſtates of the Land, was crowned at *Weſtminſter* the thirtieth of May following. She was exceedingly beautified in face, and of goodly feature, of a great wit, and deepe pollicie, but of ſtomack farre above her ſexe, as in the managing of thoſe troubleſome times did too well appeare. She was his Wife twenty ſixe yeares, and twenty nine daies: and (after her Husbands depulſion from his regall Throne) her forces being vanquiſhed at the battell of *Tewkſbury*, in a poore Religious Houſe, whether ſhe had fled for the ſafety of her life, was taken priſoner, and ſo carried Captive to *London*, where ſhe remained in durance, till *Duke Reynate* her father did purchaſe her liberty with great ſummes of money, unto whom ſhee returned, and laſtly died in her native Countrie.

His Iſſue.

(95) *Edward* the onely Childe of King *Henry* and Queene *Margaret* his Wife, was borne at *Weſtminſter* the thirteenth day of October, the yeare of Chriſt 1453. and the 31. of his fathers Raigne, and the next yeare following, upon the fifteenth of March, by authoritie of Parliament, was created Prince

Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Cheſter*: For the title of Duke of *Cornwall* (as it is noted by warrant of record) is reputed unto the Kings eldeſt ſonne, the very day of his nativitie, and by vertue of a ſpeciall Act is preſumed and taken to be of full and perfect age, ſo as he may ſue that day for his livery of the ſaid Dukedome, and ought by right to obtaine the ſame; having his royalties in the Stannarie, wrackes at Sea, Cuſtomes, &c. the firſt Duke thereof was *Edward*, commonly called the *Blacke Prince*, whom his Father, King *Edward* the third, created in great Eſtate Duke of *Cornwal*, by a wreath on his head, a Ring on his finger, and a ſilver verge. Hee prooved a Prince of great hope and forwardneſſe, being skilfull in martiall knowledge, matters of government, and Lawes of the Realme. At the age of ſeventeene, the better to

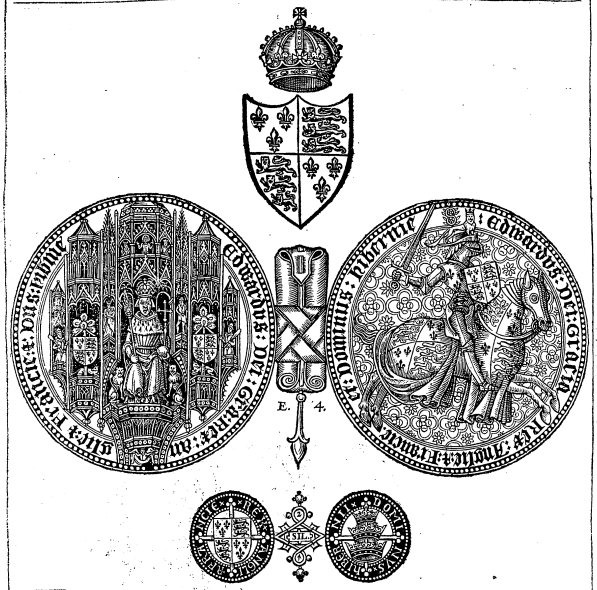
1453. Hen. 6.

bandie againſt his Fathers Competitor, King *Edward*, (the Maul of the Lancaſtrians claime) affianced in *France*, *Anne* the ſecond daughter of *Richard the Make-King*, Earle of *Warwicke*, whoſe other daughter was married to *George Duke of Clarence*. This Prince when the day was loſt at *Tewkeſbury*, fought to eſcape thence by flight, but being taken, was brought into the preſence of King *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſweres enraged the Conquerour ſo much, as hee daſhed him (an unprincely part) on the mouth with his gauntlet, and *Richard* the *Crookbacke* ranne him into the heart with his dagger. His body was buried without all ſolemnitie, among the poore and meane perſons ſlaine, in the Monaſticall Church of the blacke Friers *in Tewkesbury*. *Anno Domini* 1471.

Edw. IV.

EDVVARD THE FOVRTH, FIRST
KING OF THE HOVSE OF YORKE, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE-FOVRTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 54.



CHAPTER XVII.

EDVVARD whose birth was at *Roan* in *Normandy*, and bearing the title of *March* in *England*, having won the battell at *Mortimers* Crosse, (though the *Lords* his Confederates had lost that of Saint *Albans*) from *Ludlow* hasted towards *London*, and on his way was seconded by *Richard Nevill*, the stout Earle of *Warwicke*, to the great encrease of his number and power, which so terrified Queene *Margaret*, now ready to possesse the South, that with her Husband and Sonne, in a perplexed feare, she returned againe into the North; upon which advantage *Edward* now Duke of *Yorke* presently played. For *London* un-resolved whether Prince to obey (the one very powerfull, and the other in possession) daily consulted for their safest estate; when on the suddaine *Edward* with *Warwicke* entred their Gates, whose warlike Visages so daunted the adverse affected, that they began with the first to make him way to the Throne, and the Noblemen likewise made him offers of their service, to establish his claime, neither were the Clergie to learne the observance of time, or to sway with the man upon whom the World smiled. All these set in Counsell to conferre of the State, Duke *Edward* made knowne his title to the Crowne, and in well-set termes declared, how the body of the whole Parliament formerly had thereunto consented, and *Henry* himselfe subscribed with his owne hand; whose title, though now carried through three descents; yet what right *Lancaster* had, they all knew, and how insufficient this last man was for rule, *France* to their dishonour did witnesse, where all was lost through his neglect, whose simplicitie ever minded more his private devotions,

Edward Duke of *York*, and *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, come unto *London*.

The City of *London* doubtfull unto which part to yeeld.

devotions, then the potent managing of a Soveraignes command.

(2) These things urged (and most of them true) their voices went current, that *Edward* was the undoubted King, whereunto the *Londoners* the sooner yeelded, for that his dreaded Northerne Army was then encamped in Saint *Iohns* field: neither was any reservation made (as before) of *Henries* naturall life, but he is now absolutely neglected, as unworthy of his Crowne, how acceptable soever he had raigned till then, whose following miseries were not so much lamented, as his constant patience was admired in undergoing the same. *Edward* thus mounted, before his foote had well touched the first step, was upon Sunday the second of *March*, among his Northerne Souldiers proclaimed King; *William* Lord *Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent* declaring his claime, and disabling King *Henry* of stile or Governement, whose weake head (as he alledged) had over-long blemished the English Crowne.

King Henry deprived of his Crowne.

Edward Duke of York proclaimed King of England.

March 3.

(3) Vpon the next day, with all pompe he was conveied to *Westminster*, and set upon the Kings seat in the Hall, where holding the Scepter of Saint *Edward* in his hand, the voice of the people was againe demanded, and againe granted; such was the hap of unfortunate *Henry*, and condition of the multitude ever to dislike the present, and to affect the new: but no *interim* left to diswade or attempt, the next day his stile and title was againe proclaimed by the name of *King Edward the fourth*, being the fourth of March, and * about the 20. yeare of his age.

* He was borne An. Dom. 1441. April 29.

(4) These sodaine alterations made the richer sort somwhat fearfull, especially, those whose heart stood firme for King *Henry*, (who was now in the North new mustering of men) and among those, *London* afforded many, as King *Edwards* jealousie suspected, whereof one *Walker* a substantiall Citizen and Grocer was a sufficient proofe, who for wordes spoken concerning his owne sonne, that *hee would make him heire of the Crowne*, (meaning his house having that Signe) was the eight day of this Kings raigne apprehended and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And albeit his words intended no treason, (the Grocer not once dreaming to touch King *Edwards* title) yet the time being when the Crowne lay at stake, the tenure of the Law made them his death. This rough beginning moved many to doubt, that they had wronged themselves in wronging King *Henry*, which opinion was more confirmed in that hee retained * a great summe of money borrowed of the Staplers-Merchants, and disbursed in his affaires, whose restitution he utterly denyed with an austere commandement to surcease the demaund. But hearing how *Henry* was beloved in the North, and what followers were gathered to recover him the Crown, upon the twelfth of March with a complete Army hee sett forth of *London*, accompanied with his brethren, and many other Nobles: with whom marching towards *Pomfret*, he there appoynts the Lord *Fitzwater* to keepe the passage of *Ferribrig*, omitting no directions of a worthie commander.

The fauors of the Londoners.

Walker a Citizen beheaded for words.

Dangerous to meddle with a Crowne. *Grafton.*

* 1800. pounds

King Edwards beginnings somewhat difficult.

King Edwards expedition into the North.

(5) King *Henry* for his part though nothing so warlike, yet thought it best policy to employ such leaders as desired revenge against the house of *Yorke*; such were the Duke of *Sommerset*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whose fathers had beene slaine in the first battell of S. *Albans*, which last, though in degree the least man, yet sought to raise his fame with the first, and therefore to leave no attempt unassayed, hee so sodainely charged upon the Troupe appointed for *Ferribrig*, that the Lord *Fitzwater* unarmed (only with a Pollax in his hand) came hastily to the Bridge thinking a fray had beene among his owne Souldiers, where, with the Bastard of *Salisbury*, hee and many of his men were slaine by the enemy.

The Lord Fitzwater, and Bastard Salisbury slaine.

(6) The brute of which gust blowne into stout *Warwickes* eare, hee mounted his Courser, and posting to *Edward*, puffing, blowing, and almost out of breath, said, *Sir, I pray God have mercy on their soules, which in the beginning of your enterprize have lost their lives; I see no succour in the world, but in God, to whom I remit the vengeance.* And so alighting, forthwith slew his horse with his sword, saying, *Let him flie, that flie will; I will tarry with him that will tarry with me*, which he confirmed by kissing the crosse of his sword, the usuall complement of covenants made by martiall men. The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge* fearing lest this beginning would give an edge to the sequell, got over the River at *Castleford*, three miles from the Bridge, meaning to include the takers upon their backes, which *Clifford* perceiving, fought to avoyde, and whether for haste, heate, or paine, put off the gorget he wore, when sodainely an arrow without an head, shot from the Bow of some layde in ambush, pierced through his throat, and stucke in his necke, which set a period unto his life.

Prince Edward sheweth his right to the Crowne.

Earle Warwicke approcheth and speech to King Edward.

The Lord *Clifford* slaine with an headlesse arrow.

An. Dom. 1461. Difference of Authors hath herebred some confusion of yeares.

(7) The next day more fatall for *Englands* bloud, was celebrated with speares in stead of Palmes, usually borne on * that Sabbath of Lent, in whose dawning, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the foreward (the Duke of *Norfolke* being sicke) tooke the field on a plaine, betwixt the Townes of *Towton* and *Saxton*, where King *Edward* joyning his whole forces (being forty eight thousand, and six hundreth sixty persons, as King *Henries* were also threescore thousand) caused proclamation to be made, that hee who feared to fight, might forthwith depart, but if any souldier abiding, should seek to fly or turne back, he should be slaine by his next fellow, and the slayer to receive a great reward, besides the stipend of a double pay.

* March 29.

King *Edwards* proclamation much forwardeth his service.

(8) Both Armies ready to joyne, a small fleet of snow hapned to fall, which with the winde was carried into the face of the *Lancastrian* hoast, whereby their fight was much impeached, which advantage *Fauconbridge* soone espying, forth-with commanded his archers to shoot each man a slight, and then to stand without further proffer. The Northerne men feeling the arrowes, but not seeing the Archers, made haste to acquite them with the like, and shot their whole sheaves of arrowes without intermission, but short of the marke by threescore yards at the least; which storme being past, and all their store spent, the worthy *Fauconbridge* advanced forward, and within reach of his Archers sore galled the enemy, making a double advantage of what they had done: for their owne quivers being full, when the others were empty, they gathered up and shot theirs, against their owne shooters, yet left some of them sticking to gall the legs of their pursuers: by which only stratagem, as was constantly averred, the battell and day was lost and wonne.

The battell at *Towton*.

A politicke prescribe in warres.

(9) The fight was bloudy, and continued ten houres, for all being English, acquit themselves English-like, no taking of prisoners, nor looking for ransome, but all to retaine, and to get honour that day; wherein died the Lords *Beaumont*, *Nevill*, *Willoughby*, *Wells*, *Scales*, *Gray*, *Dacres*, *Fitzhugh*, *Beckingham*, and *Clifford*, (who dyed the day before) the two Bastards of *Exceter*, Knights, Esquiers, and Gentlemen a great number, and in all (on both parts) thirty five thousand, ninety and one; so that not onely the field lay stayned with English bloud, but the rivers ran red for a great distance, so markable is this battell of *Englands* civill warres.

Palme Sunday dyes bloudy battell.

(10) *Henry*, who never was victor where soever he came, hearing this losse which seemed irrecoverable, with his Queene and sonne hasted into *Scotland*, where, of *Iames* the young King hee was royally entertained, with comfort of assistance to recover his estate, in regard whereof he surrendred the strong towne *Barwicke* into the Scots hand, and concluded a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* his sonne, and Lady *Margaret* the sister of the said King. These things thus effected, milde *Henry* conceived some new budding hopes, and Queene *Margaret* his wife, (indeed

King Henry with his Queene and Sonne flee into *Scotland*.

John Lesly.

Lady *Margaret* of *Scotland* promised in marriage unto King *Edward*.

Queene *Margaret* passeth into *France*.

indeed the better warrier) passed thence into *France*, where, of King *Lewis* and her father *Renate* she obtained more men then her coffers were able to relieve with pay; the bane of all courage in adventures of warre.

An. Dom. 1461. King *Edward* crowned.

(11) Victorious *Edward*, after those his prosperous successes in the North, in triumph returned to *London*, and the eight & twentieth of June with great solemnity was crowned at *Westminster*, wherein S. *Peters* Church, the next day it was againe most solemnly set on his head, and the third day so crowned he came to Saint *Paules* in *London*, and therein was censed with great applause of the people. In November following a Parliament began, wherein K. *Henry*, Queene *Margaret*, and Prince *Edward* their Sonne, were disherited of their right to the Crowne; the Dukes of *Excester* and *Sommerset*, and the Earle of *Devonshire*, with an hundred and forty moe, were attainted also, and disherited; so fortune dallieth in setting the Dice of her favours, or frownes.

An. Dom. 1462. Queene *Margaret* returned into *Scotland*.

(12) Queene *Margaret* stored with men, but in want of money, with her French powers made into *Scotland*; whose comming was most welcome to the two Kings there, and thence, with great shew of enterprize, hoised her sailes for *England*, but having touched the bay of *Tinmouth*, (whether upon better advise, or feared with their owne shadowes,) she with her French put backe to the Sea, where such a fore tempest tooke them, as had not Queene *Margaret* in a small Carvell got unto *Barwicke*, she had not lived to vexe the new King, nor seene the unfortunate losse of her Husband, her Sonne, and Realme, nor the miserable calamities of her owne old age. Her French, by Bastard *Ogle*, were beate into *Holy Iland*, many slaine, and foure hundred of them put to their ransomes.

Bastard *Ogle* overcommeth the French.

An. Dom. 1463.

(13) This fainting French enterprize, though it dulled the edge of some spirits, yet did it nothing daunt the courage of the Queene, her better hopes being fixed upon the Scots valour; so, (leaving Prince *Edward* for safety in *Barwicke*,) with her Husband and Scots shee entred *Northumberland*, tooke the Castle of *Bamburgh*, and so passed forward unto the *Bishopricke*, their forces daily increasing, through the confluence of such English as favoured King *Henrie*.

Queene *Margaret* entreth *Northumberland* in hostile manner.

King *Edward* commeth to *Yorke*.

(14) King *Edward* hearing these stirres in the North, made his preparation both by Sea and Land, and with his Brethren, and Nobles, came to *Yorke*, from whence he sent *John Nevill* Lord *Montacute*, with a power of men, as somewhat mistrusting the loialties of the *Northumbrians*, who passing forward, upon *Hegely-Moore* was sodainely encountred by the Lords *Hungerford* and *Roos*, with whom was Sir *Ralph Piercy*, a most valiant Knight; but *Montacute*, accompanied with such as would neither looke backe, nor stand gazing on, abode the encounter, and at the first push put backe the two Lords, and finally slew the said *Piercy*, who no waies would depart out of the field; but in dying said, *I have saved the bird in my breast*, meaning his oath made to King *Henrie*.

The skirmish upon *Hegely-Moore*.

The saying of Sir *Ralph Piercy* at his death.

(15) Lord *Montacutes* Sunne thus mounting in the *Horizon*, cast forth the rayes of his rising fame, which as he well hoped would higher ascend. And therefore learning by espials, that *Henries* hoast lay incamped upon a plaine called *Livels*, neere unto *Hexham*, by the *Water Dowill*, he hasted thither and so valiantly assaulted their Campe, as after great slaughter, in chase were taken Lord *Henry* D. of *Sommerset*, the Lords, *Roos*, *Molins*, and *Hungerford*, all which were beheaded, and Sir *Ralph Gray*, who first solemnly disgraded, his guilt spurres cut from his heeles by the Master-Cooke, his Sword broken over his head, his Coat-armour rent, another reverfed put on by the King at armes, was so led to his execution. King *Henry* himselfe got away (as *Stow* saith) into *Lancashire*, where, with some few hee lived full hardly in Caves, and unknowne, more then a yeare, but (saith *Grafton*) he fled into *Scotland*, which is more likely.

Montacutes victory at Hexham. May 15.

Lords taken and beheaded.

The disgrading of Sir *Ralph Gray*.

John Stow. King *Henry* put to flight.

Rich. Grafton.

(16) *Edward* thus cleared of the Clowd-threatning storme, thought best ere others did light, to provide for himselfe, and therefore he raised *Bulwarkes*, built new *Fortresses* in places of danger, put forth his espials upon the Marches of *Scotland*, and commanded that none should keepe *Henrie* or *Margarets* in secret, whose sight, he feared, would draw the affections of many, which otherwise stood in case of obedience. But over-borne *Henry* (whether past all feare, or inforced by destinie) in disguised apparrell past into *England*, where he was soone apprehended by one *Cantlow*; but *Stow* saith, by *Thomas Talbot* in *Cletherwood* besides *Bungerley Hippingstones* in *Lancashire*, being betrayed in *Waddington Hall* as he fate at dinner, and thence brought to *London* with his legs bound to the stirrups, arrested by *Warwicke*, his guilt spurres taken off, and committed Prisoner to the Tower of *London*.

King *Edwards* care and provisions.

King *Henry* disguised commeth into *England*, and is apprehended.

King *Henry* hardly used, arrested, and committed prisoner to the Tower.

(17) The Lyon thus pent, his pawes cut or pared, and *Queene Margaret* in *France* with her father *Renate*, King *Edward* now quiet, fet his minde upon Government for the good of his Realme. In his Court of *Kings Bench* he used to sit in person certaine daies together, to see how his lawes proceeded with justice; ordained penall Statutes against excessive pride in Apparrell, especially against long picked shooes then usually worne, which grew to such an extreame, that the pikes in the Toes were turned upward, and with silver chaines, or silke laces tied to the knee. But among many good provisions, one proved very bad, as the sequell shewes; for concluding a league with King *Henry* of *Castile*, and *John* King of *Arragon*, he granted a license to transport certaine numbers of *Cotefwold Sheepe*, which are since growne to such an exceeding increase, as the Clothes made of their Woolles is a great hindrance to our Marchants, which adventure in the Levant Seas.

King' *Edwards* care of Justice.

The pride and abuse in shoes.

Sheepe transported into *Spaine*, very hurtfull unto *England*.

(18) His next care was to finde a fit *Queene*, both for the hope of Issue to succeede, and for alliance and power to assist (if need were) against *Henries* claime. First therefore minding to send into *Scotland*, to desire in marriage the Ladie *Margaret*, (sister to King *Iames* the third) thereby to frustrate *Henries* further hope; was made to believe that the said Ladie was, by reason of sickenesse, not capable of conception, which altogether declined his affection from that way. Next, as some say, a motion was made for *Lady Elizabeth*, sister and heire apparant unto *Henrie* King of *Castile*, as a match most convenient, considering King *Edward* had thereunto a Claime, whose great Grandmother was one of the heires of *Castile*, being the daughter of *Don Peter* the King, besides which high match, and combination of alliances, a hope was conceived that the Dutchies of *Guien* and *Aquitaine*, might be recovered by the assistance of these *Castilians*, without great charge or travell to the *English*. But the tender spring of the one, and the lusty growth of the other, would not be grafted into one stocke to beare fruit, shee little above sixe, and he about twenty three, farre unfit to abstaine till thee could give him content.

King *Edwards* care and provisions.

Sheepe transported into *Spaine*, very hurtfull unto *England*.

King *Edwards* care for choice of his Queene.

Camden. Rich. Grafton.

(19) A third Princesse was assaid, against whom could be no exceptions, for birth, beautie, yeares, or Alliance, which was Lady *Bona*, daughter of *Lewis Duke of Savoy*, and sister to *Carlot* the *French Queene*, at that time residing in the *French* Court. This double string was thought most fit for King *Edwards* bow; for the Duke more remote, might strengthen him abroad, and the *French* neerer home would be made a good neighbour, having the Night-bird still singing in his eare: especially to cast a rubbe in King *Henries* way, whose hopes lay most upon *Lewis*, for that *Renate* of *Anjou*, stiling himselfe King of *Naples*, *Sicil*, and *Ierusalem*, had more honour by that verball stile, then rents or revenues to maintaine his estate, or any subjection acknowledged by them; so as if King *Lewis* were *Edwards*, *Anjou* was not to be feared

His second project for a match *Rich. Grafton.*

His third suit for a wife.

The allegations for their benefit of forain marriages.

Lady *Bona* sent for Queene for *Edward*. Would she the great Earle of *Warwicke*

Robert Fabian.

Warwicke wooing and entertainments in *France*.

K. *Edwards* lust and sodaine choise of his wife.

John Hardings antitemper.

The Lady *Elizabeth Grey* a suppliant to king *Edward*.

The beauty and estature of Lady *Elizabeth Grey*.

K. *Edwards* another sodaine to divert his love.

The counsell and countenance of the old Dutchesse of *Yorke* with her Sonne K. *Edward*.

How and unto whom it was expedient for a king to marry.

K. *Edwards* reason for his own choise.

feared. This match being most approved in counsell, none was held more fit to solicite the businesse then Lord *Richard Nevill* the great Earle of *Warwicke* a man esteemed for power a Demy-King, and for magnificence and hospitality matchlesse: in whose house at *London* (as some have verified) sixe Oxen were spent every day, and most Taverns in the City full of his meat.

(20) *Warwicke* in great state arrived at *Tours*, and his message knowne, was accordingly entertained in the French Court, where he wrought the Queen herselfe to be the chiefest Agent; who drew on her sister *Bona*, with recommending the state and stile of a magnificent Queene (a sound very tunable in a Ladies eare,) and her Husband *Lewis*, with assurance of a potent and wise Allie, a pleasing theame to soft-natured-Princes, as the French King was. And indeed to all shee undertooke all good contentments; so as on that side all things were cleare, and *Warwicke* dismissed with Courtly French complements, the Earle *Damp-martin* was to passe into *England* for the finall confirmation.

(21) But whilest *Warwicke* had beene industriously wooing in *France*, King *Edwards* affection in *England* was working another way; for being on hunting in the Forrest of *Wychwood* beside *Stony-Stratford*, hee there found other game, that made game in his eye, which was the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* attending the Dutchesse of *Bedford* her mother, who then sojourned at his Mannour of *Grafton*, whither hee repaired for his recreation. She had beene attendant upon Queene *Margaret* the Wife of King *Henry* the sixt, and had beene married unto *John Gray* Esquier, knighted and slaine at the battell of *S. Albans*, upon King *Henries* part, who now was a suiter unto the King, for some thing taken away in the extremity of that time, to be restored towards the maintenance of her estate. But howsoever her suit pierced his eare, her sweetly composed feature strangely affected his heart; more formall she was, and lovely in countenance, then either tall, or exceedingly faire; yet both sufficient to meete in one person, of an excellent witte, a sober demeanour, a modest looke, a feminine smile, and her speech uttered in such a naturall eloquence as her answeres ever set on edge King *Edwards* desires, which howsoever distastefull to the appetite of his wanton bed, (affirming with blushes, that as shee accounted her selfe most unworthy of the name of his Queene, so she held her selfe of more worth, and her chast honour dearer then to be his Concubine) yet held they him in chase till she had taken him in the snares of her love.

(22) Their many meetings and lovers complements, made the old Dutchesse of *Yorke* (the Kings Mother) much to suspect it would bee a match; to hinder which, with a Parents authority shee entred discourse, alleading it honourable, safe, and of much profite to linke with some great Princesse in forraigne Lands; both for the increase of possessions abroad, and (as the case stood) to bee affisted at home: that *Warwicke* had gone so farre in his suite in *France*, as if in himselfe now were the stay, the feared their displeasures would not be staied. To marry his Subject shee held it unprincely, especially one without revenewes, alliance, or riches, no other thing moving, but a wanton dotage on the person; and although that in Lady *Elizabeth* nothing was to be misliked, yet was there nothing so excellent, but the fame was incorporated in farre greater Ladies, more meete as shee thought of a Queenely estate. A Virgin (quoth she) is most fit for a sacred Prince his side, whose head is annoynted with holy Oyle, and whose Majesty is outwardly more sublime then the Levitical Priests: yet were they forbidden to make widdowes their wives, lest the holy callings should be defiled with the staine of Bigamy.

(23) When his Mother had said, and expected his answere, the King who had taken counsell of his owne desires, and knew himselfe to bee out of his mothers rule, partly in earnest, and partly in pleasance, made her this reply: That marriage being a spirituall type, ought rather to be conjoyned where God had framed the parties to consent (as this of his was) then in regard of any temporall respect whatsoever. That his choise was pleasing to himselfe, and would be to his Subjects he certainly knew, whose amity before all other Nations hee most preferred and desired; neither could he give them better occasion of love then in this, that being their Soveraigne, hee disdained not to marry into their Tribes; and so likewise for his Issue, there could not any Prince be better beloved then hee that was their naturall Prince so borne of both Parents. That if forraine alliances were so needfull, hee had many of his kin, to contract them, and that with content of all parties: but for himselfe, to marry for possessions, or to please others with displeasing his own affections, hee saw it no wisedome, having already sufficient of the one; and the other offended, even sweete pleasure would seeme sowre pils; especially, the choise that is made by another mans eye. That there are many comparable to her, said hee, I make no question, and am the more glad, let them have them that like them, I will not repine, neither I hope will any abridge me of that which I allow unto others: the Proverbe is (Mother) that marriage goes by *Destiny*, but to be wived against a mans own liking, is an earthly *Purgatory*: And therefore my Cosen *Warwicke* I am sure, neither loveth me so little, to grudge at that I love, nor is so unreasonable to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye, then by mine owne; as though I were a *Ward*, that were bound to marry by the appointment of a Guardian: I would not be a King with that condition, to forbeare mine owne liberty, in choyse of mine owne marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in forraine land, it proves oftner the occasion of more trouble then profite; and we have already title by that meanes, to so much, as sufficeth to get, and keepe well, in one mans dayes. That she is a widdow, and hath already children, by Gods blessed Lady I am a *Bachelour*, and have come too, and so each of us hath a proofe, that neither of us is like to be barren. And therefore (Madam) I pray you be content, I trust in God thee shall bring a young Prince, that shall play on your lap, to your great pleasure, and your selfe shall blesse the wombe that bare such a babe: and as for your objection of Bigamy, let the Bishop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take *Orders*; for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never wist that it was forbidden a Prince.

His Mothers desire to crosse his purpose of marriage.

(24) The Dutchesse seeing the King so set on his owne choyse, that she could not pull him backe; tooke it in such disdaine, that under pretext of her duty to Godward, she devised to frustrate the match, and rather gave furtherance, that Lady *Elizabeth Lucy* should be his Queene, whom not long before hee had with wanton dalliances enticed to his bed: for which act, under pretence of a contract with her, whose husband he was before God, (as she alleadged) his Mother openly objected against this his intended marriage, in the discharge (forsooth) of her owne conscience, which was the cause of such an obstacle, as either the Bishops durst not, or the King, proceed to the solemnization of this Wedding, till the same were clearely purged, and the truth openly testified: whereupon Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was sent for; which Lady, albeit she was instigated by the Kings Mother, and others, to averre the same, yet when she was solemnly sworne to speake truth, she confessed that they were never affured indeede, howbeit she affirmed his *Grace* spake so loving words unto her, as she verily hoped he would have maried her, and that if it had not beene for such kinde words, she would never have shewed such kindnesse unto him. This point cleared, and no impediment resting, the

Lady *Lucy* intrigated to claime marriage of King *Edward*.

King

K *Edward* married Lady *Elizabeth Grey.*

King tooke to wife this later beloved Lady, *Elizabeth Grey*, who had beene formerly married unto his enemy, and many times prayed full heartily for his losse, in which God loved her better then to grant her her boone, reserving greater honour for her selfe and her posterity.

The descent and parentage of the Lady *Elizabeth Grey.*

(25) She was honourably descended, especially by the surer side, whose Mother was *Iaquelin*, daughter to *Peter* of *Luxemburge* Earle of S. *Paul*, and Dutchesse to *Iohn* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*; after whose death she married Sir *Richard Woodvile* Knight, and among others bare unto him this *Elizabeth*, *Englands* faire Queene, who being privately married at the Mannour of *Grafton*, was afterwards crowned Queene at *Westminster* with all due celebrations, upon the five and twentieth of *May*, *Anno*, 1465. Her Father then by this new made honne in law, and Soveraigne Lord, was created Lord *Rivers*, and made high Constable of *England*, her Brother Lord *Anthony*, married to the sole heire of the Lord *Scales*, and her Sonne *Thomas Grey*, borne to her first Husband, was created Marquesse *Dorset*, and married to the heire of the Lord *Bonvile*.

Queene *Elizabeth* crowned.

The Queenes kinred highly preferred.

(26) But when *Warwicke* had knowledge the wanton King had got a new Wife, and his courting of Lady *Bona*, to be but a ball to make *Edwards* play; hee stormed not a little, whose credite hee tooke to be cracke in the French Court, and himselfe rather thought to have dallyed in this motion, then to deale by commission from his King, for which cause hee conceived so inward an indignation, that his affection was withdrawne from King *Edward*, and thenceforth ranne upon *Henrie*, retained in prison, to which end hee temporized with the present King applauded the Queene, and bare countenance in Court with no discontented shew: The King as wary as *Warwicke* was, cast no eye of dislike, or of any suspition, gave him countenance in Court, and in familiar conference heard him before others; yet left the stem of his greatnesse should overtop his Crown, and his Brethren, the spreading branches, shadow his designes, hee tooke the Chancellorshippe from *George Nevill*, the one of them, then Bishop of *Exceter*, afterward Archbishop of *Yorke*, and from the other *Iohn Nevill* Baron *Montacute*, the Earledome of *Northumberland*, bestowing the same (at the suite of the Northumbrians, set on by himselfe) upon *Henry Piercy*, whose father was slaine at *Touton*, and himselfe at that present fled into *Scotland* for safety. Whereupon *Montacute* was removed, and to avoide suspition was created Marquesse, a greater name, but farre lesse in power. And to have a stake in store howsoever the Dice chanced to turne, hee sought to joyne friendship with forraine Princes, having offended *France* for the refusing of his Queenes sister: so as he sought, and abtained the amity of *Henry* King of *Castile*, and of *Iohn* King of *Arragon*, and tooke a truce with his neighbour the *Scottish* King for fifteene yeares following.

Earle *Warwicke* fore offended against king Edward.

Temporizing betwixt the king and the Earle of *Warwicke.*

Erection Goodsius Earle of English Bishops.

Iohn Nevill created Marquesse *Montacute.*

Rich. Grafton. An. Dom. 1468.

(27) But these confederates for the more part too farre to be called for by whistle, fortune beyond expectation set him another even at his elbow, which was *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, Prince of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Zealand*, whose onely sonne legitimate, (*Charles* Earle of *Charoloys* a widdower, and without any Sonne) he sought to conjoyne to King *Edwards* faire Sister, not so much for any love hee bare to the House of *Yorke*, himselfe being a *Lancastrian* by his Mothers side, as to bandy against *Lewis* King of *France*, whom he had lately overcome in a battell at *Montlehery*, and as then stood upon his defence, as he was sure King *Edward* did. This motion King *Edward* and his Councell well-liked, onely *Warwicke* withstood it, in favour of the French: but the Lady *Margaret* sent over according to her estate, and *Warwicke* left fuming with a discontented minde, after some complements of mirth with his brethren the Archbishoppe, of *Montacute*, at his Towne of *Warwicke*, brast forth into warlike consultations for the deposing of *Edward*, and restauration of *Henrie*, whose wrongs (as he alleadged) did cry for right at their hands The Bishoppe lightly consented to side for King *Henry*; but the Marquesse would hardly bee drawne from King *Edward*, which *Warwicke* perceiving, layd his lime-twiggs yet another way.

The marriage celebrated.

The marriage - moved betwixt Earle *Charles* and Lady *Margaret.*

Polid. Com lib. 3. cap. 4

Earle *Warwicke* plotteth king *Edwards* deposition.

(28) For being a man of a deepe reach and wit, hee well saw that *George* Duke of *Clarence* the Kings second brother, bare not the best liking to the sway of the times: him therefore hee fought to allure to his fift, which once mand, *Edward* should loose the best Faulcon for his game; him therefore by Problemes hee meant first to prove, and according to their digest, purposed to proceed. So falling in familiar conference with *Clarence*, beganne to complaine of some unkindnes in the King, both in breach of some promises, and staine of his honour in the French Court. The Duke as discontented as *Warwicke*, interrupted his tale before it was told: Why my Lord (quoth *Clarence*) do you looke that a Leopard should have no spots in his skinne, or a Camelion no colours but one? in faith you are deceived, and loose but your labor to wash the naturall Blackamore: for will you have him kinde that is by nature unkinde, and to be respected of him that respects not his owne bloud: or thinke you (a Cosen and Allie) to be raised by him, that seeth (if not seeketh) his owne Brethrens fals? For the heire of the Lord *Scales* (you see) hee hath married to his Wives brother, the heire of the Lord *Bonvile* and *Harington* to his wives sonne, and affianced the heire of the Lord *Hungerford* to the Lord *Hastings*, marriages indeed more meete for his two brethren and kinne, then for such new fondlings as hee hath bestowed them upon. But by my *George* I sweare, if my Brother of *Glocester* would joyne with me, wee would make him know that we are all three one mans Sonnes, and of one and the same Mother.

Warwicke inveigh against the King.

(29) Earle *Warwicke* having that which he greedily sought after, seconded the resolution with his owne affistance, imparting now boldly what confederates he had made, and to joyne more faithfully in this his designe, he proffered *Clarence* his eldest daughter Lady *Isabel* in marriage, faire and well qualified. with the one halfe of his Wives inheritance, she being sole heire unto *Henry Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* her brother, and nothing inferiour to any of those whom *Edward* had bestowed upon others, which no sooner was spoken, but was as presently embraced, and the plot conferred how to proceede, which was concluded, forth-with to saile unto *Calis*, (whereof the Earle was Captaine, and where the Virgine Lady lay) as well to confirme the contract betwixt them, as to be absent when the commotion should begin, as the safer from suspition, and the surer to strike when the Ball came to hand, to stirre which, the Archbishop and *Montacute* were appointed for the North.

Warwicke and *Clarence* make affinity.

An. Dom. 1469.

The occasion pickt to make Malecontents, was the abuse of Charity unto an Hospitall dedicated to Saint *Leonard* in the Citie of *Yorke*, whose revenew stood most upon corne, yearely received from Farmers in the Country, as an Oblation of their first graine. This, the factious made their onely ground, under a holy pretext (forsooth) that the poore were defrauded, and the Mariet and Priests onely fed and waxen fat. To redresse which, one *Robert Hulderne* entred in action, and with fifteene thousand strong enterprised for *Yorke*, in which City the Lord Marquesse *Montacute* was President for King *Edward*, who with a small number, but well chosen, issued out against the enemy, put them backe, and stroke off the head of their Captaine before the gates of *Yorke*: but whether he did it in policie to grow more in trust with the King, or else of duety of obliege, not moulded throughly to the commotion, is uncertaine. But certaine it is, the rebels were nothing daunted at *Huldernes* death, but rather made the more resolute to

The occasion found for a commotion.

Huldernes Captaine of the Commotion.

Two Captaines made by the rebels.

Sir *Iohn Conyers* chosen generall of the rebels.

Warwicke bestirreth Clarence into actions against the king his brother.

The Lord Herbert Earle of *Pembrooke* made Lord generall.

Discontentes betwixt Pembrooke and *Warwicke.*

The Lord Stafford repulled.

King *Edward* prepareth a power against the Earle of *Warwicke.*

Warwicke and *Clarence* make affinity.

Pembrooke and his power fall out in their Inne.

The occasion found for a commotion.

The valour of *Pembrooke* and of Sir *Richard Herbert.*

to continue what they had begunne.

(31) To which end they choose them two Chieftains, of greater account, and eminent calling, which were *Henrie*, Sonne and heire to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Sir Henry Nevill*, Sonne and heire to the Lord *Latimer*, the one of them being Nephew, and the other Cosen-germane unto the Earle of *Warwicke*; these but young, and not altogether experienced in Armes, choose for their Tutor *Sir Iohn Conyers* a Knight of such courage, skill and valiantnesse, as in the North parts few were his like: who meaning to strike at the head, determined to march forthwith to *London*, proclaiming in his way, that *Edward* was neither a just Prince unto God, nor a profitable King unto the Common-weale.

(32) King *Edward* hearing of these Northerne proceedings, and that his Brother and *Warwicke* were preparing against him, sent for the Lord *Herbert*, whom he had created Earle of *Pembrooke*, to be his Generall in the North (who partly to deserve the Kings liberality in advancing him to such honour, and partly in emulation he bare toward *Warwicke*, being the sole obstacle (as he tooke it) why he obtained not the Wardship of the Lord *Bonvils* daughter and heire for his eldest sonne) did not a little rejoyce of that his employment. And therefore accompanied with *Sir Richard Herbert* his Brother, and eighteene thousand well-furnished *Wellshmen*, marched towards the enemy, and after him was sent *Humfrey* Lord *Stafford* with sixe thousand Archers to second him in his warres. These Lords meeting together, had notice by espials that the Northern made forwards towards *Northampton*: to intercept whom, the Lord *Stafford* lately made Earle of *Devonshire* was imployed, and *Sir Richard Herbert*, who with two thousand horse layd themselves covertly by the side of a wood, and sodainely set upon the rereward, the rest having passed: but the Northerne very nimbly turned about, and bad the *Wellshmen* such welcome as few of them returned to tell of their entertainement.

(33) The King understanding of this hard beginning, mustred his subjects on every side, intending to cope with the Northerne himselfe. And Earle *Warwicke* as forward to forward his fortunes, gathered his friends, with purpose to encounter with *Pembrooke* and his *Welsh*. But before any supplies came to either of both; it chanced the Armies to meete at unawares, upon a faire plaine called *Danesmore* neere to the Towne *Hedgecot*, three miles from *Banbury*, and presently fell to a bickering, wherein *Sir Henry Nevill* Knight, sonne of the Lord *Latimer*, upon a lusty courage, venturing somewhat too farre, was taken prisoner, and notwithstanding hee yeelded himselfe to his Takers, was cruelly slaine, which unmartiall act rested not long unrepaied with the losse of most of the *Welsh* the next day. For the field withdrawn, the L. *Stafford* repaired to *Banbury*, and there tooke his lodging, where his affections were much enamoured upon a faire Damsell in the Inne. But the Earle of *Pembrooke* comming to the same Towne, tooke into the same Inne, and commanded the Lord *Stafford* to provide him elsewhere, contrary to their agreements made before, whereat *Stafford* was displeased, and departing thence with his whole Band, left the Earle naked of men in the Towne, and disabled the field of the Archers, whereby the day was lost upon the Kings part, for which he shortly lost his owne head.

(34) The Northerne enflamed for the death of young *Nevill*, the next morning most valiantly set upon the *Wellshmen*, and by the force of Archers, drave them from their ground of advantage, which *Pembrooke* wanting, supplyed with his owne prowesse, and *Richard* his brother with his Pollaxe twice made way through the battell of the Northern, without any mortall or deadly wound: so that by their valours it was verily supposed the field had beene wonne, had not *Iohn Clappam* an Esquire and servant to *Warwicke* displayed his Lords Colours with his *White-Beare*, and from an eminent place cried a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, whereat the *Welsh* were so terrified, as they turned and fled, leaving their Generall and his brother alone in the field, who valiantly fighting, were incompassed and taken, with the death of five thousand of their men. The Earle with his brother *Sir Richard Herbert* were brought to *Banbury*, where with ten other Gentlemen they lost their heads, *Conyers* and *Clappam* being their Iudges.

(35) This second victory thus got, and the Northerne now fleshed; under the leading of *Robbin of Riddisdale*, hasted to the Kings Mannor of *Grafton*, where the Earle *Rivers* Father to the Queene then lay, whom with his Sonne *Iohn*, they sodainely furprized, and in *Northampton* strucke off their heads without any judgement. The deaths of these Lords the King greatly lamented, and sought to revenge: first therefore writing his Commissions for the apprehension of Lord *Humfrey Stafford* of *Southwicke* (who by diligent search was found at *Brentmarch*, and beheaded at *Bridgewater*, as he worthily deserved) next hee prepared a mighty Army, and with the same marched towards *Warwicke*, his company increasing ever as he went.

(36) King *Edward* set downe his tents at *Wolney*, foure miles from *Warwicke*, where the Duke and the Earle of *Warwicke* hoast lay ready for battell, but by the mediation of friends a peace was intreated, and letters written from either parties, expressing the griefes and wrongs sustained, with proffers of redresse, in amending all, and in shew so farre it proceeded, as the King conceiving a certaine hope of peace, rested secure, not fearing any foule-play, which politique *Warwick* (by his spiall perceiving) thought it not wisdome to loose the advantage, and thereupon in the dead of the night with a selected Company he entred the Kings Camp, killing them that kept the watch, tooke the King in his bed, and brought him his prisoner to his Castle of *Warwicke*, and thence by easie journyes in the night had him convayed to *Middleham* Castle in *Yorkeshire*, not farre from *Richmond*, where under the custody of his Brother *George Nevill* Archbishoppe of *Yorke* he was retained.

An. Dom. 1469.

The Earle of *Pembrooke* with others beheaded.

Robert of *Riddisdale* captaine of the Northernmen.

The Earle *Rivers* with his sonne *Iohn* surprized and beheaded.

Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

Stowes Ann.

King *Edward* taken at *Wolney.*

Is imprisoned in *Middleham* Castle.

(37) His usage was Princely, and according to his estate, which he often acknowledged to the Archbishoppe with all kinde thankes, and complements of wordes, whereby hee wrought himselfe into such trust and favour, as hee had the Forrests to hunt in, and the Parkes for his pleasure, whose pales are well knowne, unsufficient wals to pen the Lyon in, as appeared by this King, who being abroad and on hunting, *Sir William Stanley*, with *Sir Thomas Burgh* brought him fresh horse, and such a crew of followers, that his Keepers more feared their owne lives, then were forward to force him backe againe to prison, and so let the game goe without further chase. King *Edward* thus escaped, *Warwicke* like a wilde man furiously raged, but seeing no remedy, made use of necessity, and gave forth that himselfe so caused it, having power to make Kings, and to unmake them againe.

King *Edward* escaped out of prison.

(38) The King forthwith repaired to *Yorke*, where with great honour hee was joyfully received, and abode certaine daies, which made him well hope of a further supply of friends and men, but fayling thereof, and fearing the Archbishops pursuite, with a small traine he posted to *Lancaster*, where hee found the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine well-accompanied for his Convey. His spirits then revived, and traine daily increasing, with speedy journeyes hee came unto *London*: where all his studies and consultations were, how to be revenged upon these disloyall Lords, his brother, and Earle *Warwicke*, and they againe fretting at the Archbishoppes folly sought to make stronger their factions against the King.

Warwicke sayings to make and unmake Kings.

(39) The Land thus rent by these unnaturall

Warres prepared upon both parts.

The miseries of civill warres.

divisions, and no estate sure to enjoy what was theirs, the Nobles a new began to sollicite the parties unto a Peace, having first obtained liberty to post too and fro without their impeachments, and so effectually layd downe the state of the Land, whose ruines now were so eminent by these intestine warres, that the Natives lamented, the Forrein rejoyced, and God they saw highly displeased, which swoke sword thus given into their hands, was to be feared would be the destruction of the English, as *Nabucadnezzars* of *Babell* was of *Iudea*, and indeed so effectually wrought, that the Duke and Earle upon perfect confidence came to *London*, accompanyed with a small number in respect of their great danger: where falling into conference with the King, hee taxed them with disloialty, and they him with ingratitude, so that their spleenes were nothing appeased, but much more increased, and with high words departed, the King unto *Canterbury*, and they againe to *Warwicke*.

The King and the Lords meet at *London*.

An. Dom. 1470. A commotion in *Lincolnshire*.

(39) The stout Earle, whose stomacke must have vent, otherwise the Caske must needs breake, caused new stirres to be raised in *Lincolnshire*, under the leading of *Sir Robert Wels*, an expert souldier, and sonne of the Lord *Wels*, who with thirty thousand Commons disturbed the Countrey, and in every place proclaimed King *Henrie*; setting downe his barrell not farre from *Stamford*, meaning to abide the encounter of his opposers; which when the King heard of, he sent for the Lord *Wels* his father, commanding him to write to his sonne to surcease the Warres, and so marching towards *Stamford* tooke *Wels* in his company, with a good hope that the sonne would not beare Armes against his owne father in field; but howsoever he had writ, or the King conceived, *Sir Robert* went on in his former designes, which so fore moved *Edward*, that he beheaded Lord *Wels* with *Sir Thomas Dimocke* that had married his daughter, although hee had given them promise of safety and life.

The Lord *Wels* and *Sir Thomas Dimocke* beheaded.

(40) Young *Wels* then hearing of his Fathers death, sought the revenge upon this untrusty Prince, and not staying for *Warwicke*, who was in preparing to come, set manfully upon the King and his power, where betwixt them was performed a most bloudy fight, till at last *Sir Robert* was taken, with *Sir Thomas Deland*, and others, whereat the *Lincolnshire* men were so terrified, that casting off their Coates, they all ranne away, in regard whereof this battell to this day is called, *the battell of Losecoat-field*, wherein were slaine ten thousand men at the least: after which victory the King commanded *Wels*, with many other of note to be put to death, as the chiefe causers of these dangerous Commotions.

The battell at *Stamford*. Sir *Robert Wels* taken.

Losecoat-field.

Sir *Robert Wels* put to death.

(41) This untimely conflict and unfortunate over-throw, made *Clarence* and *Warwicke*, at their wits end, who unprovided to field against *Edward*, gave way to necessity, and from *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire* embarked themselves and wives for *France*, both to instigate King *Lewis*, no friend unto *Edward*, and to secure themselves in *Callis* (whereof *Warwicke* was Captaine) till fortune had changed the hand of her play. These, crossing the Seas, cast Anchor before the Towne of *Callis*, and gave notice they were ready to land, but the Lord *Fawclere* a *Gascoigne*, whom *Warwicke* had substituted his Deputy, discharged divers peeces of Ordnance against them, and sent word flatly they should not come there: meane-while the Dutchesse of *Clarence* fell in travell, and was there on Shippe-board delivered of a faire Sonne, which Child the Earles deputy would scarcely suffer to be baptized in the Towne, nor without great entreaty permit two flagons of wine to be conveyed aboard to the Ladies lying in the haven. For which his good service, King *Edward* by his letters Patents made *Fawclere* chiefe Captaine of *Callis*, and discharged the Earle, as a Traitour or Rebell against him.

1470. Warwicke and *Clarence* flee into *France*.

Polid. comines lib. 3. cap. 4.

The Dutchesse of *Clarence* delivered of a Son upon Shipboard.

(42) *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, being then at *S. Omers*, owing Earle *Warwick* an old grudge for gainestanding his marriage, thought now a fit time to requite the discourtesie; and therefore sent many thankes unto *Fawclere*, with promise of a thousand Crownes pension by yeare, if he stood firme for his Wives brother King *Edward*, himselfe laying the Coast to impeach his arrivage. But how *Monsieur Fawclere* stood affected, whatsoever shew hee made, *Comines* the French kings Historian doth tel, who sent *Warwicke* word of the danger he stood in, of the said Duke, and of *Duras* the Kings *Admirall*, so as to land would be his finall confusion: His counsell therefore was that he should make into *France*, unto whose King he should be most welcome; and as for the Town of *Callis*, he willed him to take no thought, but promised to make him a good reckoning thereof, when time should best serve. Whereupon the Earle wayed anchor for *Normandy*, and in his way tooke many rich Ships of the Duke of *Burgundies* Subjects, which netled him not a little, but yet found no docke to rub out the smart.

The Duke of *Burgundy* bends himself against Earle *Warwick*.

(43) King *Lewis* hearing of the arrivage of *Warwicke*, and knowing his troubles to arise for his Ambassage to *Bona*, and faith unto *France*, sent certaine Princes to conduct him to the Castle of *Amboys*, where a supply was made against all necessities, and himselfe and traine most honourably intertained, whereat the Duke of *Burgundy* fore repined, and sent *Lewis* word that he disliked his doings, with threats of revenge, if he ayded him against his wives brother. This not withstanding, the French king gave all comforts to these fugitives, and prepared his assistance for their restorations, and the raising againe of godly King *Henry*.

The double dealings of *Lewis*the.

(44) Queene *Margaret* having fled *England* and sojourning in *France* with her Father *Renate*, (a King in name, but scarcely able to beare the State of an Earle) saw now the Iron hot, and ready to be strucke, therefore with her Sonne Prince *Edward*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, and *Iasper* Earle of *Pembrooke* (who lately had escaped out of prison in *England*) came unto *Amboyse*, where by meanes of the French King a combination of Alliance was confirmed betwixt the Prince of *Wales*, young *Edward*, and *Anne* the second daughter to the Earle of *Warwicke*, then present with her Mother and Sister in *France*. That King *Henry* should be againe restored, the *Duke of Clarence*, and the Earle tooke a solemne Oath never to desist whiles they had power, and in the nonage of the Prince they joyntly were to be deputed his Protectors, and the lands sole Governors.

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Septemb 13. *An. Reg.* 10.

Renate of great title and small power.

(45) *Edward* in *England* hearing what *Queene Margaret*, his brother *Clarence*, and stout *Warwicke* in the French Court had done, was struck into a sodaine dumpe, being as doubtfull of friends, as fearefull of foes, and therefore such as were alied to the *Lancastrians*, or favorites of the down-cast K *Henry*, he began somewhat roughly to deale with: many therefore that were guilty dayly tooke Sanctuary, or yeelded themselves to his mercy, among whom *Iohn Marquesse Montacute* brother to *Warwicke* was one, who with faireft words of promises, was received into favour, and upon whose example many others came in, which notwithstanding meant to stand out if occasion should serve. But no busier was *Edward* to keepe the Crowne on his head, then these Lords in *France* were resolute to strike it off: in middeft of whose consultations behold how it happened.

King *Edward* driven into his dumps.

A marriage concluded betwixt Prince *Edward* and *Anne* daughter of Earle *Warwicke*.

(46) There came from *England* to *Callis* a damsell belonging (as she said) to the Dutchesse of *Clarence*, who signified unto *Monsieur Fawclere* that shee came from King *Edward* with a declaration of peace, which hee fearing to impart the conditions to other, had made her the instrument, the better to passe without any suspect, and hee glad to heare for the Earles sake (whom he entirely affected) gave her his safe conduct unto the Duke of *Clarence* then at *Amboys*; where having private accesse unto him, shee told, that it was neither naturall nor honourable for him to take part against the house of *Yorke*; that

Marquesse *Montacute* is taken into King *Edwards* favour.

Sunday after Michaelmas. Sermon. *Anno.* Doctor *Goddards* Sermon.

A maide her ambassadour unto the Duke of *Clarence*.

Marquesse *Montacute* reconciled from King *Edward*.

The conference of the Damsell with the Duke of *Clarence*.

that the house of *Lancaster* was not onely by the whole Court of Parliament debarred to be the indubitate Heire of the Kingdome, but that King *Henrie* himselfe had discharged his Issue from claime, as it standeth (said she) upon Record to be seene, contrary to which, as he might well perceive this marriage of Prince *Edward* with the Earles daughter, did onely aime and intend to the utter extinct of the House of *Yorke*, whereof himselfe was one, and in neere possibility of the Crowne, *Edwards* Issue young, and not many, and the King very wanton, a sinne commonly punished with want of posterity, which if it so chanced, then hee, or his were the next. These reasons wayed, so over-wayed the Dukes further designes, that hee promised thereafter a more brother-like affection, as (said hee) *Edward* should finde; with which good newes he returned into *England*, *Warwicke* utterly ignorant what was said or done.

The Duke of *Clarence* inclineth to his brother.

Warwicke and *Clarence* returne into *England*.

(47) All now in a readinesse for the returne, ships, money and men supplied by the French King, the Admirall of *France* was sent to secure them from the Duke of *Burgundies* Fleet, which with an extraordinary number and power lay in the mouth of *Seyne*, to fight with *Warwicke* when he should loose out of Harbour: but see how the Heavens favoured, and frowned upon the parties, for the night before they should hoyse saile, such a stormy tempest tooke the Dukes Fleete, lying more remote from the Lee, that they were scattered asunder, some into *Scotland*, some into *Denmarke*, and many of them drowned. But the Seas calmed, and the winde serving faire, the English set saile and landed at *Dartmouth*, whence they had shipped into *France* almost sixe moneths before.

King *Lewis* favoreth *Warwicke*.

Burgundy offended with *Lewis* for favouring his enemy.

(48) King *Edward* relying upon *Burgundy* abroad, and thinking all friends who fawned at home, gave himselfe dayly to follow the Hound and the Hawke, and nightly to his Court pleasures in dancings and daliances with damsels, little minding their approach that meant to marre his mirth; for *Warwicke* now landed, proclaimed King *Henry*, commanding all from sixteene to sixty, upon a great penalty to take Armes against *Edward* Duke of *Yorke*, the most unjust usurper of *Henries* rightfull Crowne, and uncredible it was, to see the confluence of them which came armed to him, who ere-while applauded and approved none but King *Edward*. Thus making towards *London*, his company dayly encreased; which the youthfull King seemed little to regard, but verily supposing hee had now *Warwicke* in his trappe, wrote to *Burgundy* to secure the Seas, left he should escape againe into *France*, and to his Lords of *England*, to attend him in his wars; but very many neglected his commaund, and few or none made their repaire. Which when *Edward* perceived, hee was strucke into a great feare, and with his brother of *Glocester*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Scales* the Queenes brother, hee hasted towards *Nottingham*, there to determine what was to be done.

Septemb 13. *An. Reg.* 10.

King *Edwards* opinion touching *Warwickes* approach.

(49) In the mean-while the bastard *Fawconbridge* in the West, and the Earle of *Pembrooke* in *Wales*, every where proclaimed King *Henry*; and to forward the matter, D. *Godard* preaching at *Pauls-Crosse* declared by reading of Billes, and divers other proofes, that King *Henry* was the undoubted and true heire unto the English Crowne. Neither is the Lord *Montacute* now the man that he was, who having mustered sixe thousand, in the name of King *Edward*, and brought them forward almost to *Nottingham*, on the sodaine drew backe his forces, alleadging that *Edward* was ungratefull, and regardles of his friends, as himselfe said, himselfe was the example, who having served him in many bloudy battels, was rewarded with a verball word *Marquesse*, without any maintenance at all, no not so much as Pyes poore nest: and therefore hee had just cause never to draw his Sword in his quarrell any more, and them that did, he assured them should receive the like reward in the end.

(50) These, with the like distastures, divulged among the rude multitude, it wasa world to see the face of this new World, for in every street Bonfires were made, in every Church Bels rung, Ditties were sung at every meeting, and every man cryed King *Henrie*, King *Henrie*, whose *Eccho* likewise redoubled, a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, and indeed all so applauded the passage now on foote, as King *Edward* hearing the rumor, thought it not safe any longer to stay, and therefore with those trusty Lords and some others, hee fled from his hoast besides *Nottingham*, passing the Washes towards *Lynne*, with greater difficulties then was befitting a Prince to adventure; and thus without any order taken for his Realme, in two Hulkes of *Holland*, and one English shippe, destitute of all necessary provisions, set saile toward *Burgundy*, and in the way was encountred by the Easterlings, *Englands* great Enemies, having much adoe to cleare himselfe from their surprise.

King *Edward* is forced to flie *England*. October 3.

Edward in danger of taking on the Sea.

(51) In these times of miserie the Queene (whose marriage was the onely cause of all these stirres) upon the first of October had stolne out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, where like a woman forsaken thee solitarily remained, and on the fourth of November following was delivered of a Sonne, which without all pompe, more like a private mans Childe then a Prince, was there also baptized by the name of *Edward*, who after his fathers death, a while was King of *England*, as shall be said; other Sanctuaries were full of King *Edwards* friends, that prayed devoutly for his prosperous health, and well hoped the world would againe turne, as shortly it did. One King thus fled, and the other in prison, the Kentish, whose conditions are mutable at the change of Princes, came to seeke prey in *London*, where they knew it was to be had: *Ratcliffe*, S. *Katherines*, and *Southwarke* they robbed, and within the Citie did some hurt besides, yea, and surely more had done, had not Earle *Warwicke* in good time come to the rescue, which encreased his name, that was great enough before.

Queene *Elizabeth* tooke Sanctuary in *Westminster*.

Prince *Edward* borne in the Sanctuary.

The Kentish Commotioners are much hurt about *London*.

(52) Earle *Warwicke* accompanied with his brother the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, the Prior of Saint *Johns*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Shrewsburie*, Bastard *Fawconbridge*, Lord *Stanley*, and other Gentlemen, some for love, some for feare, and some to gaze at this wavering World, upon the first of October entred the Tower of *London*, where in King *Henrie* had beene retained prisoner almoft the space of nine yeares, and there againe elected him for their lawfull King, and forthwith convayed him, roabed in a long blew Velvet gowne, through *London* unto the Bishoppes Pallace, where a pompous Court was kept untill the thirteenth of the same moneth, upon which day hee went in procession crowned to the Cathedrall Church of S. *Paul*, the Earle of *Warwicke* bearing his traine, and the Earle of *Oxford* the sword, the people on every side crying, God save King *Henrie*.

John Forteſcue.

The Strangers take King *Henry* out of the Tower.

King *Henry* againe restored, goeth crowned to *Pauls*.

(53) Thus farre proceeded, and *Henrie* re-established, a Parliament was begunne at *Westminster* the sixe and twentieth day of November following, wherein King *Edward* was declared a Traitor to his Country, an usurper of the Crowne, and all his goods confiscated; the like judgement passed against all his partakers; wherein also it was enacted, that all such persons as had taken Armes in his quarrell; should be severely punished; among whom, *Iohn Typtoft* Earle of *Worcester*, King *Edwards* Lieutenant in *Ireland* was attainted, who being found hid in the top of a tree in the Forreft of *Weybridge*, not farre from *Huntington*, was brought to *London*, and upon Tower-hill beheaded. Moreover, all Statutes made by King *Edward* were clearely revoked, abrogated, and made frustrate: the Crownes of *England* and *France* entayled to King *Henrie*, and the Heires-male lawfully begot of his body, and for the

King *Edward* debarred from government by Parliament.

The Parliament Roule. *Iohn Typtoft* Earle of *Worcester* beheaded.

The Crownes of *England* and *France* entailed to King *Henry*.

George Duke of *Clarence* entailed to the Crowne.

Earles restored.

Earle *Warwicke* made gouernour of the Realme.

Queene *Margaret* hindred by tempeſt to come into *England*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* perplexed.

Philip Com. lib. 3.

Earle of *Warwicke* cheruse in *Calis*.

King *Edward*. coueteth aide of his brother the Duke of *Burgundy*.

The Duke of *Somerſet* diſſuadeth *Burgundy* to aid K. *Edward*.

want of ſuch heires unto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and his heire-males lawfully produced, and the ſaid Duke to be the next heire to his father *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, diſabling his elder brother *Edward*, by the vertue of his Atteindor; and *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford* with other, attainted by the uſurper *Edward*, to be reſtored in bloud, dignities, and ancient poſſeſſions; and finally, Earle *Warwicke* the good Common-wealths man, made Gouernour of the Realme in theſe turbulent times, unto whom was aſſociated *George* Duke of *Clarence*, this great Earles ſonne in law, and *Warwickes* brother *Montacute* upon his ſubmiſſion obtained his pardon, which was the eaſilier gotten for his ſervice at *Nottingham*.

(54) Queene *Margaret* appointed to follow into *England*, if fortune did favour theſe great Lords ſucceſſe, now hearing of the faire Sun-ſhine, wherein her Husband King *Henry* was ſet, amidſt the ſtormie winter blaſts, which the ſeaſon afforded, with Prince *Edward* her ſonne, ſet ſaile from *France*, towards that wiſhed and temperate climate, where the ſpring of new Regality beganne to bud forth, but was met with ſuch tempeſt and ſtorming ſeas, as ſhee was forced to returne, and deferre her journey untill another time, to her great griefe and ſore diſcontent. In like perplexity was the Burgundian Duke, who neither durſt give *Edward* his outward aſſiſtance (the *French* and *Warwicke* being ſo mighty oppoſites) nor leave him in diſtreſſe, leſt the ſparkes of diſcontent ſhould flie from the eyes of his faire wife, and therefore to know whether *Vawclere* the Governour of *Callis* ſtood reſolute for him, according to Covenants, hee ſecretly ſent *Philip Comines* the honymouth Hiſtorian, to drop ſome of his ſweet eloquence into his gold-thirſting eare.

(55) *Comines* comming to *Callis*, and obſerving the ſequence for which he was ſent, ſaw every man weare the Earle of *Warwicks* badge, for no head could bee gallant that was not adorned with his ragged ſtaffe, nor no doore frequented that was not painted with his white Croſſe. Inſomuch that *Vawclere* himſelfe had a Iewell in his Hatte, wherein was a white ragged ſtaffe, embroidered with gold, and others his followers the like wrought in ſilke, gold, and ſilver; and to ſtampe the print deeper, a liking and report was brought to the towne, that *Warwicke* had prepared foure thouſand valiant men to warre upon the frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Comines* in conference ſo wrought with the Councell, and they againe with Earle *Warwicke*, as he was contented to leave off the enterpriſe, Duke *Charles* promiſing to ſide with King *Henrie*.

(56) King *Edward* hearing what his brother of *Burgundy* had done, and being dayly ſolicited from his friends in *England*, thought it no policy long to delay, leſt *Henry* ſhould take growth to a bigger ſtreame; and therefore repairing to his brother in the towne of Saint *Paul*, required his ayde, as the onely man on whom hee relied, aſwell for the bond of alliance in the marriage of his ſiſter, as alſo in regard of the orders which they both ware, the King that of his, which was the golden Fleece; and the Duke the Gartar and Roabe of Saint *George*. In the Court of *Burgundy* at that time lay *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*, coſen-germane removed unto Duke *Charles*, a great enemy againſt the houſe of *Yorke*, and now ſet himſelfe to thwart King *Edwards* ſuite, alledging, that it was more honourable for the Duke of *Burgundy* to ſide with the *Lancaſtrians*, from whom he was deſcended by his Grand-mother the daughter of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*: as alſo in the uprightneſſe of King *Henries* title, held good in her brother, and his Grandfather, and in her Nephew his father without all exceptions.

(57) The Duke perplexed betweene theſe great ſupplicants, did then, as many doe now, ſpeake much, and meane nothing leſſe, or elſe ſay little, and meane to doe much. To *Sommerſet*, for *Henry*, he outwardly promiſed all helpe and aſſiſtance, but never gave the leaſt, and to *Edward* no comfortable words of ſupply, and yet under-hand he hyred him Shippes, furniſhed him with munition, and lent him fifty thouſand Florences in money. And now the ſeaſon ſerving for warre, King *Edward* with two thouſand ſtrong beſides his Mariners made ouer for *England*, attempting to take land in *Norfolke*; but thoſe coaſts guarded, hee wafted more Northward, and entring *Humber*, landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkeſhire*, when laying aſide all claime to the Crowne, and pretending nothing but his Dutchy of *Yorke*, he ſhewed the rude multitude the Letters and ſeale of the Earle of *Northumberland*, which as he affirmed, and made them beleeve was ſent for his ſafe conduct to enjoy the ſame, and in every place where he came proclaimed King *Henry* himſelfe, wearing an Eſtrich Feather, which was Prince *Edwards* Livery, and paſſing to *Yorke* in no other ſhew then a Subject, his oath firſt taken to be true to King *Henry*, entred the City, which preſently hee ſurpriſed and aſſumed to himſelfe.

(58) Earle *Warwicke* now hearing that *Edward* was landed, before he had marched very farre in the maine, ſent ſtrait charge to his brother the Marqueſſe *Montacute* then reſiding at *Pomfret* (with a ſufficient Army to ſecure thoſe parts) that hee ſhould not ſuffer his acceſſe unto *Yorke*, leſt he grew more potent, then was to bee wiſhed; himſelfe making ready with all poſſible ſpeed to repare into thoſe parts; but whether the Marqueſſe purpoſely winked, or elſe (and that rather) would not ſee at all, hee made no great haſt to fore-lay his way to *Yorke*, neither ſought to empeach the paſſage: when *Edward* from thence marched in a more hoſtile manner towards *Nottingham*; taking his way not farre from *Pomfret*, and as it were through the middeſt of his enemies; which encouraged many to favour his deſignes, holding that *Montacute* was either a friend, or a fraide to deale againſt ſo powerfull an enemy.

(59) The White Roſe thus bloomed, and the red falling his leafe, all tooke the time of this pleaſant ſpring, and flocked to *Edward* as to their *Aprill* Sun, who now more able, and therefore more bold, made forward towards *Leiceſter*, where the Earles of *Warwicke* and *Oxford* with a great power were, but becauſe *Clarence* was abſent, they let *Edward* hold on without any encounter, whoſe traine as hee paſſed was like to a river that in the running is ever encreaſed with new ſprings, which *Warwicke* perceiving, thought it more then time to give battell, well knowing that his brothers forbearance had given him that head. And to that end ſent unto *Clarence*, then about *London* in levying of men, but hee ſomewhat too backeward, and *Warwicke* too forward, tooke into the City *Coventrie*, meaning from thence to ſet on the enemy. But *Edward*, whoſe ſtar had now paſt the darke threatning cloud, pitched his tents neere unto that Citie in a plaine field, and valiantly bad the Earle come to battell. But hee then miſtruſting (as in truth he had cauſe) that the boldneſſe of *Edward* was backt by a *Clarence*, kept cloſe within the Wals, with a purpoſe to ſee how the world would goe.

(60) *Edward* loth to looſe time about one Cities ſiege, raiſed his Campe, and haſted forward toward *Warwicke*, unto which Towne likewiſe his brother *Clarence*, with foure thouſand ſtrong was on march: Theſe meeting upon a plaine, three miles from the Towne, ſet their battels in Aray, as if they meant to have fought, but the *King*, his brother *Gloucester*, Lord *Rivers*, *Haſtings*, and others, without any gard made towards *Clarence*, which vvhen he beheld, himſelfe accompanied vvith ſome of eſtate, encountred his brother vvith a loving countenance and friendly cheare, ſo as no ſparke of hatred vvas perceived betvvixt them, but vvith all brotherly affections entred into amity and peace, vvhich afterwards proved the confuſion of the Duke. *Clarence* thus got, ſought to

Burgundy ſeemeth perplexed with his ſuiters.

K. *Edward* yet lacketh long ſtaying, proceeding no more then twelve Dukes of *York*.

The words of *Warwicke* in reſpect to *Clarence*.

King *Edward* maketh forward.

King *Edward* ſtraineth his oath to winne the City of *Leiceſter*.

Earle *Warwicke* writes to his brother Marqueſſe to impeach King *Edwards* paſſage.

Edward Hall.

Earle *Warwicke* commeth to Saint *Albans*.

King *Edwards* Army encreaſeth.

Iohn Stow.

Warwicke ſeeketh into the City *Coventry*. March 29.

King *Edward* challengeth Earle *Warwicke* to fight.

King *Edward* drawneth towards *London*.

The ordering of the battells.

King *Edward* and his brother *Clarence* meet and are reconciled.

to draw *Warwicke* into the ſame traine, to which end he ſent certaine meſſengers unto him; firſt to excuſe his owne fact, as too unnaturall for him to unſheath his ſword againſt his owne brother, as alſo hee fought to ſtay the effuſion of *Engliſh* bloud, which in theſe quarrels lay ready to be ſhed: his peace with *Edward* he promiſed to worke, and that with ſuch honour as *Warwicke* ſhould know himſelfe nor onely a father to *Clarence*, but likewiſe unto *Edward*, great *Englands* King. Vnto all which motion *Warwicke* gave eare onely, with this reply, *Go tell your Duke* (ſaid he) *that I had rather be an Earle, and alwayes like my ſelfe, then a falſe and perjured Duke, and that ere my oath ſhall be falſified (as his apparantly is) I will lay downe my life at my enemies foote; which I doubt not but ſhall be bought very deare.*

(61) This ſtout reſolution made *Edward* more warie, and therefore to obtaine *London*, the onely key that opened the doore to the Crowne, he haſted thitherward, whoſe Citizens hearing of the increaſe of his hoſte, and waying that *Henry* was but a milkeſop to him, thought it moſt ſafety to ſayle with the faireſt winde, and therefore ſet open their Gates, and with publique applaud cryed, King *Edward*. Which when the Duke of *Sommerſet* with others, left to attend the innocent King *Henrie*, heard, they fled for their lives; and left him in the Biſhops Palace at *London*, where his Competitor *King Edward* tooke him, and ſent him againe priſoner to the Tower. With ſo many winds are the ſayles of their ſhips filled, which ſeeke the Port of their ſafety by the affections of the people: for even the ſame day had *Henrie* beene carried through the Citie (as it were) in triumph, and had heard the ſhouts of the Commons in every ſtreete crying; *God ſave King Henrie.*

Ann. 1471. March 14.

King *Edward* entreth *London* and ſent to the Tower of *London*.

King *Henry* againe taken, and ſent to the Tower of *London*.

(62) But Earle *Warwicke* hearing how things went in *London*, and now fully conceiving that the hazyard of battell muſt determine either with, or againſt him, being come to Saint *Albanes*, fell into a deepe conſideration what was to be done: His aſſiſtants were *Iohn* Duke of *Exceſter*, the Earles of *Oxford* and *Sommerſet*, and *Marqueſſe Montacute* his brother, whom notwithſtanding he did not greatly truſt, being alwayes too favourable to the contrary Faction. Theſe in Counſell held it beſt policie to follow the enemy, and before the body grew too great, to lop off the branches, leſt they ſhould ſhadow their Sun-ſhine too farre. In which reſolution, they haſted forward, and came unto *Barnet*, with a full purpoſe to recover *London*: but *Edward* well knowing the ſtare of the City unfurniſhed for ſiege, and ready to take ſtampe of any impreſſe, meant not to be pent within thoſe weake wals; and therefore taking with him unfortunate *Henry*, leſt any conſederacy ſhould be made in his abſence, he marched with all poſſible haſt, to encounter his oppoſites, before they came too-farre, and upon *Gladmore* neere unto *Barnet* ſet downe his Tents cloſe to the enemy; the Eve of *Chriſts* reſurrection, ſo careleſſe is *Mars* of divine celebrations, that the holieſt Feaſt is prophaned, when his Sword is drawne.

Edward Hall.

(63) The next day being the Paſchall whereon *Chriſt* roſe from death, which with due reverence is celebrated in all the Chriſtian World, theſe Engliſh contenders for a terreſtriall Crowne, with iteſull hearts and hands as ready, made ready to digge each others graves: for at breake of day *Warwicke* began to Marſhall his Army, which he divided into three battalions: The right Wing was led by the *Marqueſſe* his brother, with the *Earle of Oxford*, conſiſting chiefly of Horſe-men, himſelfe with the Duke of *Exceſter* led the left; and the maine battell was commanded by *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, which was ſupplied for the moſt part with Archers. K. *Edward* likewiſe ordered his men. The fore-ward was led by *Richard Duke of Glouceſter* his brother, a good Souldier and ſufficient for adviſe, the middle by himſelfe, and his brother *Clarence*, having King *Henry* in their company; And the Rere-ward was commanded by the Lord *Haſtings*, ever moſt firme for the Houſe of *Yorke*, reſerving a freſh ſupply, when occaſion ſhould ſerve.

King *Edward* carried King *Henry* with him to battell.

Aprill 14.

Barnet-field fought upon Eaſter day.

(64) The battels joyned, were manfully maintained by the proweſſe of *Oxford*, upon that part of the kings, againſt which he fought, which with great violence he forced backe, ſo that many of them fled to *London*, bringing newes that with *Warwicke* went the day: and ſurely in great forwardneſſe it was, had not fortune thwarted it by an unexpected chance: for the day being foggy, and over-caſt with Miſts, hindred their eyes of any farre ſight, ſo as the ſtarres embroidered upon the *Earle of Oxfords* mens Coats, were miſtaken for the Sunne, which King *Edwards* men wore, in which errour *Warwickes* battell let flie at their owne fellowes, who were in great forwardneſſe to have wonne the day, and they not knowing the cauſe of theerror cried, *treaſon, treaſon, we are all betraid.* Whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* with eight hundred fled the Field, leaving the chance to be caſt for the Crowne; which when *Warwicke* perceived, with words like a Souldier, he encouraged his men, and ſeeing the freſh ſupply of his enemy draw now unto fight, he furiouſly ruſhed into the midſt of their battell, wherein he adventured ſo far as he could not bee reſcued, but valiantly fighting was ſtrucke downe, and among them ſlaine, having repaid his danger with many a wound. The *Marqueſſe Montacute* made forward to ſecond his brother, (who till then had been the *Marre* and *Make-King of England*) but was ſo over-laid by his oppoſites, that they ſent his ſoule likewiſe from his body, whereby was ended that bloudy dayes taske.

Iob. 39. 20. A miſtaking of the Souldiers, which was the cauſe of the field.

Great *Warwick* ſlaine in fight.

Marqueſſe *Montacute* ſlaine in battell.

(65) In this battell upon King *Edwards* part, died, the *Lord Cromwell*, the Lord *Bourcher*, the Lord *Barnes*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Say*, and *Sir Iohn Liſle* Knight: in the quarrell of *Henry* died *Richard Nevill Earle of Warwicke*, and *Iohn Nevill Marqueſſe Montacute* his brother, and upon both ſides of common ſouldiers (ſaith *Hall*) ten thouſand, *Stow* ſaith foure thouſand, and *Fabian* farre leſſe: all which were buried upon the ſame Plaine; where afterwards a Chappell was built: the Duke of *Exceſter* being left for dead in the field, recovered, and tooke Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerſet*, and *Iohn Earle of Oxford* eſcaped the field, and fled into *Wales*, where with *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke* they ſtill plotted to ſet up King *Henry*, whom God and deſtiny would have to be caſt downe.

Nobles and others ſlaine at *Barnet-field*.

Edw. Hall. Iob. Stow. Sab. Fabian ſaith 1500.

(66) The ſame King *Edward* upon the ſame day as an abſolute Conquerour, leade the unfortunate *Henry*, his Captive, to *London*, and entring the City in triumph-wiſe, offered his royall Standard in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, whither the ſlaine bodies of *Warwicke* and *Montacute* in two Coffins were brought, and lay there bare-faced, and unburied the ſpace of three dayes, leſt a falſe brute ſhould be made that they were not dead. After which they were conveyed to *Billſam Abbey*, and interred in that Priory among their Anceſtors.

The Duke of *Sommerſet*, and the Earle of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*.

Rich. Graſton.

(67) *Edwards* affaires thus farre proſpered to *London*, the windes that had croſſed *Queene Margaret* before, came favourably about to fill her Sailes for *England*, and indeed to accompliſh the decree, which Heaven had appointed: ſhe with her ſonne Prince *Edward* and their *French* followers landed upon Eaſter-Eve at *Weymouth*, and the Counteſſe of *Warwicke* at *Portſmouth*, who hearing the forrowfull newes of her husbands death, tooke Sanctuary within the Abbey of *Beaulew*. And *Queen Margaret* underſtanding of the loſſe of *Barnet-field*, withdrevv aſide to the *Abbey of Cerne*, unto vvhom preſently reſorted *Edmund Duke of Sommerſet*, with Lord *Iohn* his brother; *Iohn Courtney* Earle of *Devonſhire*, *Iaſper* Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Iohn Lord Wenlock*, and *Iohn Longſtrother* Prior of *Saint Iohns*.

Edward triumpheth, and afterwith his banner in Saint *Paules*.

Queene *Margaret*, with Prince *Edward* landed at *Weymouth*.

(68) Theſe, with many words of hope, comforted the ſorrowfull Queene; and proffered her their aſſiſtance

The Lords comfort Queene *Margaret*.

assistance to erect Prince *Edward* her sonne, though it were done with the losse of their owne lives, requiring her onely to undertake the authority of the war, and themselves would undergoe the charge and burthen thereof by whose valour and power, they doubted not to daunt the pride of the Vsurping *Edward*; who now held himselfe sure, & began to grow careless. To these their resolutions the warlike Queene most gladly consented, and gave all encouragements unto them shee could; when falling in counsell how to proceede; her care (according to the naturall affection of a Mother) was most upon the safetie and life of her sonne: and therefore aswell for their owne parts (if fortune should faile in this their first attempt) as for the feare which the *Torkists* would possesse (who whiles Prince *Edward* his corrivall lived, could not account the Diademe his Bride) shee thought it best to send him back againe into *France*, till God had set the Crowne where it should stand: whence he might supply them with new forces, or at least-wise over awe *Edward* for tyrannizing too farre. But the Lords contrary-wise alleadged, that Prince *Edward* being the morning-Sunne of the Lancastrians hopes, and the rayes very splendent to most English eyes, was to be present in field himselfe, whose sight would both heat the courage of his own Souldiers, and attract the glance of his adversaries hearts, either to fight faintly, or else, and that rather, to come to his side. Thus their counsell at that time prevailed; and thus resolved, every man departed to make ready his power, the Queene with her *French* repairing to *Bathe*.

Queene *Margarets* care for Prince *Edward* her sonne.

The opinions of the Lords.

(69) But *Edward* in *London* had not sat two dayes in rest, before he heard of Queene *Margarets* arrivage, and the confluence of people out of *Cornewall*, *Devonshire*, and of the Westerne parts, which hourely flew to give her assistance; wherefore committing to the Tower King *Henry*, and *George* Archbishop of *Torke*, with a selected company, hee marched to meet them, intending to cut off many Springs before they should joyne to the body of a River, whose streame without danger could not be passed: therefore from *Windsor*, *Abington*, *Chichester*, and *Malmesbury* he proceeded; seeking and urging his enemies to battell: but the Queen and her forces fearing to abide in *Bathe*, removed to *Bristow*, *Berkley*, and *Glocester*, and lastly, at *Tewkesbury*, Duke *Sommerset*, her Generall, pitched downe his Tents, not staying the comming of the Earle of *Pembroke*: his battell he marshalled into three sights, whereof himselfe and his brother *John* Lord *Sommerset* led the foreward; the middle battalion was commanded by *Edward* the young Prince, under the conduct of the Lords *Saint John* and *Wenlocke*, and the Rereward governed by *John Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire*, a mortall enemy against the house of *Torke*.

King *Edward* prepareth against Queene *Margaret*.

King *Henry* committed to the Tower of *London*.

(70) King *Edward*, who was come now within sight of his enemies, divided likewise his Army into three battalions, committing the Foreward unto the guidance of his brother *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, a good Souldier, and of a deepe reach and policy: the Maine hee undertooke to governe himselfe, and the Rereward was commanded by the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine. The field thus Marshalled, and the signe of battell being given, a most bloudy fight began, the King had planted his Ordnance at most advantage, which *Glocester* frankley bestowed among the Dukes men, and they lodged betwixt ditches, bushes, and hedges, with their showers of Arrowes galled *Glocesters* followers, so as by his command his battell gave backe, as though they would shrinke, which *Sommerset* no sooner perceived, but that hee came on, and overcome with courage, came out of his strength, when by a certaine passage before-hand provided, hee came into the place where King *Edward* was embattelled, thinking verily that *Wenlocke* had followed at his backe, who as it seemed meant nothing lesse.

The ordering of Queene *Margarets* battels.

The ordering of King *Edwards* battels.

The battell at *Tewkesbury*.

(71) The advantage espied, Duke *Richard* made good his retreat, and with fresh supplies of two hundred speares so charged *Sommerset*, as his battell was disordered, and put to fearefull flight, himselfe recovering the middle-ward, found there the L. *Wenlocke* idle, whilest others were working for their lives, whom he most opprobiously reviled in the termes of of a Traitor, and with his Battle-axe stroke his brains out of his head; when presently *Glocester*, and after him the King entred the Trench, wherein all of the Queenes part went to wracke; for there were slaine in this battell on her side, *John Lord Sommerset*, *John Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Wenlocke* in manner as we have said, Sir *John Delves*, Sir *Edward Hampden*, Sir *Robert Whittingham*, and Sir *John Lewkener*, with three thousand others beside.

Edw Hall.

(72) Among them that fled, Prince *Edward* was one, whom Sir *Richard Crofts* apprehended before he got to *Tewkesbury*, but *Edmund* Duke of *Sommerset*, *John Longstrother*, Prior of Saint *Johns*, many Knights and Esquires tooke Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other places of the towne, notwithstanding they were taken forth and arraigned before *Richard* Duke of *Glouceste*r, who that day sate Constable of *England*, where they were condemned, and had judgment of death, which they immediately suffered upon a Scaffold set up in the Town. With these two Lords died twelve worthy Knights, besides others of inferiour degrees.

Lords slaine at *Tewkesbury*.

Prince *Edward* apprehended.

The Duke of *Sommerset* and others executed.

(73) Then was Proclamation made for the apprehension of Prince *Edward*, promising to his taker an annuity of an hundred pounds during his life, and if the Prince were living, his life to be spared: upon which promises Sir *Richard Crofts* presented young *Edward* unto the King, whom with a sterne countenance he a-while beheld, and as sternely demaunded, how he durst so presumptuously with Banner displayed enter into his Realme; whereunto the Prince made this reply; to recover (said hee) my Fathers Kingdomes and his most rightfull inheritance, possessed by his Father and Grandfather, and from him immediately belonging unto mee; how dareth thou then which art his subject, display thy colour against him thy Liege-Lord? which answere moved King *Edward* so much, as with his Gauntlet hee dashed the Prince on his mouth, whom *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, with others of the Kings servants, most shamefully murthered, even in his presence, and at his feet: whose body was buried without all solemnity among other poore and meane persons, in the Church of the Monastery of the Blacke-Fryers in *Tewkesbury*.

Prince *Edward* apprehended, and his answere.

Prince *Edward* most shamefully slaine.

(74) Queene *Margaret* in this fatall day of battell fled towards *Worcester*, and by the way tooke in a poore Religious House in that her present distresse: but three dayes after she was apprehended and brought unto *Worcester* to King *Edward*, who committed her to sure and strait keeping, in which City she a while remained. But fodain news brought him, that the Northerne men were in Armes, and meant to adventure for her liberty, the Conquerour marched to *Coventrey*, and there made preparation further to proceed: which when these hot spirits perfectly understood, their courages grew colder, and their Weapons cast away, they came thronging to *Edward* to offer him subjection; yet the *Lancastrians* were not so minded, but rather intended once more to try whether fortune would afford them her smile.

Queene *Margaret* taken out of her Sanctuary.

The Northern men submit unto King *Edward*.

(75) A fit instrument they had to forward the enterprise, namely *Thomas Nevill*, bastard *Fawconbridge*, sonne of Lord *Fawconbridge*, Earle of *Kent*, a great supporter of King *Edwards* Crowne: howbeit this barstard being a man of a turbulent spirit, and forward for action, Earle *Warwicke* had made him his Admirall to keepe the narrow Seas, that none should have way to strengthen king *Edward*, which his office he executed beyond his Commission, and became a taker of all Merchants goods, being ayded with three hundred Male-contents from *Calis*.

Bastard *Fawconbridge* Captaine of the *Lancastrians*.

(76) His

Fawconbridge slayeth Lords.

(76) His enterprise desperate, and his name growne fearefull at Sea, hee meant to make it no lesse on the Land; for putting in at *Dover*, many misgoverned and loose persons daily drew to him, so as his power grew to be seventeene thousand strong: with these through *Kent* he made his way towards *London*, meaning to doe much, the land so molested with intestine warres; and lodging his hoast on the South-side of *London*, commanded the Citizens to give him accesse, that with King *Henrie*, (whom hee meant to release from the Tower) hee might passe through their streets, to meete and encounter the Vsurping *Edward*. But the *Londoners* knowing the rudenesse of these Rake-hels, kept their gates shut, and guarded the same with sufficient strengths: whence some Lords of the royall-blood therein residing, sent unto *Edward* of their prefent danger, who presently sent them fifteene hundred of his best Souldiers, after whom in person he warily marched, leading with him his prisoner Queene *Margaret*, whose bounds he well knew, gave him the full scope of liberty.

The Citizens withstood his entrance.

(77) *Fawconbridge* in the meane-while thirsting after spoyle with his Ships, secured the *Thames* above S^t. *Katherines*, purposing with his land-forces to passe the River at *Kingstone*: but hearing that *Edward* was on his March, and fearing to be cut off from the benefit of his Ships, he altered his minde; when to open his way into *London*, hee caused the Bridge to be fired, and three thousand of his men being set over *Thames* by his Ships, divided themselves into two Companies, the one assaying to enter at *Algate*, and the other at *Bishops-Gate*, both which they likewise set on fire, so that the Citie was in three places fired and assaulted at once, but with such evill successe to the assailants, that seaven hundred were slaine, and the bold Bastard driven to his Ships.

Fawconbridge forced backen in his ships.

(78) Vpon the twentieth of May, the Conquerour *Edward*, with his captive Queene *Margaret*, entred *London*, and so into the Tower, the one in pompe commanding the place at his pleasure, the other in teares to remaine a most pensive prisoner, where her husband, the down-cast King *Henry* was kept in hard durance. The place being thus charged with the presence of two Kings and their Queenes: the Crookebacke of *Glocester* intended to cleare by taking him away that stood in his brothers way, whose Successor as is thought hee then meant to be; and making his inward mind more deformed then were his outward Lineaments, without regard of bloud-defiled hands, stabbed the most innocent *Henry* to the heart with his Dagger, in which act at once began the ones happy rest, and the others foule guilt, which accompanied his conscience to the day of his death.

King *Edward* with his Captive Queene *Margaret*, enter *London*.

Prince *Edward* most shamefully slaine.

King Henry murthered in the Tower by *Richard* Duke of Glocester.

(79) The body of this murthered King was upon the Ascension-Eve laide in an open Coffin, and from the Tower guarded with many bils and glaves, was so carried through the streets unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where it rested uncovered one day, and began to bleed againe afresh, a sorrowful spectacle to most of the beholders, and thence was it carried to the Blacke-Fryers Church, where it likewise lay bare-faced, and bled as before, all men being amazed at the sorrowfull sight; and lastly, it was put into a Boat without Priest, Clarke, Torch, or Taper, singing, or saying, and was ferried unto the Abbey of *Chersey* in *Surrey*, and there without pompe interred: But afterwards King *Henry* the seaventh translated his body unto his Castle of *Windsor*, where in a new Tombe at the entrance into the Chancell of the Chappell, and South-doore of the Quier, it was princely bestowed, but since the Tombe is removed, and where the Corpes is now laide is not vulgarly knowne.

King *Henry* carried barefaced through the streets of *London*.

The Northern men submit unto King *Edward*.

Edward Anno.

King *Henry* buried at *Chersey*, and removed to *Windsor*.

(80) Thus lived and thus dyed this innocent and just King, who had beene proclaimed in his Cradle, crowned in his infancy, and againe at more age had the Imperiall Diademe of *France* set on his head, living uprightly, loving his Subjects, and raigning thirty eight yeares, was in that time tossed with variable successe, for twice he was imprisoned and deprived of his Crowne, betrayed, smitten, and wounded, and in all things became a worthy example of fortunes unconstancy. He was of stature very seemely, of body slender, of face beautifull, and by a naturall inclination abhorred all vice, farre from pride, given to prayer, well read in the Scriptures, using workes of Charity, and so chaste, as no suspition of incontinency could bee conceived in him: nay, so farre to the contrary, that when certaine Ladies presented themselves before him in a Maske with their Haire loose, and their Breasts uncovered (he then a Bachelour, and able of marriage) hee immediately rose up, and departed the presence, saying; Fie, fie, forsooth yee are too blame. Oath hee used none, but in weighty matters, his affirmation was forsooth, and forsooth; very mercifull to the poore, and so pittifull to Malefactors, as hee commanded the quarters of Traitors to be taken downe from the Gates, and buried, and so farre from revenge, that he willingly pardoned the greatest offences against him; for a Ruffian intending his death, wounded him in the side with his Sword, what time he lay prisoner in the Tower, and being restored to his Kingly estate, hee freely forgave the fact; and another like Ruffian striking him on the face, hee punished with this onely reprehension; *Forsooth you are to blame to strike mee your annointed King*: for these and his other patient vertues, King *Henry* the seventh affayed to have him canonized a Saint, but Pope *Iulius* the second demanding too-great a summe, the King went no further in the suite: notwithstanding, in the repute of the vulgar he was taken for no lesse, so as his red Hat which he had worne, healed the head-ach, when it was put on, as the simple beleeved.

The vertues of King *Henry*.

Heliush.

(81) The monument of his zeale to true piety, and care for posterities, are his famous Colledges of *Eaton* and *Cambridge*, the Chappell of which last, shewes the magnificence that the whole should have beene of, had their Founder raigned to have finished them himselfe: for the performance whereof hee enfeoffed certaine Bishops, with other noble personages by his Letters-Patents, with lands and possessions, to the yearely value of thirty-foure-hundred pounds very neare: but as his life ended, before that nature had thereunto set her owne seale; so these remain unperfected of the excellent beauties intended, which their zealous Founder meant to have adorned them withall.

Cambd Brit. in descript of Surrey.

Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* in *Barkshire*, founded by King *Henry*.

(82) And his sorrowfull Queene *Margaret*, who twenty-five yeares before this his death, with all pompe and royalty had beene crowned Queene of *England*, and had ruled all in all, now a poore prisoner in distresse and wants, weares out her time in teares and laments, and wisheth for nothing more then the day of her death; which Duke *Reuate* her father well understanding, made suite to King *Edward* to haue her released by ransome; and lastly, bought her liberty at so deare a rate, as he first pawned, and afterward sold to *Lewis* the *French* King, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and of both the *Siciles*, to pay and re-pay the Price of her redemption, unto which poore father, this sorrowfull daughter returned, and ended her aged dayes, where she had begun the dayes of her life.

Queene *Margaret* ransomed out of Prison.

(83) Victorious *Edward* thus leading *Mars* chained to his Chariot, and now himselfe led by Fortune to the high chaire of Estate, sits an absolute Monarch, sure, and without opposite, unto whose rayes all eyes turne a submissive aspect: onely bastard *Fawconbridge* departed from *London* (as we have said) and with-drew unto *Sandwich* with his disfeuct Crew, made shew to doe much, and did somewhat more then befitting, by rape, and robbing, where those rude Marriners came, which *Edward* hearing of, hasted to *Canterbury* in person himselfe, fully resolved to weede up by the rootes those new sprouted blades

The incontinency of King *Henries* fortunes.

Bastard Fauconbridge, with his unruly crew, yeeld to King *Edward*.

Bastard Fauconbridge pardoned of life, and rewarded with Knighthood. *Rob. Fabian.*

Bastard Fauconbridge beheaded. An. Dom. 1472.

Henry of Richmont fled into *Britaine*.

The Story of *John* Earle of *Oxford*.

Waters brake out of the Earth.

Stowes Annals. The Earle of *Oxford* sent prisoner into *France*.

The hard and inhumane usage of the Countesse of *Oxford*.

The Story of Lord *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exceter*.

Phil. Comines, lib. 3 cap. 4.

blades of rebellion, and made great preparation to accomplish the same, wch the Bastard hearing (though strong in his Sea-men) durst not bandy against, but sent his submission, with proffer of service and loyall obedience, and indeed so temporized with the King, as besides his pardon obtained, the Sword of Knighthood was laid upon his shoulder, and he was presently made the Kings *Vice-Admirall* for the Seas. In which his office he so bare himself (either by his owne deserts, or the Kings Conceit) as he not long enjoyed the same, but was at *Southampton* beheaded, and other of King *Henries* old favourites likewise sought after, and daily indangered.

(84) In which times of feare, *Jasper Earle of Pembrooke*, with his Nephew young *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, fled into *Britaine*, where, of that Duke they were most courteously entertained, with assurance made, that no wrong should be offered them, during their stay in his Dominions. And so these two Earles the Vncle and Nephew, there attended the day of their wished successe.

(85) But *John* Earle of *Oxford*, who had withdrawne himselfe from *Barnet-field* first into *Wales*, and thence into *France*, was farre more unpatient of those rough times, for having gotten store of provision by strong hand at Sea, with seventy-seven men onely surprized Saint *Michaels Mount* in *Cornewell*, and made that piece good against the King, which he kept and re-victualled, but whether by force or favour King *Edward* much suspected, and therefore the more willingly came to a composition with his Subject, who upon the pardon of his life delivered the *Mount* to the King: and as some say the rather, for that his minde was then troubled with many ominous signes. For certaine *Boornes* about this time burst out of the Earth, as *Woe-meere* at *Market* in the County of *Bedford*, whose name carried the quality of his nature. In *Kent*, at *Canterbury*, *Leversham*, and *Langley*-Parke, at *Croyden* in *Surrey*, and at *Hungerwill* neere *Dudley*-Castle, one running very foule: all of them predictions, as that credulous age beleeved, of great troubles to come: and therefore not trusting a new reconciled enemy, King *Edward* sent the said Earle prisoner unto the Castle of *Hames* in *Normandy*, where he remained the space of twelve yeares, unto the last of King *Richard* the third, most securely guarded, and so fitrailly kept, as Lady *Margaret* his *Countesse* could not be suffered to have accesse unto him, in all that time. Neither was shee allowed any thing out of his revenewes, or from the King, to maintaine her estate, but was forced to live upon the Charity of others, and by the workes that she made with her Needle; both of them very short to supply her great wants. This unmercifull and almost unhumane usage, was the more extremely followed, for that *Oxford* himselfe, his father and brother, had ever sided with the *Lancastrians*. And her selfe being sister unto *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Capitall obstacle against King *Edwards* proceedings, was held either dangerous, if her wealth ballanced her birth and estate, or else unworthy of his favour, whose good fortunes as was suggested, shee ever maligned.

(86) But much more miserable was the State of *Lord Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exceter*, and Earle of *Huntington*, who flourished so long as King *Henries* pillar stood crowned on his base, and the *Lancastrians* (of whose House himselfe was) over-swayed the times; he being the sonne of Lady *Elizabeth*, the second daughter of *John of Gaunt*, and having married the sister of *Edward* the then raigning King, was notwithstanding driven to such want, as hee may serve an example to all, how uncertaine *Adams* sons are of any continuing greatnesse. For (saith *Philip Comines*) *I once saw the Duke of Exceter runne on foot bare-legged, after the Duke of Burgundies Traine, begging his bread for Gods sake, but hee uttered not his name, hee being the neerest of the house of Lancaster, and brother in Law unto King Edward, and being knowne what he was, Burgundy gave him a small pension to maintaine his estate.*

(87) But when King *Henry* was againe restored, and the Title of the Crowne laid upon the successe of *Barnet-field*, this man, *Lord Henry*, bare himselfe most bravely against King *Edward*, and in fight was struck downe, and left for dead, where, in his bleeding wounds he lay most part of the day, but yet recovering, and got to *Westminster*, he there tooke Sanctuary to save his life, for which, hee became Suiter unto the King; but his wife, *Lady Anne*, sister unto King *Edward*, sued as earnestly for a divorce, which with great instancy she lastly obtained against him. How he released himselfe from the wrath of the King, is uncertaine, and how he came by his death no man can tell, for his body was found cast upon the shoare of *Kent*, as though he had perished by shipwracke upon the Sea.

(88) Now *Edward*, to finish all factions, thought best to lop off both bough and branch; that gave any shadow to the *Lancastrians* designes, to which end he rather picked, then found occasion of Treason, in *George Nevill Arch-bishop of Yorke*, whose goods, lands, and Lordships, hee seized upon, got possession of his rich Plate and Iewels, whereof one in his Miter was of such valew, as the King caused it to be set in his Imperiall Crowne, and the Archbishop to bee sent over sea to the Castle of *Hames*, where he remained a prisoner a long time after, with no such curteous intertainment as himselfe had used to *Edward* when he was his prisoner.

(89) But the escape of *Pembrooke* and of Earle *Richmond* troubled the King not a little, the onely men now left to bandy against him, and therefore were most followed with a suspicious eye. Insomuch as *Edward* wrote unto the Duke of *Britaine* their receiver, with promises of heapes of gold to have them sent backe and delivered unto his hands: but the Duke that had given them his safety before, answered the *Englishs* Ambassadors, that it stood not with honour, so to betray these distressed Princes, fled to him for reliefe, yet he faithfully undertook, that they should be so followed, as King *Edward* should sleepe quiet from their molestations, which being no better, *Edward* notwithstanding made the best of it.

(90) All now in quiet, and *Edward* raigning without any Competitor, or malignant disturber, caused a high Court of Parliament to be assembled at *Westminster*, wherein he re-established those Acts, which *Henry* had abrogated, and abrogated those that were made against his Favourites; at which season the Duke of *Burgundy* sent his Ambassadors unto *Edward*, craving his ayde against the *French* King, which was the more willingly heard and granted, as well for his favours received of the Duke, in time of his necessitie, as for spleene against *Lewis*, who had aided *Warwick* to dispossesse him of his Crown. And indeede this was a sparke, that was likely to set the hearts of the *English* on fire to recover *France*, lost by *Henry* the last King.

(91) All things in a readinesse, King *Edward* repaired to *Dover*, and there embarked himselfe for *Calis*, with the greatest Army that ever from *England* set sayles into *France*: for he had in his Company fifteene hundred Noble-men, and men at Armes, all of them mounted, and most of them barbed, who with the Archers on horse-backe also, made up the number of fifteene thousand, besides a great number of foot-men and others to pitch Tents, to attend the Artillery, and inclose their Campes. Before the Kings departure from *England*, hee had sent *Gartar* King at Armes unto King *Lewis* with a Letter of defiance: whose contents demaunded no lesse, then the whole Realme of *France*, which if he refused, hee threatned to invade his Dominions with fire and sword.

(92) The Letter received, and read in secret by *Lewis* himselfe, he privately sent for, and conferred with

Edw. Hall.

The unloving parts of unsatisfying wife *John Stow.*

King *Lewis* mocks with *Gartar* to his requests for peace.

The Lord *Hastings* supposed to have beene drowned.

Phil. Comines lib. 4. cap. 7.

The Archbishop of *Yorkes* goods seized upon.

A counterfeit Herald sent to King *Edward*.

The Heralds perswasions.

King *Edward* sends into *Britaine* to recover Richmond and Pembroke.

An English Herald sent to King *Lewis*.

The Duke of *Burgundy* commeth to the King.

King *Edward* abrogates King *Henries* lawes.

Edw. Hall. fol. 251.

Burgundy sends for ayde into *England* against *France*.

Burgundies boat driven into King *Edward*.

An. Dom. 1474. King *Edwards* expedition into *France*.

Phil. Comines, lib. 4. cap. 5.

The great preparation of King *Edward*.

King *Edwards* demands.

Lewis his conference with the *English* Herald.

with the Herald, telling him that it was not *Edward*, but *Burgundy* that raked abroad these dying finders, who as a man discomfited and unfurnished for warre, would draw in the *English*, by his file dealings to their inestimable Charges, to supply his defects; that *Burgundy* being of the House of *Lancaster*, hated most deadly the Family of *Yorke*; and more for feare then love married *Edwards* sister. As touching the Constable he told him, though *Edward* had married his Neece, yet he would deceive him, as he had done his owne Master of *France*, who had heaped many and extraordinary benefits upon him. And lastly with the gift of three hundred Crownes, and the promise of a thousand more, he instigated the Herald to worke a Peace. *Gartar* very thankefully tooke the French Gold, and counselled *Lewis* to send a Herald unto his Master King *Edward* to demand a safe conduct for conference: and so openly rewarded with thirty Elles of Crimson-Velvet he departed.

(93) King *Lewis* nothing so pompous as other Princes are, nor attended with Heralds continually in his Court, was therefore inforced unto this present shift: he caused a servant of the Lord *Hales* to be arrayed like an Herald in a trumpets banner, and sent him in haste into King *Edwards* Campe; where having audience, he shewed the great desire the King his Master had of peace, whose amitie with *England* he had ever held, excusing his receit of *Warwicke* with the necessity of time, whom he aided not against *Edward*, but against *Burgundy*, who as he instantly alledged, had now drawn the *English* to this excessive charges, that hee might thereby conclude a better composition for himselfe, and to amend the broken state of his owne affaires; lastly, he desired that the King of *England* would grant a safe conduct unto the Ambassadors of the *French* King his Master, who should more fully informe his Majestie, and give his safe conduct for a further conference in these affaires: and so wisely this counterfeit worded his message, that the King and Nobles liked well the overture, and thereupon granting a safe conduct sent with him an English Herald, to receive the like and other assignements from the *French* King.

(94) But when the Duke of *Burgundy* understood that a peace was traversed betwixt *Edward* and *Lewis*, he stormed not a little, and with no small haste from *Luxemburgh*, accompanied with sixteene horse only, came to his brother King *Edward*, and in a great rage reproved him of breach of promise, and uncourteous requitall of his former kindnesse, that thus would enter amitie with his great foe, and in outward semblance more ready to bite then to bake, burst into these reproofes.

"Have you (quoth hee) Brother, passed the "*Seas*, entred *France*, and without killing of a poore "flie, or burning of a silly Sheep-coate taken a shame- "full truce? Oh *S. George!* Did *Edward* your noble "Ancestor ever make Army into *France*, and return- "ned without Battell or Conquest? That victo- "rious Prince King *Henry* the fifth, (as neere of kinne "unto you as mee) whose bloud you have either "rightfully or wrongfully (God knoweth) extin- "guished and destroyed, with a small puissance con- "quered *Normandy*, kept it, and never would come "to composition, till he had the whole Kingdome of "*France* offered him, and was made heire apparant "unto that Crowne. Contrariwise, you without a- "ny thing done, proffer of Battel, or gaine or honour, "have now condiscended unto a peace as profitable "for *England* as is a poore Peascod: have I (thinke "you) for my particular use drawne the *English* for- "ces into *France* (which am able of my selfe to de- "fend mine owne cause?) I tell you plainly no, but "rather to aid you, to recover your ancient Territo- "ries wrongfully with-holden: and that you shal wel "know I need not your aide, I will heare of no truce "with the *French*, till three moneths after your "arrivage in *England* at the least; And thereupon "furiously arising, hee threw downe the Chaire, "where he had sate, and offered to depart.

(95) "Nay stay Brother *Charles* (quoth King "*Edward*) sith I with patience have heard you speake "what you would, you shall now perforce heare "from me what you would not: First therefore for "my thus entrance into *France*, no man knoweth the "occasion better then your selfe: for, maugre your "owne great power you speake of, you doe remem- "ber I know, how the *French* King tooke from you "the faire Towne of *Amiens*, and the strong Pile *Saint* "*Quintins*, with divers other peeces which you nei- "ther durst, nor were able either to rescue or defend, "since which time he hath gotten from you, your best "bosome friends, and secret Counsellors, so as your "selfe stood in doubt (determining to besiege *Nusse*) "whether the losse would be greater in your absence "(the *French* King waiting as a Fox for his prey) or "gaine more in *Germany* by your power and pre- "sence: and to keepe this Wolfe from your Fold, "was the principall cause why you so earnestly prai- "ed me, and continually sollicited me to passe over "the Seas, promising mountaines, but performing "not a Mole-hill, bragging a supply both of horse "and foot, but never sent me a hoofe, nor a Lackie. "Thinke you (Brother) if we had entred this en- "terprize in our owne quarrell, we would have ex- "pected your ayde? I assure you nothing lesse; for "if we had intended any such Conquest, we would "with Souldiers, fire, and sword, have so infected the "ayre with the flames and flame of *France*, as should "have annoyed your Countreyes of *Flaunders* and "*Brabant*, and given you leisure to sit still and tell of "our ever-atchieved great victories, nothing doub- "ting but to have gotten and kept with like man- "hood, and in as great glory, as any of our Ance- "stors before us had done. But the occasion of "warre being yours, and you wilfully (I will not say "cowardly) neglecting the same, I meane not to "prosecute, for the *French* King never offended me "nor my Subjects, except in favouring *Warwicke* "against me; nay I may say against you, and now "offereth such honourable overtures of peace, which "I by Gods grace meane not to forsake, but will "observe and keepe. God send you joy thereof, "quoth the Duke, and so abruptly departed from "the King.

(96) The peace thus resolved upon, betwixt the two Kings of *England* and *France*, the place appointed for conference was neere unto *Amiens*, and the parties assigned for the *French*, were the Bastard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of *France*, the Lord S. *Pierre*, and the Bishop of *Eureux*. For the *English*, were the Lord *Howard*, *Sir Thomas St. Leger*, and Doctor *Morton* Lord *Chancellor of England*. These meeting, presently fell to a conclusion of peace: the conditions whereof were: That the *French* King should forthwith pay to the King of *England* seventie two thousand Crownes. That the *Dolphin* should marry *Lady Elizabeth*, King *Edwards* eldest daughter, and that she should have for her maintenance the Durchy of *Guienne*, or else fiftie thousand Crownes yearely to be paid in the Tower of *London*, for nine yeares space. This peace was so acceptable to King *Lewis*, as he sent sixteen thousand Crownes to be distributed amongst the *Englishs* Souldiers, with Plate and great Presents to men of any sort: and indeed gave them such entertainment in *Amiens*, as was most bounteous, wherof if any desire further to know, let him reade *Comines* upon the same text.

(97) To graft which peace with a loving beginning, the two Kings were desirous to see each others, for which end Commissioners were sent to affigne the place: and lastly agreed, that the Towne *Picquigny*, about three leagues from *Amiens*, seated in a bottome, through which the River *Some* ranne, was the fittest: over which a strong bridge was built, and in the midst thereof; agrate made over-thwart with barres, no wider asunder then a man might well

King *Edwards* reply to his brother of *Burgundy*.

Burgundy departeth displeased from King *Edward*.

The conference for peace neere *Amiens*.

Commissioners for peace.

Conditions of the peace.

Lewis his liberalitie for joy of the peace.

Phil. Com. lib. 4. cap. 9. The Kings of *England* and *France* desire to see each other.

Picquigny the meeting-place of the Kings.

An. Dom. 1475. Aug 19.

thrust in his Arme, covered with boords over-head to avoide the raine, and the bridge so broad that twelve might stand in rancke on both sides.

(98) The day approached, and the two Kings come to the place, he of *France* came first to the Grate, accompanied with twelve personages, as was the appointment; whereof *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Cardinall his Brother, were the chiefest: King *Edward* entring the Bridge on the other end, with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord Chancellor, himselfe apparrelled all in cloth of Gold, with a rich Iewell of precious stones, in forme of a *Flower de Luce*: advanced forward, and within five foot of the Grate, put off his Cap, and bowed his knee within halfe a foot to the Ground. King *Lewis* as readily doing his likely reverence unto *Edward*. Where, after imbracements through the Grate, the Chancellour of *England*, who was Prelate and Bishop of *Ely*, made an eloquent and learned Oration; which done, he read the Articles of Peace, and demanded the Kings whether these were done with their full consents. Which granted by both: either of them laying their one hand upon the Misfall, and the other upon the *Holy-Crosse*, tooke their solemne Oathes to observe the same. And then falling into a more familiar and Courtly Complementall conference, King *Lewis* told King *Edward*, that he would one day invite him to *Paris*, there to Court his faire *French* Ladies, with whom if hee committed any sinne, hee merrily told him, that *Cardinall Bourbon*, should bee his Confessor, whose penance should be the easier, for that *Bourbon* used to busse faire Ladies himselfe; which no sooner was spoken, or howsoever meant, but *Edward* was as forward of thankes and acceptance, and indeed so ready, that King *Lewis* rounding *Comines* his bosome-servant in his eare, told him flatly he liked not *Edwards* forwardnesse to *Paris*, too many English Princes have beene there before: and thus the conference ended, and King *Edwards* businesse in *France*, hee returned into *England*, and into the Citie of *London* was received little lesse then in triumph-wise.

(99) But though *Edwards* fortunes thus outwardly flourished, yet inward feares nipped his still troubled mind, one branch having sap, whose growth he much feared would shadow his Crowne, which was Henry Earle of *Richmond*, alive, and at libertie in the Duke of *Britains* Court. To bring therefore his purpose to passe, he sent D. *Stillington*, and others, Ambassadors unto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with store of Gold and good words, as that he meant to match his eldest daughter Lady *Elizabeth* unto the young Earle of *Richmond*, whereby all cause of dissentions might at once be cut off: the Duke thinking no danger where the water went smooth, easily consented to ship him thereon; but ere the prey was embarked, he had knowledge that the voyage should cost yong *Henry* his life, wherefore in all haste hee sent his Treasurer *Peter Landoys* to prevent it, who secretely told *Richmond* what marriage-bed *Edward* intended; whereat the distressed Earle amazed, was put to his shifts, and for want of better, tooke Sanctuary at Saint *Malos*, where the English his conductors lay for a wind.

(100) The Earle thus escaped, the Ambassadors complained to the Duke, imputing the fault as farre as they durst unto him, who had not dealt like a good Merchant to take their money, and to retaine the wares; his answer was, the delivery was good, but themselves negligent Factors, that made not the commoditie to their best advantage. And yet for the love he bare to their King, he undertooke that *Richmond* should be sure kept either in Sanctuary, or else in Prison, whence as he promised he should not escape: And so with a flea in their eare, they returned, having cleared *Edward* of his money, and care for sure keeping of *Henry*, who though he were sore displeased with *Stillingtons* simplicitie; yet the promises that the Duke of *Britaine* had made, much mitigated and eased his minde.

(101) And now the Realme quiet, no warre in hand, nor none towards (but such as no man looked should happen;) he framed himselfe so to the peoples affections, as held their hearts not in a constrained feare, but with as loving and ready obedience as any King attaining the Crowne by his Sword ever had done. Nor was ever any Prince more familiar with his Subjects then this King *Edward* was; for now having his tribute truly paide from *France*, and all things prospering as was desired, he set heart upon pleasure, which hitherto had beene afflicted with continuall turmoile: yea, and often laid from him the state of a Prince, and would accompany and converse with his meane subjects: a load-stone that doth naturally attract the *English* hearts; among many others we of *London* remember this to our grace: Vnto *Windsore* he sent for the Lord Major of *London*, the Aldermen and others, upon no other occasion, then to hunt in his company, and himselfe to be merry with them: As also at another time he did the like in *Waltham*, where he gave them most familiar entertainment, and sent to the Lady Mairesse and her sisters two Harts, five Buckes, and a Tunne of Wine, which wan more love then manifold their worthes.

(102) Somewhat he was given to Court and converse with faire Ladies, which fault was well noted and prevented by King *Lewis*, for his *French* Dames: but in *England* hee had libertie with very large scope, for, besides the Lady *Lucy* and others, by whom he had issue, three Concubines he kept, and those of three divers and severall disposition, as himselfe would often confesse; one the merriest, another the wiliest, and the third the holiest Harlot in his Realme, as one whom no man could get out of the Church, unlesse it were to his Bed; the merriest was *Shores* Wife, of whom hereafter we shall speake; the other two were greater Personages, but in their humilitie are content to be nameless, and to forbeare the praise of those properties.

(103) This fault of the King did not greatly offend the people: for one mans pleasure could not extend to the displeasures of many, it being done without violence, and in his latter dayes lessened and well left. But a farre more greater sinne and reproach he fell into, among his other Princely disports: For being on progresse in *Warwickshire*, and hunting in *Arrow-Parke*, belonging to *Thomas Burdet* Esquire, with the death of much Game he slew a *White Bucke*, greatly esteemed of the said *Burdet*, who understanding thereof, wished his hornes in his Belly, that mooved the King to kill the same Bucke; whereof he was accused and condemned of treason, his words being drawne, to wish the hornes in the Kings Belly: for which, beheaded he was at *Tiburne*, and buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church at *London*.

(104) But a more lamentable tragedie happened unto the Land, by the death of *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings second brother, who being accused of high Treason, was committed to the Tower, where he soone after ended his life. His attainder was, that the said Duke had caused divers of his servants to enforme the people, that *Thomas Burdet* his servant likewise, was wrongfully put to death: and further laboured (through their reports) to make the World beleeve, that King *Edward* wrought by *Nigromancie*, and used to poyson such subjects as he hated: And also that the said Duke upon purpose to exalt himselfe and his heires to the Regall dignitie, most falsly and untruly published that the King was a Bastard, and therefore not capable of raigne. Moreover that he induced diverse of the Kings naturall subjects to be sworne upon the blessed Sacrament, unto him and his heires, without any other reservations of their allegiance: for which intent (as there was alledged)

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Henry Earle of *Richmond*, fought after by King *Edward*.

An intent pretended, which after came to passe.

Ralph Holmsh. pagg. 701.

Henry, Earle of *Richmond*, taketh sanctuary.

The English Ambassadour complaineth to the Duke of *Britaine*. His Answer.

Sir *Th. More.*

King *Edward* beloved of his subjects, maliceth his subjects.

Phil. Comin. lib. 4. cap. 10.

A false prophesy of G. 6.

John Stow. King *Edward* sent for the Major and Aldermen of *London* to his huntings.

The Duke of *Clarence* in suit unto *Mary* the daughter of *Burgundy*.

King *Edward* fauneth ill ceasionally given.

John Serres.

King *Edwards* three Concubines.

Clarence imprisoned by his brother King *Edward*.

George Duke of *Clarence* condemned by Parliament.

And drowned in a Butt of Malmesey.

Thomas Burdet accused of treason.

Engur.

King *Edwards* repentance for his brothers death. The Duke of *Clarence* his Will.

Register of *Gray-Friers London*.

The Story of *George* Duke of *Clarence*.

Edward and *Margaret*, the children of *Clarence* beheaded.

The accusation of the Duke of *Clarence*. *John Stow.*

King *Edward* deceived in King *Lewis*.

John Serres.

An. Dom. 1478. *Fabh Grafton.*

alledged) he had gotten an exemplification under the great Seale of King *Henry* the sixt, that if the said King and his sonne *Prince Edward* dyed without issue male, the said Duke and his heires should injoy the Crowne: For these, in a Parliament begun at *Westminster* the fifteenth of Ianuary, he was attainted of high treason: but whether guiltie or guiltlesse, *to men* (saith *Grafton*) *that have made large enquisition, yea, and of such as were of no small authority in those dayes, the certaintie thereof was hid, and could not truely bee discloſed, but by conjectures, which as often deceive the imaginations of fantasticall folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusions.*

(105) I am not ignorant that some have alledged the cause of this Noble-mans death to arise from a foolish prophecy (*whereof* saith *Comines*) *the Englishmen are never unfurnished*, and this as the *Cabalists*, who used to make an art of their Letters, gave forth forsooth that a *G.* should raigne after an *E.* which must needes be *George Duke of Clarence*, though *Gloucester*, more crafty, lay in the winde for the game. This indeed troubled the King not a little, but the Queene and her bloud much more, and therefore of both King and Queene Duke *George* was mistrusted, and greatly maligned in all that he did. Who now a Widdower (for *Warwicks* daughter was dead) sent unto his sister *Margaret* the *Dutchesse of Burgundy*, to worke a marriage for him with her Husbands daughter the Lady *Marie*. Against which the Queene most earnestly interposed her selfe, and sollicited the Lady in the behalfe of Lord *Anthony Earle Rivers* her brother, whereby great discontent was ministred to the Duke, and new jealousies daily bred in the Kings breast.

(106) *John Serres*, the *French* Historian, interlacing the life of King *Lewis* with the Acts of King *Edward* and his Brethren, saith confidently, that the English King so much affected the league and alliance with *France*, as that he caused his brother *Clarence* to bee put in prison, because hee intended to have past the Seas to succour the Dowager of *Burgundy* Lady *Margaret* his Sister, upon whose Territories King *Lewis* encroached, after the death of Duke *Charles* her husband, slaine at the battell of *Mancy*.

(107) But howsoever *Clarence* had offended, certaine it is, that hee was found guilty by the foresaid Parliament, and the eleaventh of March following, after he had offered his Masse penny in the Tower of *London*, was drowned in a Butt of Malmesey, whose body was buried at *Tewkesbury* in *Glocestershire*, by the body of his Dutchesse Lady *Isabell* Countesse of *Warwicke*, who being with Child, dyed of poyson a little before. And although the King had consented to his death, yet no sooner was it done, but that he wished it againe undone, and was so grieved at the remembrance, as when any made suite for the life of a condemned, he would openly say: *Oh unfortunate brother, for whose life no man would make suite.* This good Duke (for so was hee called) left issue behinde him, *Edward Earle of Warwicke* and *Margaret* afterwards Countesse of *Salisbury*, both of them Infants, and followers of their fathers fortunes: he a continuall Prisoner, at foure and twenty yeares of age, under *Henry* the seventh, was beheaded upon the Tower-hill; and shee at sixty two, lost hers within the Tower, and time of King *Henry* the eight.

(108) But how dainty soever King *Edward* was of the breach of amity betwixt him and the *French* King, in regard whereof he suffered *Mary* the young Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, the daughter of his owne sisters Husband to bee molested by intrusion of the *French*, and all in favour of the contract commenced between the *Dauphin* and Lady *Elizabeth* his daughter, yet did *Lewis* for his part but dally and drive out time: For Ambassadors imployed for the full accomplishing thereof, they of *France* came either without commission, or those re-called, the new were sent without instructions, while indeede *Lewis* was working for his sonne another way: First to match him with *Mary Dutchesse* of *Burgundy*, but that refused, with *Margaret of Flanders*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, sonne to *Frederick* the Emperour: and to hold the world from suspition, in the meane-while Lady *Elizabeth the Infanta of England* was in the *French* Court usually called *Madame the Dauphin*, and all things in *France* so foundly carried, as *Edward* suspected no leake in the Caske: for now growne fat and unable for paines, hee both glorved in his nine famous victories at home atchieved, and seemed sufficiently satisfied, that his yearely tribute from *France* was so truely paide.

(109) At the same time *Iames the third* of that name, King of *Scotland*, sent his Ambassadours unto *Edward* to obtaine the *Lady Cicely*, the Kings second daughter, to be joyned in marriage with his sonne *Iames* the young Prince, which was well listened unto by *Edward* and his Counsell, and least the motion should goe backe, a great summe of money lent to the *Scottish* King, with this condition, that at a certain time appointed, it should be at King *Edwards* choice, whether his daughter should match with that Prince or else to have the said summe againe re-paide. Against which alliance and league (as *Lesly* reporteth) *Lewis of France* much repined, and to annihilate the same, sent Dr. *Ireland*, a certaine Knight, and another religious man, to move King *Iames* to make warre against *England*.

(110) These no Peace-makers for *Christ*, but firebrands of *Belial*, blew the smothered sparkes of dissention into a flame of bloudy warre, which fell the more heavy upon *Scotland*, for that King *Iames* much wedded unto his owne will, and altogether ruled by men of meane worth, whom himselfe had advanced from nothing, had not onely neglected by their instigations the love of his Nobles, but also banished the Realme of *Scotland*, *Alexander Duke of Albany* his second brother; and had caused the veines of *Iohn Earle of Marre*, his other Brother, to bee opened, whereby hee bled to death, these and other discontents alienated his Subjects hearts from him, which laid the land more open unto the English Invaders: and yet to draw them more deadly against him, relying upon his owne valor, and the assistance of *France*, he sent word unto *Edward*, that hee should not ayde his owne sister of *Burgundy* against King *Lewis*, being the *Scots* Ally; as also with threats of warre commanded him to deliver to his Ambassadors, the Duke of *Albany* (then residing in the *English* Court) and lastly to make good and re-pay dammages done upon the *Scottish* Borders.

(111) King *Edward* not a little inraged at these double dealings, even in the winter season mustered his men, prepared his artillery, and rigged his ships, that nothing should be unready at the next Spring; which no sooner was come, but that hee ordained for his Lieutenant his brother *Richard Duke of Glocester*, who with *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, the *Lord Lovell*, *Greistocke*, and others, (the Duke of *Albany* marching under *Glocesters* Banner) with twenty thousand strong repaired into the North: and first besieged the strong Towne of *Bernicke*, then entering the chiefe City *Edenburgh*, urged King *Iames* to performe his covenants concerning the marriage betwixt Prince *Iames* his Sonne, with *Lady Cicely*, before agreed upon, threatning destruction if the match went not forward. The *Scottish* Nobility consid'ering the eminent danger, put to death the wicked Counsellers of their King, ordained the Duke of *Albany* the *Vicegerent of Scotland*, and promised to re-pay the money received according to Covenants; after which, with the delivery of the strong Towne *Berwicke*, which had beene out of the *English* possession the space of one and twenty yeares, a generall peace was concluded betwixt the two Realmes. Whereupon not long after, *Gartar* King at armes was sent into *Scotland*, with an Instrument in writing unto the Provost and Burgesses of *Edenburgh*

An. Dom. 1480. *John Lesly.*

Lady *Elizabeth* called Madame the *Dauphin*.

Lady *Cicely* motioned in marriage unto *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*.

Lewis King of *France*, interposeth the contract betwixt Prince *Iames* and Lady *Margaret*.

Iames King of *Scotland* much wedded to his owne will.

Alexander Duke of *Albany* banished *Scotland*. *John* Earle of *Marre* bled to death.

King *Iames* threateneth warre against *England*.

Richard Duke of *Glocester* made the Kings Lieutenant against *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Glocester* entreth *Scotland*.

Berwicke delivered to the *English*.

Holinsh. pa. 707.

(who had undertaken to disburse the money) to signifie King *Edwards* minde touching the marriage intended, and to demand the said summe by a day assigned, which accordingly was re-paide.

King *Lewis* dallyeth with King *Edward.*

(112) The marriage with *Scotland* thus broken off; that with *Scotland* for the Lady *Cicely*, by King *Edward* himselfe; that with *France* for the Princesse *Elizabeth*, both hee and his Queene greatly desired, and daily sought after: But *Lewis* the *French* King, finding the daughter of *Austrich* more fit for his sonne, dallyed out *Edward* with shewes of firme faith, till hee had effected the thing hee went about: which musicke sounded so harshly in the *English* Kings eare, when he heard it, as in no wise he would suffer that string to be touched, but ever beleeved that the French meant him faire play, and although the yeares of the parties themselves might beget some suspition, shee being much elder then the *Dolphin*, and the truth thereof confirmed by the Duke of *Austriches* Leger-Ambassadours residing to *England*, yet *Edward* would not so much as suppose a suspect against the French King, and therefore suffered *Lewis* to incroach upon those parts of *Picardy* that joyned to *Callis*, and to gaine time till it was past re-call: for then the Lord *Howard* returning from *France*, confidently told him that hee was present, and saw the *Lady Margaret* of *Austrich*, daughter to Duke *Maximilian*, sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, received unto *France* with great pompe and royalty: and at *Ambois* contracted and espoused to the *Dolphin.*

Phil. Comines lib. 6. cap. 2. and 9.

King *Edward* would not believe what was confidently told him.

(113) *Edward* mightily chafed to be thus worked by *Lewis*, made great preparation for *France*, but whether with anger, griefe, or melancholly, he fell into a dangerous and deadly sicknesse; some say, of a superfluous surfeit, whereunto he was much given: *Comines* saith, of a *Catarrhe*, which weake estate turned his mind another way: for calling his Lords into his sicke presence, and raising his faint body upon his Bed-Pillowes, these words unto them hee lastly spake:

A warre pretended against *France.*

King *Edward* falleth sicke.

Sir *Th. Moore.* King *Edwards* speeches at his death.

(114) "My Lords, my deare Kinsmen, and Allies; "in what plight I lye, you see, and I feele; by which "the lesse while I looke to live with you, the more "deepely am I mooved to care in what case I leave "you; for such as I leave you, such be my children "like to finde you. Which if they should (that "God forbid) finde you at variance, might hap to "fall themselves at warre, ere their discretion would "serve to set you at peace. Yee see their youth, of "which I reckon the onely surety to rest in your con-"cord. For it sufficeth not that all you love them, "if each of you hate other. If they were men, your "faithfulnesse happely would suffice: but Child-"hood must bee maintained by mens authority, "and slippery youth under-propped with elder "counsell; which neither they can have, unlesse you "give it, nor you give it, if you agree not. For "where each laboureth to breake that which the "other maketh, and through hatred of each others "person impugneth each others counsell, there must "it needs bee long or any good conclusion goe for-"ward: And while either party striveth to bee "chiefe, flattery shall have more play then plaine "and faithfull advise, of which must needs insue the "evill bringing up of the Prince; whose minde in "tender youth infected, shall readily fall to riot and "mischiefe; and draw downe with him his noble "Realme unto ruine: but if grace turne him to "wisdome: which if God send, then they that by "evill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall "furthest out of favour, so that ever at length evill "drifts draw to nought, and good plaine wayes pro-"sper. Great variance hath there long time beene "betweene you, not alwayes for great causes. Some-"time a thing right-well intended, our misconstru-"ctions turneth unto worse, or a small displeasure "done us, either our owne affections or evill tongues "agreeveth. But this wot I well, yee never had so "great cause of hatred, as you have of love. That we "be all men, that wee be Christian men, this shall I "leave for Preachers to tell you (and yet I wot neere "whether any Preachers words ought more to "move you, then his, that is by and by, going to the "place that they all preach of.) But this I shall de-"sire you to remember, that the one part of you is "of my bloud, the other of my Allies; and each of "you with other, either of kinred or affinity; which "spirituall kindred of affinity, if the Sacraments of "Christs Church beare that weight with us, that "would to God they did, should no lesse move us "to charity, then the respect of fleshly consangui-"nity. Our Lord forbid, that you love together the "worse for the felse cause, that you ought to love "the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where "finde we so deadly debate, as among them, which "by nature and law ought most to agree together. "Such a pestilent Serpent is ambition, and desire of "vaine-glory and Soveraignty, which among States "where it once entreth, creepeth forth so farre, till "with division and variance hee turneth all to mis-"chiefe, first longing to be next the best, afterward "equall with the best, and at last chiefe and above "the best. Of which immoderate appetite of wor-"ship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what "losse, what sorrow, what trouble, hath within these "few yeares growne in this Realme, I pray God as "well forget as we remember. Which things, if I "could aswell have fore-seene, as I have with my "more paine then pleasure proved, By Gods blessed "Lady (that was ever his oath) I would never have "wonne the curtesie of mens knees, with the losse of "so many heads. But fith things passed cannot bee "gaine-called, much ought we the more beware, by "what occasion wee have taken so great hurt afore, "that wee eft-soones fall not into the like againe. "Now be those griefes passed, and all is (God bee "thanked) quiet, and likely right-well to prosper in "wealthfull peace under your Cosins, my children, "if God send them life, and you love. Of which "two things the lesse losse were they, by whom "though God did his pleasure yet should the realme "alway find Kings, and peradventure as good Kings. "But if you among your selves in a childs raigne fall "at debate, many a good man shall perish, and hap-"ly hee too, and yee too, ere this Land find peace "againe. Wherefore in these last words that ever I "looke to speake with you, I exhort, and require you "all, for the love that you have ever borne unto me: "for the love that I have ever borne unto you, for "the love that our Lord beareth to us all, from this "time forward all griefes forgotten, each of you love "others, which I verily trust you will, if you any "thing regard, either God, or your King, affinity, "or kindred, this Realme, your owne Countrey, or "your owne surety.

Tender youth is soone infected.

Great variance for small causes.

(115) And therewithall the King no longer induring to sit up, laid him downe on his right side, his face towards them, who with weeping eies and words as fitted the time, recomfited the sicke dying King, joyning their hands, and outwardly forgiving that, which inwardly they meant not to forget. The King overjoyed to see their willing reconcilements spake not many words after, but commending his soule unto God, in their presence departed this life at his Pallace of *Westminster*, upon the ninth day of Aprill, and yeare of Christs appearance 1483. at the age of forty one, when hee had worne the royall Diademe, two and twenty yeares, one moneth and five dayes: and was buried at *Windsore*, in the new Chappell, whose foundation himselfe had laid.

King *Edwards* good counsell.

(116) Of personage hee was the goodliest Gentleman (saith *Comines*) *that ever mine eyes beheld*; faire of complexion, and of most princely presence, couragious of heart, politique in counsell; in adversity nothing abashed; in prosperity rather joyous then proud: in peace just and mercifull; in warre sharpe and fierce, and in field bold and venturous, yet no further then wisedome would, and is no lesse commended

What ensueth upon ambition in Princes.

King *Edwards* unfull ends.

Ballefus.

King *Edwards* last requests.

The reigne and death of King *Richard.*

Phil. com. lib. 4. cap. 10. King *Edward* described.

Phil. Comines lib. 6. cap. 2.

commended where he avoided, then is his manhood when he vanquished: eight or nine battels he wonne, wherein to his greater renowne he fought on foot, and was ever victor over his enemies: much given he was to the lusts of youth, and in his latter time growne somewhat corpulent, which rather adorned his graver yeares, then any wayes disliked the eyes of his beholders.

His Wife.

(117) *Elizabeth* the daughter of *Richard Woodvill* Earle *Rivers* by his wife *Iaquelana* Dutchesse of *Bedford*, (who was the daughter of *Peter* Earle of Saint *Paul*, and hee the sonne of *Peter de Luxemburgh*) was first married unto Sir *John Grey*, slaine at Saint *Albans*, where he was knighted the day before his death by King *Henry* the first, unto whom shee bare two sonnes and a daughter, after whose death shee was privately remarried unto King *Edward* the fourth, the first day of May, at his Manor of *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire*, *Anno* 1464. and in the next yeare following upon the five and twentieth of May, was crowned Queene at *Westminster* with all due solemnities. Shee was his Wife eighteene yeares, eleven moneths, and nine daies, no more fortunate in attaining to the height of all worldly dignitie, then unfortunate in the murther of her sonnes, and losse of her owne libertie: For in the beginning of King *Edwards* raigne, shee was forced to take Sanctuary at *Westminster*, wherein her first sonne Prince *Edward* was borne; and at his death did the like in feare of the Protector; and lastly, having all her lands and possessions seized upon by king *Henry* the seventh, lived in meane estate in the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, where not long after shee left the troubles of her life, and injoyed a quiet portion or burying-place by her last Husband King *Edward* at *Windsore*.

(118) *Elianor Butler*, as we finde it recorded upon the Parliament Role, was contracted unto King *Edward*: but how true considering the occasion, and time of the Act, we leave for others to judge, onely this is moft certaine that this Lady *Elianor* was the daughter of *Iohn Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and the wife of Sir *Thomas Butler* Knight, sonne and heire to *Ralph Butler* Baron of *Sudley*; which *Elianor* died the thirtieth of June, the yeare of *Christ Iesus* 1466. and the eight of King *Edward* the fourth his raigne.

His Issues.

(119) *Edward* the eldest sonne of King *Edward* the fourth by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was borne in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*. the fourth of November, and yeare of grace 1471. being the tenth of his Fathers raigne, at that time expulsed the Realme by the powerfull Earle *Warwicke*; but fortune changed, and the Father restored; the sonne, the first of July and yeare of Christ 1473. was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*; and had not the ambitious hand of his Vncle beene defiled in his innocent bloud, he might have worne the Diademe many yeares, whereas he bare the Title of King not many dayes.

An. Dom. 1478. *Iohn Stow.*

(120) *Richard* the second sonne of King *Edward* the fourth by *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne at *Shrewsbury*, and in his infancy was created Duke of *Yorke*, hee was affianced unto *Anne* daughter and heire to *Iohn Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke*, by which hee was intituled Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle *Marshall*, *Warren*, and *Nottingham*, but injoying neither Title, wife, or his owne life long, was with his Brother murthered in the Tower of *London*, and in the prison of that Tower, which upon that moft sinfull deed, is ever fince called the bloudy Tower, their bodies as yet unknowne where to have buriall.

(121) *George* the third sonne of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was also borne in *Shrewsbury*, and being a young Child was created Duke of *Bedford*, but lived not long after, and lyeth buried at *Windsore*.

(122) *Elizabeth* the first daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne at *Westminster* the eleventh of February, and first of her Fathers raigne, being the yeare of Salvation 1466. She was promised in marriage to *Charles Dolphin of France*, wooed and Courted by her Vncle *Crouchback*, when he had murthered her brothers, and usurped the Crowne, but better destiny attending her, shee was reserved to joyne the union and marriage with the onely heire of *Lancaster*, which was *Henry of Richmond*, afterward King of *England*, from whom is branched the royall stemme that spreadeth his beautie in this *North-west world*, even *Iames* our dread Soveraigne, and great-*Britaines* Monarch.

(123) *Cicelie*, the second daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was sought unto by *Iames* the third of that name, to be joyned in marriage with *Iames* his sonne Prince of *Scotland*, and Duke of *Rothsay*, which match was promised upon conditions and choise of King *Edward*, who lastly brake off from further proceeding, and the Lady married unto *John Viscount Wels*, whom shee outlived, and was againe re-married, but by neither Husband had any issue, and therefore lesse noted; her body lyeth buried at *Quarrena* in the *Isle of Wight*.

(124) *Anne* the third daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was married unto Lord *Thomas Howard*, Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle *Marshall*, and high Treasurer of *England*: unto whom shee bare two sonnes, both dying without issue, and her selfe without more fruit of wombe, left her life, and lieth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolke*.

(125) *Bridget* the fourth daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Eltham* in *Kent*, the tenth of November, and yeare of Grace 1480. being the twentieth of her Fathers Raigne. She tooke the habite of Religion, and became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dartford*, in the same Countie, founded by King *Edward* the third, where shee spent her life in contemplations unto the day of her death.

(126) *Marie* the fift daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his Wife, was promised in marriage unto the King of *Denmarke*, but died (before it could be solemnized) in the Tower of *Greenewich*, the Sunday before *Pentecost*, the twentieth two of her Fathers Raigne, and yeare of Grace 1482. and was buried at *Windsore*.

(127) *Margaret* the sixt daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by his wife Queene *Elizabeth*, died an Infant without other mention in our Authors.

(128) *Katherine* the seventh daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, by Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, and the last of them both, was married unto *William Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire*, and Lord of *Ochampton*, unto whom she bare Lord *Henry* after the death of his Father Earle of *Devonshire*, who by King *Henry* the eight was created Marquesse of *Excester* in *Anno* 1525.

His Concubines.

(129) *Elizabeth Lucie* is certainly knowne to have beene King *Edwards* Concubine, though nothing so certainly mentioned, whose Lady, or of what Parentage she was; that shee was conceived by him with-child is before declared, but who that child was, is as obscurely laid downe, therefore in these things we must be silent, and leave the doubts to be resolved by others. Three other Concubines this king had, whereof *Shores* Wife was not the least beloved, whose life falleth

falleth further to be ſpoken of in the Raigne of the uſurper *Richard*, where her ſtorie ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

His naturall Iſſue.

(150) *Arthur*, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the naturall ſonne of King *Edward* the fourth, (whoſe mother as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*) was created *Viſcount Liſle* by King *Henry* the eight at *Bridewell* in *London*, the twentie ſixt of *April*, and yeare of Salvation 1533. which title was conferred upon him in right of his Wife Lady *Elizabeth*, ſiſter and heire unto *John Gray* Viſcount *Liſle*, and the late wife and then widdow of *Edmund Dudley*: who bare unto this Viſcount three daughters, which were *Bridget*, *Frances*, and *Elizabeth*, all of them afterward married. This *Arthur* Lord *Liſle* was made Lieutenant of *Calis* by the ſaid King *Henry*, which Towne ſome of his ſervants intended to have betrayed to the French, for which their fact himſelfe was ſent to the Tower of *London*: but his truth appearing after much ſearch, the King ſent him a rich Ring from his owne finger, with ſuch comfortable words, as at the hearing thereof a ſudden joy overcharged his heart, and was ſo immoderately received, that the ſame night it made an end of his life, whoſe body was honourably buried in the ſame Tower.

(151) *Elizabeth* the naturall daughter of King *Edward* the fourth, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight, the Sonne of *George* Lord *Lumley*, who dyed before his Father: ſhee bare unto the ſaid Sir *Thomas*, *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

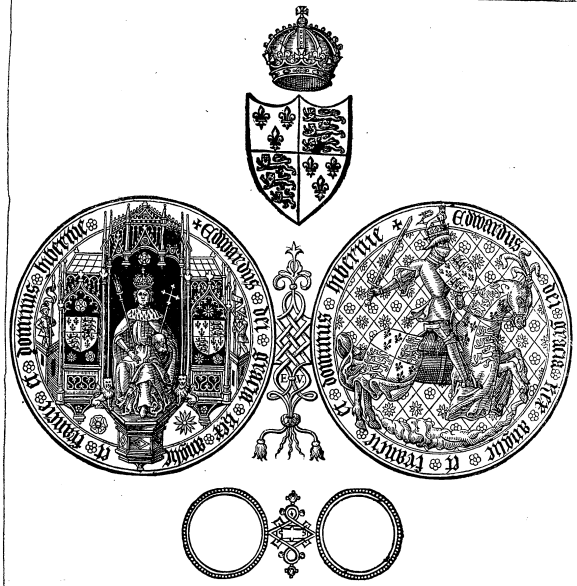
EDWARD

Edward V.

EDVVARD THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE-FIFTH MONARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 55.

For the moſt part written by Sir *Thomas Moore*.



Chapter XVIII.

THE Father thus dying in the ſtrength of his yeares, and the Son left to rule before he was ripe, the Synders of diſſenſions which the ficke King had lately raked up, preſently brake forth into a more raging flame; for the King and Queenes bloud that ſhould have ſupported young *Edwards* eſtate, the one ſide being ſuſpicious, and the other provoked by the execrable deſire of ſoveraignty, left the tender King (a Prince of ſuch towardneſſe as his age could containe) deſtitute and un-armed, which if either kinde or kindred had holden place, muſt needs have beene the ſureſt pillars of his defence. The raigne of this King (if we may ſo call the ſhort time of his Soveraignety) began the ſame day that his Father dyed, though hee was never Crowned, nor yet commanded the affaires of the Kingdome as an abſolute Monarch, his young Brothers fortunes being ballanced with his.

King Edwards raigne unfortunate and ſhorte.

Aprill 9. Ann. Dom. 1483. *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*.

(2) For *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, by nature their Vncle, by office their Protector, to their Father beholden, to themſelves by Oath and Alleagiance bounden, all bands broken that holdeth man and man together, without any reſpect of God or the World, unnaturally contrived to bereave them, not onely of their dignity, but alſo their lives. But forſomuch as the Dukes demeanour miniſtreth in effect all the whole matter whereof the raigne of this young and fift *Edward* muſt intreat, it is therefore convenient ſomewhat

Richard Duke of *Glocester* an unnaturall Vncle unto the young King and his brother.

somewhat to shew you ere wee goe further, what man this was, and from whom hee descended that could find in his heart so much mischiefe to conceive.

Richard Duke of Yorke was the father of *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

(3) Know first then that *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, a Noble-man and a mighty, began not by warre, but by law to challenge the Crowne; putting his claime into the Parliament; where his cause was (either for right or favour) so farre forth advanced, that King *Henries* blould (albeit hee had a goodly Prince) was utterly rejected, the Crowne by the authority of that high Court intailed to the Duke of *Yorke*, and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King *Henry*. But the Duke not enduring so long to tarry, (intending under pretext of dissention and debate arising in the Realme, to prevent his time, and to take upon him the rule in King *Henries* life,) was with many other Nobles slaine at *Wakefield*, leaving three sonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*; all of them as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomacke, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners.

(4) For *Edward* revenging his fathers death, deprived King *Henry*, and attained the Crowne. The second, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, was a goodly Noble Prince, and in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the envy of his enemies, his brother against him. For were it by the Queene and Lords of her bloud, which highly maligned the Kings kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature hate them whom their husbands love) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himselfe, intending to be King: at least wise haynous treason was laid to his charge; and finally were he faulty, were he faultlesse, attainted he was by Parliament, and judged to death, as we have said.

Women commonly maligne their husbands kindred.

The decription of *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

(5) *Richard* the third sonne, of whom wee now entreat, was in wit and courage equall with either of them, in body and prowesse farre under them both, little of stature, ill-limmed, and crooke-backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, very hard favoured of visage, and such as in States is called warly, in other men otherwise: he was malicious, wrathfull, and envious, yea, and from afore his birth ever froward. For it is for truth reported, that the Dutchesse his Mother had so much adoe in her travaile, that she could not be delivered of him uncut, and that he came into the world with his feet forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) also not untoothed; Whether men of hatred report above the truth, or else that nature changed her course in his beginning, which in the course of his life many things unnaturally committed.

Richard Crookebacke a good Souldier.

(6) No evill Captaine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more inclined then for peace; sundry victories he had, and sometimes overthrowes, but never in default as for his owne person, either of hardinesse, or politicke order; free was he of his dispence, and somewhat above his power liberall: with large gifts he gat him unstedfast friendship, for which hee was forced to pill and pole in other places, which gat him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar where even now hee hated, and not letting to kisse whom hee thought to kill: despitefull and cruell he was, not for evill-will alwayes, but oftner for ambition, and either for the surety or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was much-what indifferent; where his advantage grew, he spared no mans death, whose life withstood his purpose. Hee slew with his owne hands, King *Henry* the sixth, being Prisoner in the Tower, as men constantly said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the King, who undoubtedly if he had intended his death, would have appointed that butcherly office to some other then his owne brother.

(7) Some wise men also judge, that his drift covertly conveyed, lacked not in helping forth his brother *Clarence* to his death; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly, then he that was hartily minded to his wealth: And they that thus judge, thinke that long time in King *Edwards* life, he fore-cast to be King, in case that his brother (whose life he looked that evill dyet should shorten) should happen to decease (as indeed he did) while his children were young. And they deeme that for this intent hee was glad of the Duke of *Clarence* death, whose life must needes have hindered him so intending, (being his elder brother) whether the same Duke had kept him true to his Nephew the young King, or enterprized to be King himselfe. But of all this point there is no certainty, and who so divineth upon conjectures, may aswell shoote too farre as too short. Howbeit this have I by credible information learned, that in the same night in which King *Edward* dyed, one *Mistlebroke* (long ere morning) came in great haste to the house of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Red-Crosse* street without *Creeple*-gate in *London*: and when he with hasty rapping, quickly was let in, he shewed unto *Pottier* that King *Edward* was departed. By my troth man quoth *Pottier*, then will my master the Duke of *Glocester* be King: What cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether being toward him hee knew any such thing intended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, for it was not likely that he spake it of no ground.

He was the cause of *Clarences* death.

Richard of Glocester intended to bee King seven moneths K. *Edward* liv'd.

The Queenes kinred onely about the Prince.

The speech of *Pottier* at King *Edwards* death.

(8) But now to returne to the course of this History; were it that the Duke of *Glocester* had of old forre-minded this conclusion, and was now thereunto moved, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong Princes his Nephewes (as opportunity & likelyhood of speed putteth a man in courage of that hee never intended) certaine it is, that hee contrived their destruction, with the usurpation of the regall dignity upon himselfe, and forasmuch as hee well wist, and holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the Queenes kindred, and the Kings bloud, either part envying others authority; hee now thought their divisions should be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building: if he might first, under the pretext of revenging old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the destruction of the other; and then winne to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were perceived, he should soon have made peace betweene both the parties with his owne bloud.

The Uncle contriveth the destruction of his Nephewes.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this dissention betweene his friends somewhat grieved him, yet in his good health he somewhat lesse regarded it, because hee thought whatsoever businesse should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwayes be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickenesse, when hee perceived his naturall strength so sore infeebled, that he dispaired all recovery; then considering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet well fore-seeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his Children should lacke discretion of themselves, and good Counsell of their friends, of which either party should counsell for their owne commodity, and the rather by pleasant advise to winne themselves favour, then by profitable advertisements to doe his Children good: hee called some of them before him that were at variance, and in speciall the Lord Marquesse *Dorset*, the Queenes Sonne by her first Husband, and *William* Lord *Hastings* a Nobleman, then Lord Chamberlain against whom the Queene especially grudged, for the great favour the King bare him: and also for that shee thought him secretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, aswell for that the King had made him Captaine of *Calis*, which office the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the Queene

Richards deepe pollicy.

King *Edwards* care to fit peace betwixt the Queenes kindred and his.

The crafty complaints of *Edward* Duke of *Glocester*.

The Queenes jealousie against the Lord Chamberlain.

Queene claimed of the Kings former promise, as for divers other great gifts which hee received, that they looked for. These were the grudges which the King on his death-bed sought to remove, and they in shew seemed to cancell, as we have said, though the sparks of these displeasures burst afterward into a dangerous flame, which consumed most of them, as afterward shall appeare.

King *Edward* repaireth towards *London*.

(10) For assoone as the King was departed this life, his Sonne Prince *Edward* drew towards *London* from *Ludlow* in *Wales*, which Countrey being farre off from the law, and recourse to justice, was become to be farre out of Order, and growne wilde; Robbers, Rovers, walking at liberty uncorrected: for which cause this Prince in the life time of his Father was sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should refraine evill-disposed persons, from the boldnesse of their former outrages. To the governance and ordering of this young Prince at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir *Anthony Woodvill* Lord *Rivers*, brother unto the Queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politick in Counsell; adjoyned were there unto him others of the same party, and in effect every one as he was neerest of kin unto the Queene, so was he planted next about the Prince.

The Queenes kinred onely about the Prince.

(11) That drift of the Queene, not unwisely devised, whereby her bloud might of youth be rooted in the Princes favour, the Duke of *Glocester* turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy fabricke. For whomsoever hee perceived either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe, their favour, he brake unto them; some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it was neither reason, nor in any wise to be suffered, that the young King their Master and kinseman, should be in the hands and Custody of his mothers kindred, sequestred in manner from their Company and attendance, of which every one ought him as faithfull service as they, and many of them farre more honourable part of kin then his mothers side: whose bloud (quoth he) saving the Kings pleasure, was farre unmeet to bee matched with his, which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth hee) neither honourable to his Majestie nor unto us, and also to his Grace no surety, to have the mightiest of his friends from him, and unto us no little jeopardy, to suffer our well-proved evill-willers to grow in over-great authoritie with the Prince in youth, who is light of beliefe and soone perswaded. Ye remember I trow, K. *Edward* himselfe, albeit he was a man of age and discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bend, more then stood either with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except onely the immoderate advancement of themselves. Which whether they sorer thirsted after their owne weale, or our woe, it were hard I weene to gesse, and if some folkes friendship had not held better place with the King, then any respect of kindred, they might perhaps easily have intrapped and brought some of us to confusion ere this; why not as easily as they have done some other already, as neere of his royall bloud as we? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thankes be to his grace, that peril is past: howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young King in our enemies hand; which without his knowledge might abuse the name of his commandement, to any of our undoing, which thing God and good provision forbid.

The effect that his policy tooke.

(12) Of which good provision none of us hath any thing the lesse neede, for the late made attonement, in which the Kings pleasure had more place then the parties wils: nor none of us, I beleeve, is so unwise over-soone to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an hourely kindnes, sodainly contracted in one houre, continued yet scarce a fortnight, should be deeper setled in their stomackes, then a long accustomed malice many yeares rooted.

The conclusion of his deffignes.

With these words and writings and such other, the Duke of *Glocester* soone set a fire them that were of themselves apt enough to kindle, especially two, *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *William* Lord *Hastings* Chamberlaine, both men of honor, and of great power. The one by long succession from his Auncestry: the other by his office, and the Kings favour. These two not bearing each to other so much love, as both of them hatred unto the Queenes part, in this point accorded together, with the Duke of *Glocester*, that they would utterly remove from the Kings Company all his mothers friends under the name of their enemies.

Another crafty policy of Duke *Richard*.

(13) Vpon this conclusion the Duke of *Glocester* understanding that the Lords, which at that time were about the King, intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering a great assembly of people, and in manner of open warre, whereof the end he wist well was doubtfull, and in which the King being on their side, his part should have the face and name of a Rebellion; he secretly therefore, by divers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded and brought in mind, that it neither were need, and also should be jeopardous, the King to come up strong.

The Queene yeelden to the Dukes perswasion.

(14) For whereas now every Lord loved other, and no other thing studied upon but about the Coronation and honour of the King: if the Lords of her kindred should assemble in the Kings name much people, they should give the Lords of the contrary faction cause to feare and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the Kings safegard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their olde variance, then their new attonement: for which cause they should assemble on the other party much people againe for their defence, whose power she wist well stretched farre: and thus should all the Realme fall on an uproare: and of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be a little, and the most harme like to fall where she least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame, and say that they had unwisely and untruely also broken the amity and peace which the King her husband so prudently made betwixt his kin and hers on his death-bed, and which the other party faithfully observed.

The Lords meet at *Northampton*.

(15) The Queene in this wise perswaded, sent such word unto her sonne; and unto her brother, being about the King: besides, the Duke of *Glocester* himselfe, and other Lords, the chiefe of his bend, wrote unto the King so reverently, and to the Queenes friends there so lovingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought up the King in great hast, but not in good speed, with a sober company. Now was the King in his way to *London*, gone from *Northampton*, when the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* came thither, where remained behinde, the Lord *Rivers* the Kings uncle, intending on the morrow to follow the King, and be with him at *Stony-Stratford*, twelve miles thence, earely ere he departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheare betwixt these two Dukes and the Lord *Rivers* a great while: but incontinent after that they were openly with great curtesie departed, and the Lord *Rivers* lodged, the Dukes secretly with a few of their most privy friends, set them downe in Councell, wherein they spent a great part of the night: and at their rising, in the dawning of the day, they sent our privily to their servants in their Innes and lodgings about, giving command to make themselves shortly ready, for their Lords were to horse-ward: upon which messages, many of their folke were attendant, when many of the L. *Rivers* servants were unready.

The Keyes of Inne kept by *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

(16) Now had these Dukes taken into their custodies the keyes of the Inne, that none should passe forth without their license: and besides this, in the high

somewhat to shew you ere wee goe further, what man this was, and from whom hee descended that could find in his heart so much mischiefe to conceive.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* was the father of *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

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How was the cause of *Clarence* his death.

Richard of Glocester interested to bee King even within K. *Edward* brest.

King *Edward* repaireth towards *London*.

The Queenes kinred onely about the Prince.

The speech of *Pottier* at King *Edwards* death.

(8) But now to returne to the course of this Historie; were it that the Duke of *Glocester* had of old forminded this conclusion, and was now thereunto moved, and put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the yong Princes his Nephewes (as opportunity & likelyhood of speed putteth a man in courage of that hee never intended) certaine it is, that hee contrived their destruction, with the usurpation of the regall dignity upon himselfe, and forasmuch as hee well wist, and holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the Queenes kindred, and the Kings bloud, either part envying others authority; hee now thought their divisions should be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground for the foundation of all his building: if he might first, under the pretext of revenging old displeasure, abuse the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the destruction of the other; and then winne to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were perceived, he should soon have made peace betweene both the parties with his owne bloud.

The Vncle contriveth the destruction of his Nephewes.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this dissention betweene his friends somewhat grieved him, yet in his good health he somewhat lesse regarded it, because hee thought whatsoever businesse should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwayes be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickenesse, when hee perceived his naturall strength so fore infeebled, that he dispaired all recovery; then considering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet well fore-seeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his Children should lacke discretion of themselves, and good Counsell of their friends, of which either party should counsell for their owne commodity, and the rather by pleasant advise to winne themselves favour, then by profitable advertisements to doe his Children good: hee called some of them before him that were at variance, and in speciall the Lord Marquesse *Dorset*, the Queenes Sonne by her first Husband, and *William* Lord *Hastings* a Nobleman, then Lord Chamberlain against whom the Queene especially grudged, for the great favour the King bare him: and also for that shee thought him secretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him fore, aswell for that the King had made him Captaine of *Calais*, which office the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the Queene

Richard Duke of Glocester intreateth the Kings brother.

King *Edwards* care to set peace betwixt the Queenes kindred and his.

The crafty complaints of Richard Duke of Glocester.

The Queenes jealousie against the Lord Chamberlaine.

Queene claimed of the Kings former promise, as for divers other great gifts which hee received, that they looked for. These were the grudges which the King on his death-bed fought to remove, and they in shew seemed to cancell, as we have said, though the sparks of these displeasures burst afterward into a dangerous flame, which consumed most of them, as afterward shall appeare.

(10) For assoone as the King was departed this life, his Sonne Prince *Edward* drew towards *London* from *Ludlow* in *Wales*, which Countrey being farre off from the law, and recourse to justice, was become to be farre out of Order, and growne wilde; Robbers, Rovers, walking at liberty uncorrected: for which cause this Prince in the life time of his Father was sent thither, to the end that the authority of his presence should refraine evill-disposed persons, from the boldnesse of their former outrages. To the governance and ordering of this young Prince at his sending thither, was there appointed Sir *Anthony Woodvill* Lord *Rivers*, brother unto the Queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politick in Counsell; adjoyned were there unto him others of the same party, and in effect every one as he was neerest of kin unto the Queene, so was he planted next about the Prince.

The effect that his policy wrooke.

(11) That drift of the Queene, not unwisely devised, whereby her bloud might of youth be rooted in the Princes favour, the Duke of *Glocester* turned unto their destruction, and upon that ground set the foundation of all his unhappy fabricke. For whomsoever hee perceived either at variance with them, or bearing himselfe, their favour, he brake unto them; some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it was neither reason, nor in any wise to be suffered, that the young King their Master and kinseman, should be in the hands and Custody of his mothers kindred, sequestred in manner from their Company and attendance, of which every one ought him as faithfull service as they, and many of them farre more honourable part of kin then his mothers side: whose bloud (quoth he) saving the Kings pleasure, was farre unmeet to bee matched with his, which now to be as who say removed from the king, and the lesse noble to be left about him, is (quoth hee) neither honourable to his Majestie nor unto us, and also to his Grace no surety, to have the mightiest of his friends from him, and unto us no little jeopardy, to suffer our well-proved evill-willers to grow in over-great authoritie with the Prince in youth, who is light of belieefe and soone perswaded. Ye remember I trow, K. *Edward* himselfe, albeit he was a man of age and discretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bend, more then stood either with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except onely the immoderate advancement of themselves. Which whether they sorer thirsted after their owne weale, or our woe, it were hard I weene to gesse, and if some folkes friendship had not held better place with the King, then any respect of kindred, they might perhaps easily have intrapped and brought some of us to confusion ere this; why not as easily as they have done some other already, as neere of his royall bloud as wee? But our Lord hath wrought his will, and thankes be to his grace, that perill is past: howbeit as great is growing, if we suffer this young King in our enemies hand, which without his knowledge might abuse the name of his commandement, to any of our undoing, which thing God and good provision forbid.

Another crafty policy of Duke *Richard*.

(12) Of which good provision none of us hath any thing the lesse needs, for the late made attonement, in which the Kings pleasure had more place then the parties wils: nor none of us, I beleeve, is so unwise over-soone to trust a new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that an hourely kindnes, sodainly contracted in one houre, continued yet scarce a fortnight, should be deeper setled in their stomackes, then a long accustomed malice many yeares rooted.

The conclusion of his designes.

With these words and writings and such other, the Duke of *Glocester* soone set a fire them that were of themselves apt enough to kindle, especially two, *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, and *William* Lord *Hastings* Chamberlaine, both men of honor, and of great power. The one by long succession from his Auncestry: the other by his office, and the Kings favour. These two not bearing each to other so much love, as both of them hatred unto the Queenes part, in this point accorded together, with the Duke of *Glocester*, that they would utterly remove from the Kings Company all his mothers friends under the name of their enemies.

The Queene yeeldeth to the Dukes perswasion.

(13) Vpon this conclusion the Duke of *Glocester* understanding that the Lords, which at that time were about the King, intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with such power of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the gathering a great assembly of people, and in manner of open warre, whereof the end he wist well was doubtfull, and in which the King being on their side, his part should have the face and name of a Rebellion; he secretly therefore, by divers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded and brought in mind, that it neither were need, and also should be jeopardous, the King to come up strong.

The Lords assemble at *Northampton*.

(14) For whereas now every Lord loved other, and no other thing studied upon but about the Coronation and honour of the King: if the Lords of her kindred should assemble in the Kings name much people, they should give the Lords of the contrary faction cause to feare and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the Kings safegard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their olde variance, then their new attonement: for which cause they should assemble on the other party much people againe for their defence, whose power she wist well stretched farre: and thus should all the Realme fall on an uproare: and of all the hurt that thereof should ensue, which was likely not to be a little, and the most harme like to fall where the least would, all the world would put her and her kindred in the blame, and say that they had unwisely and untruely also broken the amity and peace which the King her husband so prudently made betwixt his kin and hers on his death-bed, and which the other party faithfully observed.

The Keyes of Inne kept by *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

(15) The Queene in this wise perswaded, sent such word unto her sonne; and unto her brother, being about the King: besides, the Duke of *Glocester* himselfe, and other Lords, the chiefe of his bend, wrote unto the King so reverently, and to the Queenes friends there so lovingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought up the King in great haft, but not in good speed, with a faber company. Now was the King in his way to *London*, gone from *Northampton*, when the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* came thither, where remained behinde, the Lord *Rivers* the Kings uncle, intending on the morrow to follow the King, and be with him at *Stony-Stratford*, twelve miles thence, earely ere he departed. So was there made that night much friendly cheere betwixt these two Dukes and the Lord *Rivers* a great while: but incontinent after that they were openly with great curtesie departed, and the Lord *Rivers* lodged, the Dukes secretly with a few of their most privy friends, set them downe in Councell, wherein they spent a great part of the night: and at their rising, in the dawning of the day, they sent our privily to their servants in their Innes and lodgings about, giving command to make themselves shortly ready, for their Lords were to horse-ward: upon which messages, many of their folke were attendant, when many of the L. *Rivers* servants were unready.

(16) Now had these Dukes taken into their custodies the keyes of the Inne, that none should passe forth without their license: and besides this, in the

high-way towards *Stony-Stratford*, where the King lay, they had bestowed certaine of their men, that should send backe againe, and compell to returne any man that were gotten out of *Northampton* towards *Stony-Stratford*, till they had further order: forasmuch as the Dukes themselves intended, for the shew of their diligence, to bee the first that should that day attend upon the Kings Highnesse out of that Towne. Thus bare they folke in hand: but when the Lord *Rivers* understood the gates closed, the wayes beset, neither his servants, or himselfe suffered to goe out, considering well so great a thing without his knowledge, could not bee done for nought; and comparing this present manner with his last nights cheare, in so few houres to have so great a change, marvailously misliked it. Howbeit, sith hee could not get away, nor keepe himselfe close, hee would not, lest hee should seeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his own fault, wherof hee saw no such cause in himselfe: hee determined upon the surety of his owne conscience, to goe boldly unto them, and to enquire what this matter might meane; whom as soone as they saw, they beganne to quarrell with, saying, that hee entended to set distance betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when he began (as he was a very well spoken man) in seemely wise to excuse himselfe, they tarried not the end of his answere, but shortly tooke him, and put him in ward: and that done, forthwith went to horse-backe, and tooke the way to *Stony-Stratford*, where they found the King with his Company, ready to leape on horse-backe, and depart forward to leave that lodging for them, because it was too strait for both companies.

The Lord Riuers much troubled at the sodaine action.

The Lord Riuers imprisoned in *Northampton*.

(17) And as soone as they came in his presence, they alighted downe with all their company about them; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* said, Goe afore Gentlemen, and Yeomen keepe your roomes. In which goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble manner saluted his Grace, who received them in very joyous and amiable manner, nothing knowing, nor mistrusting as yet what was done. But even by and by in his presence, they picked a quarrell to the Lord *Gray*, the Kings other brother by his mother, saying, that he with the Lord Marquesse his brother, and the Lord *Rivers* his Vncle, had compassed to rule the King and the realm, and to set variance among the States, and to subdue and destroy the noble bloud of the Realme: towards the accomplishing whereof, they said that the Lord Marquesse had entred into the Tower of *London*, and thence taken out the Kings Treasure, and had sent men to the sea: All which things these Dukes well knew were done for necessary and good purposes, by the whole Councell at *London*, saving that somewhat they must say.

The Dukes come to the King.

A quarrell picked in the kings presence.

(18) Vnto which words the King answered, what my brother Marquesse hath done I cannot say: but in good sooth I dare well answere for mine Vncle *Rivers*, and my brother here, that they are innocent of any such matter: yea my Liege, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, they have kept the dealings of these matters farre from the knowledge of your good Grace. And forthwith they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Haut* knights, in the Kings presence, and brought the King and all his company backe unto *Northampton*, where they tooke againe further councell. And there they sent away from the King whom it pleased them, and set new servants about him, such as better liked them then him: At which dealing the King wept, and was nothing content; but it booted not: and at dinner the Duke of *Glocester* sent a dish from his owne Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheere, for all should be well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to beare it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such adversity was

Accusations against the Queenes kinred.

The King exciteth his Vncle.

The King is brought backe to *Northampton*.

strange, but himselfe had beene all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better: but for all this comfortable courtesie of the Duke of *Glocester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, into the North Country, into divers places to prison, and afterward all to *Pomfret*, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

The Duke of *Glocester* sendeth a dish of meat vnto the Lord *Rivers*.

The Lord Riuers and others beheaded.

(19) In this wise the Duke of *Glocester* tooke upon himselfe the Order and Governance of the young King, whom with much honour and humble reverence hee convaied towards *London*. But anone the tydings of this matter came hastily to the Queene, a little before the midnight following, and that in the forest wise, that the King her sonne was taken, her brother, her Sonne, and other friends arrested, and sent no man wist whither, to be done with God wot what. With which tidings, the Queene in great fright and heavinesse, bewailed her childs raigne, her friends mischance, and her owne misfortune, damning the time that ever she diswaded the gathering of power about the King, got her selfe in all hast possible with her young sonne, and her daughters, out of the Palace of *Westminster*, in which she then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging her selfe and company there in the Abbots place.

Queene Elizabeth sanctuary.

(20) Now came there one likewise, not long after night from the Lord Chamberlaine, unto the Archbishop of *Yorke* then Chancellor of *England*, to his place not farre from *Westminster*; and for that he shewed his servants, that hee had tidings of great importance, that his M. gave him in charge, not to forbeare his rest, they letted not to awake him; nor hee to admit the Messenger unto his bed-side. Of whom hee heard that these Dukes were gone backe with the Kings Grace from *Stony-Stratford* unto *Northampton*: notwithstanding Sir (quoth he) my Lord sendeth your Lordship word, that there is no feare: for hee assureth you that all shall bee well. I assure him (quoth the Archbishop) bee it as well as it will, it will never bee so well as we have seene it. And thereupon by and by after the messengers departure, hee caused in all hast all his servants to be called up, and so with his owne household about him, every man weaponed, he tooke the Great Seale with him, and came yet before day unto the Queene. About whom hee found much heavinesse, rumble, haste and businesse, carriage and conveiance of her stuffe into Sanctuary, chests, coffers, packes and fardels, trussed all on mens backes, no man un-occupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking downe the wals to bring in the next way, and some drew to them to helpe to carry a wrong way. The Queene her selfe sate alone alow on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom the Archbishop comforted in the best manner he could, shewing her that he trusted the matter was nothing so fore as she tooke it for, and that hee was put in good hope and out of feare, by a message sent him from the Lord Chamberlaine: Ah woe worth him (quoth the Queene) hee is one of them that laboureth to destroy me and my bloud.

The Lord Chamberlaine sendeth the newes to the L. Chancellor.

The greate kindnesse and confusion of the Queene and her servants.

(21) Madam (quoth hee) bee of good cheare; for I assure you, if they crowne any other King then your sonne, whom they have now with them, we shal on the morrow crowne his brother, whom you have here with you: and heere is the Great Seale, which in like fort as that noble Prince your Husband delivered it unto mee, so here I deliver it unto you, to the use and behoofe, of your Sonne, and therevvith hee betooke her the Great Seale, and departed home againe, even in the dawning of the day: by vvhich time hee might in his Chamber vvindovv see all the Thames full of boats of the Dukes of *Glocesters* servants, vvatching that no man should goe to Sanctuary, nor none should passe vnsearched. Then vvas there great commotion and murmure, as vvell in other places about, as especially in the City, the people diversly

Feble preparation call vpon the Lords of the Queen bloud.

The Archbishops comforte to the Queene.

The L. Chancellour gives the great Seale to the Queene.

diversly divining upon this dealing. And some Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, either for favour of the Queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled in sundry Companies, and went flocke-meale in harnesse: and many also, for that they accounted this deuenaour attempted, nor so specially against the other Lords, as against the King himselfe in the disturbance of his Coronation.

Great feare conceived of the ouermuch mustering made.

(22) But then, by and by the Lords assembled together, towards which meeting, the Archbishoppe of *Yorke* fearing that it would bee ascribed (as it was indeed) to his overmuch lightnesse, that hee so sodainely had yeelded up the great Seale to the Queene (to whom the custody thereof nothing appertained) without speciall commandement of the King, secretely sent for the Seale againe, and brought it with him after the accustomed manner. And at this meeting the Lord *Hastings*, whose truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the Lords to beleeve, that the Duke of *Glocester* was sure and fastly faithfull to his Prince, and that the Lord *Rivers*, and Lord *Richard*, with the other Knight, were for matters attempted by them against the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* put under arrest for their surety, not for the Kings jeopardy; and that they were also in safeguard, and there no longer should remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but also by all the other Lords of the Kings Councell indifferently examined, and by other discretions ordered, either judged or appeased. But one thing he advised them beware, that they judged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irking and provoking men unto anger; and disturbing the kings Coronation; towards which the Dukes were comming up, that they might peraventure bring the matter so farre out of joynt, that it should never be brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should happen (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all things equall, yet should the authority be on that side where the King is himselfe.

The L. Chancellour sendeth for the great Seale to the Queene.

Perswasions of the L. *Hastings* that nothing vnwarrantably meant.

Lord *Hastings* fauorable disimuleth.

(23) With these perswasions of the Lord *Hastings*, whereof part himselfe beleeved, of part he wift the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased, but especially by that, that the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham* were so neere, and came so shortly on with the King, in none other manner, with none other voice, or any other semblance then to his Coronation; causing the fame to be blowne about, that these Lords and Knights which were taken, had contrived the destruction of the Dukes of *Glocester* and *Buckingham*, and of other the Noble bloud of the Realme, to the end that themselves would alone demeane and governe the King at their pleasure. And for the colourable proofe thereof, such of the Dukes servants as rode with the Carts of their stuffe that were taken (amongst which stuffe no marvell though some were harnesse, which at the breaking up of the household, must needs either be brought away, or cast away) they shewed unto the people all the way as they went; saying, loe here be the barrels of harnesse, that these Traitours have privily convaied in their Carriages to destroy the Noble Lords withall. This devise, albeit it made the matter to wisemen more unlikely, well perceiving that the inenders of such a purpose would rather have had their harnesse on their backes, then to bee bound up in barrels: yet much part of the common people were therewith very well satisfied, and said it were almes to hang them.

How foone the Commons are brought into fooles Paradise.

(24) When the King approached neere to the City, *Edmund Shaw* Goldsmith, then Major, with *William White*, and *Iohn Matthew* Sheriffes, and all the other Aldermen in Scarlet, with fiue hundred horse of the Citizens, in Violet, received him reverently at *Harnesey*, and riding from thence, accompanied him into the City, which he entred the fourth

King edward met by the Citizens, and accompanied by them into London.

day of May, the first and last yeare of his raigne. The King was lodged in the Bishops Pallace, where was kept a great Councell, and there was sworne to the King the Duke of *Glocester*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all the Lords. But the Duke of *Glocester* bare him in open sight so reverently to the Prince, with all semblance of lowlinesse, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, hee was so dainly falne in so great trust, that at the Councell next assembled, he was made the onely man, chosen and thought most meet to be Protector of the King and his Realme, so that (were it destiny, or were it folly) the Lambe was beraken to the Wolfe to keepe. At which Councell also, the Archbishop of *Yorke*, Chancellor of *England*, which had deliverod up the great Seale to the Queene, was thereof greatly reproved, and the Seale taken from him, and delivered to Doctor *Russell* Bishop of *Lincolne*, a wise man, and of much experience, and undoubtedly one of the best learned men that *England* had in his time: divers Lords and Knights were appointed unto divers Roomes, the Lord Chamberlaine, and some others, keeping still their Offices they had before.

Richard Duke of *Glocester* made Protector with King and Realme.

The great Seale taken from the Archbishop of *Yorke*.

(25) Now although that the Protector so fore thirsted for the finishing of those desigues which he had begun, and thought every day a yeare till they were atchieved, yet durst he no further attempt, so long as hee had but halfe his prey in his hand: well witting, that if hee depoied the one Brother, all the Realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in Sanctuary, or should be conveyed to his further liberty: wherefore, incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, he propoied unto them, that it was a hainous deed of the Queene, and proceeded of great malice towards the Kings Counsellers, that she should keepe in Sanctuary the Kings Brother from him, whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to have his brother with him: and that by her done, was to none other intent, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmure of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the Kings brother, who by assent of the Nobles of the land, were appointed as the Kings neerest friends, to the tuition of his owne royall person. The prosperity whereof standeth (quoth hee) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation, and moderate pleasure, which he in his tender youth cannot take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those that be neither farre under, nor farre above his age, and nevertheless of estate convenient to accompany his noble Majesty; wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne brother? And if any man think this consideration vaine, (which I thinke no man thinketh that loveth the King) let him consider that sometimes without small things, greater cannot stand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour both of the Kings Highnesse, and of us all that are about his Grace, to have it runne in every mans mouth, not in this Realme onely, but also in other lands, (as evill words walke farre) that the Kings brother shall be faine to keepe Sanctuary; for every man I deeme, will suppose, that there is occation given, why it should so be: and such evill opinions once fastened in mens hearts, hardly can be screwed out againe, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can divine. Wherefore I thinke it were not the worst to send unto the Queene for the redresse of this matter, some honourable trusty man, such as both tendreth the Kings weale, and the honour of this Councell, and is also in favour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth to mee more meete, then is our reverend Father here present, my Lord Cardinall, who may in this matter doe most good of any man, if it please him to take the paines, which I doubt not of his goodnesse hee will not refuse, for the Kings sake and ours, and weale of the young Duke himselfe, the Kings most honourable brother,

The Protector perswades to have out of Sanctuary the young Duke of *Yorke*.

A fine feeth to feech out the Duke.

The Protector would have the Queene sent unto.

and after my Soveraigne himselfe, my most deere Nephew, considering that thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumour and obloquie now going, and the hurts avoided that thereof might ensue, and much rest and quiet grow to all the Realme. And if she be perce se so obstinate, and so precisely fer upon her owne will, that neither his wife and faithfull advertisement cannot moove her, nor any mans reason content her: then shall we by mine advise, and by the Kings authority, fetch him out of that Prison, and bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall company he shall be so well cherished, and so honourably intreated, that all the world shall to our honor, and her reproach perceive, that it was onely malice, frowardnesse, or folly, that caused her to keepe him there: this is my minde in this matter for this time, except any of your Lordships any thing perceive to the contrary, for never shall I by Gods grace, so wed my selfe to my owne will, but that I shall be ready to change it upon your better advises.

If the Queene re use to deliver the Duke what is to be done.

(26) When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed, that the morion was good and reasonable, and to the King and the Duke his brother honourable, and the thing that should cease great murmure in the Realme, if the mother might be by good meanes induced to deliver him. Which thing the Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom they all agreed also to be thereto most convenient, tooke upon him to move her, and therein to doe his uttermost endeavour: howbeit, if she could by no meanes be entreated with her good will to deliver him, then thought he, and such other of the Clergie then present, that it were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him out against her will. For it would be a thing that should turne to the great grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the priviledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many yeares beene kept, which both Kings and Popes so good had granted, so many bad confirmed, and which holy ground was more then five hundred yeares agoe, by S. *Peter* in his owne person, in spirit accompanied with great multitude of Angels, by night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God, (for the proofe whereof, they have yet in the Abbey, Saint *Peters* Cope to shew) that from that time hitherward, was there never so undevout a King, that durst violate that sacred place, or so holy a Bishop, that durst presume to consecrate it; and therefore (quoth the Archbishop of *Yorke*) God forbid that any man should for any thing earthly, enterprize to breake the immunitie and liberty of that sacred Sanctuarie, that hath beene the safegard of many a good mans life: and I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace we shall not need it. But for what need soever, I would not we should doe it; I trust that she shall be with reason contented, and all things in good manner obtained, but if it happen that I bring it not so to passe, yet shall I toward it with my best, and you shall all well perceive, that there shall be of my indeavour no lacke, if the Mothers dread, and womanish feare be not the let.

All the Councell allow of the Protectors speech.

A great offence to breake the Sanctuary.

S. *Peters* owne Cope was to be seen, in *Westminster*.

(27) Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnesse (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it upon my soule she will knoweth there is no need of any feare, either for her sonne, or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with a woman: Would God some of the men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soone in rest: Howbeit, there is none of her kin the lesse loved, for that they be of her kin, but for their owne evill-deserving. And nay the lesse, if we loved neither her, nor her kinne, yet were there no cause to thinke that we should hate the Kings noble brother, to whose Grace we our selves be of kin: whose honour, if she as much desired, as our dishonour, and as much regard tooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, she would be as loth to suffer him from the King, as any of us be. For, if she have wit, (as would God she had as good will as she hath shrewd wit) she reckoneth her selfe no wiser, then she thinketh some that be here, of whose faithfull minde she nothing doubteth, but verily beleeveth and knoweth, that they would be as sorry of his harme, as her selfe, and yet would have him from her, if she bide there: and we all (I thinke) content, that both be with her, if she come thence, and bide in such place, where they may be with their honour. Now then, if she refuse in the deliverance of him, to follow the councell of them, whose wisedome she knoweth, whose truth she well trusteth: it is easie to perceive, that frowardnesse letteth her, and not feare. But goe to, suppose that she feare, (as who may let her to feare her owne shadow:) the more she feareth to deliver him, the more ought we to feare to leave him in her hands: For, if she cast such fond doubts, that she feare his hurt; then will she feare that he shall be fetch thence. For she will soone thinke, that if men were set (which God forbid) upon so great a mischiefe, the Sanctuary would little let them: which good men might (as I thinke) without sin, somewhat lesse regard then they doe. Then, if she doubt, lest hee might be fetched from her, is it not likely that she shall send him somewhere out of the Realme? Verily, I looke for none other. And I doubt not, but she now as sore mindeth it, as we the let thereof. And if she might happen to bring that to passe (as it were no great mastery, we letting her alone) all the world would say, that we were a wise sort of Counsellors about a King, that suffer his brother to be cast away under our noses. And therefore I assure you faithfully for my minde, I will rather, maugre her mind, fetch him away, then leave him there, till her frowardnesse and fond feare convay him away. And yet will I breake no Sanctuary therefore: for verily, sith the priviledges of that place, and other-like have beene of long continued, I am not he that will goe about to breake them. And in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would not be he that should be about to make them. Yet will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pitty, that such men, as the sea, or their evill debters have brought in poverty, should have some place of libertie, to keepe their bodies out of the danger of their cruell Creditors. And also, if the Crowne happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while either part taketh other as Traitours, I like well there be some places of refuge for both. But as for theeves, of which these places be full, and which never fall from the craft after they once fall thereunto; it is pittie the Sanctuary should serve them, and much more manquellers, whom God bad to take from the Altar and kill them, if their murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwise, there need wee not the Sanctuaries, that God appointed in the old Law: for if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune draweth him to that deed, a pardon serveth, which either the law granteth of course, or the King of pitie may. Then looke we now how few sanctuary men there be, whom any favourable necessity compelled to goe thither; and then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of them, whom wilfull unthriftinesse hath brought to naught: what rabble of theeves, murtherers, and malicious hainous Traitors, and that in two places especially: the one at the elbow of the Citie, the other in the very bowels. I dare well avow it, weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, and yee shall finde it much better to lacke both, then to have both. And this I say, although they were not abused as they now be, and so long have beene, that I feare me ever they will be, while men be afraide to set the hands to amend them, as though God and S. *Peter* were the patrons of ungracious living. Now unthrifts riot, and runne in debt, upon the boldnesse of these places; yea, and rich men runne thither with poore mens goods, there they build, there they spend, and bid their Creditors goe whistle. Mens wives runne thither with their husbands plate, and say,

The true use of the Sanctuary.

The Duke of *Yorke* incapable of Sanctuary.

Buckingham opinion of the Sanctuaries.

Much stolne suffered in Sanct uaries

Neither Pope nor King can allow Sanctuaries to continue their mens sustenance

Westminster. S. *Martins.*

A man may take his wife out of Sanctuary without any offence to S *Peter.*

Queene *Elizabeth* held to have a blunt wit.

Nor feare her frowardnesse keepe the young Duke in Sanctuary.

A great feare without any great cause.

say, they dare not abide with their Husbands for beating. Theeves bring thither their stolne goods, and live thereon riotously: there they devise new robberies, nightly they steale out, they robbe and rive, kill and come in againe, as though those places gave them not only a safe-guard for the harme they have done, but a license also to doe more; howbeit much of this mischiefe, if Wisemen would set their hands to it, might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breach of the Priviledge. The residue, sith so long agoe, I wot neere what Pope, and what Prince more pitteous then politique hath granted it, and other men since, of a certaine religious feare, have not broken it; Let us therefore take paine therewith, and let it a Gods name stand in force, as farre foorth as reason will, which is not fully so farre forth as may serve to let us of the fetching forth of this Nobleman, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in which hee neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary man. A Sanctuary serveth alwayes to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt onely, but also of lawfull hurt; for against unlawfull harmes, never Pope nor King intended to Priviledge any one place, for that Priviledge hath every place: knoweth any man any place, wherein it is lawfull for one man to doe another wrong? that no man unlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh to that regard, for every man, every place a Sanctuary: but where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall priviledge, which is the onely ground and cause of all Sanctuaries: from which necessitie this noble Prince is farre, whose love to the King, nature and kindred proveth: whose innocency to all the World, his tender youth proveth, and so Sanctuary, as for him, neither none hee needeth, nor none can he have. Men come not to Sanctuary, as they come to baptisme, to require it by their God-fathers; hee must aske it himselfe, that must have it; and reason, sith no man hath cause to have it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh him faine need to require it: what will then hath yonder Babe? which and if he had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would now be right angry with them that keepe him there: and I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of priviledge, to be somewhat more homely with them, that be there Sanctuary-men indeed: for if one goe to Sanctuary with another mans goods, why should not the King, leaving his body at liberty, satisfie the party of his goods, even within the Sanctuary? for neither King nor Pope can give any place such a priviledge, that it shall discarge a man of his debts, being able to pay. And with that divers of the Clergie that were present, whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed plainely, that by the law of God, and of the Church, the goods of a Sanctuary-man, should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolne goods to the owner, and onely liberty reserved him, to get his living with the labour of his hands. Verily (quoth the Duke) I think you say very truth; and what if a mans wife would take Sanctuary, because she list to runne from her Husband? I would weene if shee could alledge none other cause, hee may lawfully without any displeasure to Saint *Peter*, take her out of Saint *Peters* Church by the arme. And if no body may be taken out of Sanctuary, that faith he will bide there, then if a childe will take Sanctuary, because hee feareth to goe to Schoole, his Master must let him alone. And as simple as the sample is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in that; for therein, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least-wise some feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I have often heard of Sanctuary-men; but I never heard earst of Sanctuary Children. And therefore, as for the Conclusion of my minde, who so my have deserved to neede it, if they thinke it for their surety, let them keepe it; but hee can be no Sanctuary-man that had neither wisedome to desire it, nor malice to deserve it, whose life or libertie, can by no lawfull processe stand in jeopardie: and he that taketh one out of the Sanctuary to doe him good, I say plainely that hee breaketh no Sanctuary.

Buckingham her exclamation.

The generall cruelty of them all.

(28) When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, and most part of the spirituall also, thinking no hurt earthly meane towards the young babe, condiscended in effect, that if hee were not delivered, hee should be fetched; howbeit they all thought it best, in the avoyding of all manner of rumour, that the Lord Cardinall should first assay to get him with her good will. And thereupon, all the Councell came unto the Starre-Chamber at *Westminster*, and the Lord Cardinall leaving the Protector with the Councell in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queene with divers other Lords with him, were it for the respect of his honour, or that she should by presence of so many perceive that this errand was not one mans mind: or were it, for that the Protector intended not in this matter to trust any one man alone, or else, that if shee finally were determined to keepe him, some of that Company had happily secret instructions, incontinent, maugre her minde to take him, and to leave her no respite to convey him, which shee was likely to minde, after this matter broken to her, if the time would in any wise serve her.

The Cardinall doth his errand to the Queen.

(29) When the Queene and those Lords were come together in presence, the Lord Cardinall shewed her, that it was thought unto the Protector, and unto the whole Counsell, that her keeping of the Kings brother in that place, was the thing which highly founded, not onely to the great rumour of the people, and their obloquie, but also to the importable griefe and displeasure of the Kings Royall Majestie, to whose Grace it were a singular comfort, to have his naturall brother in Company, as it was both his dishonour, all theirs, and hers also, to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one brother stood in danger and perill of the other. And hee shewed her, that the Counsell therefore had sent him to require her the delivery of the young Duke, that hee might bee brought unto the Kings presence at his liberty, out of that place, which they reckoned as a prison, and there hee should bee demeaned, according to his estate: and shee in this doing should both doe great good to the Realme, pleasure to the Councell, and profit to her selfe, succour to her friends that were in distresse; and besides that (which he wist well she specially tendred) not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but also the young Duke himselfe, whose great wealth it were to be together, as well for many greater causes, as also for both their disports and recreations; which thing the Lords esteemed not slight, though it seemed light; well pondering that their youth without recreation and play, cannot endure, nor any stranger, for the conjecture of both their ages and estates, so meet in that point for any of them, as either of them for other.

The Queene answers to the Cardinall.

(30) My Lord (quoth the Queene) I say not nay, but that it were very convenient, that this Gentleman whom yee require, were in company of the King his brother; and in good faith, I thinke it were as great commoditie to them both, for yet a while to bee in the custodie of their mother, the tender age confidered of the elder of them both, but specially the younger, which besides his Infancy, that also needeth good looking to, hath a while beene so sore diseased, vexed with sicknesse, and is so newly rather a little amended, then well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping but my selfe onely; confidering that there is (as

Physitians

Phyſitians ſay) and as we alſo finde, double the perill in the recidivation, that was in the firſt ſickeneſſe, with which diſeaſe, nature being ſore laboured, fore-wearied and weakened, waxeth the leſſe able to beare out and ſuſtaine a new ſurfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would happily doe their beſt unto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, then I that ſo long have kept him, or is more like tenderly to cheriſh him then his owne mother that bare him.

(31) No man denieth, good Madam (quoth the Cardinall) but that your Grace were of all others moſt neceſſary about your Children, and ſo would all the Councell not onely be content, but glad that you were, if it might ſtand with your pleaſure, to be in ſuch place as might ſtand with their honour: but if you doe appoint your ſelfe to tarry here, then they thinke it were more convenient that the Duke of *Yorke* were with the King, honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, rather then here as a Sanctuary man, to both their diſhonour and obloquie, ſith there is not alwayes ſo great a neceſſitie to haue the childe with his mother, but that occaſion may ſometimes be ſuch, that it ſhould be more expedient to keepe him elſewhere, which well appeareth in this, that at ſuch time as your deareſt ſonne then Prince, and now King, ſhould for his honour, and good order of the Country keepe his reſidence in *Wales*, farre out of your company, your Grace was well contented therewith your ſelfe.

(32) Not very well contented (quoth the Queen) and yet the caſe is not like, for the one was then in health, and the other is now ſicke: in which caſe I marvell greatly, that my Lord Protector is ſo deſirous to have him in his keeping, where if the Childe in his ſickneſſe miſcarry by nature, yet might he runne into ſlander and ſuſpition of fraud. And where they call it a thing ſo fore againſt my Childes honour, and theirs alſo, that hee abideth in this place: it is all their honours there to ſuffer him abide, where no man doubteth he ſhall be beſt kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth, and jeopard my ſelfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in ſurety with me, then I there in jeopardy with them.

(33) Why Madame (quoth another Lord) know you any thing why they ſhould be in jeopardy? Nay verily (quoth ſhee) nor why they ſhould be in Priſon, as now they be: But it is I trow no great marvaile though I feare, leſt thoſe that have not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their deſtruction without cauſe. The Cardinall made a countenance to the other Lord, that he ſhould harpe no more upon that ſtring, and then ſaid hee to the Queene, that hee nothing doubted, but that thoſe Lords of her honourable Kinne, which as yet remained under arreſt, ſhould upon the matter examined do well enough, and as towards her noble perſon, neither was, neither could be any jeopardy.

(34) Whereby ſhould I truſt that (quoth the Queene?) in that I am guilteſſe? as though they were guilty: in that I am with their enemies better loved then they? when they hate them for my ſake; in that I am ſo neere a kinne to the King? and how farre they be off, if that would helpe, as God grant it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet to depart hence. And as for this Gentleman my ſonne, I minde that he ſhould be where I am, till I ſee further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſee ſome men ſo greedy, without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to have him, makes me much more fearefull to deliver him: Truely Madame (quoth he) the more unwilling that you be to deliver him, the more unwilling other men bee to ſuffer you to keepe him, leſt your cauſeleſſe feare might cauſe you farther to convey him: and many there be that thinke he can have no priviledge in this place, which neither can have will to aske it, nor malice to deſerve it; and therefore, they reckon no priviledge broken, though they fetch him out, which if you finally refuſe to deliver him, I verily thinke they will: ſo much dread hath my Lord his Vncle, for the tender love hee beareth him, leſt your Grace ſhould hope to ſend him away.

(35) Ah ſir, (quoth the Queene) hath the Protector ſo tender zeale that hee feareth nothing, but leſt he ſhould eſcape him? thinketh he that I would ſend him hence, which is not in plight to ſend out, and in what place could I account him ſure, if hee bee not ſure in the Sanctuary? which there was never Tyrant yet ſo divelliſh, that durſt preſume to breake. And I truſt God is as ſtrong now to withſtand his adverſaries, as ever he was. But my ſonne can deſerve no Sanctuary, and therefore he cannot have it. Forſooth hee hath found out a goodly gloſſe, by which that place that may defend a theefe, may not ſave an innocent: but he is in no jeopardy, nor hath no need thereof: would God he had not. Thinketh the Protector, (I pray God hee may proove a Protector) thinketh hee, that I perceive not whereunto his painted proceſſe draweth? It is not honourable that the Duke abide here: It were comfortable for them both, that hee were with his brother, becauſe the King lacketh a play-fellow forſooth. I pray God ſend them both better play-fellowes then him, that maketh ſo high a matter, upon ſo trifling pretext, as though there could none bee found to play with the King, but his brother, (that hath no liſt to play for ſickneſſe) come out of Sanctuary, out of his ſafe-guard to play with him. As though Princes, as yong as they be, could not play but with their Peeres, or children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the moſt part they agree much worſe then with ſtrangers. But the Childe cannot require the priviledge: Who told him ſo? he ſhall heare him aske it, if he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter, ſuppoſe hee could not aske it, ſuppoſe hee would not aske it, ſuppoſe hee would aske to goe out, if I ſay he ſhall not: If I aske the Priviledge but for my ſelfe, I ſay hee that taketh him out againſt my will, breaketh the Sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my perſon onely, or for my goods alſo: you may not take hence my Horſe from me, and may you take my Childe from me? Healſo is my Ward: for as my learned Counſell ſheweth me, ſith he hath nothing by diſcent holden by Knights-ſervice, the law maketh his mother his Gardian. The may no man (I ſuppoſe) take my Ward from me out of Sanctuary, without the breach of Sanctuary. And if my priviledge could not ſerve him, nor hee aske it for himſelfe, yet ſith the Law committeth to me the cuſtody of him, I may require it for him, except the Law give a childe a Gardian onely for his goods and lands, diſcharging him of the cure and ſafe-keeping of his body, for which onely both lands and goods ſerve. And if examples be ſufficient, to obtaine Priviledge for my childe, I need not farre to ſeeke them, for in this place in which now we be (and which is now in queſtion, whether my childe may take benefit of it) mine other ſonne now King, was borne, kept in his Cradle, and preſerved to a more proſperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the firſt time that I have taken Sanctuary. For when my Lord my Husband was baniſhed, and thruſt out of his Kingdome, I fled hither, being great with childe: and here I bare the Prince: and when my Lord my Husband returned ſafe againe, and had the victory, then went I hence, to welcome him home, & from thence I brought my Babe the Prince unto his Father, when he firſt tooke him in his Armes. And I pray God that my ſonnes Pallace may be as great a ſafe-guard unto him now reigning, as this place was ſometime to the Kings enemy. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, ſince mans law ſerveth the Gardian to keepe the Infant. The Law of Nature wils the Mother to keepe her

her child, Gods law priviledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary my ſonne, ſith I feare to put him in the Protectors hands, who hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritor to the Crowne: and the cauſe of my feare, hath no man to doe to examine. But yet I feare no further then the Law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth every man the cuſtody of them by whoſe death he may inherite leſſe land then a Kingdome. I can no more: but whoſoever he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary I pray God ſhortly ſend him need of a Sanctuary when he may not come to it, for taken out of Sanctuary I would not that my mortall enemy were.

(36) The Lord Cardinall perceiving that the Queene waxed ever the longer the further off, and alſo that ſhee began to kindle and chaſe, and ſpeake more biting words againſt the Protector, and ſuch as he never beleeved, and was alſo loath to heare, he ſaid to her for a finall concluſion, that hee no longer would deſpure the matter, but if ſhe were content to deliver the Duke to him, and to the other Lords preſent, hee durſt lay his body and ſoule both in pledge, not onely for his ſurety, but alſo for his eſtate; And if ſhe would give a reſolute anſwere to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and ſhift who ſo would with this buſineſſe afterward, for he never intended more to move her in that matter, in which ſhe thought that he and all others alſo, ſave her ſelfe lacked either wit or truth; wit, if they were ſo dull that they could perceive nothing what the Protector intended: truth, if they ſhould procure her ſonne to be delivered into his hands, in whom they ſhould perceive towards the childe any evill intended.

(37) The Queene with theſe words ſtood a good while in a deepe ſtudy. And for as much as to her ſeemed, the Cardinall ready to depart, and the Protector himſelfe ready at hand, ſo as ſhe verily thought ſhe could not keepe him there, but that he ſhould incontinent be taken thence, and to convey him elſewhere, neither had ſhe time to ſerve her, nor place determined, nor perſons appointed, all things unready, this meſſage came on her ſo ſodainely, nothing leſſe looked for, then to have him fetcht out of Sanctuary, which ſhee thought to be now beſet in ſuch places about, that he could not be conveyed out untaken, and partly (as ſhe thought) it might fortune her feare to be falſe, ſo wel ſhe wiſt it was either needleſſe or bootleſſe: Wherefore, if ſhee muſt needs goe from him, ſhe deemed it beſt to deliver him; and beſides the Cardinals faith, ſhe nothing doubted, neither ſome other Lords, whom ſhe ſaw there preſent, which as ſhe feared leſt they might be deceived, ſo was ſhee well aſſured they would not bee corrupted: and thought it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumſpectly to ſee to his ſurety, if with her owne hands ſhee be-tooke him to them of truſt. And laſtly, taking the young Duke by the hand, ſaid unto the Lord:

Queene eliz. yeeldeth to deliver the young Duke.

(38) My Lords, and all my Lords; I neither am ſo unwiſe to miſtruſt your wits, nor ſo ſuſpitious to miſtruſt your truths: of which thing I purpoſe to make you ſuch a proofe, as if either of both lacked in you, might both turne me to great ſorrow, the Realme to much harm, and you all to great reproach. For loe, here is (quoth ſhe) this Gentleman whom I doubt not, but I could here keepe ſafe if I would, whatſoever any man ſay: and I doubt not alſo, but there be ſome abroad ſo deadly enemies unto my blood, that if they wiſt where any of it lay in their owne bodies, they would let it out. Wee have alſo experience, that the deſire of a Kingdome knoweth no kindred: the brother hath beene the brothers bane: and may the Nephewes be ſure of their Vncle? Each of theſe children is the others defence, whileſt they are aſunder, and each of their lives lyeth in the others body: keepe one ſafe, and both be ſure, and nothing for them both more perillous, then to be in one place: For what wiſe Merchant adventureth all his goods in one Ship? All this notwithſtanding, I deliver him, and his brother in him, to keepe, into your hands, of whom I ſhall aske both, before God and the world. Faithfull ye be, that wot I well, and I know well ye be wiſe; power and ſtrength to keepe him, if ye liſt, neither lacke you of your ſelfe, nor lacke helpe in this caſe. And if you cannot elſewhere, then may you leave him here: but onely one thing, I beſeech you, for the truſt that his father ever put in you, and for the truſt I now put you in, that as farre as you thinke I feare too much, be you well wary that you feare not too little: and therewithall ſhe ſaid unto the Childe, Farewell mine owne ſweet ſon, God ſend you good keeping: let me kiſſe you yet once, ere you goe; for God knoweth when we ſhall kiſſe together againe. And therwithall ſhe kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, turned her backe and wept, and went her way, leaving the child weeping as faſt. When the Lord Cardinall, and thoſe other Lords with him, had received the young Duke, they brought him into the Star-Chamber, where the Protector tooke him in his armes, and kiſſed him, with theſe words: *Now welcome my Lord, even with all my heart:* In which ſaying, it is like he ſpake as hee thought. Thereupon forth-with they brought him unto the King his brother, into the Biſhops Palace at *Pauls*; and from thence both of them through the Citie of *London*, honourably attended into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came againe.

Richard Duke of Yorke delivered to the Cardinall.

A fit of kiſſe.

(39) The Protector having both the Children now in his hands, opened himſelfe more boldly, both to certaine other men, and alſo chiefly to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Although I know that many thought that this Duke was privie to all the Protectors counſell, even from the beginning, and ſome of the Protectors friends ſaid, that the Duke was the firſt mover of the Protector to this matter, ſending a privie meſſenger unto him ſtreight after King *Edwards* death. But others againe, which knew better the ſubtill wit of the Protector, deny that he ever opened his enterpriſe to the Duke, untill he had brought to paſſe the things before rehearſed. But when hee had impriſoned the Queenes kindred, and gotten both her ſonnes into his owne hands; then he opened the reſt of his purpoſe with leſſe feare to them whom he thought meet for the matter, and eſpecially to the Duke, who being woone to his deſignes, he held his ſtrength more then halfe increaſed. The matter was broken unto the Duke by ſubtill perſons, and ſuch as were their crafts-maſters in the handling of ſuch wicked deviſes: who declared unto him that the young King was offended with him, for his kinſfolkes ſakes, and if hee were ever able he would revenge them; who would pricke him forward thereunto if they eſcaped (for they would remember their impriſonment) or elſe if they were put to death, without doubt the young King would be carefull for their deaths, whoſe impriſonments was grievous unto him. And that with repenting the Duke ſhould nothing avayle, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefits, but he ſhould ſooner deſtroy himſelfe then ſave the King, who with his brother, and his kinſfolkes he ſaw in ſuch places impriſoned, as the Protector might with a becke deſtroy them all: and without all doubt would doe it indeed, if there were any new enterpriſe attempted. And that it was likely as the Protector had provided privie guard for himſelfe, ſo had he ſpials for the Duke, and traines to have caught him, if he ſhould be againſt him, & that peradventure from them vvhom he leaſt ſuſpected. For the ſtate of things, and the diſpoſitiõs of men then vvere ſuch, that a man could not vvell tell vvhom he might truſt, or vvhom he might feare. Theſe things, and ſuch like, being beaten into the Dukes minde, brought him to that point, that vvhere he had repented the vvay that he had entred, yet vvould he goe forvvard in the ſame, and ſince hee had once begun, hee vvould ſtoutly goe through. And therefore to this vvicked enterpriſe vvhich hee beleeved

Buckingham privie to the Protectors plots.

Suſpition without cauſe.

The ambitious deſire of a Coward.

The covenants betwixt the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Two counsels to divers ends.

The mistrust of the times.

All flocketo the Protector.

Lord *Stanleys* speech to the Lord Chamberlaine.

* *Catesby*.

Catesby the cause of much mischiefe.

beleeved could not bee avoyed, hee bent himselfe, determining, sith the common mischiefe could not be amended, he would turne it as much as hee might to his owne commodity.

(40) Then was it agreed, that the Protector shovld have the Dukes ayde to make him King, and that the Protectors only lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter; and that the Protector should grant him the quiet possession of the Earledome of *Hertford*, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could never attaine it in King *Edwards* time. Besides these requests of the Duke, the Protector of his owne accord, promised him a great quantity of the Kings Treasurie, and of his houshold stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwixt themselves, they went about to prepare for the Coronation of the yong King as they would have it seeme. And that they might turne both the eyes and mindes of men from perceiving of their drifts otherwhere, the Lords were sent for from all parts of the Realme, and came flocking unto the solemnity. But the Protector and Duke after they had sent the Lord Cardinall Archbishop of *Yorke*, then L. Chancellour, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley*, and *Hastings*, then Lord Chamberlaine, with many other Noblemen, to conferre and devise about the Coronation in one place, as fast they were in another place contriving the contrary, to make the Protector King: to which counsell, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very secret; yet began here and there, some muttering among the people, as though all should not long be well, though they neither knew what they feared, nor wherefore: were it that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature mis-give them, as the Sea without winde swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest; or were it that some one man happily somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspition, though hee shewed few men what hee knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsell were close: For by little and little, all men with-drew from the Tower, and repaired to *Crosbies* in Bishopsgate street, where the Protector kept his house in great state. So that the Protector had the resort, and the King left in a manner desolate. And whilest some for their businesse made suite to such as were in office for the King, some were secretely by their friends warned, that it might happily doe them no good, to be too much attendant about the king without the Protectors appointment, who then began to remove many of the Princes old servants, and in their stead to place about him new.

(41) Thus many things meeting together, partly by purpose, and partly by chance, caused at length not onely the common people, that move with the winde, but wisemen also, and some Lords likewise to marke and muse at the matter; insomuch, that the Lord *Stanley*, who was after Earle of *Darby*, said to the Lord *Hastings*, that he much misliked these two severall counsels. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wot wee, whereof they talke in the other place. My Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) of my life never doubt you: for while* one man is there, which is never thence, never can things be mooved that should sound amisse against me, but it shall be in mine eares ere it be well out of their mouthes: this meant he by *Catesby*, which was of his neere counsell, and whom he very familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so speciall trust, nor no man so much beholden unto him as *Catesby* was. A man indeed well learned in the Lawes of this Land, and by speciall favour of the Lord Chamberlaine, in good authority, and bare much rule in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings* power chiefly lay. But surely great pitty it was, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation onely kept all that mischiefe up: in whom, if the Lord *Hastings* had not put so speciall trust, the Lord *Stanley* and hee had departed, with divers other Lords, and had broken all the dance, for may ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best: So surely thought he that there could be no harme towards him intended, in that counsell where *Catesby* was. And of truth, the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham*, made very good semblance unto the Lord *Hastings*, whom undoubtedly the Protector loved well, and loath was to have lost him, but for feare least his life should have qualeid their purpose; for which cause hee moved *Catesby* to prove with some words, cast out a farre off, whether he could thinke it possible to win the Lord Chamberlaine to their part. But *Catesby* whether he assayed him, or assayed him not, reported unto them, as hee found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that hee durst no further breake. True it is, that the Lord Chamberlaine, of very trust shewed unto *Catesby*, the distrust that others began to have in the matter: and therefore *Catesby* fearing, as he affirmed, least their motion might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credence, whereunto onely all the matter leaned; hee counselled and procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that he trusted by his death, to obtaine much of the rule that the Lord *Hastings* bare in his Country: the onely desire whereof, was the allective that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriver of all this horrible Treason.

Catesby set to found the Lord *Hastings*.

Lord Hastings speeches concerning the plot.

Catesby false to his founder.

(42) Soone after this, upon Friday the thirteenth day of *Iune*, many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there sate in counsell, devising the honourable solemnity of the Kings Coronation; of the which the time appointed was so neere, that the Pageants and fubtilties were in making day and night at *Westminster*, and much victuall killed, that afterward was cast away. These Lords sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongst them about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and excusing himselfe, that hee had beene from them so long, saying merrily, *I have beene a sleeper this day*. and after a little talke with them, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*; My Lord, you have very good Strawburies at your Garden in *Holborne*: I pray you let us have a messe of them. Gladly my Lord, said the Bishop, would God I had some better thing as ready to pleasure you as that: and therewith in all haste hee sent his servant for a messe of Strawberries. Whereupon the Protector setting the Lords fast in conference, prayed them to spare him for a little while, and departed thence. But soone after, betwixt tenne and eleven, he returned into the Counsell Chamber amongst them, with a wonderfull sowre and angry countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, sate him downe in his place, all the Lords much dismayed, sore marvelling of this his sodaine change, and what thing should him ayle: Hee sitting thus a while, beganne thus to speake: *What are they worthy to have, that compasse and imagine the destruction of mee, being so neere of bloud unto the King, and Protector of his Royall person and his Realme?* At which question, all the Lords sate sore astonied, musing much by whom this question should bee meant, of which every man knew himselfe cleare.

The Protectors dissimulation.

The Protector now another man.

(43) Then the Lord Chamberlaine, as he that for the love betwixt them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, That they were worthy to be punished as hainous Traitors whatsoever they were: and the same all the other Lords affirmed. That is (quoth the Protector) yonder Sorceresse my brothers wife, meaning the Queene, and others with her: at these words many of the Lords that favoured her, were greatly abashed: but the L. *Hastings* was in his minde better content, that it was moved by her, then by any other whom hee loved better: howbeit, his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as hee

Lord Hastings speech to the Protectors question.

The Queene accused of Sorcery.

The withered arme of the Protector by nature, and not by sorcery.

The L. Chamberlaine arrested.

The Lord Stanley wounded at the Counsell-Table.

The L. Chamberlaine beheaded.

The Lord Stanley dreames.

The Lord *Hastings* answere to the Lord *Stanleys* message.

Predictions towards the Lord *Hastings*.

The Lord *Hastings* speech to a Pursevant.

he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their putting to death, which were by his assent before devised to be beheaded at *Pomfret* the selfe same day, in which he was not aware, how it was by other devised, that himselfe should be beheaded the same day at *London*. Then said the Protector, yee shall all see in what wise that Sorceresse, and that other Witch of her councell, *Shores* wife, with their affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body. And therewith hee plucked up his doublet sleeve to the elbow upon his left arme, where he shewed a wearish withered arme, and small, as it was never other.

(44) And thereupon every mans minde sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrell: For they well knew, that the Queene was too wise to go about any such folly; and if she would, yet would she of all others, not make *Shores* Wife, of counsell, whom of all Women shee most hated, as that Concubine whom the King her Husband had most loved. And also no man there present, but knew well enough, that his arme was ever such since his birth. Nevertheless the Lord Chamberlaine, (which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* Wife, on whom hee somewhat doated in the Kings life, saving as it is said, that he forbare her for reverence towards the King, or else of a certaine kinde of fidelity to his friend) answered and said: Certainely my Lord, if they have so heinously done, they bee worthy of haynous punishment. What (quoth the Protector) thou serveſt mee I weene with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body Traytor. And therewith as in a great anger, hee clapped his fist upon the board a great rap: at which token given, one without the Chamber cryed, treason, wherewith a doore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse, as many as the Chamber might hold, and anone the Protector said to the Lord *Hastings*, I arrest thee Traytor: What me my Lord, quoth hee? yea thee Traytor, quoth the Protector; and another let flye at the Lord *Stanley*, who shrunke at the stroke under the Table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth: for as swiftly as hee shrunke, yet came the bloud about his eares. Then were they all quickly bestowed in divers Chambers, excepting onely the Lord Chamberlaine, whom the Protector bad speed and shrive him apace, for by Saint *Paul* said he, I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heavily tooke a Priest at adventurne, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered; the Protector made so much haste to dinner, which he might not goe to, till this was done, for saving of his oath. So was he brought forth unto the greene, before the Chappell within the Tower, and his head laid downe upon a long logge of timber, and there strucke off, and afterward his body, with the head, was enterred at *Windsor*, beside the body of King *Edward*.

(45) A marvailous case it is to heare, either of the warnings that he should have voyded, or the tokens of that he could not avoyde: for the selfe-night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a trusty secret Messenger unto him at Mid-night in all the haste, requiring him to rise, and ride away with him, for hee was utterly disposed no longer to abide, hee had so fearefull a dreame: in which he thought, that a Bore with his tuskes, so razed them both by the heads, that the bloud ranne about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gave the Bore for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearefull an impression in his heart, that he was throughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his Horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they would bee out of danger before it was day. Ah good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings* to the Messenger) leaneth my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasieth, or doe rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts? Tell him it is plaine Witchcraft, to beleeve in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not, that we might be as likely to make them true by our going, if we were caught and brought backe (as friends faile flyers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to rase us with his tuskes, as men that fled for some falshood: wherefore, either there is no perill, nor none there is indeed, or if any be, it is rather in going then abiding: And if we must needs fall in peril, one way or other, yet had I rather, that men should see, it were by other mens fallhood, then thinke it our fault or faint heart. And therefore go to thy Master man, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no feare; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man that hee wotteth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send Grace Sir, (said the Messenger) and went his way.

(46) Certaine it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which hee was beheaded, his Horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to the falling; which thing, albeit each man knoweth daily hapneth, to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it beene of an old rite and custome observed, as a token oftentimes, notably foregoing some great mis-fortune: Now this that followeth was no warning, but an envious scorne. The same morning before hee was up, came a Knight unto him, as it were of curtesie, to accompany him to the Councell; but of truth sent by the Protector, to haste him thithirwards, with whom he was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a meane man at that time, but now of great authority. This Knight, when it happened the Lord Chamberlain by the way to stay his horse, and commune a while with a Priest whom hee met in Tower-street, brake his tale, and said merrily to him; what my Lord, I pray you come on, whereto talke you so long with a Priest? you have no need of a Priest yet, and therewith laughed upon him, as though hee would say, yee shall have soone. But so little wist the other what hee meant, and so little mistrusted his present perill, as hee never was merrier, nor never so full of good hope in his life, which selfe thing is often seene a signe of change, but I shall rather let any thing passe mee, then the vaine furetie of mans minde so neere his death. Vpon the very Tower-wharfe, so neere the place where his head was strooke off soone after, there met he with one *Hastings*, a Pursevant of his owne name: And of their meeting in that place, hee was put in remembrance of another time, in which it had happened them before, to meet in the like manner together in the same place. At which other time the Lord Chamberlaine had beene accused unto King *Edward* by the Lord *Rivers* the Queenes Brother, in such wise as hee was for the while, (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the Kings indignation, and stood in great feare of himselfe. And forasmuch as hee now met this Pursevant in the same place, that jeopardie so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talke with him thereof; with whom he had before talked thereof in the same place, while he was therein. And therefore he said, ah *Hastings*, art thou remembred that I met thee once here with a heavie heart? yea my Lord (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they got no good, nor you no great harme. Thou wouldest say so (quoth he) if thou knew so much as I know, which few know elses as yet, and more shall shortly. That meant hee by the Lords of the Queenes kindred, which were taken before, and should that same day bee beheaded at *Pomfret*: which hee well wist, but was nothing aware, that the axe hung over his owne head. In faith man (quoth he) I was never so sorry, nor never stood in so great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here; And loe, how the world is changed, now stand my enemies in the

The vaine and fudden ftate of man.

danger (as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter) and I never in my life so merry, nor never in so great surety. Oh good God, the blindnesse of our mortall nature! when he most feared, he was in good suretie, when he reckoned himselfe surest, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemies, and secret to his friends, easie to be beguiled, as he that of good heart and courage fore-studied no perils; a loving man, a passing well-beloved: very faithfull, and trusty enough, trusting indeed too much. Now slew the fame of this Lords death swiftly through the Citie, and from thence further, like a winde, in every mans eare.

The deſcription of the Lord *Haſtie* gt.

Citizens ſent for into the Tower to the Protector.

(47) But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour upon the matter, sent in all hast for many substantiall men, out of the Citie into the Tower, at whose comming thither, himselfe with the Duke of *Buckingham*, stood harnessed in old rusty briganders, such as no more, man should weene, that they would vouchsafe to have put on their backes, except that some sudden necessitie had constrained them thereto. And then the Protector shewed them, that the Lord Chamberlaine, and others of his conspiracy, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the Duke there the same day in Counsell. And what they intended further, was not yet well knowne. Of which their treason he never had knowledge, before ten of the clocke, the same fore-noone, which sudden feare drove them to put on for their defence, such harnesse as came next to hand: and so had God holpen them, that the mischiefe returned upon them that would have done it: and this hee required them to report.

The fained feare of the Lord Protector.

(48) Every man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleeved; yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minde, he sent immediately after dinner, in all haste, an Herald of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the Citie, in the Kings name, containing that the Lord *Haſtings*, with divers others of his traiterous purpose, had before conspired the same day, to have slaine the Lord Protector, and Duke of *Buckingham*, sitting in the Councell, and after to have taken upon them, to rule the King and the Realme, at their owne pleasures; thereby to pill and spoyle whom they listed, uncontrolled. And much matter there was in that Proclamation, devised to the slander of the Lord *Chamberlaine*, as that he was an evill Counseller to the Kings father, entising him to many things, highly redounding to his great dishonour, and to the universall hurt of his Realme, by his evill company, sinister procuring, and ungracious example, aswell in many other things, as in the vicious living, and inordinate abusion of his body, both with many others, and especially with *Shores* Wife, who was one also of his most secret Counsell, in this hainous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely, the night last past before his death, so that it was the lesse marvell, if ungracious living brought him to an unhappy ending, which he was now put unto, by the most dread commandement of the Kings Highnesse, and of his honourable and faithfull Counsell, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely conceived treason, as also least the delaying of his execution, might have encouraged other mischievous persons, partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some great commotion for his deliverance, whose hope being now by his well-deserved death politickly represſed, all the Realme should by Gods grace, rest in good quiet and peace.

A Proclamation made to publiſh the Lord *Haſtings* treaſons.

(49) Now was this Proclamation made within two houres, after that he was beheaded, and was so curiously indited, and so faire written in Parchment, in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, as every child might perceive, that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death, and the proclaiming, could scant have sufficed unto the bare writing alone; had it beene but in paper, and scribled forth in hast at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one that was Schoole-master of *Paules*, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnesse of the time, with the length of the matter, said unto them that stood about him; *Here is a gay goodly cast, foule cast away for hast:* and a Merchant answered him, that it was written by Prophesie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, nor for covetousnesse, the Protector sent the Sheriffes of *London*, into the house of *Shores* Wife (for her Husband dwelled not with her) and spoyled her of all that shee had, above the value of three thousand markes, carrying her through *London* unto the Tower, and there left her Prisoner, where (for fashion fake) he laid to her charge, that shee went about to bewitch him, and that shee was of Counsell with the Lord Chamberlaine to destroy him: In conclusion, when no colour could fasten upon these matters, then laid hee hainously unto her charge, the thing that her selfe could not deny, that all the World wist was true, and that neithlesse every man laughed at, to heare it then so suddenly, so highly taken, that shee was nought of her body. And for that cause (as a good continent Prince, cleare and faultlesse himselfe, sent out of Heaven into this vitious World for the amendment of mens manners) after she had laine prisoner in *Ludgate*, he caused the Bishop of *London* to put her to open penance, going before the Crosse in procession upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand. In which shee went in countenance and pace demure, so womanly, and albeit shee were out of all array save her Kirtle onely, yet went she so faire and lovely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comely rud in her cheeks (of which before she had most mist) that her great shame wan her much praise, among those that were more amorous of her body, then curious of her soule. And many good folke also of that hated her living, and glad to see sinne so corrected, yet pitied the more her penance, then rejoyced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent, then any vertuous affection.

The Protectors ſubtility finely knowne by his Proclamation.

Shores wife did much good, but no man hurt.

The Schoolemaſters opinion.

The Sheriffes of *London* carry *Shores* wife to priſon.

The Subje& is not unworthy to be written on.

(50) This Woman was borne in *London*, worshipfully friended, honestly brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soone; her Husband an honest Citizen, young, and goodly, and of good substance. But for as much as they were coupled ere shee were well ripe, shee not very fervently loved, for whom she never longed; which was haply the thing that the more made her incline unto the Kings appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of his royaltie, the hope of gay apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether. When the King dyed, the Lord Chamberlaine tooke her, which in the Kings daies, albeit he was sore enamoured upon her, yet hee forbare her, either for reverence, or for a certaine friendly faithfulnesse: proper she was, and faire; nothing in her body that you could have changed, unlesse you would have wished her somewhat higher. Thus they say that knew her in her youth. Albeit some that now see her (for as yet shee liveth) deeme her never to have beene well visaged, whose judgement seemeth to mee somewhat like, as though we could guesse the beautie of one long before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the Charnell-house: for now shee is old, leane, withered, and dried up, nothing left but riveled skinne, and hard bone; and yet being even such, who so well advise her visage, might guesse and devise, which parts how filled, would make it a faire face,

Shores wife did penance.

The ſtate of the World.

All commend and pity *Shores* wife.

The Lords of the Queenes kinde beheaded at *Pomfret*.

The deſcription of *Iane Shore*.

The Protector ſought to ſtrike while the yron was hot.

Shee died the eighteene yeare of King *Henry* the eight, ſaith *Iohn Harding*.

face. Yet delighted not men, so much in her beauty, as in her pleasant behaviour, for a proper wit she had, and could both reade well and write, merry in company, ready and quicke of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometime taunting without displeasure, and not without disport: in whom King *Edward* tooke speciall pleasure, whose favour to say the truth (for sinne it were to belye the Divell) she never abused to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort and relicfe; when the King tooke displeasure, she would mitigate and appease his minde; where men were out of favour, shee would bring them in his grace, for many that highly offended she obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures shee gat them remission. And finally, in many weighty suites shee stood many men in great stead, either for none, or very small rewards, and those rather gay then rich, either for that shee was content with the deed it selfe well done, or for that she delighted to be sued unto, and to shew what she was able to doe with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy, bee not always covetous. I doubt not some shall thinke this Woman too slight a thing to bee written of, and set among the remembrances of great matters: which they shall specially thinke, that happily shall esteeme her onely by that they now see her. But to my seeming, the chance is so much the more worthy to be remembred, in how much shee is now in the more beggerly condition, unfriended, and worne out of of acquaintance, after good substance, after so great favour with a Prince, after so great suit and seeking to, of all those, that in those dayes had businesse to speede, as many other men were in their times, which be now famous onely by the infamy of their ill deedes: her doings were not much lesse, albeit they be much lesse remembred, because they were not so evill: for men use, if they receive an evill turne, to write it in Marble: and who so doth us a good turne, wee write it in the dust; which is not worst proved by her: for at this day she beggeth of many, at this day living, that at this day had begged if she had not beene.

The plot and order how to proceede to the Protector to the Crowne.

(51) Now it was so devised by the Protector and his Councell, that the selfe-same day in which the L. Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and about the selfe-same houre was then (not without his assent) beheaded at *Pomfret*, the forerremembred Lords and Knights, that were taken from the King at *Northampton*, and *Stony-Stratford*; which thing was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whose service the Protector specially used in that counsell, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had beene long secret with him, having experience of the World, and a shrewd wit, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behaviour, bold in mischiefe, as farre from pitty, as from all feare of God. This Knight bringing them out of prison to the Scaffold, and shewing to the people present, that they were Traitors, not suffering them to speake, or declare their innocency, lest their words might have inclined men to pitty them, and to hate the Protector and his part; caused them hastily without Iudgement, processe, or manner of order to bee beheaded, and without all guilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the King, and too nigh to the Queene.

The Sonne maketh the Mother an adulteresse.

(52) Now when the Lord Chamberlaine, and those other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men mused what the matter meant, while the Lords of the Realme were about him out of their owne strengths, while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust, before they should have space to dispute, and digest the matter, and make parties, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crowne, ere men could have time to devise how to resist. But now was all the study, by what meanes the matter being of it selfe so haynous, might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might bee well taken. To this counsell they tooke divers, such as they thought meete to bee trusted, likely to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, either by power or policy: Among whom they made of counsell *Edmund Shaw* Knight, then Major of *London*, who upon trust of his owne advancement, whereof he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, should frame the City to their appetite. Of spirituall men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authority among the people, for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they *Iohn Shaw* Clerke brother to the Major, and Fryer *Pinker* Provincial of the *Auguſtine* Fryers, both of them Doctors in Divinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, and of more fame then learning: for they were before greatly esteemed of the common people; but after that never. Of these two, the one made a Sermon in praise of the Protector before the Coronation; the other after, both so full of teadious flattery, as no mans eare could abide them.

The Major of *London* made of the Protectors Counſell.

Edward Pinker two flattering Preachers.

(53) *Pinker* in his Sermon so lost his voyce, that he was forced to leave off, and came downe in the middest. Doctor *Shaw* by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soone after his life, for very shame of the world, into which he durst never after come abroad. But the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and many thinke, that *Pinker* was not of counsell in the matter before the Coronation, but after the common manner, fell to flattery after: namely, sith his Sermon was not incontinent upon it, but at Saint *Maries* Hospitall in the Easter Weeke following. But certaine it is, that Doctor *Shaw* was of counsell in the beginning, so farre forth as they determined that he should first breake the matter in a Sermon at *Pauls*-Crosse, in which he should by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the Protectors ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and study, in the devise of some convenient pretext; for which the people should bee content to depose the Prince, and accept the Protector for King. In which divers things they devised: but the chiefe thing and the weightiest of all, the invention reſted in this, that they should alledge bastardy, either in King *Edward* himselfe, or in his Children, or both. So that hee should seeme disabled to inherite the Crowne, by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardy in King *Edward*, founded openly to the rebuke of the Protectors owne Mother, who was Mother to them both: for in that point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his owne Mother was an adulteresse, which notwithstanding to further the purpose he letted not: but yet he would that point should be lesse, and more favourably handled, not fully plaine and directly, but that the matter should bee touched aslope, and craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardy that they devised to surmise in King *Edwards* Children, that would he should be openly declared, and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof, was a contract pretended to be made by King *Edward* unto the Lady *Lucy*, whereof we have spoken in the raigne of the said King: which invention how simple soever, yet it liked them, to whom it sufficed to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to bee compelled to no larger proofe then themselves list to make.

Pinker preached at Saint *Maries* Hospitall, and Doctor *Shaw* at *Pauls*-Crosse.

King *Edwards* and his children made bastards.

(54) Now then it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that Doctor *Shaw* should signifie in his Sermon aforesaid, that neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begot, nor were the very Children of the Duke of *Yorke*, but begot unlawfully by other persons, by Adultery of the Dutches their Mother. And also

that Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was verily the Wife of King *Edward*, and so the Prince and all his other children, begot by the Queene, were all of them bastards. And according to this devise Doctor *Shaw* upon Sunday the nineteenth of June, at *Pauls*-Crosse, in a frequent assembly, tooke for the theame of his Sermon this saying, *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas: Bastard slips shall never take deepe roote.* Whereupon, when he had shewed the great grace that God giveth, and secretely infunded in right generation after the lawes of Matrimony, then declared he, that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents, were for the more part unhappy, which were begot in base, but specially in adultery. Of which though some by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge inherite for the time other mens lands, yet God alwaies so provideth, that it continueth not in their blound long, but the truth comming to light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the bastards slip pulled up ere it can take any deepe root. And when he had laid for the proofe and confirmation of this sentence certaine examples taken out of the old Testament, and other ancient Histories, then he began to descend into the praise of the Lord *Richard*, late Duke of *Yorke*, calling him the father to the Lord Protector, and declared the title of his heires unto the Crowne, to whom it was after the death of King *Henry* the sixt, entayled by authoritie of Parliament. Then shewed he, that the very right heire of his body lawfully begotten, was onely the Lord Protector. For he declared then that King *Edward* was never lawfully married unto the Queene, but was before God, Husband unto Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and so his Children bastards. And besides that, neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence*, among those that were secret in the Houshold, were reckoned very certainly for the children of the noble Duke, as those that by their features resembled other knowne men more then him, from whose vertuous conditions, he said also, that King *Edward* was far off. But the Lord Protector, he said, the very Noble Prince, the speciall patterne of Knightly prowesse, as well in all Princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and favour of his Visage, representing the very face of the Noble Duke his father: This is (quoth he) the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his visage, the very undoubted Image and plaine expresse likenesse of that noble Duke.

(55) Now it was before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come in among the people to the Sermon-ward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence, might have beene taken among the hearers, as though the holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth, and should have mooved the people even then to cry, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this devise quailed, either by the Protectors negligence, or by the Preachers over-much diligence; for while the Protector found by the way tarrying, lest he should prevent those words, and the Doctor fearing least hee should come ere his Sermon could come to these words, hasted his matter thereto, who was come to them and past them, and had entred into other matter ere the Protector came. Whom when he beheld comming, he suddenly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without any deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeate those words againe: This is the very Noble Prince, the speciall paterne of Knightly prowesse, which as well in all Princely behaviour, as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, representeth the very face of the Noble Duke of *Yorke* his father: this is the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his Visage, the sure undoubted Image, the plaine expresse likeneesse of the Noble Duke, whose remembrance can never die while hee liveth. While these words were in speaking, the Protector, accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, went through the people, into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in an upper Storie, where he stood to heare the Sermon. But the people were so farre from crying King *Richard*, that they stood as if they had beene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull Sermon. After which once ended, the Preacher got him home, and never after durst looke out for shame, but kept himselfe out of sight like an Owle. And when he once asked one, that had beene his old friend, what the people talked of him, albeit that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strucke him to the heart, that within few daies after, he withered and consumed away.

(56) On the Tuesday following this Sermon, there came into the Guild-Hall in *London* the Duke of *Buckingham*, accompanied with divers Lords and Knights, more perchance then knew the message which they brought. And there in the East end of the Hall, where the Major keepeth the huftings, the Major, and Aldermen being assembled about him, and all the Commons of the Citie gathered before him after silence commanded in the Protectors name upon great paine, the Duke stood up, and (as he was neither unlearned, and of nature marvellously well spoken) he said unto the people with a cleare and loud voyce in this manner: Friends, for the zeale and hearty favour that we beare you, we be come to breake unto you, a matter of great weight, and no lesse weightie, then pleasing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thing that we wot well you have long time lacked, and so longed for, that you would have given great good for, that you would have gone farre to fetch, that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour, paine, cost, adventure, or jeopardie. What thing is that? Certes, the suretie of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wives, and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods: of all which things in times past you stood evermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that could account himselfe Lord of his owne goods, among so many snares and traps as were set therefore, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and tallages, of which there was never end, and often times no need: or if any were, it rather grew of riot, and unreasonable waste, then any necessary or honorable charge: So that there was daily pilling from good men and honest, great substance of goods, to be lashed out among unthrifts, so farre forth that fifteenes sufficed not, nor any usuall manner of knowne taxes: but under an easie name of benevolence and good will, the Commissioners so much of every man tooke, as no man could with his good will have given. As though that name of benevolence, had signified that every man should pay not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the King of his good will list to take. Who never asked little, but every thing was haunsed above the measure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ransomes; small trespasses into misprision; misprision into treason. Whereof I thinke no man looketh that wee should remember you of examples by name, as though *Burdet* were forgotten, who was for a word in haste spoken, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstruing of the Lawes of this Realme for the Princes pleasure: with no lesse honour to *Markham* then chiefe Iustice, that left his office rather then hee would assent to that judgement, then to the dishonestly assent of those, that either for feare or flattery gave that judgement. What *Cooke* your owne worshipfull neighbour, Alderman and Major of this noble

The text and contents of Doctor Shawes Sermon.

Shewer shame-lesse assertions.

The Preachers intention prevented.

Gods heavy punishment upon the false flattering Preacher.

The Duke of Buckingham commeth to the Guild-hall.

Necessitie of goods or life an he falsely alledged.

Buckingham to the Commons of London.

The rage of civill wars cost England more blood then twice the winning of France had done.

The fine glosings of the Duke of Buckingham.

Great dangers alledged and feruently prou'd.

King Edwards extortions made more then they were.

King Edwards countenance cost him his life.

His tyranny towards his subjects exemplified by Burdet and others.

"Citie; who is of you either so negligent that hee "knoweth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth "not, or so hard-hearted that hee pitieth not that "worshipfull mans losse? What speake we of losse? "His utter spoile and undeserved destruction, onely "for that it happened those to favour him whom "the Prince favoured not. Wee need not (I sup"pose) to rehearse of these any moe by name, sith "there be (I doubt not) many heere present, that ei"ther in themselves, or in their nigh friends, have "knowne as well their goods, as their persons greatly "indangered, either by fained quarrels, or small mat"ters agrieved with heinous names. And also there "was no crime so great, of which there could lacke "a pretext. For sith the King preventing the time "of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell; "it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to "have beene of kindred or aliance, neere familiaritie, "or longer acquaintance, with any of those that "were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at "one time or other more then halfe the Realme. "Thus were your goods never in suretie, and yet "they brought your bodies in jeopardie, beside the "common adventure of open warre, which albeit, "that it is ever the will and occasion of much mis"chiefe, yet it is never so mischievous, as where any "people fall at distance among themselves, nor in no "earthly Nation so deadly and so pestilent, as when "it happeneth among us: and among us never so "long continued dissention, nor so many battels in "that season, nor so cruell and so deadly fought as "was in that Kings dayes that dead is, God forgive "it his soule. In whose time, and by whose occasion, "what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, "loosing it, and winning it againe, it hath cost more "English bloud, then hath twice the winning of "*France*: In which inward warre among our selves, "hath beene so great effusion of the ancient noble "bloud of this Realme, that scarcely the halfe re"maineth, to the great infeebling of this noble "Land, beside many a good Towne ransacked, and "spoyled by them that have beene going to the "field, or comming from thence. And peace long "after not much surer then warre. So that no time "there was, in which rich men for their money, and "great men for their Lands, or some or other for "some feare or some displeasure, were not out of pe"rill; for whom trusted he, that mistrusted his owne "brother? whom spared he, that killed his owne "brother? or who could perfectly love him, if his "owne brother could not? what manner of folke he "most favoured, we shall for his honour spare to "speake of; howbeit, this wot you well all, that who "so was best, bare alway least rule; and more suite "was in those dayes unto *Shores* Wife, a vile and "abhominable strumpet, then to all the Lords in "*England*; except unto those that made her their "Protector: which simple woman was well named, "and honest, till the KING for his wanton lust, "and sinfull affection, bereft her from her Hus"band, a right honest substantiall young man among "you. And in that point, which in good faith I am "sorry to speake of, saving that it is in vaine to keepe "in counsell that thing which every man knoweth; "the Kings greedy appetite was insatiable, and eve"ry where over all the Realme intollerable, for no "woman there was any where, young or old, rich or "poore, whom he set his eye upon, in whom he li"ked any thing, either person, or favour, speech, "pace, or countenance; but without all feare of God, "or any respect of his owne honour, murmure, or "grudge of the world, he would importunately pur"sue his appetite, and have her, to the great destru"ction of many a good woman, and great dolour to "their Husbands and other their friends, which be"ing honest people of themselves, so much regard "the cleanneese of their house, the chastitie of their "Wives, and their Daughters, that they had rather "lose all they had besides, then to have such a vil"lany done against them. And albeit, that with this "and his other importable dealings, the Realme "was in every part annoyed: yet specially, you here "the Citizens of this noble Citie, aswell for that a"mongst you is most pleatie of all such things, as "minister matters to such injuries, as for that you "were neereft at hand, seeing that neere hereabout "was commonly his most abiding. And yet you "be the people whom hee had a singular cause well "and kindly to entreat, as any part of the Realme, "not onely for that the Prince by this noble Citie, "as his speciall Chamber, and the speciall well"renowned Citie of his Realme, much honourable "fame receiveth amongst all other Nations: but also "for that yee, not without your great cost, and sun"dry perils and jeopardies in all his warres, bare e"ven your speciall favour to his part; which your "kind minds borne unto the house of *Yorke*, sith he "hath nothing-worthily acquitted, there is one of "that house, that now by Gods grace, better shall: "which thing to shew you is the whole summe and "effect of this our present errand. It shall not, I "wot well, need that I rehearse you againe, that ye "have already heard of him that can better tell it, "and of whom I am sure you will better beleeve it, "and reason is it so to be. I am not so proud to "looke therefore, that you should reckon my words "of as great authority, as the Preachers of the Word "of God; namely, a man so learned and so wise, "that no man better wotteth what he should say, and "therero so good and vertuous, as he would not say "the thing which he wist he should not say in the "Pulpit; namely, into the which no honest man "commeth to lye: which honourable Preacher, you "well remember, substantially declared at *Paule* "Crosse, on Sunday last past, the right and title that "the most excellent Prince, *Richard* Duke of *Glouce*"*ster*, now Protector of this Realme, hath unto the "Crowne and Kingdome of the same. For as the "Worshipfull Doctor substantially made knowne "unto you, the Children of King *Edward* the fourth "were never lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the "King (leaving his very wife Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*) "was never lawfully married unto the Queene their "Mother, whose bloud, saving that he set his volup"tuous pleasure before his honour, was full unmeet "to be matched with his; and the mingling of those "blouds together hath beene the effusion of great "part of the noble bloud of this Realme. Whereby "it may well seeme, the marriage was not well made, "of which there is so much mischiefe growne. For "lack of which lawfull coupling, as also other things, "which the said worshipfull Doctor rather signified, "then fully explained, and which things shall not be "spoken for mee, as the thing wherein every man "forbeareth to say what he knoweth, in avoiding "displeasure of my noble Lord Protector; bearing, "as nature requireth, a filiall reverence to the Dut"chesse his Mother: For these causes I say, before "remembred, that is, for lacke of other Issue law"fully comming of that late noble Prince *Richard* "Duke of *Yorke*, to whose royall bloud the Crowne "of *England* and *France*, is by the high authoritie of "Parliament entailed; the right and title of the same, "is by the just course of inheritance, according to "the common law of this Land, devolved and come "unto the most excellent Prince the Lord Prote"ctor, as to the very lawfully begotten sonne, of the "fore-remembred noble Duke of *Yorke*. Which "thing well considered, and the great knightly "prowesse pondered, with manifold vertues which "in his noble person singularly abound, the No"bles and Commons also of this Realme, and spe"cially of the North part, not willing any bastard"bloud to have the rule of the Land, nor the abu"sions before the same used, any longer to continue, "have condiscended, and fully determined, to make "humble petition to the most puissant Prince the "Lord Protector, that it may like his Grace at our

London the Kings especiall Chamber.

The end of the Dukes errand.

The great modesty that the Duke pretendeth.

An author like the subject.

The marriage to King Edward imputed a great mischiefe.

The Protector must be the onely true heire to the Earldome, &c. to the Crowne.

"humble requeſt to take upon him the guiding and "governance of this Realme, to the wealth and en- "creaſe of the ſame, according to his very right and "juſt title. Which thing I know well, he will be "loth to take upon him, as he whoſe wiſedome well "perceiveth, the labour and ſtudie both of minde "and body, that ſhall come therewith, to whomſoe- "ver ſo will occupy the roome, as I dare ſay he will, "if he take it. Which roome, I warne you well, "is no Childs office: and that the great wiſeman "well perceived, when he ſaid, *Væ regno cujus Rex "puer eſt: Woe is that Realme that hath a childe to "their King.* Wherefore ſo much the more cauſe we "have to thanke God, that this noble Perſonage, "which ſo righteouſly is intituled thereunto, is of ſo "ſad age, and ſo great wiſedome, joyned with ſo "great experience: which albeit he will be loth (as I "have ſaid) to take it upon him, yet ſhall he to our pe- "tition in that behalfe, the more graciouſly incline, if "you the Worſhipfull Citizens of this the chiefe Ci- "tie of this Realme, joyne with us the Nobles in this "our ſaid requeſt. Which for your owne weale wee "doubt not but you will, and naytheleſſe, I heartily "pray you ſo to doe, whereby ye ſhall doe great pro- "fit to all the Realme beſide, in chooſing them ſo "good a King, and unto your ſelves ſpeciall com- "modity, to whom his Majeſtie ſhall ever after beare "ſo much the more tender favour, in how much he "ſhall perceive you the more prone and benevolently "minded towards his election. Wherein deare "friends, what minde you have, wee require you "plainly to ſhew us.

Scriptures abuſed.

The Dukes pithy perſwaſions unto the Citizens.

(57) When the Duke had ſaid, and looked that the people whom hee hoped the Major had framed before, ſhould after this propoſition made, have cryed, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; all was huſht and mute, and not a word anſwered thereunto: wherewith the Duke was marveiloſly abaſhed, and taking the Major neerer to him, with other that were about him privie to that matter, ſaid unto him ſoftly; What meaneth this, that the people be ſo ſilent? Sir (quoth the Major) perchance they perceive you not well, that ſhall we mend (quoth he) if that will helpe. And by and by ſomewhat lowder, he rehearſed them the ſame matter againe, in other order, and other words, ſo well and ornately, ſo evidently and plaine, with voyce, geſture, and countenance ſo comely, that every man much marvailed that heard him, and thought they never had in their hearing, ſo evill a tale ſo well told. But were it for wonder or feare, or that each man look that other ſpeake firſt; not a word was there anſwered of all the people that ſtood before but was as ſtill as midnight, not ſo much as rowning among themſelves, by which they might ſeeme to commune what was beſt to doe. When the Lord Major ſaw this, he, with the other partners of that counſell drew about the Duke, and ſaid, That the people had not beene accuſtomed there to bee ſpoken unto, but by the Recorder; who is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will anſwere. With that the Recorder called *Fitz-William*, a ſad man and an honeſt, who was ſo newly come into that office, that hee never had ſpoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begin; notwithſtanding, thereunto commanded by the Major, he made rehearſall to the Commons, of that the Duke had twice rehearſed to them himſelfe. But the Recorder ſo rempered his tale, that he ſhewed every thing as the Dukes words, and no part of his owne. But all this noting, no change made in the people, which ſtood gazing at the Bench as men altogether amazed. Whereupon the Duke rowned unto the Major, and ſaid, This is marvailous obſtinate ſilence, and therewith he turned unto the people againe with theſe words: Deare friends, we come to move you to that thing which peradventure wee not ſo greatly needed, but that the Lords of this Realme, and the Commons of other parts might have ſufficed, ſaving that we beare you ſuch love, and ſo much fet by your friendſhip, that we would not willingly doe without you the thing which is for our honour and your wealth, which as it ſeemeth, either you ſee not, or weigh not; wherefore we require you, give us anſwer, whether ye be minded as all the Nobles of the Realme be, to have this noble Prince now Protector, to be your King or not.

The Londoners are mute and ſtupified at Buckinghams Oration.

Buckingham greeth over his leſſon againe.

The coward of flattery.

The Recorder commanded to ſpeake to the people

The great ſilence of the people.

The Duke ſpeaketh once more.

(58) At which words the people began to whiſper among themſelves ſecretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor diſtinct, but as it were the ſound of a ſwarme of Bees, till at the laſt, in the nether end of the Hall, a buſhment of the Dukes ſervants, and Naſh-fields, and of others belonging to the Protector, with ſome Prentiſes and laddes that thruſt into the Hall among the preſſe, began ſodainly at mens backes to cry out as loud as their throats would geve, King *Richard*, King *Richard*, and threw up their caps in token of joy. But they that ſtood before, caſt backe their heads, marvelling thereat, yet nothing they ſaid. And when the Duke and Major ſaw this manner, they wiſely turned it to their purpoſe, and ſaid it was a goodly cry, and a joyfull, to heare every man with one voyce, no man ſaying nay: wherefore friends (quoth the Duke) ſince that we well perceive that it is all your whole minds to have this Nobleman for your King, wherefore ſhall make to his Grace ſo effectuall report, that wee doubt not but it ſhall redound unto your great wealth, and commoditie: wee require that to morrow you goe with us, and wee with you unto his noble Grace, to make our humble requeſt unto him in manner before remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe, and the aſſembly diſſolved for the moſt part ſad, ſome with glad ſemblances, and yet not very merry, yea, and ſome that came with the Duke, not able to diſſemble their ſorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolour of their heart burſt out of their eyes.

Prentiſes and Servingmen the firſt proclaimers of King *Richard*.

The Protector intreated to accept of the Crowne.

The Protectar ſith nay, and would have it.

The affection of the election ſeene by the faces of the Aſſembly.

(59) On the next morrow, the Major with all the Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the Citie in their beſt array, aſſembling themſelves together, reſorted unto *Baynards* Caſtle in *Thames* ſtreet, where the Protector lay. To which place repaired alſo according to their appointment, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with divers Noblemen with him, beſide many Knights and other Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke ſent word unto the Lord Protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to move a great matter unto his Grace: whereupon the Protector made difficultie to come out unto them, but if he firſt knew ſome part of their errand, as though hee doubted, and partly diſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number unto him ſo ſodainly, without any warning, or knowledge whether they came for good or harme; then the Duke when he had ſhewed this unto the Maior and other, that they might thereby ſee, how little the Protector looked for this matter; they then ſent unto him by the Meſſenger ſuch loving meſſage againe, and therewith ſo humbly beſought him to vouchſafe, that they might reſort to his preſence, to propoſe their intent, which they would not impart to any other perſon; that at the laſt hee came out of his chamber, and yet not downe unto them, but ſtood above in a gallery over them, where they might ſee him and ſpeake to him, as though hee would not yet come too neare them, till he underſtood what they meant. And thereupon the Duke of *Buckhingham* firſt made humble petition unto him on the behalfe of them all, that his Grace would pardon them, and licenſe them to propoſe unto his Grace, the intent of their comming without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obtained, they durſt not be ſo bold to move him in their ſuite. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the Realme beſide, yet were they not ſure how his Grace would take it, whom they would in no wiſe offend. Then the Protector (as hee was very gently of himſelfe

The Nobles and Citizens aſſemble at *Baynards* Caſtle.

The Protector made ſtrange to ſpeake with ſuch a multitude.

Buckingham urgeth and threateneth the refuſall.

Paſſable diſſembling betwixt the Protector and *Buckingham*.

ſelfe and alſo longed ſore to know what they meant) gave him leave to propoſe what him liked, verily truſting for the good minde that he bare them all, none of them would intend any thing to him-ward, wherewith he ought to be grieved.

(60) When the Duke had this leave and pardon to ſpeake, then waxed he bold to ſhew him their entent and purpoſe, with all the cauſes moving them thereunto, as you have heard before: and finally, to beſeech his Grace, that it would like him of his accuſtomed goodneſſe and zeale unto the Realme, now with his eye of pitty, to behold the long-continued diſtreſſe, and decay of the ſame, and to ſet his gracious hands to redreſſe an amendment thereof, by taking upon him the Crowne and government of the land; according to his right and title lawfully deſcended unto him, & to the law of God, profit of the Realme, and unto his grace ſo much the more honour, and leſſe paine, in that, that never Prince raigned over any people that were ſo glad to live under his obeiſance, as the people of this land under his.

(61) When the Protector had heard the propoſition, he looked very ſtrange thereat, and anſwered: That albeit it were, hee partly knew the things by them alleadged to be true, yet ſuch intire love he bare unto King *Edward* and his children, that ſo much more he regarded his honor in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was never deſirous, that he could not finde in his heart in this point to incline to their deſire. For in all other Nations where the truth was not well knowne, it would peradventure be thought, that it was his owne ambitious minde and deviſe to depoſe the Prince, and to take himſelfe the Crowne, with which infamie hee would not have his honour ſtained for any Crowne, in which he had ever perceived much more labour and paine, then pleaſure to him that would ſo uſe it, as he that would not, were not worthy to have it. Notwithſtanding hee not onely pardoned them the motion that they made him, but alſo thanked them for the love and hearty favour they bare him, praying them for his ſake to give and beare the ſame to the Prince, under whom he was, and would be content to live, and with his labour and counſell, as farre as ſhould like the King to uſe him, he would doe his uttermoſt endeavour to ſet the Realme in good ſtate, which was already in this little time of his Protectorſhip (the praiſe be given to God) well begun, in that the malice of ſuch as were before, occaſion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good pollicy, partly more by Gods ſpeciall providence, then mans proviſion, repreſſed.

(62) Vponthis anſwer given, the Duke by the Protectors licenſe, a little rowned, aſwell with other Noblemen about him, as with the Major and Recorder of *London*. And after that, upon like pardon deſired and obtained, hee ſhewed aloud unto the Protector for a finall concluſion, that the Realme was at a point, King *Edwards* line ſhould not any longer raigne over them, both for that they had ſo farre gone, as it was now no ſurety to retreat, as for that they thought it was for the weale univerſall to take that way, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore, if it would like his Grace to take the Crowne upon him, they would humbly beſeech him thereunto; if he would give them a reſolute anſwer to the contrary, which they would be loath to heare, then muſt they needs ſeeke, and would not faile to finde ſome other Nobleman that would. Theſe words much mooved the Protector, which elſe as every man may know, would never of likelihood have inclined thereunto. But when he ſaw there was none other way, but that either he muſt take it, or elſe he, and his both goe from it, he ſaid unto the Lords and Commons.

The Protector favourably accepteth the Crowne.

(63) Sith we well perceive that all the Realme is ſo ſet, whereof we be very ſorry, that they will not ſuffer in any wiſe King *Edwards* line to governe them, whom no earthly man can governe againſt their wils, and well we alſo perceive, that no man there is to whom the Crowne can by juſt title appertaine, as to our ſelfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our moſt deare Father *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, to which title is now joyned your election, the Nobles and Commons of this Realme, which we of all title poſſible take for the moſt effectuall: wee bee content, and agree favourably to incline to your petition and requeſt, and according to the ſame, we here take upon us the royall eſtate, preheminence, and kingdome of the two noble Realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward, by us and our heires, to rule, governe, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe, and ſubdue, and eſtabliſh for ever in due obedience unto this Realme of *England*, the advancement whereof we never aske of God longer to live, then we intend to procure. With this there was a great ſhout, crying King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And then the Lords went up to the King (for ſo was he from that time called) and the people departed, talking diverſly of the matter, every man as his fantaſie gave him.

Divers opinions of the people.

(64) Much was talked and marvelled at the manner of this dealing, that the matter was made ſo ſtrange unto both parties, as though they never had communed either with others before, when as themſelves wiſt there was no man ſo dull that heard them, but perceived well inough, that all the matter was ſo made betweene them. Howbeit, ſome excuſed that againe, and ſaid all muſt be done in good order: And men muſt ſometimes for manners ſake, not be acknowne what they know: for at the conſecration of a Biſhop, every man worteth well, by the paying for his Bulls, that he purpoſeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing elſe, and yet muſt hee twice bee asked, whether hee will be a Biſhop or no, and hee muſt twice ſay nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a Stage-play, the people know right well, that he who plaieth the Sowdaine, is percaſe a Sowrer, yet if one ſhould know ſo little good, to ſhew out of ſeaſon what acquaintance hee hath with him, and call him by his owne name while he ſtandeth in his Majeſtie, one of his tormenters might hap to breake his head worthily for marring of the play.

The Raigne and age of King *Edward*.

(65) The raigne of this young King may well be accounted an *inter-regnum*, without King, aſwell for his minoritie, being under the rule of a Protector himſelfe, as for the ſhort time wherein he continued the name of a King; which onely was two moneths and ſixteene daies, and in them alſo he ſare uncrowned, without Scepter or Ball, all which *Richard* aimed at, and perfidiouſly got, before they could come to his head; or into his hands. His age at the death of his Father, and entrance into his Throne, was eleven yeares, five moneths, and five daies, and within three moneths after, was with his Brother ſmothered to death in the Tower of *London*, as ſhall be ſhewed in his Raigne, of whom we are now by order of ſucceſſion to write.

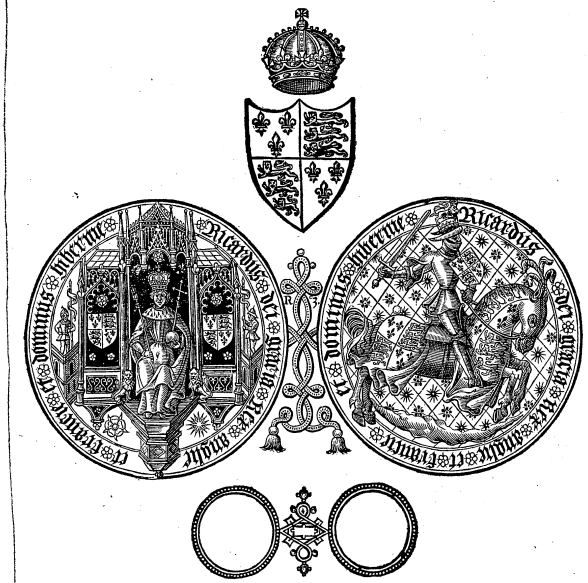
RICHARD

Rich. III.

RICHARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE-SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, ISSVE, AND DEATH.

Monarch 56.

For the moſt part written by Sir *Thomas Moore*.



CHAPTER XIX.

All the *Richards* and Dukes of *Glouceſter* came to untimely deaths. *Richard* 1. ſlaine with an arrow. *Richard* 2. murthered at *Pomfret*. *Tho. woodſtocke* ſmothered to death. *Humfrey* murthered at Saint *Edmundsbury*. *Richard* 3. ſlaine at *Boſworth-field*.

Richard, the third ſonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, borne at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in the County of *Northampton*, was firſt honoured with the title of *Glouceſter*, being the third Duke of that number, and conſequently by uſurpation crowned King of *England*, the third of that name. A name indeed noted to the Kings ſo called, to be ever ominous; and the title of *Glouceſter* to thoſe Dukes ever fatall, all of both, dying violent and untimely deaths, which ought to have beene the more fearefull unto *Richard*, now having poſſeſſion and intereſt in them both. But that not regarded, or deſtiny enforcing, his aſpiring minde gave him no reſt, till his reſtleſſe body found it laſtly in the grave. For his brother deceaſed when his life was moſt deſired, no man in ſhew tooke his death ſo heavily as himſelfe, or tendered the young King with a more honourable reſpect, when as (God knowes) his minde ran upon deepe reaches, how to compaſſe the Wreath for his owne head; which the better to faſhion, he withdrew a while into the North, and at *Yorke* in moſt ſad and ſolemne manner obſerved the Funerals of the dead King: but howſoever the Maske covered this ſubtle Dukes face from the eye of the multitude; yet *Buckingham* well knew the ambitious deſire of his aſpiring heart, and indeed was the *Dedalus* that made him the wings, wherewith he mounted ſo neere unto the Sunne, as that the waxe melting (like the high-minded young *Icarus*) he caught his laſt fall.

Duke Richard ſubtilely excuſeth for the Crowne.

(2) What intendments they had before the Kings death, is uncertaine, though it may be ſuſpected: but ſure it is, he now gone, the Duke of *Buckingham* twice ſollicited *Glouceſter* by his meſſengers in the *North*, met him at *Northampton* himſelfe, accompanied him to *London*, forwarded him in Counſell, and was the firſt actor in this following tragedie. For, firſt making him Protector, procuring his young Nephew forth of Sanctuary, diſabling the young King, baſtardizing them both, perſwading the Citizens, working the Nobility: and all this done, to ſet the Crowne upon crookt *Richards* head, and ſo moulded their mindes unto the man, as they all became humble petitioners unto him for to accept of the ſame, who in the meane-while had well-conned his owne part, by profuſe liberality, by paſſing-great gravity, by ſingular affability, by miniſtring of juſtice, and by deepe and cloſe deviſes, whereby he wonne to himſelfe the hearts of all, but the Lawyers eſpecially, to ſerve beſt his turne, which was ſo affected, that in the name of all the States of the Realme, a Petition was drawne and preſented him to accept the wearing of the Crowne: the true Copy whereof as we finde it recorded in the Parliament Roll, we have inſerted, and is as followeth:

By *Preſtall*, *Buckinghams* ſecret ſervant.

The degrees by which the Protector aſcended into the throne.

The Protector ſtrengthneth himſelfe in the peoples affections.

A Petition exhibited to the Protector to accept of the Crowne.

In Rotulo Parliamenti tenti apud Weſtm. die Veneris Viceſimo tertio die Ianuarij, An. Reg. Regis Richardi 3. primo inter alia contenta ſequntur.

Memorandum quod quadam billa exhibita fuit coram Domino Rege in Parliamento predicto in hec verba:

Where late heretofore, that is to ſay, before the conſecration, coronation, and inthronization of our Soveraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third, a roll of Parchment containing in writing certaine Articles of the Tenor under-written on the behalfe, and in the name of the three Eſtates of this Realme of *England*, that is to wit, of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and of the Commons by name, and divers Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other Nobles and notable perſons of the Commons in great multitude was preſented, and actually delivered unto our ſaid Soveraigne Lord, the intent and effect expreſſed at large in the ſame Roll: to the which Roll, and to the conſiderations, and inſtant petition comprized in the ſame, our ſaid Soveraigne Lord for the publique weale and tranquility of this Land, benignely aſſented. Now foraſmuch as neither the ſaid three Eſtates, neither the ſaid perſons which in their name preſented, and delivered as it is aforeſaid, the ſaid Roll unto our ſaid Soveraigne Lord the King, were aſſembled in forme of Parliament: by reaſon whereof, divers doubts, queſtions, and ambiguities beene moved, and engendred in the mindes of divers perſons, as it is ſaid: Therefore to the perpetuall memory of the truth, and declaration of the ſame, be it ordained, provided, and eſtabliſhed in this preſent Parliament, that the Tenor of the ſaid Roll, with all the contents of the ſame, preſented as is aboveſaid, and delivered to our foreſaid Soveraigne Lord the King, in the name and in the behalfe of the ſaid three Eſtates out of Parliament, now by the ſame three Eſtates aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, and by authority of the ſame be ratified; enrolled, recorded, approved, and authorized into removing the occaſions of doubts and ambiguities, and to all other lawfull effects that ſhall now thereof enſue: So that all things ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in the ſaid Roll, and in the Tenor of the ſame under-written, in the name of the ſaid three Eſtates, to the effect expreſſed in the ſame Roll be of the like effect, vertue, and force, as if all the ſame things had beene ſo ſaid, affirmed, ſpecified, deſired and remembred in a full Parliament, and by authority of the ſame accepted and approved. The Tenor of the ſaid Roll of Parchment, whereof above is made mention, followeth, and is ſuch.

An Act of Parliament paſſed to eſtabliſh K. *Richards* election.

All doubts taken away of King *Richards* election.

To the high and Mighty Prince
Richard Duke of Glouceſter.

Pleaſe it your noble Grace to underſtand the conſiderations, election and petition under-written of us, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of this Realme of *England*, and thereunto agreeably to give your aſſent to the common and publique weale of this Land, to the comfort and gladneſſe of all the people of the ſame. Firſt, wee conſider how that heretofore in time-paſſed, this Land many yeers ſtood in great proſperity, honour, and tranquilitie, which was cauſed, forſomuch as the King then raigning, uſed and followed the advice and counſell of certaine Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other perſons of approved fadneſſe, prudence, pollicy and experience, dreading God, and having tender weale and affection to indifferent miniſtration of juſtice, and to the common and publique weale of the Land: Then our Lord God was dread, loved and honoured, then within the Land was peace and tranquility, and among Neighbours concord and charity, then the malice of outward enemies was mightily reſiſted and repreſſed, and the Land honourably defended, with many great and glorious victories, then the entercourſe of Merchants was largely uſed and exerciſed: by which things above-remembred, the Land was greatly enriched, ſo that aſwell the Merchants and Artificers, as other poore people, labouring for their livings in divers occupations, had competent gaine, to the ſuſtentation of them and their houſholds, living without miſerable and intollerable poverty: but afterward, when that ſuch as had the rule and governance of this Land, delighting in adulation and flattery, and led by ſenſuality and concupiſcence, followed the councell of perſons inſolent, vicious, and of inordinate avarice, deſpiſing the counſell of good, vertuous, and prudent perſons, ſuch as above be remembred; The proſperity of this Land dayly decreaſed, ſo that felicity was turned into miſery, and proſperity into adverſity, and the order of policy and of the law of God and Man confounded, whereby it is likely this Realme to fall into extreame miſery and deſolation (which God defend) without due proviſion of covenable remedy be had in this behalfe, in all goodly haſt.

The petition of the Kingdom ſo farre made law-full and authorized by Parliament.

The forme of the petition exhibited unto the Protector.

Falſe glozes upon ſmall pretences.

O time how doeſt thou turne, and art turned!

Flattery feares not how to report.

How can Princes rule to pleaſe reproach'd when they are dead?

The Queene and her mother falſly ſlandered.

(3) Over this, among other things more ſpeciall, we conſider, how that the time of the raigne of King *Edward* the fouth late deceaſed, after the ungracious pretenſed marriage (as all *England* hath cauſe ſo to ſay) made betwixt the ſaid King *Edward*, and *Elizabeth* ſometimes wife to Sir *John Gray* Knight, late naming her ſelfe, and many yeares heretofore Queene of *England*, the order of all politicke rule was perverted, the lawes of God, and of Gods Church, and alſo the lawes of nature, and of *England*, and alſo of the laudable cuſtomes and liberties of the ſame, wherein every Engliſh man is inheritor, broken, ſubverted, and contemned, againſt all reaſon and juſtice, ſo that the Land was ruled by ſelfe-will and pleaſure, feare and dread, all manner of equity and law laide apart and deſpiſed, whereof enſued many inconveniences and miſchiefes, as murthers, extortions, and oppreſſions, namely of poore and impotent people, ſo that no man was ſure of his life, land or livelyhood, ne of his Wife, Daughter nor ſervant, every good maiden and woman ſtanding in dread to be ravi∫hed and deſloured: and beſides this, what diſcords, inward barrels, effuſion of Chriſtian-mens bloud, and namely, by the deſtruction of the Nobles bloud of this Land, was had and committed within the ſame, it is evident and notary through all this Realme, unto the great ſorrow and heavineſſe of all true Engliſhmen. And here alſo we conſider, how that the ſaid pretended marriage betwixt the above-named King *Edward* and *Elizabeth Gray*, was made of great preſumption without the knowing and aſſent of the Lords of this Land, and alſo by ſorcery and witchcraft committed by the ſaid *Elizabeth*, and her Mother *Iaquet* Dutcheſſe of *Bedford*, as the common opinion of the people, and the publike voice and fame is through all this Land: and hereafter if the cauſe ſhall require, ſhall bee

proved sufficiently in time and place convenient. And here also wee consider how that the said pretensed marriage was made privily and secretly, without edition of banes, in a private chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church, after the Law of Gods Church, but contrary thereunto, and the laudable custome of the Church of *England*. And how also that at the time of contract of the same pretended marriage, and before, and long time after, the said King *Edward* was and stood married, and troth-plight to one Dame *Eleanor Butler*, daughter of the old Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with whom the same *Edward* had made a pre-contract of Matrimony, long time before he made the said pretensed marriage with the said *Elizabeth Gray*, in manner and forme aforesaid: which Premisses being true, as in very truth they been true: it appeareth, and followeth evidently, that the said King *Edward* during his life, and the said *Elizabeth* lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, against the law of God and of his Church: And therefore no marvell that the Soveraigne Lord, and the head of this Land, being of such ungodly disposition, and provoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God; such hainous mischiefe and inconveniences as are above-remembred, were used and committed in the Realme among the Subjects. Also it appeareth evidently, and followeth, that all the Issue and Children of the said King *Edward*, beene bastards, and unable to inherite, or to claime any thing by inheritance, by the law and custome of *England*.

King Edward accused to have beene contracted to the Lady Eleanor Butler.

The rongue of slander is a sharpe arrow.

Prophane taught their tongues to speake lyes. Jer. 9. 5.

(4) Moreover, we consider how that afterwards by the three Estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, holden at *Westminster* the 17. yeare of the Raigne of the said King *Edward* the fourth, he then being in possession of the Crowne and royall estate, by Act made in the same Parliament, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, brother to the said King *Edward* now deceased, was convicted and attainted of high treason, as in the same Act is contained more at large, by cause and reason whereof, all the Issue of the said *George*, was and is disabled and barred of all right and claime that in any case they might have or challenge by inheritance to the Crowne and dignity royall of this Realme, by the ancient law and custome of this same Realme.

George Duke of *Clarence* and his heires made uncapable of the Crowne.

Over this, we consider that ye be the undoubted sonne and heire of *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, very inheritour of the said Crowne and dignity-royall, and as in right King of *England* by way of inheritance: and that at this time the premisses duely considered there is none other person living, but ye only that by right may claime the said Crowne and dignity-royall by way of inheritance, and how that ye be borne within this Land, by reason whereof, as we deeme in our mindes, yee be more naturally inclined to the prosperity and Common-weale of the same: and all the three Estates of the Land have and may have more certaine knowledge of your birth and filiation aforesaid. We consider also the great wit, prudence, justice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in divers battels, which as we by experience know you heretofore have done, for the salvation and defence of this same Realme; and also the great noblenesse and excellency of your birth and bloud, as of him that is descended of the three most royall houses in Christendome: that is to say, *England*, *France*, and *Spaine*: Wherefore these premisses by us diligently considered, we desiring effectually the peace, tranquility and weale-publique of this Land, and the reduction of the same to the ancient honourable estate and prosperity, and having in your great prudence, justice, princely courage, and excellent vertue, singular confidence, have chosen in all that in us is, and by this our writing choose you High and Mighty Prince our King and Soveraigne Lord, &c. To whom we know for certaine it appertaineth of inheritance so to be chosen. And hereupon wee humbly desire, pray, and require your most noble Grace, that according to this election of us the three Estates of this Land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take upon you the said Crowne and royall dignitie, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging, aswell by inheritance as by lawfull election: and in case yee so doe, wee promise to serve and assist your Highnesse, as true and faithfull subjects, and liege-men; and to live and die with you in this matter, and in every other just quarrell. For certainely, we be determined rather to adventure and commit us to the perill of our lives, and jeopardie of death, then to live in such thraldome and bondage as wee have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions, and new impositions, against the Law of God and man, and the liberty, old pollicy and Lawes of this Realme, wherein every Englishman is inherited. Our LORD GOD, KING of all KINGS, by whose infinite goodnesse and eternall providence all things beene principally governed in this world; lighten your soule, and grant you grace to doe as well in this matter as in all other, that may be according to his will and pleasure, and to the common and publique weale of this Land: so that after great clouds, trouble, stormes, and tempests, the Sun of Iustice and of Grace may shine upon us, to the comfort and gladnesse of all true-hearted Englishmen. Albeit, that the right, title, and estate, which our Soveraigne Lord the King, *Richard* the third hath to, and in the Crowne and royall dignity of this Realme of *England*; with all things thereunto within the same Realme, and without it united, annexed and appertaining, bin just and lawfull, as grounded upon the lawes of God, and of nature: and also upon the ancient lawes and laudable customes of this said Realme; and so taken and repured by all such persons as beene learned in the above said lawes and customes: Yet nevertheless, forasmuch as it is considered, that the most part of the people is not sufficiently learned in the abovesaid Lawes and customs, wherby the truth & right in this behalfe, of likelyhood may be hid, and not clearely knowne to all the people, and thereupon put in doubt and question. And over this, how that the Court of Parliament is of such authority, and the people of this Land of such a nature and disposition, as experience teacheth, that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three Estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, and by the authoritie of the same, maketh before all other things most feith and certaine, and quieting of mens minds, removeth the occasion of all doubts, and seditious language. Therefore, at the request, and by the assent of the three Estates of this Realme; that is to say, the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons of this Land, assembled in this present Parliament, by authority of the same, be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our said Soveraigne Lord the King was, and is, the very undoubted King of this Realme of *England*, with all things thereunto within the same Realme, and without it united, annexed, and appertaining, aswell by right of Consanguinity, and inheritance, as by lawfull election, consecration, and coronation. And over this, that at the request, and by the assent and authority aboue-said, be it ordained, enacted and established, that the said Crowne and royall dignity of this Realme, and the inheritance of the same, and all other things thereunto within the Realme, or without, is united, annexed, and now appertaining, rest and abide in the person of our said Soveraigne Lord the King, during his life, and after his decease, in his heires of his body begotten; and in especiall at the request, and by assent and authority above-said, bee it ordained, enacted, established, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the high and excellent Prince *Edward*, son of our said Soveraigne Lord the King, bee heire apparant of the same our Soveraigne Lord the King, to succeed to him in the above said Crowne and royall dignity,

All promises were not kept, as afterwards is proved.

The Lords in Gods sight.

What cannot the Parliament effect, where all give way to the sway of time?

Exod. 9. 4.

King Richard licenseth Gothamond Subsidy, but a good Prince.

A charitable pledge in love, but in truth crafty intent.

King Richard accepteth the Crowne, and beginneth his raigne with great applause.

The Nobles of our English Parliament.

The new Kings clemency and affability.

Richards dealings double coloured.

The Crowne entailed to *Richard* and his heires.

The Nobles sent for to the Kings Coronation.

John Hardings Coppie.

Prince Edward made Heire apparent by Parliament.

dignity, with all things as is aforesaid thereunto united, annexed, and appertaining, to have them after the decease of our said Soveraigne Lord the King, to him, and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten.

Quæ quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angl. in dicto Parliamento existent. transportata fuit. Cui quidem billæ ijdem Communes assensum suum præbuerunt sub hijs verbis. A Ceste bille les Communes sont assentus. Quibus quidem billa, & assensu coram Domino Rege in Parliamento prædicto lectis, auditis, & plenius intellectis, de assensu Dominorum spiritualium, & temporalium in dicto Parliamento similiter existent. ac Communitatis prædictæ, nec non authoritate eiusdem Parliamenti pronunciatum, decretum, & declaratum existit, omnia & singula in billa prædicta contenta fore vera & indubia. Ac idem Dominus Rex de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, & authoritate prædicta, omnia & singula præmissa in billa prædicta, contenta concedit, ac ea pro vero & indubio pronunciat, decernit & declarat.

(5) These things I have laid forth more at large out of the Parliament Roll, that ye may understand both what and how great matters the power of a Prince, the outward shew of vertue, the wily fetches of Lawyers, fawning hope, pensiue feare, desire of change, and goodly pretenses, are able to effect, in that most wise assembly of all the States of a Kingdome, even against all law and right, so that the saying of *Salomon* in this State seemed most true, that *a living dogge is better then a dead Lyon*. But this *Richard* is not to be accounted worthy to have beene a Soveraigne, had he not beene a Soveraigne as *Galba* was reputed; who, when he was a Soveraigne, deceived all mens expectation; but most worthy indeed of Soveraignty, had hee not beene transported with ambition (which blasted all his good parts) by lewd practises, and by mischievous meanes, made foule way thereunto: for that by the common consent of all that are wise, he was reckoned in the ranke of bad men, but of good Princes; as indeed King *Richard* through his short time of raigne is accounted to have beene.

Exod. 9. 4.

King Richard licenseth Gothamond Subsidy, but a good Prince.

A charitable pledge in love, but in truth crafty intent.

King Richard accepteth the Crowne, and beginneth his raigne with great applause.

(6) The Crowne and Scepter accepted as is said, King *Richard* upon the twenty fifth of *June*, went in great pompe unto *Westminster* hall, and there in the Kings-Bench Court tooke his Seat, saying, that he would take upon him the Crowne in that place, where the King himselfe ought to sit, whose chiefest duety was to administer Iustice to his people, and with a pleasing Oration so tickled the eares of his Auditors, that hee lulled the rurall to thinke that his like had never raigned in *England*; and to begin himselfe with a pretensed clemency, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him; for confirmation wherof, he sent for one *Fogge*, whom he deadly hated, who for feare of him had lately taken Sanctuary at *Westminster*, and there in sight of the people, with semblance accordingly, tooke him by the hand saying, that he would be thenceforth his assured in affection; whereat the Commons greatly rejoyced, and with applauses extolled, though others wiser among them tooke it to be but fained, to serve his owne turne. And in his way homeward, whomsoever he met, he saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe to be guilty, is in a manner dejected to a servile flattery.

The Nobles of our English Parliament.

(7) King *Richard*, whose guilty heart was full of suspition, had sent for five thousand Souldiers out of the North to be present in *London* at his Coronation; these, under the leading of *Robin* of *Ridsdale*, came up both evill apparrelled, and worse harnessed, in rusty Armour, neither defencible for proofe, nor scowred for shew: who mustering in *Finesbury* fields, were with disdaine gazed upon by the beholders. But all things now ready for his Coronation (and much the sooner in that young *Edwards* provision was conferred upon his) upon the fourth of *July*, he with his Wife by water came to the Tower, where hee created Estates, ordained the Knights of the *Bathe*, set at liberty the Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Lord *Stanley*, more for feare then for love; whose sonne the Lord *Strange*, was then said to be gathering of men in *Lancashire*, where those Lords have great command.

The new Kings clemency and affability.

(8) But *Morton*, Bishop of *Ely*, a firme man unto King *Edward*, and unpossible to be drawne unto the disinheriting of his children, as was well perceived by the Protector, among others, at the Councell held in the Tower, was left there prisoner, and accused of many great, but unlikely treasons. This man borne in *Dorsetshire*, and brought up in the Vniversity of *Oxford*, was from a Doctor of the *Arches* made a privy Councellor unto King *Henry*, and after his death allured by King *Edward* to serve him, was sworne likewise of his Councell, and made one of the Executors of his will: whose insight into the intended designes, the Protector much feared, and therefore having him fast, minded so to keepe him, when hee released others laide in the Tower for the like feare. But the reverence of the man, or undeservednesse of his wrongs, moved so the affection of the *Oxford Academians*, that they directed to the King (who professed much love to that Vniversity) a petitory Latine Epistle, no lesse eloquent and pithy, then circumspect and wary, wherein they thus pleaded for his liberty.

At Reare, or Berry.

Ex Regist. Oxon. M. 5.

"(9) Though many important motives wee "have most Christian King, earnestly to recommend "to your princely clemency, the Reverend Father "in Christ, the Lord Bishop of *Elye*, as being not "onely one of the most eminent Sonnes of our V- "niversity, but also a singular Patrone and indul- "gent Father to us all; yet could not these induce- "ments (howsoever very ponderous with all grate- "full mindes) perswade us to become intercessors "for his pardon, but ever with due regard both to "your owne honour and safety; the greatnesse of "your princely favours having more obliged us, "then of any your royall Predecessors: whiles there- "fore wee stood in some doubt, how hee stood affec- "cted towards your Highnesse, wee held it an high "offence, if by tendring his safety, wee should any "way hazard yours: but now, understanding that "his offence proceeded not of pertinacy, but hu- "mane frailety; and that he hath alwaies humbly "sued for pardon thereof, the bowels of our mo- "ther Vniversity, like *Rachel* weeping over the "Children, were moved with compassion over her "deplored distresse of this her dearest sonne; where- "in yet (as wee hope) her affection deserves no just "reprehension. For, if a pious affection be praise- "worthy, even in an enemy, much more is it in this "our Academy, full of due observance towards "your Majestie, and professing the study of all ver- "tues. These things so being, wee thought fitte, "(without longer delayes) to flie unto your clemen- "cy, as humble Suppliants, that your Highnesse, al- "ready having in part inflicted (though mildly) some "chastisement on his fault, would turne your royall "aspect towards him, and impart to him the boun- "ty of your gracious clemency; wherein, you shall "not onely performe an act most acceptable to him, "to us, and the whole Church, but very honourable "and advantagious also (as wee hope) to your own "person. For, upon notice of the re-admittance of "so great a Prelate into your grace, who is there, that "will not extoll with praises unto the skies your so "great, and even divine clemency? Thus gloried "the Romans, to have it marshalled amongst their "praises, that *Submissæ wights they spared, but "crusht the proud*; and this also they challenged as "their peculiar honour, that they were readier to "remit, then to revenge wrongs. Now if you will "aspire to this high honour, (as easily you may, by "being gracious to this man) you shall surmount "the Romanes themselves by so glorious a deed. As "for the great benefite which may hereby accrue to

A letter written to the Vniversity of Oxford in the behalfe of D. Morton.

Virgil. Parcere Subjectis, &c. Salustius.

"your Highneſſe, albeit (as we ſuppoſe) we can ſuf-
"ficiently conceive thereof, eſpecially if wee call to
"minde his ſingular vertues; yet had we rather leave
"that point wholly to your ſecret conſiderations,
"then purſue it with a diſcourſe tedious to you, and
"envie-breeding to him: leaſt happily by inſiſting
"in his praiſes, it may be thought, that wee ſeeke ra-
"ther by violence to extort, then by ſubmiſſiveneſſe
"to beg his pardon, and or elſe to relie more on the
"greatneſſe of his *vertues*, then of your *Clemency*, or
"laſtly to appeale rather to your *Juſtice*, then to your
"*mercy*. Wherefore (moſt puiſſant Prince) thus
"perſwade your ſelfe of us, that whatſoever we have
"ſpoken in the Biſhops behalfe, we doe it rather out
"of a ſenſe of our dutifulneſſe then any diffidency of
"your Graciouſneſſe: and therefore omitting all
"things which might be alleaged, either to leſſen his
"offence, or augment his vertues: it is your ſole *mer-*
"*cy* wherein we repoſe all our hopes; vowing, how-
"ſoever other meanes of gratitude may be wanting
"to us, yet we ſhall never ſuffer the remembrance of
"ſo great a favour conferred on us to be extinguiſhed
"amongſt us.

(10) King *Richard*, after this, intending ſome ea-
ſier reſtraint, though not libertie unto the Biſhop,
was content to releaſe him out of the Tower, and
committed him to the cuſtody of *Henry* Duke of *Buc-*
kingham, who ſent him to his Caſtle of *Brecknocke*
in *Wales*, there ſafely to be kept, untill himſelfe ſhould
come thither.

(11) The next day with great pompe, ſtate and
attendance of the Nobility, the King rode through
London, ſo as a more royall had not beene ſeene at a-
ny Kings Coronation, for there attended him, three
Dukes, nine Earles, two Viſcounts, twenty Lords, ſea-
venty eight Knights, all of them moſt richly furni-
ſhed, whereof the Duke of *Buckingham* ſo farre ex-
ceeded, that the capariſon of his Horſe was ſo char-
ged with embroydered worke of gold, as it was born
up from the ground by certaine his footemen thereto
appointed. And contrary to my owne affections,
or manner of my former proceedings, I will yet con-
tinue the moſt honourable offices performed at his
royall enthroning with no little Admiration, how
theſe Lords aſſembled to ſet the Crowne upon the
young Princes head, were ſo ſuddainely carried to
Crowne his Protector, and that upon ſuch falſe and
ſlanderous pretences, as every one of them ſaw his
Title to be meerely an unjuſt uſurpation, but in them
may be ſeene, that we are all the Sonnes of *Adam*,
and in times of extremities, foreſlow all publique re-
gard, as overmuch fearing our private and preſent
eſtate.

(12) Vpon the ſixt of Iuly, King *Richard* with
Queene *Anne* his wife ſet forth from *White-Hall* to-
wards *Weſtminſter*, royally attended, and went into
the Kings-Bench in the great Hall, from whence him-
ſelfe and Queene upon ray Cloth, both of them bare-
footed, went unto King *Edwards* ſhrine in Saint *Pe-*
ters Church, all the Nobility going with him in
their degree, the trumpets and Heraulds marſhalling
the way, the Croſſe with a ſolemne proceſſion fol-
lowed, the Prieſts in fine ſurpleſſes and gray Amyſſes
upon them, the Biſhops and Abbots in rich Copes,
all of them mytred, and carrying their Croſſes in
their hands; next came the Earle of *Huntington* bea-
ring a paire of *gilt ſpurres*, ſignifying *Knighthood*; af-
ter whom came the Earle of *Bedford*, who bare Saint
Edwards ſtaffe for a *Relique*, then followed the Earle
of *Northumberland* with a *naked pointles ſword* in his
hand betokening *Mercy*, next whom the Lord *Stan-*
ley bare the *Mace* of the *Conſtableſhip*, upon whoſe
right hand the Earle of *Kent* bare a *naked pointed*
ſword, and on his left-hand the Lord *Lovell* the like
naked pointed ſword, the former ſignifying *Juſtice to-*
wards the temporalty, and the other *Juſtice to the Cler-*
gy, the Duke of *Suffolke* then followed with the *Scep-*
ter, which ſignified *Peace*: the Earle of *Lincolne* bare
the *Ball* and *Croſſe*, which ſignified a *Monarchy*: Then
came the Earle of *Surrey*, bearing the fourth ſword,
ſheathed in a rich ſcabberd, and is called the ſword of
Eſtate, next whom followed *Gartar* King at Armes,
upon whoſe right hand went the Gentleman-Vſher
of the Kings privy Chamber, and on his left hand the
Lord Major of *London*, with a Mace in his hand;
Next unto whom went the Duke of *Norfolke*, bearing
the Kings Crowne betwixt his hands, and then King
Richard himſelfe came, in a *Surcote* and *Robe* of pur-
ple Velvet; having over his head a Canopie borne by
the foure Barons of the five Ports, the Biſhop of *Bath*
on his right hand, and of *Durham* on his left. The
Duke of *Buckingham* bare the Kings traine, and to
ſignifie the office of *high Steward of England*, hee
bare a *White Staffe* in his hand.

(13) Then followed the Queenes traine: before
whom was borne the *Scepter*, the *Ivory Rod* with the
Dove and the *Crowne*: her ſelfe apparelled in Robes
like the Kings, under a rich Canopie, at every corner
thereof a *bell of gold*. On her head ſhee ware a cir-
clet ſet full of precious ſtones, the Counteſſe of *Rich-*
mond bearing her traine; the Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*
and *Suffolke* in their Coronets attendents, with twen-
ty Ladies of Eſtate moſt richly attired. In this order
they paſſed the Pallace into the Abbey, and aſcen-
ding to the high Altar there ſhifted their Robes,
and having other Robes open in divers places from
the middle upward, were both of them annointed,
and Crowned, he with Saint *Edwards* Crowne, ha-
ving the Scepter delivered into his left hand, and
the Ball with the Croſſe, a token of Monarchie in his
right; the Queene had a Scepter given into her right
hand, and the Iuory Dove in her left; then after the
Sacrament received (having the hoſt divided be-
twixt them) they both offered at S. *Edwards* ſhrine,
where the King left his Crowne and put on his own;
and thus done, in the ſame Order and State as they
came, returned to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and there held a
moſt Princely feaſt. Whereof let *Hall* and *Graſton*
tell you for me.

(14) But this his faire Sunne was ſoone over-
caſt with many darke Cloudes and miſchiefes, which
fell thicke upon the necke of each other, for as the
thing evill-gotten, is never well kept: through all the
time of his raigne there never ceaſed death and
ſlaughter, till his owne deſtruction ended it. Yet as
he finiſhed his daies with the beſt death, and the moſt
righteous, that is to ſay, his owne: ſo began he with
the moſt pitteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable
murther of his innocent Nephewes, the young King
and his tender Brother; whoſe deaths and ſinall mif-
fortunes have neverthelеſſe come ſo farre in queſti-
on, that ſome remaine yet in doubt, whether they
were in his dayes deſtroyed or no. Not for that one-
ly, that *Perkin Warbecke*, by the malice of many, and
the folly of more, ſo long a time abuſing the world,
was aſwell with Princes, as the other poore people,
reputed and taken for the younger of theſe two: but
for that alſo as all things were in late dayes ſo coverti-
ly demeaned, one thing pretended and another done,
that there was nothing ſo plaine and openly proved,
but for the common cuſtome and cloſe covert dea-
ling, men had it ever inwardly in ſuſpect, as many
well-counterfeit Iewels make the true miſtruſted.
Howbeit concerning the opinion, with the occations
moving either party, wee ſhall have place more at
large hereafter to intreat of: in the meane time for
this preſent matter, ſhall be rehearſed the dolorous
end of theſe young Babes, not after every report I
have heard, but by ſuch men, and by ſuch meanes, as
to my ſeeming it were hard but it ſhould be true, ſaith
Sir *Thomas Moore*.

(15) K. *Richard* preſently after his mockiſh Election
and glorious Coronation, made his progreſſe towards
Glouceſter, to ſhew (as was thought) in that Citie his
new Kingly eſtate, which firſt had vouchſafed him
his old honour in bearing her Title; or elſe, and that
rather, to be ſequeſtred from other buſines, the better
to attend that, upon which his thoughts moſt buſily
ranne.

Dat. Oxonii in Ecclеſia S. Mariæ Virg. Sextilio.

Biſhop *Morton* committed to the cuſtody of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The great eſtate of King *Richards* Coronation.

Buckingham moſt richly attired at the Kings Coronation.

The order of the Kings proceedings to be crowned.

Rich. Graſton.

The order of the Queens proceedings to receive the Crowne.

The King and Queene ſolemnly annointed, and crowned.

Remora a little fiſh, is reported to have ſuch ſtrength, as it will ſtay the courſe of any ſhip under ſaile.

The feares of King *Richard*.

King *Richard* complaineth the death of his Nephewes.

King *Richard* his Letter to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*.

Sir *Robert Brakenbury* anſweres an-ſwer unto *John Greene*.

King *Richards* complaine of ingratitude.

Sir *Thomas Moore*.

The tirre of King *Richard* raigne full of calamities.

Iames Tirrell made the Inſtrumens of murther.

The peare of S. *Iames Tirrell*.

Diuers rumo of the two Princes death.

King *Richard* confulted upon his Ne-phewes murtherers, ſtating on a homely feare.

Sir *Iames* readyto fulfill the Kings mind in the murther of the Princes.

King *Richard* progreſſe towards *Glouceſter*.

ranne. For albeit the Barke of his begun adventures, had without perill well paſſed the ſtraights, and now got ſea-roome to ſpread Saile at will; yet being under Gale, and at Fortunes diſpoſe, he feared the guſt of every winde: at leaſt-wiſe ſuſpected that his young Nephewes living, would ſtay the courſe of his deepe reaches, as doth the little fiſh *Remora*, who holdeth (as at Anchor) the biggeſt ſhip under Saile. His inward ſtudy therefore ſtill forged, how ſoever his outward countenance was carried, to cleare his paſſage by taking thoſe dangerous lets away, well knowing, that his little Nephewes enjoying their lives, men would be medling with their downe-caſt cauſe, and account him an Vſurper without all right to the Realme. To ſtop which ſtreame, no no other courſe could he finde, but to cut off the current by which it ranne, as though the killing of his Kinſmen could better his bad claime, or unkindly murther make him a kindly King. But being reſol-ved, he forthwith ſent one *John Greene*, a ſervant in eſpeciall truſt, unto Sir *Robert Brakenburie* Conſtable of the Tower, with a letter of credence, that the ſame Sir *Robert* ſhould in any wiſe put the two children to death.

(16) This *Greene* thus poſted to *London*, delive-red his errand unto *Brakenbury*, whom he found kneeling at his Oraizons before Image of our La-dy in the Tower, the buſineſſe being of ſuch weight as the King muſt bee ſerved before hee had ended with his Saint. The Conſtable reading the Letter, and perceiving the bloudy intent of the King, anſwe-red plainly, he would never put thoſe innocent babes unto death, to dye therefore himſelfe. With which anſwere *John Greene* returning, recounted the ſame to King *Richard* being at *Warwicke*, yet in his way to *Glouceſter*, wherewith he was marvellouſly per-plexed, and thereat tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that the ſame night he ſaid to a ſecret Page of his: *Ah whom ſhall a man truſt? thoſe that I have brought up my ſelfe, thoſe that I have weened would moſt ſurely ſerve mee, even thoſe faile mee, and at my commandement will doe nothing.* Sir, quoth the Page, there lyeth one on your Pallet without, that I dare well ſay, to doe your Grace pleaſure, the thing were right hard that hee would refuſe; meaning this by Sir *Iames Tirrell*, who was a man of a goodly Perſonage, and for Natures gifts worthy to have ſerved a much bet-ter Prince, if he had well ſerved God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will, as hee had ſtrength and wit.

(17) The man had an high heart, and ſore lon-ged upward, not riſing yet ſo faſt as he hoped, be-ing hindred and kept under by the meanes of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*, who long-ing for no more partners of the Princes favour, and namely, not for him, whoſe pride they knew would beare no Peere, kept him by ſecret drifts out of all ſecret truſt, which thing this Page had well marked and knowne: wherefore this occaſion offered of ve-ry ſpeciall friendſhip, hee tooke his time to put him forward, and by ſuch wiſe to doe him good, that all the enemies he had, except the Divell himſelfe could never have done him ſo much hurt. For upon this Pages words, King *Richard* aroſe (for this communi-cation had hee ſitting at the drught, a convenient Carpet for ſuch a Councell) and came out into a Pal-let-Chamber, where he found in bed, Sir *Iames* and Sir *Thomas Tirrels*, of perſons much like, and bre-thren in bloud, but nothing of kinne in conditions: Then ſaid the King merrily to them, What Sirs, bee yee in bed ſo ſoone? and calling up Sir *Iames*, brake to him ſecretly his minde in this michievous mat-ter, in which he found him nothing ſtrange. Where-fore on the morrow he ſent him to *Brakenbury* with a Letter, by which he was commanded to deliver Sir *Iames* all the keyes of the Tower for one nignt, to the end he might accompliſh there the kings plea-ſure in ſuch things as hee had given him in comman-dement. After which Letter delivered, and the keyes received, Sir *Iames* appointed the night next enſuing to deſtroy them, deviſing before, and preparing the meanes.

(18) The Prince in the Tower ſlenderly attended; and altogether neglected by the Nobility, laſtly, had newes that his Vncle had left the name of Protector, and taking upon him the Title of King, who with ful conſent of the Lords was to be crowned within a few dayes following, with the ſame Crowne, and in the like eſtate as had been provided for his ſolemni-tie, whereat the dejected innocent ſighed and ſaid, *Alaſſe, I would my Vncle would let mee enjoy my life yet, though I loſe both my Kingdome and Crowne*, Which words hee pronounced with ſuch a feeling feare, as much moved the Relater to pitty, and to perſwade him with the beſt comforts he could: but forthwith the Prince and his brother were both ſhut up, and all attendants removed from them, onely one called *Blacke-Will*, or *William Slaughter* excep-ted, who was ſet to ſerve them, and ſee them ſure. After which time the Prince never tyed his points, nor cared for himſelfe, but with that young babe his brother lingered with thought and heavineſſe, till their traiterous deathes delivered them out of that wretchedneſſe: for the execution whereof, *Tirrell* appointed *Miles Forreſt*, one of the foure that kept them, a Fellow fleſhed in murther before-time: To whom hee joyned one *John Dighton* his Horſe-keeper, a bigge, broad, ſquare knave.

(19) About mid-night (all others being removed from them,) this *Miles Forreſt*, and *John Dighton*, came into the Chamber, and ſuddenly wrapped up the ſeely children in the bed-cloathes, where they lay keeping by force the Feather-bed and pillowes hard upon their mouthes that they were therein ſmoothe-red to death, and gave up to God their innocent ſouls into the joyes of Heaven, leaving their bodies unto the Tormentors dead in the bed: which after theſe monſtrous wretches perceived, firſt by the ſtrugling with the paines of death, and after long lying ſtill to be throughly diſpatched, they laide their bodies na-ked out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir *Iames* their Inſtigator, to ſee them, who cauſed theſe mur-therers to bury them at the Staires foot, ſomewhat deepe in the ground, under a great heape of ſtones. Then rode Sir *Iames* in haſte to the King, unto whom he ſhewed the manner of their death, and place of buriall, which newes was ſo welcome to his wicked heart, as hee greatly rejoyced, and with great thankes dubbed (as ſome hold) this his mercileſſe inſtrument, Knight. But the place of their buriall hee liked not, ſaying, that vile corner ſhould not containe the bo-dies of thoſe Princes, his Nephewes, and commanded them a better place for buriall, becauſe they were the ſons of a King. Whereupon the Priеſt of the Tower tooke up the bodies; and ſecretly interred them in ſuch place, which by the occaſion of his death could never ſince come to light.

(20) The continuer of *Iohn Harding* tels us, from the report of others, that King *Richard* cauſed Sir *Robert Brakenburies* Prieſt to cloſe their dead Corpes in Lead, and ſo to put them in a Coffin full of holes, and hooked at the ends with two hookes of Iron, and ſo to caſt them into a place called the Black-deepes at the *Thames* mouth, whereby they ſhould never riſe up, or be any more ſeene. Wherefore they were buried, thus they dyed, and by theſe murtherers. For very certaine it is, and well knowne, that at ſuch time as Sir *Iames Tirrell* was in the Tower, for Treaſon committed againſt King *Henry* the ſeaventh, both *Dighton* and hee were examined, and confeſſed the murther in manner as is ſaid, but whither their bo-dies were removed they could not ſay. And thus as I have learned of them that knew much, and little cauſe had to lye, were theſe two Noble Princes, theſe innocent tender children, born of moſt royall bloud, brought up in great wealth, likely to have lived, to have raigned, and ruled in the Realme, by traiterous tyranny taken, deprived of their eſtates, ſhortly ſhut

up

The words of Prince *Edward* when he heard that his Vncle ſhould be King

The faithfull ſervants of the Prince removed from him.

Sir *Th. Moore.*

Prince *Edward* and his bro-ther murthered in a Feather-bed.

Their bodies were buried under a paire of ſtaries.

The bodie of the two Prin-ces removed, and buried no man knowes where.

Hardings Con-tinuer.

The murther-rers confeſſe the deed, and manner of their death. The report of Sir *Th. Moore.*

The vncertaine state of mans life.

up in prison, and impiously murdered, and the body cast out God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall Vncle, and his hellish Tormentors. Which things on every part well pondered; God never gave this world a more notable example, neither in what vnsurety standeth this worldly weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proud enterprise of an high heart, or finally, what wretched end ensueth such barbarous cruelty.

Gods iustice and reuenge vpon the murtherers.

(20) For first to begin with the Ministers, *Miles Forrest*, at *Saint Martins*, peece-meale rotted away *Sir Iames Tyrrill* dyed at Tower-hill for Treason; *Dighton* indeed walketh on alive in good possibility to be hanged ere he die, living at *Calice* no lesse distained and hated then pointed at of all. King *Richard* himselfe as yee shall hereafter heare, was slaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, carried on horse-backe dead, his haire in despite torne, and tugged like a Curre dogge: and the mischiefe that he tooke was within lesse then three yeares of the mischiefe that he did, and yet all the meane time spent in much paine and trouble outward, and much feare, anguish, and sorrow within. For I have heard by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done, he never had quiet in his minde: hee never thought himselfe sure: but where he went abroad, his eyes ever whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one alwayes ready to strike againe, he tooke ill rest a-nights, lay long waking and musing, sore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddainely sometimes started up, leapt out of his bed, and ranne about the Chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually tossed and tumbled with the teadious impression & stormy remembrance of his abominable deed. Neither had he in his best, any time of quiet, for immediately began the conspiracy (or rather good confideration) betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers other Gentlemen against him.

Tab. Hardin. Reuenge of murder repaid.

The guilty conficience of King *Richard*.

(21) Which Duke as soone as *Glouceſter* upon the death of King *Edward* came to *Yorke*, sent thither in secret wise a trusty servant of his, named *Perſall*, to assure him, that he would take his part in this his new world, and if need were, would waite upon him with a thousand good-fellowes: and againe sent offers of the like unto *Nottingham*, whither the Protector from *Yorke*, with many Gentleman of the *North* Countrey was come, and on the way to *London*-ward in secret manner met him himselfe, but at *Northampton* openly with three hundred horse: and from thence still continued with him, being a partner of all his deuises, till that after his Coronation they departed (as it seemed) very great friends at *Glouceſter*, from whence as soone as the Duke came home, he so lightly turned from him, and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marvell whereof the change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of divers men, diverſly reported; Some have said, that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector, the Duke of *Hertford*s Lands, to the which he pretended himselfe just inheritor. And forasmuch as the Title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title of the Crowne, by the line of King *Henry* before deprived, the Protector conceived such indignation, that he rejected the Dukes request, with many spitefull and minatory words, which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he never after could endure to looke aright on King *Richard*, but ever feared his owne life, so farre forth, that when the Protector rode through *London* towards his Coronation, he fained himselfe sicke, because hee would not ride with him: And the other taking it in evill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him to be carried. Whereupon hee rode on with an evill will, and that notwithstanding, on the morrow rose from the Feast, fayning himselfe sick; whereat King *Richard* said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say, that ever after continually each of them lived in such hatred and distrust of other, as the Duke verily looked to have beene murthered at *Glouceſter*: from which nevertheleſſe he in faire manner departed. But surely some right secret, at this day, deny this: and many right wise men thinke it unlikely (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood, if he fell once in suspition of the Tyrant) that either the Protector would give the Duke, occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And verily men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any such conceived opinion, hee would never have suffered the Duke to have escaped his hands.

Outward enemies arise against King *Richard*.

The forward affection of the Duke of *Buckingham* towards the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

(22) The very truth is, *Buckingham* was high-minded man, and could evill beare the glory of another; so that I have heard of some that saw it, that the Duke at such time as the Crowne was first set upon the Protectors head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his face another way. But men say, that he was of truth not well at ease, which to King *Richard* was well knowne, and nothing ill taken, nor any demaund of the Dukes uncourteously rejected, but he both with great gifts and high behests, in most loving and trusty manner, departed at *Glouceſter*. But soone after his comming home to *Brecknocke*, having there in custody by the comaundement of King *Richard*, Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who (yee before heard) was taken in the Counsell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whose wisedome abused his pride to his owne deliverance, and the Dukes destruction.

The deuises of Bishop Morton.

(23) This Bishop was a man of great naturall wit, very well learned, and honourable in behaviour, lacking no wise wayes to win favour: hee had beene fast upon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in wealth; and naytheleſſe left it not, nor forsooke it in woe, but fled the Realme with Queene *Margaret* and Prince *Edward*, while King *Edward* had *Henry* in prison, and never came home but to the field. After which lost, and that side utterly subdued, the other for his fast faith and wiſedome not onely was content to receive him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thence-forth both in great secret truſt, and very speciall favour, which hee nothing deceived. For hee being (as you have heard) after King *Edwards* death, first taken by the Tyrant for his truth to the King, found the meanes to set this Duke in his top, joyned Gentlemen together in aide of Earle *Henry*, deviſing first the marriage betweene him and King *Edwards* daughter: by which his faith, he declared the good service to both his masters at once, with infinite benefite to the Realme, by the conjuction of those two blouds in one; whose severall Titles had long time disquieted the Land; he fled the Realme, went to *Rome*, never minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King *Henry* the seaventh got him home againe, made him Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Chancellour of *England*, whereunto the Pope joyned the honour of a Cardinall. Thus living many dayes in as much honour as one man might well wish, ended them so godly, that his death with Gods mercy, well changed his life.

The Story of Bishop Morton.

(24) This man therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long & often alternate proofe, as well of prosperitie as adverse fortunes, had gotten by great experience (the very mother or mistresse of Wisedome) a deepe insight in politique worldly drifts: Whereby perceiving now this Duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and many pleasant praises. And perceiving by the processe of their communication, the Dukes pride now and then balk out a little bread of envie, towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out,

The occasions of the Kings and Dukes falling asunder.

Buckingham fained himselfe sicke not to attend King *Richard*.

The fauors of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The communication of the Duke and D. *Morton*.

No such fiction betwixt the King and the Duke as was faidtoore.

Sir Thomas Mores opinion of *Buckingham*.

out, if the matter were well handled: hee craftily sought the wayes to pricke him forward, taking alwayes the occasion of his comming, and keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that he rather seemed to follow then to leade him. For when the Duke first began to praise and boast of the King, and shew how much profit the Realme should take by his Raigne, *Morton* answered thus: Surely my Lord, folly it were for me to lie, for if I would sweare the contrary, your Lordship would not ween I beleeve, but that if the world would have gone, as I could have wished, King Henries son had had the Crowne, and not King *Edward*. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King *Edward* to raigne, I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against a quicke. So was I to King *Edward* a faithfull Chaplaine, and glad would have beene that his Childe should have succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret judgement of God have otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurne against the pricke, nor labour to set up, that God purteth downe. And as for the late Protector and now King, and even there he left: saying, that he had already medled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his Booke, and his Beades, and no further.

The Dukes protestation of secrecy.

(24) Then longed the Duke sore to heare what he would have said, because he ended with the King, and there so sodainely stopped, and exhorted him so familiarly, betweene them twaine, to be bold to say whatsoever he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good then hee would weene, and that himselfe intended to use his faithfull, secret advise and counsell, which he said was the onely cause for which hee procured of the King to have him in his custody, where hee might account himselfe at home, and else had hee beene put in the hands of them with whom he should not have found the like favour. The Bishop right humbly thanked him and said: In good faith my Lord, I love not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault. For as much as it shall nor be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I thinke on *Aesops* Tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed upon paine of death there should no horned Beast abide in the Wood, one that had in his fore-head a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace. The Foxe who saw him runne so fast, asked him whither hee made all that haste? and he answered, In faith, I neither wot, nor recke, so I were once hence, because of this Proclamation made against horned beasts. What foole (quoth the *Foxe*) thou maist abide well enough, the Lyon meant not thee, for it is no horne that is in thy head. No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough, but what if he call it a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the Tale, and said, my Lord I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Boare shall picke any matter at any thing here spoken, for it shall never come to their eares. In good faith Sir, said the Bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to say, (taken as well as afore God I meant it) could deserve but thankes; and yet taken as I weene it would, might happily turne me to little good, and you to lesse. Then longed the Duke yet more to wit what it was; whereupon the Bishop said, in good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, sith hee is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the weale of this Realme, whereof his Grace hath now the governance, and my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities, whereof hee hath already right many, little needing my praise; it might yet have pleased God for the better store, to have given him some of such other excellent vertues meete for the rule of a Realme as our Lord hath planted in the person of your Grace: and there left againe.

Buckingham acquaints the Bishop to reueale his deepest secrets.

It is dangerous to deale in Princes affairs.

A pretty Tale pithily applied.

Morton wooed unto King Edwards side.

The vnion of Lancaster and Yorke first set on by Bishop Morton.

Morton made Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellour and Cardinall.

The deepe policy of Bishop Morton.

The desire of the Duke to know his meaning.

His wiſedome and experience.

Edw. Hall.

(25) The Duke somewhat marvelling at his suddaine pauses: said, My Lord, I note your often breathings and suddaine stopping in your communication; so that to my intelligence, your words neither come to any direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might have knowledge what your intent is now towards the King, or what affection you beare towards mee. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to us both, maketh mee not a little to muse, thinking that you have some other privie imagination imprinted in your heart, which you bee abashed to disclose, and specially to me, which on mine honour doe affure you to bee as secret in this case as the deafe and dumb person to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the Dukes promise, but most of all animated, because hee knew the Duke desirous to be magnified, and also he perceived the inward hatred which hee bare towards King *Richard*, he opened his stomacke to the bottome, and said: My singular good Lord, sith the time of my captivitie, which being in your Graces custody, I may rather call it a liberty, then a strait imprisonment, in avoyding of idlenesse, Mother of all Vices, in reading Bookes and ancient Pamphlets, I have found this Sentence written, *That no man is borne free and at liberty of himselfe onely*: for one part of dutie he oweth to his Parents, another part to his friends and kindred; but the native Countrey in the which he first tasted this pleasant and flattering World, demandeth a debt not to be forgotten. Which saying, causeth me to consider in what case the Realme, my native Countrey, now standeth; and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued; what Governour we now have, and what Ruler we might have; for I plainely perceive (the Realme being sin this case) must needs decay, and be brought to confusion: but one hope I have, that is, when I consider your Noble Perſonage, your justice and indifference, your fervent zeale, and ardent love towards your naturall Countrey; and in like manner, the love of your Countrey towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and eloquence, which so much doth abound in your person; I must needes thinke this Realme fortunate, which hath such a Prince in store, meete and apt to be Governour. But on the other side, when I call to memory the good qualites of the late Protector, and now called King, so violated by tyranny, so altered by usurped authority, and so clouded by blinde ambition, I must needs say, that he is neither meet to be King of so Noble a Realme, nor so famous a Realme meet to be governed by such a Tyrant. Was not his first enterprize to obtaine the Crowne, begun by the murther of divers Perſonages? did hee not secondarily proceed against his owne naturall mother; declaring her openly to be a woman given to carnall affection and dissolute living? declaring furthermore, his two brethren, and two Nephewes, to be bastards, and to be borne in adultery? yet not contented, after he had obtained the Garland, he caused the two poore Innocents his Nephewes, committed to him to be most shamefully murthered: the bloud of which little Babes daily cryed to God from the earth for vengeance. What furety can be in this Land to any person, either for life or goods, under such a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne bloud, and much lesse the losse of others? But now to conclude, what I meane towards your Noble person, I say and affirm, if you love God, your linage, or your native Countrey, you muſt your selfe take upon you the Crowne of this Realme, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same, as also for the deliverance of your naturall Country-men from the bondage of such a Tyrant. And if your selfe will refuse to take upon you the Crowne of this Realme, then I adjure you by the faith you owe unto God, to devise some wayes how this Realme may be brought to some convenient Regiment, under some good Governour. When the Bishop had ended

The Bishop perſwadeth the Duke to take the crown unto himselfe.

Blood cryeth for bloud by vengeance.

The change of state under the tyranny of the Vſurper.

The duty of all men toward their native Countries.

The next daies conference.

ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, so that night they communed no more.

(26) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom he said, My Lord of *Ely*, I must needs in heart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you bee a sure friend, a trusty counsellor, and a very lover of your Countrey. And sith that at our last communication, you have disclosed the secrets of your heart touching the now Vsurper of the Crowne, and also have a little touched the advancement of the two noble Families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise declare unto you my priuy intents and secret cogitations. And to begin, when King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to study, and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this Realme should be governed: I perswaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Glouceſter*, whom I thought to be as cleane without diffimulation, as tractable without injurie, and so by my meanes he was made Protector both of the King and Realme; which authority being once gotten, hee never ceased privily to require mee and other Lords, as well Spirituall as temporall, that he might take upon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeares, and were able to governe the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when hee saw me somewhat sticke at, he then brought in instruments, authenticke Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depositions of divers witnesses, testifying King *Edwards* Children to be bastards: which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be fained. When the said depositions were before us read, and diligently heard, he stood up bare-headed, saying: *Well my Lords, euen'as I and you would that my Nephewes ſhould haue no wrong: ſo I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for theſe witneſſes and sayings of famous Doctors bee true: For I am onely the vndubitate heire to Richard Plantagines Duke of Yorke, adjudged to be the very heire of the Crowne of this Realme by authority of Parliament.* Which things so by learned men for verity to us declared, caused me and others to take him for our lawfull and undoubted Prince, and Soveraigne Lord. So againe, by my ayde, hee of a Protector was made a King: but when he was once crowned King, and in full possession of the Realme, hee cast away his old conditions. For, when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Earle of *Hertford* Lands, which his brother *Edward* wrongfully detained from mee, and also required to have the office of the high Constableship of *England*, as divers of my noble Ancestors before this time have had, & in long discent continued; In this my first suite, he did not onely first delay mee, and afterwards deny mee, but gave me such unkinde words, as though I had never furthered him: all which I suffered patiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grudged, insomuch as I abhorred the sight of him; I tooke my leave of the Court, and returned to *Brecknocke* to you, but in my journey as I came, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall Vncle. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occasion given. For I well saw he was disdained of the Lords Temporall, and accursed of the Lords Spirituall. After divers cogitations of this matter, as I rode betweene *Worceſter* and *Bridgenorth*, I encountred with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and sole heire to *John* Duke of *Sommerſet*, my Grand-fathers elder brother, so that shee and her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* be both betweene me and the gate, to enter into the Majesty-royall, and getting of the Crown; and when we had a little communed concerning her son, and were departed, I then began to dispute with my selfe, whether I were best to take it upon me, by the election of the Nobility and Communalty, or to take it by power. Thus standing in a wavering ambiguity, I considered first, the office, duety, and paine of a King, which surely I thinke that no mortall man can justly and truely observe, except he be elected of God, as King *David* was.

The Duke discloseth himselfe to the Bishop.

The Protector desired the Crowne till the Prince came to the age of 24 yeares.

The Protectors words to the Councell.

Change of State, change of manners.

Why *Buckingham* fell from the Vsurper.

Margaret Countesse of *Richmond*.

The doubts of the Duke of *Buckingham*. The great and weighty charge of a King.

(27) But further I remembred, that if I once tooke upon me the Governance of the Realme, the Daughters of King *Edward*, and their Allies, being both for his sake much beloved, and also for the great injurie done to them much pitried, would never cease to barke at the one side of me. Semblably my Cosin the *Earle of Richmond*, his aydes and kinsfolkes will surely attempt either to bite, or to pierce mee on the other side, so that my life and rule should ever hang unquiet in doubt of death or deposition: And if the said two Linages of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* should joyne in one against me, then were I surely matched. Wherefore I have clearely determined utterly to relinquish all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crowne. For, as I tolde you the Countesse of *Richmond* in my returne from the new-named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed mee first for kindreds sake, secondly, for the love I bare to my Grand-father Duke *Humfrey*, who was sworne-brother to her father, to move the King to be good to her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, and to license him with his favour to returne againe into *England*, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, she promised that the Earle her sonne should marry one of the Kings daughters at the appointment of the King, without any thing demaunded for the said espousals, but onely the Kings favour, which requeſt I soone over-passed, and departed. But after in my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bent, that the Earle of *Richmond*, heire of the House of *Lancaſter*, shall take to wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both of the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* may be united in one.

Lewis a Physician another instrument.

Lewis breaketh the intent unto Queene *Elizabeth*.

Bu-kingham reſolution concerning the Crowne.

The communication of the Countesse of *Richmond* with the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(28) When the Duke had said, *Bishop Morton* who ever favoured the House of *Lancaſter*, was wondrous joyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and left the Dukes courage should asswage, or his mindealter, he said to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, sith by Gods provision, and your incomparable wisedome, this noble conjunction is first moved, it is necessary to consider what persons we shall first make privy of this politique conclusion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Lady of *Richmond* the Earles Mother, which knoweth where he is in *Britaine*: sith you will begin that way (said the Bishop) I have an old friend with the Countesse, called *Reinold Bray*, for whom I shall send, if it be your pleasure: so the Bishop wrote for him to come to *Brecknocke*, who strait came backe with the messenger, where the Duke and Bishop declared what they had devised for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, sonne to his Lady and Mistresse: willing her first to compasse how to obtaine the good will of *Queene Elizabeth*, and also of her eldest daughter: and after secretly to send to her son in *Britaine*, to declare what high honour was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* assoone as hee was King of the Realme. With which conclusion, *Reinold Bray*, with a glad heart, returned to the Countesse his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Bishop told the Duke, that if he were in his *Isle* of *Ely*, he could make many friends to further their enterprise. The Duke knew this to be true, but yet loth to lose the Society of such a counsellor, gave him faire words, saying, he should shortly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies, but the Bishop ere the Dukes Company were assembled, secretly disguised, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where he found money and friends, and then sailed into *Flaunders*, where hee did the Earle of *Richmond* good service.

The Queene breaketh to the Countesse.

The two mothers agreed upon the union.

Many drawne into treason against King *Richard*.

Reinold Bray the Instrument.

Hugh Conway sent into *Britaine*.

Bishop *Morton* escapeth from *Brecknock* disguised.

(29) When *Reinold Bray* had declared his message to the Countesse, no marvaile if she were glad; wherefore

wherefore shee devised a meanes how to breake this matter to Queene *Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, and having in her family a certaine Welshman called *Lewis*, learned in Physicke, now having opportunitie to breake her minde unto him, declared that the time was come, that her Sonne should be joyned in marriage with Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* should out of all honour and estate be dejected, and required him to goe to Queene *Elizabeth* not as a messenger, but as one that came friendly to visite her, and as time and place should serve to make her privy of this devise. This Physician with good diligence repaired to the Queene, and when he saw time convenient, said unto her: Madame, although my imagination be very simple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am so bold to utter unto you a secret conceit, which I have compassed in my braine. When I remember the great losse which you have sustained by the death of your loving Husband, and the great sorrow that you have suffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no lesse doe, then daily study how to bring your heart to comfort, and also to revenge the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell Tyrant King *Richard*. And first confider what battell, and what mischiefe have risen by the diffention betweene the two Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, which two families if they may be joyned in one, I doubt not but that your line shall be againe restored to your great joy and comfort: You know, Madame, that of the house of *Lancaſter*, the Earle of *Richmond* is next of bloud, and to the house of *Yorke* your daughters now are heires. If you could devise the meanes how to couple your eldest daughter with the Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the Vsurper should shortly be depoſed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

The meanes to raise the Queen daughter to her right.

Henry Earle of Richmond and Lady Elizabeth must make the union.

Queene Elizabeth readily receiveth the motion.

With whom and how to begin the intended delignes.

(30) When the Queene had heard this friendly Motion, she instantly besought him, that as he had beene the first inventor of so good an enterprise, that now he would not desist to follow the same, requiring him further, that he would resort to the Countesse of *Richmond*, mother to the Earle *Henry*, and to declare to her on the Queenes behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her Husband, should assist and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her sonne, so that he would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtained, to espouse the Lady *Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. *M. Lewis* so sped his businesse, that he made a finall end of this businesse, betweene the two mothers: so the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her Sonne, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe soliciter of this conspiracy, giving him in charge secretly to inveagle such persons of Nobility to joyne with her, and take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

Ships prepared into *Britaine*.

Bishop *Morton* escapeth from *Brecknock* disguised.

Richard Edward sweareth with the Duke of *Britaine*.

(31) This *Reinald Bray* within few daies brought to his lure Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *John Cheinie*, Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramney* Esquiers, and others. In the meane while, the Countesse of *Richmond* sent one *Christopher Vrſwicke*, a Priest into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmond* her Sonne, to declare to him all the agreements betweene her and the Queene agreed: and withall to shew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the first Inventers of this enterprise: the likewise sent *Hugh Conway* an Esquire into *Britaine*, with a great summe of money, giving him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great love that the most part of the Nobilitie of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect so good an occasion offered, but with all speed to settle his minde how to returne into *England*, and therewithall advising him to take Land in *Wales*. When the Earle had received this joyfull message, he brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his secrets, advertising him that hee was entred into a sure and stedfast hope to obtaine the Crowne of *England*, desiring him of help towards the atchieving of his enterprise, which

The Duke of *Buckingham* is sent for by the King.

The Duke of *Buckingham* refuseth to come to the Court.

Commotions begun.

King *Richards* expedition towards *Salisbury*.

The Duke prepareth against the King.

Great mareyes letted that the Conspiracies could not joyne.

The Duke of *Buckingham* keepeth in secret.

The Conspiratours disperſed.

ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, so that night they communed no more.

The next daies conference.

(26) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom he said, My Lord of *Ely*, I must needs in heart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you bee a sure friend, a trusty counsellor, and a very lover of your Countrey. And sith that at our last communcation, you have disclosed the secrets of your heart touching the now Vsurper of the Crowne, and also have a little touched the advancement of the two noble Families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise declare unto you my priuy intents and secret cogitations. And to begin, when King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to study, and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this Realme should be governed: I perswaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Gloucester*, whom I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without injurie, and so by my meanes he was made Protector both of the King and Realme; which authority being once gotten, hee never ceased privily to require mee and other Lords, as well Spirituall as temporall, that he might take upon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeares, and were able to governe the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when hee saw me somewhat sticke at, he then brought in instruments, authenticke Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depositions of divers witnesses, testifying King *Edwards* Children to be bastards: which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to be fained. When the said depositions were before us read, and diligently heard, he stood up bare-headed, saying: *Well my Lords, even as I and you would that my Nephewes should have no wrong: so I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for these witnesses and sayings of famous Doctors bee true: For I am onely the undubitate heire to Richard Plantaginet Duke of Yorke, adjudged to be the very heire of the Crowne of this Realme by authority of Parliament.* Which things so by learned men for verity to us declared, caused me and others to take him for our lawfull and undoubted Prince, and Soveraigne Lord. So againe, by my ayde, hee of a Protector was made a King: but when he was once crowned King, and in full possession of the Realme, hee cast away his old conditions. For, when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Earle of *Hertfords* Lands, which his brother *Edward* wrongfully detained from mee, and also required to have the office of the high Constableship of *England*, as divers of my noble Ancestors before this time have had, & in long discent continued; In this my first suite, he did not onely first delay mee, and afterwards deny mee, but gave me such unkinde words, as though I had never furthered him: all which I suffered patiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grudged, insomuch as I abhorred the sight of him, I tooke my leave of the Court, and returned to *Brecknocke* to you, but in my journey as I came, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall Vncle. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occasion given. For I well saw he was disdained of the Lords Temporall, and accursed of the Lords Spirituall. After divers cogitations of this matter, as I rode betweene *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I encountred with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and sole heire to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grand-fathers elder brother, so that shee and her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond* be both betweene me and the gate, to enter into the Majesty-royall, and getting of the Crown; and when we had a little communed concerning her son, and were departed, I then began to dispute with my selfe, whether I were best to take it upon me, by the election of the Nobility and Communalty, or to take it by power. Thus standing in a wavering ambiguity, I considered first, the office, duety, and paine of a King, which surely I thinke that no mortall man can justly and truely observe, except he be elected of God, as King *David* was.

The Duke discloseth himselfe to the Bishop.

The Protector desired the Crowne till the Prince came to the age of 24 yeares,

The Protectors words to the Counsell.

Change of State, change of manners.

Why Buckingham sell from the Vsurper.

Margaret Countesse of *Richmond*.

The doubts of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

The grosse and waighty charge of a King.

(27) But further I remembred, that if I once tooke upon me the Governance of the Realme, the Daughters of King *Edward*, and their Allies, being both for his sake much beloved, and also for the great injurie done to them much pitied, would never cease to barke at the one side of me. Semblably my Cosin the *Earle of Richmond*, his aydes and kinsfolkes will surely attempt either to bite, or to pierce mee on the other side, so that my life and rule should ever hang unquiet in doubt of death or deposition: And if the said two Linages of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* should joyne in one against me, then were I surely matched. Wherefore I have clearely determined utterly to relinquish all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crowne. For, as I tolde you the Countesse of *Richmond* in my returne from the new-named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed mee first for kindreds sake, secondly, for the love I bare to my Grand-father Duke *Humfrey*, who was sworne-brother to her father, to move the King to be good to her sonne *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, and to license him with his favour to returne againe into *England*, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, she promised that the Earle her sonne should marry one of the Kings daughters at the appointment of the King, without any thing demaunded for the said espousals, but onely the Kings favour, which request I soone over-passed, and departed. But after in my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bent, that the Earle of *Richmond*, heire of the House of *Lancaster*, shall take to wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both of the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* may be united in one.

Lewis a Physitian another instrumene.

Lewis breaketh the intent unto Queene Elizabeth.

Buckingham resolution concerning the Crowne.

The commendation of the Countesse of Richmond with the Duke of Buckingham.

The meanes to wife the Queen daughter to her right.

Henry Earle of Richmond and Lady Elizabeth matrimonie betweene them.

(28) When the Duke had said, *Bishop Morton* who ever favoured the House of *Lancaster*, was wondrous joyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and lest the Dukes courage should asswage, or his mind alter, he said to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, sith by Gods provision, and your incomparable wisedome, this noble conjunction is first moved, it is necessary to consider what persons we shall first make privy of this politique conclusion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Lady of *Richmond* the Earles Mother, which knoweth where he is in *Britaine*: sith you will begin that way (said the Bishop) I have an old friend with the Countesse, called *Reinold Bray*, for whom I shall send, if it be your pleasure: so the Bishop wrote for him to come to *Brecknocke*, who strait came backe with the messenger, where the Duke and Bishop declared what they had devised for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, sonne to his Lady and Mistresse: willing her first to compasse how to obtaine the good will of *Queene Elizabeth*, and also of her eldest daughter: and after secretly to send to her son in *Britaine*, to declare what high honour was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* affoone as hee was King of the Realme. With which conclusion, *Reinold Bray*, with a glad heart, returned to the Countesse his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Bishop told the Duke, that if he were in his *Isle* of *Ely*, he could make many friends to further their enterprise. The Duke knew this to be true, but yet loth to lose the Society of such a counsellor, gave him faire words, saying, he should shortly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies, but the Bishop ere the Dukes Company were assembled, secretly disguised, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where he found money and friends, and then sailed into *Flaunders*, where hee did the Earle of *Richmond* good service.

The two mothers agreed upon the union.

With whom and how to begin the intended designes.

Many drawne into faction against King Richard.

Reinold Bray, the Instrument.

(29) When *Reinold Bray* had declared his message to the Counteſſe, no marvaile if ſhe were glad; wherefore

wherefore ſhee deviſed a meanes how to breake this matter to Queene *Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*, and having in her family a certaine Welſhman called *Lewis*, learned in Phyſicke, now having opportunitie to breake her minde unto him, declared that the time was come, that her Sonne ſhould be joyned in marriage with Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* ſhould out of all honour and eſtate be dejected, and required him to goe to Queene *Elizabeth* not as a meſſenger, but as one that came friendly to viſite her, and as time and place ſhould ſerve to make her privy of this deviſe. This Phyſician with good diligence repaired to the Queene, and when he ſaw time convenient, ſaid unto her: Madame, although my imagination be very ſimple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am ſo bold to utter unto you a ſecret conceit, which I have compaſſed in my braine. When I remember the great loſſe which you have ſuſtained by the death of your loving Husband, and the great ſorrow that you have ſuffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no leſſe doe, then daily ſtudy how to bring your heart to comfort, and alſo to revenge the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell Tyrant King *Richard*. And firſt conſider what battell, and what miſchiefe have riſen by the diſſention betweene the two Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*, which two families if they may be joyned in one, I doubt not but that your line ſhall be againe reſtored to your great joy and comfort: You know, Madame, that of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, the Earle of *Richmond* is next of bloud, and to the houſe of *Yorke* your daughters now are heires. If you could deviſe the meanes how to couple your eldeſt daughter with the Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the Vſurper ſhould ſhortly be depoſed, and your heire againe to her right reſtored.

Queene Elizabeth readily receiveth the motion.

The Queene maketh to the Counteſſe.

(30) When the Queene had heard this friendly Motion, ſhe inſtantly beſought him, that as he had beene the firſt inventor of ſo good an enterpriſe, that now he would not deſiſt to follow the ſame, requiring him further, that he would reſort to the Counteſſe of *Richmond*, mother to the Earle *Henry*, and to declare to her on the Queenes behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her Husband, ſhould aſſiſt and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her ſonne, ſo that he would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtained, to eſpouſe the Lady *Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. *M. Lewis* ſo ſped his buſineſſe, that he made a finall end of this buſineſſe, betweene the two mothers: ſo the Lady *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Richmond*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her Sonne, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe ſoliciter of this conſpiracy, giving him in charge ſecretly to inveagle ſuch perſons of Nobility to joyne with her, and take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

Reinold Bray, the Inſtrument.

(31) This *Reinald Bray* within few daies brought to his lure Sir *Giles Daubeny*, Sir *John Cheinie*, Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramney* Eſquiers, and others. In the meane while, the Counteſſe of *Richmond* ſent one *Chriſtopher Vrſwicke*, a Prieſt into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmond* her Sonne, to declare to him all the agreements betweene her and the Queene agreed: and withall to ſhew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the firſt Inventers of this enterpriſe: ſhe likewiſe ſent *Hugh Conway* an Eſquire into *Britaine*, with a great ſumme of mony, giving him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great love that the moſt part of the Nobilitie of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion offered, but with all ſpeed to ſettle his minde how to returne into *England*, and therewithall adviſing him to take Land in *Wales*. When the Earle had received this joyfull meſſage, he brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his ſecrets, adverti-ſing him that hee was entred into a ſure and ſtedfaſt hope to obtaine the Crowne of *England*, deſiring him of help towards the atchieving of his enterpriſe, which

Hugh Conway ſent into Britaine.

Bishop Morton eſcapeth from Brecknock diſguiſed.

The Duke promiſed, and afterwards performed whereupon the Earle ſent back againe *Hugh Conway*, & *Th. Ramney* to declare his comming ſhortly into *England*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is ſent for by the King.

(32) In the meane ſeaſon the chiefe of the conſpiracy in *England*, began many enterpriſes, which being never ſo privily handled, yet knowledge thereof came to King *Richard*, and becauſe he knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the chiefe head, and aide of this combination, he thought it moſt neceſſary to plucke him from that part, and thereupon addreſſed his loving Letters unto the Duke, requeſting him moſt earneſtly to come to the Court, whoſe grave adviſe for counſell hee then ſtood much in need of; with many words of kinde complements to be uttered from the mouth of the meſſenger: but the Duke miſtruſting thoſe ſweet promiſes proceeded out of a bitter intent, and knowing King *Richard* to ſpeake moſt faireſt when he meant fouleſt play, deſired the King of pardon, excuſing himſelfe that he was ſickly, and not well able to travell: which excuſe the King would not admit, but ſent other Letters with checking words, commanding him without delay to repaire to his preſence: unto which the Duke made a determinate anſwer that he would not come to his mortall enemy: and immediate prepared warre againſt him. Whereupon, *Thomas* Marqueſſe *Dorſet* came out of *Sanctuary*, and gathered a great band of men in the Countie of *Yorke*, Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* his Brother, Biſhop of *Exceiter*, raiſed another Army in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, and in *Kent*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and other Gentlemen raiſed a Company, and all this was done even in one moment.

The Duke of *Buckingham* refuſeth to come to the Court.

Commotions begun.

(33) King *Richard* rouzed from his pleaſures in progreſſe, ſent forth commiſſion to muſter his men, and with a great preparation from *London* marched towards *Salisbury*, thinking it not beſt to diſparkle his power into ſmall parts in purſuing his enemies every way at once, and therefore omitting all others, with a great puiſſance went to ſet upon the Duke of *Beckingham*, the head of the ſpring. The Duke hearing of the Kings approach, made out to meete him before he came too farre, accompanied with a great power of wilde *Welſhmen*, whom he had enforced to follow him, more by his Lordly commandement, then by liberall wages, which thing indeed was the cauſe that they fell off, and forſooke him. His march was thorow the Forreſt of *Deane*, intending for *Glocester*, where he meant to paſſe *Severne*, and ſo have joyned his Army with the *Courtneys*, and other Weſterne men, which had he done, no doubt King *Richard* had beene in great jeopardie. But before he could attaine the *Severne* ſide, by force of continuall raine the River roſe ſo high, that it overflowed all the Countrey adjoyning, and was not againe bounded within his owne bankes for the ſpace of ten daies, ſo that the Duke could not get over, nor his Complices any wiſe come unto him, during which time the *Welſhmen* lingring idle, without wages, or victuall, ſuddenly brake up Campe, and departed; whereupon the Duke was wonderouſly perplexed, not knowing how to recover this unfortunate chance, and deſtitute of power to ſhew himſelfe in field, fought to ſecure himſelfe in ſecret, till deſtiny aſſigned him a better day.

King *Richards* expedition towards *Salisbury*.

The Duke prepareth againſt the King.

Great matters feared that the Complices could not joyne.

(34) A ſervant he had in eſpeciall favour and truſt, brought up tenderly by him, and riſen to great wealth and eſteeme, his name was *Humfrey Baniſter*, and place of reſidence neere unto *Shrewsbury*, whither the diſtreſſed Duke in diſguiſe repayred, intending there to remaine ſecret, untill he might either raiſe a new power, or elſe by ſome means convay himſelfe unto *Britaine* to *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*: but as ſoone as the others which had attempred the ſame enterpriſe againſt the King, had knowledge that *Buckingham* was forſaken of his Company, and could not be found, as men ſtrucke in ſodaine feare ſhifted every one for himſelfe, many of them taking Sanctuary, but the moſt of the chiefeſt tooke into

The Duke of *Buckingham* keepeth in ſecret.

The Conſpirators diſperſed.

Many fled into Britaine to Earle Henry.

Britaine, among whom were *Peter Courtney*, Bishop of *Excester*, with his brother *Edward* Earle of *Devonshire*, *Thomas* Marquesse *Dorset*, the Queenes Sonne, and his young sonne *Thomas* beinga Child, *Edward Woodvile* Knight, brother to the Queene, *Iohn* Lord *Wells*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Iohn Bourchier*, Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *Iohn Cheinie* with his two Brethren, Sir *William Barkley*, Sir *Richard Edgecombe*, and Sir *William Brandon*, *Edward Poinings* an excellent Captaine and others.

A proclamation for the apprehension of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

(35) *Richard* thus farre proceeded, and no enemy seene, his hopes were encreased, and feares daily lesse; yet being a Prince politique and vigilant, he commanded the Ports to be securely kept, and knowing that *Buckingham* was not fled with the rest, made Proclamation for the apprehending of that Duke, promising a thousand pound to the man that could bring him forth, with pardon of his faults, to enjoy the Kings favour, and if he were a Bond-man, presently to be made free. *Banister* minding the present, and forgetting what was past, spread his lap first to receive this golden shower, and in hope of this gaine, made no conscience to betray his owne Lord, who had now laid his life upon trust in his hands: hee therefore repayring to the Sheriffe of *Shrewsbury*, revealed the Duke, who disguised like a poore Countriman, and digging in a grove neere unto *Banisters* House, was apprehended, and with a great Guard of men was brought unto *Salisbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and where without arraignement or judgement, upon the second of November he lost his head: whose death was the lesse lamented, for that himselfe had beene the chiefe Instrument to set the Crowne wrongfully upon *Richards* head: and yet the treachery of *Banister* was most severely punished, as many have observed, nor onely in the losse of his reward promised, which he never had, and infamy received, never after shaken off; but also in himselfe and children, as are thus reported; his eldest sonne and heire fell mad, and dyed so distracted in a Boares Stye: his second sonne became deformed in his limmes, and fell lame; his third sonne was drowned in a small puddle of water; his eldest daughter was sodainly strucke with a foule leprosie, and himselfe being of extreame age, was arraigned and found guiltie of murder, and by his Clergie saved his life.

Banister betrayeth his Lord the Duke of *Buckingham*.

Buckingham beheaded.

Banister loseth his reward, but endeth punishments.

A Commotion in *Kent*.

(36) An other Commotion at the same time was in *Kent*, where *George Browne* and *Iohn Gilford* Knights, *Fogge*, *Scot*, *Clifford*, and *Bonting*, with five thousand men attempted great matters at *Gravesend*, but hearing of the Duke of *Buckinghams* surprise, dispersed themselves for that time. But when King *Richard* perceived how hee was every where beset, he sent one *Thomas Hutton* vnto *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, with proffers of gold to circumvent and imprison Earle *Henry*, who as hee feared was too well friended in those forraine parts, which thing indeed this *Hutton* well perceived, and so to the King reported, that the Duke was nothing forward to bite at this baite, whereupon, those that lately fled *England*, were indited of treason, and other of *Henries* factions beheaded, whereof Sir *George Browne*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* Knights, with foure others were beheaded at *London*, and at *Exceter* for the like cause dyed Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who had married Lady *Anne* Dutchesse of *Exceiter*, King *Richards* own sister, with others; so jealous was the King of his usurped Crowne; and that nothing should be laid to unprovident fore-sight, the coasts he stored with Armies of men, furnished the Ports with store of Provision, and made all things ready to withstand Earle *Henries* arrivall. Who now having gotten ayde of five thousand *Britaines*, with forty vessels well furnished, set saile from thence the twelfth of *October*, but was taken with so terrible a tempest, that his Fleet was disparkled, some into *Normandy*, and some compelled to returne into *Britaine*, onely the Earles Ship with one other kept the Seas, being sore tossed all night, and in the morning arrived in the mouth of *Poole* in the Countie of *Dorset*, where he might behold the Shore full of men shining in armour, to his great amazement, whereupon hee sent out his Ship-boat to know whether they were friends or enemies; their answer was, that they were thither appointed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, to attend the comming of the Earle of *Richmond*, to conduct him in safetie to the Duke, who lay encamped not far off, that so joyning their forces, they might prosecute *Richard* the Vsurper, who being in a manner destitute of men, was fore distracted, and desperate in his owne designes. These smooth untruths notwithstanding Earle *Henry* avoided, and with a forward gale returned to *Normandy*, whence he sent Messengers unto young *Charles* King of *France*, whose father King *Lewis* was lately departed this life, to have his safe conduct to returne into *Britaine*, which easily was granted with favourable complements returned to the Earle. Lord *Henry* thus crossed by Sea, had present newes of *Buckinghams* surprise and death, with the flight of the Nobles escaped from *Richard*: who meeting with *Richmond* in *Britaine*, fell forthwith into Counsell: where first it was determined that Earle *Henry* should take his oath to espouse the Lady *Elizabeth* eldest daughter unto King *Edward*, and the immediate heire to the Crowne, which he solemnely did in the Church at *Rhedon*: and they for their parts sweare unto him fealty, doing him homage with no lesse respect then unto their sole and crowned King.

Earle Henry returneth into *Britaine*.

(37) Of these proceedings King *Richard* soone heard, which indeed greatly appaled his thoughts, and all pensive and sad hee returned out of the West towards *London*, where to cut off the hopes of *Richmonds* further claime, he caused a Parliament to be assembled at *Westminster*, and therein attainted the said Earle *Henry* himselfe, and all such as had fled the Land in his behalfe, enacting them enemies to their naturall Countrey, their goods to be confiscated, and all their Lands and Possessions to be seized upon to the Kings use, which was so forwarded by his lewd Counsellors, and so executed by his fawning followers, that some better affected, set forth the present and oppressed estate in these scoffing rimes, to their further disgrace, divulging their names in manner as followeth;

The cat, the rat, and Lovell the dogge,
Rule all England under a hogge.

Alluding to the names of *Ratcliffe* the Kings mischievous Minion, and of *Catesby* his secret traducer, and to the Kings cognizance, which was the Boare: for which *William Collingborne* Esquier, who had beene Sheriffe of *Wiltshire* and *Dorsetshire*, was condemned, and upon the Tower-hill executed with all extremitie.

A subtile traine laid for the Earle.

(38) King *Richards* state standing in dangers abroad, and not altogether free from conspiracies at home, hee thought it best policy to enter amitie with *Scotland*, which he did for the terme of three yeares, and the more firme to assure himselfe of that King, hee intreated a marriage betwixt the Duke of *Rothsay* the Kings eldest sonne, and the Lady *de'la Pole*, daughter to *Iohn* Duke of *Suffolke*, and to the Dutchesse *Elizabeth* King *Richards* owne sister, whom he so much favoured, as that after the death of his owne sonne, he proclaimed *Iohn* Earle of *Lincolne*, her sonne and his Nephew, heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*, disinheriting King *Edwards* daughters, whose Brothers he had before murdered.

Landois promiseth to deliver the Earle.

Bishop *Morton* giveth Henry notice of his danger.

King *Charles* granteth him safe conduct to Henry

Earle Henry hardly escaped.

The Duke of *Britaine* displeased at *Landois* The honourable dealings of the Duke of *Britaine*.

Iohn Earle of *Oxford* commeth to Earle Henry.

William Collingborne executed for the Rime.

Iohn Earle of *Oxford* in great favour with Henry.

Bishop Fox in great favour with King Henry.

King Richard maketh peace with Scotland.

Iohn de la Pole Earle of *Lincolne* proclaimed heire apparant.

The preferments of Bishop Fox.

Offices made in the Duke of *Britaine*.

(39) His feares nothing lessened, but rather daily increased, he attempted once more to stop the Currant which led to the spring, to which end he sent his Ambassadours loaden with Gold, and many gay promises unto *Francis Duke of Britaine*, offering to give him all *Richmonds* lands, and yearely revenues if he would either send the said Earle into *England*, or commit him there unto prison. These comming to the

Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford founded by Bishop Fox.

the Dukes court, could have no communication with him, he lying extreamely sicke, and his wits too weak to entertaine discourse. Whereupon *Peter Landois* his Treasurer, a man pregnant in wit, and of great authority, tooke the motion in hand, unto whom the English Ambassadors promised all the Earles Revenewes if hee could bring King *Richards* request to passe. Hee greedy of gaine, and being in place to doe what he vvould, promised to effect it, conditionally that King *Richard* would make good his offer. Thus vvhilest messengers posted betvvixt *Peter* and *Richard*, *Iohn* Bishop of *Ely* being then in *Flaunders*, vvas certified by *Christopher Vrswicke* of all the circumstances of this purpose, vvhereupon the Bishop vvith all possible hast, sent the same intelligence the same day, and by the same man, unto *Earle Henry* in *Britaine*, vvilling him to shift himselfe and followvers, into *France*: vvho forthvvith sent *Vrswicke* unto King *Charles*, to have his license that he might vvith his good liking come into his dominions, vvhich being obtained he caused the other Lords, under pretence to visit the sicke Duke, to escape into *Anjou*, and vvo daies after changing his Apparell vvith his servant, vvaited upon him as upon his Master, and posted thence into *France*: vvhose escape vvhen the Treasurer heard of, he sent after to apprehend him, and that in such hast as at his entrance into the *French* dominions they vvere hard at his heeles.

(40) This sudd aine flight of the Earle and of the other English Lords, the *Duke of Britaine* (being somewhat recovered of his dangerous sicknesse) tooke very grievously, imputing it a great dishonour unto himselfe, to suffer the least suspect of breach betwixt him and the Earle, and therefore fore offended at *Landose* whom he suspected to be deepe in the deed, he sent for *Edward Woodvile* and *Edward Pownings*, two English Esquires, unto whom he delivered a sum of money which he had promised to Earle *Henry*, with a convoy unto all the rest of the *English*, to depart *Vannes*, bearing all their charges till they came to their Earle in *France*. Neither was King *Charles* backward to forward *Earle Richmond* against the Tyrant and Vsurper of the *English* Crowne. And the more to joy *Henry*, *Iohn Earle of Oxford*, imprisoned by King *Edward* the fourth in the Castle of *Hammes*; with Captaine *Blunt* his Keeper, and Sir *Iohn Fortescue* Porter of *Calis*, came unto *Earle Henry* to take their fortunes in following of his. This Earle of *Oxford*, as we have seene, was a continuall ayder of King *Henry* the sixt, against his opposite King *Edward*, and had done many services in the *Lancastrians* cause, till destiny had cast downe the hopes of their side. Him therefore *Earle Henry* made his chiefe Counsellor for warre, as for experience, policy, valour, and faith in that businesse, no man was more meete. Whose prowesse further appeared when *Earle Henry* won the wreath at *Bosworth*-field, where, in the Front of that Battell, he lead the band of Archers, and ever after lived in great favour with this King *Henry* the seventh, and in great honour dyed the fourth yeare of King *Henry* the eight. In the like trust for Counsell and favour with these Kings, was *Richard Foxe* Doctor of Divinitie, who being then a student in *Paris*, was found by *Earle Richmond* to be the chiefest man for imployment in his French businesse, which he so prudently and faithfully effected, as the Earle being King, acknowledging him one of his principall advancers, made him of his Privie-Councell, Lord Privie-Seale, and raised him to very great places in Church and Common-wealth, and lastly to testifie in what deare esteeme he held him, made him God-father to his sonne Prince *Henrie*, who was after King of *England*, with whom in great reverence he lived a long time, even till his eye-sight fayled through age, and did many workes of pietie, whereof *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, is and shall be for ever a noble witnesse; and his honourable care of reverend antiquitie, in preserving the bones of many *Saxon* Kings, and by him bestowed in faire Monuments in the Cathedrall Church of *Winchester*, shall never want due celebration amongst all that honour antiquitie and glorious studies. But from these worthy Subjects, we returne againe to the Soveraigne King *Henry*.

King *Richard* intendeth to marry with his Neece.

A subtile device.

Many faire promises intending foule ends.

Queene *Elizabeth* brought into fooles Paradise.

King *Richard* his five daughters delivered to the Tyrant their Vncle.

Queene *Elizabeth* sendeth for the Marquesse her sonne.

Queene *Anne* hindereth the purpose of the King.

King *Richards* claimed sorrow.

* Of Twise.

King *Richard* refraineth his Queenes bed.

(41) Whose beginnings thus forwarded by the Duke of *Britaine* and the French King, drew many English into *France*, and filled the heart of the Vsurper with an extreame feare; therefore to accomplish by pollicy, what was doubtfull by Armes, he fought to baite his hooke yet another way. The title he knew stood with the daughters of King *Edward* (his sonnes being murdered) and among them to Lady *Elizabeth* the eldest, whose marriage he well saw must bring *Henry* the Crowne. But that once diverted, his streame of it selfe could beare no great float, nor bring any inundation into the Land, and therefore Queene *Elizabeth* in Sanctuary must bee Courted, that her daughters might come to Court, and there be regarded according to their degrees. This so cunningly was carryed, by men that could carry themselves to fit womens affections, that the King was purged of the murther of her sonnes; she made to beleeve that her selfe was respected a Dowager Queene, and sister in law to the present King; and that himselfe had a Prince and many Princely Peeres most fit matches for those Princes her Daughters; that her sonne *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, whilest he followed the runnaway *Henry*, left his honorable preferments intended to him-ward; and lastly, requiring a reconciliation with the Queene, forgave all injuries uttered against him out of her womanish passions, with a most willing heart: and indeed these messengers were such Crafts-masters, as they brought Queene *Elizabeth* into a fooles-Paradise, and made her beleeve that their words were his heart. Whereupon forgetting all things passed before, as the murther of her sonnes, the dishonour of her husband, the bastardy of their Children, and her owne scandall for Sorcery: nor remembring the faithfull promise she made to Lady *Margaret Earle Henries* mother, she delivered her five Daughters, as Lambes committed to the ravening Wolfe, in which act of hers is seene the weakenesse of that Sexe, and the ambition whereunto by nature they are inclined; for presently upon the delivery of her Daughters, she sent privily for the Lord *Marquesse Dorset* her sonne, then residing in *Paris*, willing him to desist from the Earles Faction, and come unto King *Richard*, who promised him preferment, and that her selfe and Daughters were in high favour, all injuries on both parts forgiven and forgotten.

(42) This entrance made unto the Tragedy intended, to furnish the Stage and finish the Scene of her owne life, the next Actor must be Queene *Anne*, who onely now stood in the Tyrants way, her death he meant should give life to his intended Regency, and adde a further Claime and strength to the possession which he already had, by matching with his Neece, the next heire unto the Crowne, the Lady *Elizabeth*; the let onely resting that himselfe had a Wife, her death therefore must immediately be sought, yet so as the honourable repure of his name should no wayes be impeached, ever carrying himselfe in outward semblance for a good religious honest man, and much desirous that his people should account him so. First therefore he began to lament the barrennesse of his wives wombe, and the great dangers that the Realme was like to sustaine, if himselfe should dye Issueless, complaining often thereof unto his Nobilitie, but most especially unto * Archbishop *Rotheram* lately released out of prison, whereby the Prelate conjectured Queene *Anne* had not long to live. Then refrained he her bed, under pretext of Penancy, taking her defect as a scourge for his owne sinnes, which day and night he sought to expiate by prayers: His next pollicy was, how her death might be wrought with the least suspect of wrong, and how taken when she was gone: Therefore

A report given forth that Queene *Anne* was dead.

as an assay to the Peoples taste, he caused it to be given forth that Queene *Anne* was dead, which was so commonly divulged, that the rumour thereof came to her owne eare, and shee having had sufficient experience of her Husbands proceedings, feared this to be one of his plots, mistrusting(and not without cause)that her life was in danger, whereupon all dismaid, with a lamentable countenance, she came to the King, and with weeping teares demanded, what offence shee had done, that the sentence of death was given against her already? *Richard* made it strange to see her so perplext, and with loving words, and smiling semblance, bade her live to scandalize report, and to thinke that many yeares were yet added to her life, but whether in conceit for sorrow, or of poyson, I cannot say, she died shortly after, and was solemnely buried in the Abbey of *Westminster*.

Queene *Anne* feareth her owne death.

Her death and burial place.

(43) The King thus delivered from the bands of matrimony, and now a widower, at liberty to choose where he would, cast glances of love towards the Lady *Elizabeth* his owne brothers daughter, and began to court her for his second Queene, but the thing was so offensive to the law of nature, and so directly against the Law of God, as all men abhorred the motion, and most of all the Maiden her selfe, which *Richard* perceiving, he forbare over earnest pursuite, to gaine his time and to fit occasions; but most especially, having no leasure to woo, his Subjects on all sides daily revolting, and his Nobles more and more had in suspect; among whom one was Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earle of *Darby*, who had married Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, Earle *Henries* owne Mother: him therefore he most mistrusted, and before he would admit his departure from Court, commanded him to leave his sonne and heire *George Stanley*, the Lord *Strange*, for his hostage, which he did, though it little availed to binde *Darbies* affection unto his side.

King *Richard* courteth Lady *Elizabeth*.

Levit. 18. 14.

Thomas Earle of *Darby* much suspected of the King.

George, Lord *Strange*, delivered in pledge to King *Richard*.

(44) In this while King *Richard* hearing that *Oxford* had escaped out of the Castle of *Hammes*, and that he, with the Captaine thereof *James Blunt*, were fled into *France*, and joyned with *Richmond*; thought it high time to quench the sparkes in those parts, before they should rise to a higher flame; and therefore he appointed (which was prefently accomplished) the Garrison at *Calis* to strait the said Castle with a hard siege, being well assured that many well-willers to the Earles proceedings lay there harboured, who upon the least advantage would be ready to play. But *Henry* not unmindfull of his distressed friends, nor *Oxford* forgetting his kinde Hostesse Captaine *Blunts* wife, made unto the Peece, and on the sudden put *Thomas Brandon*, with thirtie approved Souldiers into the Castle, who from the walles played upon the besiegers, whiles *Oxford* annoyed them upon their backes, so that presently they offered, and came to a composition; which was, that they within should safely depart, but the Castle to remaine in subjection to the King.

Hammes besieged by the Garrison of *Calis*.

The Earle of *Oxford* feeth his old friends from *Hammes*.

(45) *Hammes* thus restored, in danger to be lost, and nothing had thence besides a woman and a few suspected persons, King *Richard* thought himselfe now sure of all, and fearing no invasion at home, imagined that much harme could not be done abroad: for *Henry* in *France* (as he thought) found very few friends, and was fully perswaded that the *French* Kings assistance stood more of words then in deeds. And indeed some occasion of such suspition was ministred; for King *Charles* but young, and the Princes at variance, Earle *Henry* was enforced to make suite unto them man by man. Besides, *Thomas* Marquesse *Dorset*, sent for by his Mother the Queene, suddenly in the night made an escape from *Paris*, with purpose for *England*, which stroke great feare among Earle *Henries* part, chiefly for that all their Counsels were knowne unto the Marquesse, which if he should reveale, their designes were made desperate. To prevent which, he vvas posted after, and brought backe againe, though much against his will. These things considered, King *Richard*, to lessen his great charges, discharged his Navy at Seas, commanding the *Welsh* to watch the shoare, Beacons to be built, and armour to be ready at every call; then giving his affections leave to entertaine more securitie, saw not the sword that hung over his head.

King *Richard* dischargeth his Navy.

Henry solliciteth the *French*, man by meanes.

Marquesse *Dorset* seeketh to escape from *Henry*.

(46) But Earle *Henry* delivered from the feare of the Marquesse, thought it not best to prolong time, lest others upon like purposes should bewray his intents; and thereupon obtaining a small ayde of the *French*, with a certaine summe of money, for which the Lord Marquesse (whom he much mistrusted) and Sir *John Bourchier* were left in pledge, he set forward to *Roan*, and prepared his shipping in the mouth of *Seyn*: whither tidings was brought him of Queene *Annes* death, and that King *Richard* purposed to marry Lady *Elizabeth*: a feare indeed farre exceeding the former, shee being the Princesse by whom he must claime, whereupon much distemperature arose, every mans braine working upon the newes. But after much consultation, it was held the best to make over into *England*, to interpose the proceedings ere the match was fully made, whereupon Earle *Richmond* with two thousand men onely, and a small number of ships, set sayle from *Harfleut* the fifteenth of *August*, and the seventh day following arrived at *Milford*-Haven in *Wales*, where taking Land he came unto *Dale*, and thence the next day marched to *Hereford* west, ten miles into the Maine, from thence he marched to *Cardigan*, where he had newes that the Countrey was fore-laid against him, but finding that untrue, he made still forward, beating downe such Houlds as held against him: then sending secretly to Lady *Margaret* his Mother, to the Lord *Stanley*, *Talbot*, and others, signified unto them, he meant to passe *Severne* at *Shrewesbury*, and thence to march directly towards *London*. In his way to *Shrewesbury*, there met him Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a man of great command in *Wales*, with a number of men to side in his quarrell, which *Henry* afterwards required in making this his first ayder the Governour of *Wales*.

Earle *Henry* setteth forward his journey.

A sudden feare.

Henry of *Richmond* ariveth at *Milford*-Haven.

Henry sent word of his vaage to his Mother, and others.

Sir *Rice ap Thomas* joyneth with *Henry*.

(47) The Earle more boldly from *Shrewesbury*, held on his march to the Towne of *Newport*, whither Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, with two thousand strong, from the young Earle of *Shrewesbury*, gave him his ayde. Then passed he forward to *Stafford*, and had conference there with Sir *William Stanley*; and proceeding forward, was honourably received into the Citie *Lichfield*, where *Thomas* Earle of *Darby*, with five thousand armed men, had beene some few dayes before, but hearing of Earle *Henries* approach, removed to *Anderson*, to avoid suspition of the jealous King than kept his sonne Hostage for his further truth.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot* joyneth with Earle *Henry*.

Henry commeth to *Lichfield*.

(48) King *Richard* at this time held his Court at *Nottingham*, where being informed that Earle *Henry* with a small Company was landed in *Wales*, made small account of what he could doe, altogether relying upon the Lord *Walter Herbert*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, two principall men, in whom he conceived no little truth: yet lest this new-risen spring might gather in more heads, he sent to *John* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, willing them with a selected power to represse the insolency of this head-strong Earle: Moreover, he sent for Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, Knights, all of them in great jealousie and mistruth; commanding them with their forces to come and attend upon his person, which accordingly they set forward to doe, meane while sending his Spials to know the way *Henry* went, had intelligence that hee was past *Shrewesbury* without any impeachment; whereat storming in choller, and cursing their untruthes whom he had put in trust, craved vengeance from Heaven, and instantly

King *Richard* at *Nottingham*.

John Duke of *Norfolke*, *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* sent for to the King *Brakenbury*. *Bourchier*. *Hungerford*.

King *Richard* put in choller.

instantly intended to revenge it himselfe; then having notice the Earle was at *Lichfield*, and his party increased by daily repaire, incontinently hee marshalled his followers; and like a valiant Captaine and politicke leader set forward his Battailes five and five in a rancke. In the middest of his troopes he bestowed the Carriages belonging to his Army: and himselfe mounted upon a white Courser, invironed with his Guard, followed by his footmen, and the wings of Horsemen ranged on every side, with a frowning sterne countenance, but yet in great Pompe, entred the Towne of *Leicester* after the Sun was set, being full of indignation and swelling in anger, which somewhat he asswaged with threats of revenge.

King *Richard* forward to meet his enemy.

King *Richard* commeth to *Leicester*.

(49) Earle *Richmond* from *Leichfield* departed for *Tamworth*, and in the way met Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford* going towards the King, who upon this unlooked for occasion, and knowing themselves in what suspition they stood, secretly left the company of their Captaine *Brakenbury* the night following, and wandring in waies unknown, with much adoe got safely unto the Earles Companies.

Sir *Thomas* and Sir *walter Hungerford*, turne to Earle *Henry*.

(50) In the like danger through darkenesse of night, *Henry* himselfe chanced to come, for albeit he was a man both valiant and forward, and by his own wisedome could manage his waightiest affaires; Yet now having notice that King *Richard* with a strong army was neere, and that his Father in law, the Lord *Stanley* stood as a Neuter, he was strucke deepe in his dumps, and with twenty light Horse-men lingering behind, so seriously musing what was to be done, as lastly, he lost the sight of his Hoast, and by the darkenesse of night missed his way; neither durst hee for the Kings Scout-watch demand direction to *Tamworth*, but lay in a small Village about three miles distant, to his no little griefe, and his whole Armies great amazement, the one prognosticating it to bee a presage of an ill beginning, and the other doubting some determent of their Lord, but in the dawning of the next morning (conducted by good fortune) hee came to his Hoast, excusing that his absence was to have conference with his secret friends; and then privily departing to the Lord *Stanley*, had conference with him, and was put in good comfort.

Earle *Henry* of *Richmond* ariveth at *Milford*-Haven.

Henries excuse.

(51) But contrariwife, King *Richard* was wrapped and perplexed with feare, not onely with the departure of Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Sanford*, and Sir *Simond Digby*, in whom he had reposed great trust, but also in the dreadfull dreames which nightly he suffered, wherein to his seeming, terrible Divels so pulled and haled him, as by no meanes hee could take any rest, which fearefull imaginations strucke so deepe an impression unto his heart, that the signes thereof appeared in his countenance, howsoever hee sought to put them off in shew.

King *Richard* terrified with dreadfull dreames.

(52) But being determined to put himselfe to the triall of battell, or else, (and that rather) enforced by divine Iustice to pull the revenging hand of heaven against him, in the morning he marched toward the enemy, and upon a faire plaine called *Redmore*, neere unto *Bosworth*, about seven miles west from *Leicester*, he pitched downe his Tents, and thence sent a Pursevant to the Lord *Stanley*, commanding him to advance forward with his company, and to come to his presence, which if hee refused to doe, hee sware by Christs passion, his sonnes head should off before that hee dyned. The Lord *Stanley* answered the Pursevant, that if the King did so, hee had more sonnes alive; but to come to the King hee was not at that time determined. This answer declared, King *Richard* commanded the Lord *Strange* incontinent to bee beheaded, at the very season, when the two Armies came in sight each of others, but his Counsellors tolde him, that the time was now to fight, and not to execute, which might better be done when the field was fought: whereupon the Lord *Strange* was delivered prisoner to the keepers of the Kings Tents, and the Kings holy vow thus broke, the Lord *Strange* escaped with life, by this bad tyrants too good a death.

Richard set downe his battell upon Redmore.

Lord *Stanleys* answer unto the Kings message.

The Lord *Strange* commanded to be beheaded.

(53) But now the time and houre of Battell being come, hee drew out his Army upon the plaine, whose order for fight he thus placed: The foreward he ordered of a marvellous length, to strike the more terror in the beholders hearts, in whose forefront he placed his Archers, as a Bulwarke to defend the rest, the leading whereof was committed to *John* Duke of *Norfolke*, with whom was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, his sonne, his owne Battallion was furnished with his best approoved men of warre, having Horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell: and being thus ordered for their further incouragement King *Richard* mounted in place to bee heard, thus said to his Souldiers.

The order of King *Richards* battell.

" (54) My faithfull followers, friends, and se-
" lected Chiefetaines, I confesse, by your puissant
" valours I first aspired to the top of this royall estate,
" in obtaining and wearing this Diademe of Imperial
" Majesty, and maugre the seditious attempts of all
" cankered adversaries, by your prudent and politike
" counsels I have so governed the Realme, People and
" Subjects, as I have omitted nothing, I hope, apper-
" taining to the office of a just Prince, nor you preter-
" mitted any thing belonging to the parts and duties
" of most prudent Counsellors. And albeit, that in
" the getting of the Garland I was provoked by sini-
" ster Counsell, and seduced by a diabolicall tempta-
" on to commit a most wicked and detestable act, yet
" with salt teares and strait pennance I have, I trust,
" expiated that haynous offence: which abhominable
" crime, I desire you as clearely to forget, as I daily
" remember to deplore and lament. If you will now
" vouchsafe to call to mind in what case we all stand,
" and in what doubtfull perill wee are intrapped, I
" doubt not but that you will with mee confesse,
" that if ever amity prevailed betwixt the raised,
" and the raisers, betwixt the Prince and his Sub-
" jects, this day requires as much in us both. For,
" if wise-men say true, that there is not so much
" power in getting, as there is pollicy in keeping;
" the one, meere fortunes chance, the other, wise-
" domes deepe insight, then I with you, and you
" with mee, this day must needs take labour and
" paines, to keepe that preheminence and possessi-
" on by force, which by your prudent labour I
" have obtained. The divell, you know, a conti-
" nuall enemy to humane society, a disturber of Con-
" cord, and a sower of sedition, hath entred into
" the heart of an unknowne Welshman, (whose
" Father I never knew, nor him ever personally savv)
" exciting him to aspire and covet our Realme and
" Crovvne, to the disheriting of us and of our po-
" sterity: You see further hovv a company of Trai-
" tors, Theeves, Out-lavves, and runnagates of
" our ovvne Nation, besides a number of beggerly
" Britaines, and faint-hearted Frenchmen, are ayders
" and partakers of this his vvicked enterprize, ready
" at hand to oppresse and spoyle us, our lands, our
" Wives, and Children; vvhich eminent mischiefes,
" if vve then vvill vvithstand, and resist, vve must live
" and dye together as brethren, fight together as Ly-
" ons, and feare not to dye together like men; thus
" resolved, beleeve me, the fearefull Hart never fled
" faster before the greedy Grayhound, the silly Larke
" before the Spar-havvke, or the simple Sheepe before
" the Wolfe, then these proud bragging enemies
" vvill run out of the Field at the sight of your manly
" visages. For have vve not already manifest tokens
" of victory and triumphs? Is not the Captaine of
" the Rebellion, *Richmond*, a Welsh milke sop, of no
" courage and lesse experience in Marshall feates of
" vvar, brought up by my brothers meanes, and mine,
" like a Bird in a Cage, in the Court of the Duke
" of *Britaine*, never savv Army, never vvore Armour,
" vvithout practise, and therfore vvithout knowledge

King *Richards* Oration unto his Souldiers.

King *Richard* confesseth his fault.

" how

"how to govern a field? What are his followers, but "a sort of fainting runnagates, whose fearefull eyes, "as they could not behold our rayes in peace, can "worse abide to see our royall banner displaied a- "gainst them in fight? for their owne consciences "shall bewray their guilt; their oathes, their perjury; "their promise, infidelitie; and the sight of us their "anointed Soveraign shall either cause the shameful- "ly to flie, or submissively to yeeld themselves to our "mercy. As touching his French and Britaine aiders, "their valours have been well knowne to our Noble "Progenitors, often vanquished, but never vanquish- "ers, onely braggers without any great deeds, "drunkards without discretion, Ribaulds without "reason, Cowards without resistance, and (in a "word) effeminate, lascivious, and never seene in "the Front of a Battell, seeking ten times more "meanes to flie and escape, then once to assault the "face of their enemies. Therefore like valiant Cap- "taines advance forth your Standards, and make "knowne your manhood by dint of Sword, and be "yee sure, that if every one of you give but one sure "stroke, the day will be ours; for how can a handfull "withstand a whole Realme? Advance therefore "forward, my Captaines; in whom I well know is "wanting neither courage, pollicy, wisedome, nor "puissance. I therefore desire you, for your love "to me-ward, the zeale of your native Countrey, "and the safetie of your Prince and selves, to shew "this day your true English valour, and for my selfe, "I assure you, I will this day either triumph in a glo- "rious victory, or die in this quarrell with immor- "tall *Fame*; in whose Palace all our names shall be "enrolled, if we preferre the renowne of our Coun- "trey before our owne lives. Now S. *George for us*, "and *us for victory*; hast therefore forward, and re- "member this, that I am he who with high advance- "ment will preferre the valiant and hardy, and with "severe torture will punish the dastard and cowardly "Runnaway. The Oration ended, as it gave courage to some, so gave it distaste unto others, whose hearts carried gall, though their mouthes dropped honey; some intended to turne to Earle *Henry*; some determined to take part with the strongest; and some meant to stand still and doe nothing; so unsure was he of his Subjects loyaltie, that had beene so traiterous to his owne Nephewes.

The divers opinions of *King Richards* hoast.

(55) Earle *Richmond* then seeing King *Richard* thus embattelled, sent to the Lord *Stanley*, who stood hovering aloofe off, to come helpe him to order his fight, whose answer was, that *Henry* should doe it himselfe, and that he would come to him when he saw time convenient, which strucke the Earle into a great dumpe; but now having no time for delay, necessitie compelled him to order his men. The Forewarde he made single, according to his small number of souldiers, and in the Front placed his Archers, over whom *John* Earle of *Oxford* was Captaine, the right wing was led by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*; and the left assigned to Sir *John Savage*: Earle *Henry* himselfe with his Vncle *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke* governed the Maine Battell, better replenished with horse then foot, whose whole number consisted hardly of five thousand, the Kings doubling the number, and more. The Battels thus ordered, Earle *Henry* armed at all peeces saving his Helmet, rode from ranke to ranke, and from wing to wing, incouraging his men, and the more to encrease their hot spirits, mounted upon a little banke, the better to be seene and heard, these words he uttered in all their hearing.

Lord Stanley sent for to Earle *Henry*.

The Earle manifesteth his Battallions.

The Earle of *Oxford* Captaine of the Archers.

Henry Earle of *Richmonds* Oration.

"(56) If ever God gave victory to a just quar- "rell, if ever he aided warre for the tuition of a King- "dome or Countrey, or ever succoured them that "fought for the reliefe of poore innocents, oppres- "sed by tyranny, then no doubt my friends and fel- "low Souldiers, but that this day he will give us a "triumphant victory. For if we consider for what, "and against whom we fight, we may not doubt but "that God himselfe will fight for us. The thing "which we are here ready to try by Sword, is the li- "bertie of the Land from under the usurpation and "yoake of a Tyrant, and he, against whom wee "draw sword, is the Monster (for I may not call him "man) which feareth neither *God*, *Lawes*, *Iustice*, "nor *Humanitie*, an homicide, a murderer of his "own kindred, a destroyer of the Nobilitie, a Mawle "to his Subjects, and a firebrand to the whole King- "dome, whom just vengeance craveth to have quen- "ched: and consider I pray you, who be of his band, "even such as by murder and untruth to their kinne "and Countrey, have got wrongfull possession of "our rightfull inheritance, letting your wives weepe, "and Orphanes wander, to seeke their livelihood "where they can get it, whose teares I doubt not "cry in the eares of the Lord, who will punish these "Malefactors either with pricke of conscience cow- "ardly to flye, or deliver themselves into our hands "without Battell. Consider further, I pray you, "that in yonder great Battell are men brought more "for feare then for love, by force compelled and not "willingly assembled; persons that desire more the "destruction, then the life of their Captaine, and fi- "nally a multitude, whereof the most part bee our "friends, and the least part his that leades them; and "surely it stands in suspence, whether the malice of "the Souldiers towards their Generall, or his feare "conceived against them, be the greater; for this is a "rule infallible, that as ill-men daily covet to destroy "the good, so God appointeth the good men to con- "found the ill, and if it be true that Clerkes preach "that the one is to be hated, and the other beloved, "who then can spare yonder tyrant *Richard* Duke of "*Glouceſter* untruely calling himselfe King, that hath "broken both the Lawes of God and Man, in the "bloud of his brother, the murther of his Nephews, "the death of his Wife, the slander of his owne Mo- "ther, and the bastardizing of his brethren? If you "have not heard, yet I have read that *Tarquin* the "proud, for the rape of *Lucretia*, lost the Kingdome "of *Rame*: yet was not his fact so detestable as *Ne- "roes*, who slew his owne Mother, to behold the "place of his conception: but yonder usurper is "both these persons in one; a *Nero* in murther of his "young Nephewes, and in defaming the wombe of "his owne conception: and a *Tarquine*, intending to "desile, and carnally to know his owne Neece, under "pretext of holy Matrimony, which Lady you are "witnesse I have sworne shall be my wife. This is the "quarrell for which we are here this day assembled, "and for whose equitie we crave God to be judge: "a good beginning of his Protection we have alrea- "dy seene, in escaping the treasons laid for us in *Bri- "taine*, the dangers of Seas, and our safe arrivage unto "this place, not hunted by any, but rather our selves "hunting after that furious Bore; who this day, and "in this place, is so intangled in his owne toyle, as his "crooked tuskes shall not be able to gnaw the cords "of his snare asunder, nor himselfe have power to "free himselfe from his pursuers, whose lavelines (I "doubt not) shall be dyed in the bloud of this filthy "Swine, & shall well rid the world of an ugly hog'd- "backed Monster: which thing to accomplish let us "remember, that victory is not gotten by multitude, "but by manhood, but the smaller number we be, "the greater is our glory if we vanquish, if vanquish- "ed, fretting time shall never consume our memo- "ry, that died to free our selves, and Nation from "the oppression of an usurping Tyrant; and thus I "assure you, that for so just a cause you shall finde "me this day rather a dead Carrion upon the cold "ground, then a Carpet-prisoner kept alive for re- "proch. Advance therfore forward like true-hearted "Englishmen, display your Banner in defence of your "Countrey, get the day and be Conquerours, loose "the Battell and be villaines; God and *Saint George* "give us a happy successe. Which no sooner was said but that the Souldiers buckled their Helmes, the Archers stript up their sleeves, bent their bowes and frushed

The readines of Earle *Henries* Souldiers.

frushed their feathers, attentively listening when the Trumpet should give the sound of Battell.

The purpole of Earle *Henry*.

(57) Betwixt both the Armies there lay a great marish, which Earle *Henry* left upon his right hand, with purpose to have that for a defence, as also the Sunne at his backe, and face of the enemy, which King *Richard* perceiving, with sound of Trumpet, and shout of his Army, passed the Marish, when the Bow-men on both sides let freely flye their arrowes: the rest comming to encounter with strokes: but the Earle of *Oxford* fearing to bee encompassed by the enemy, commanded every of his rankes to keepe within ten foote of his Standard, which being accomplished, and their fight a while stayed, their opposites mistrusting some fraud or deceit, ceased likewise from theirs, many of them willing enough so to doe; notwithstanding, immediately a cruell battell was againe begun, and manfully continued upon either part. Till lastly, King *Richard* having intelligence that the Earle of *Richmond* was but slenderly accompanied with men of Armes, and them also busied in their owne guardes, meant by his incounter to finish the day, as the onely man upon whom stood all the hope of his enemies successe; and therefore having the markes of Earle *Henry*, made from the range of his owne battell, and upon the spurre with the Speare in his Rest, ranne violently towards him in a furious spleene; in which rage, at the first brunt, he bare-downe and overthrew the Earles Standard, and slew Sir *William Brandon* the bearer thereof; next, matching with Sir *John Cheiney* a man of great might, manfully threw him to the ground, thereby making an open passage by dint of sword unto the Earle himselfe; *Richmond* beholding the high valour of *Richard*, most Lyon-like coped with this cruell Bore, and held him (maugre his tuskes) at his sword point, betwixt whom the fight was so desperate, that *Henries* company were strucke in great despaire; at which very instant Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thousand tall fresh Souldiers, who entred the battell with such courage and valour, as they bare downe all before them where they went, whereat the Kings side began to faint, and to give over fight, but the more resolute a while maintaining their ground, and now mistrusting treason among themselves, turned their backes and ran away, whereby King *Richard* presently perceived the downefall of his ill raised glory, and the full period of his short raigne: and all hope of resistance now past, a swift horse was brought to escape the field, with comforts that another day might fet the victory on his side: but with a mind unmatchable in hatred against *Henry*, or rather to have his death registred in fames honourable role, whose life had beene blotted with the pen of divulged infamy, he hastily closed his Helmet, saying, that, that day should make an end of all battels, or else in this now in trying, he would finish his life, which last was presently performed; for thrusting into the middest of his enemies, and there valiantly fighting among the thickest, he obtained more honour in this his two houres fight, then he had gained by all the actions of his whole life.

The fight begun.

The strength and courage of King *Richard*.

The two Chieftaines cope together.

Sir *William Stanley* commeth in with new supplies.

The Kings side give over fight.

The valiant courage of King *Richard*.

King *Richard* slaine.

(58) There dyed that day with him *John* Duke of *Norfolke*, *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more: Sir *William Catesby* one of King *Richards* chiefe Counsellors, with two others, were taken, and two dayes after beheaded at *Leiceſter*, among them that escaped were *Francis* Viscount *Lovell*, *Humphrey* and *Thomas Stafford* Brethren, which three tooke Sanctuary at Saint *Johns* in *Glouceſter*. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, though he submitted himselfe unto *Henry*, yet was hee committed to the Tower, and therein a long time remained. Vpon Earle *Henries* part onely ten men were slaine, as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* wrote the newes from the field, whereof for note Sir *William Brandon* was the best, in all to the number of foure thousand men. This battell

Men slaine in the battell.

Catesby beheaded.

The number slaine at *Bosworth* field.

was fought the two and twentieth of *August*, and yeare of Christ Iesus 1485. in the field *Redmore*, neere unto *Bosworth*, in the County of *Leiceſter*; after which, Earle *Henry* gave thankes unto God, and commending his Souldiers, with sufferance for them to take the spoyles of the field, dubbed many of them Knights; which his doings was so acceptable to the whole Army, as with great applause they all cryed *King Henry*, *King Henry*; whose forwardnesse to him-ward, when the Lord *Stanley* perceived, hee tooke King *Richards* Crowne, found among the spoyle of the field, and set it upon the Earle of *Richmonds* head, thereby confirming the election of the people, at which instant began the raigne of this new King. King *Henry* (for from henceforth so was hee called) for their valiant service done in this battell, Knighted in the field Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Pointes*, Sir *Humphrey Stanley*, Sir *John Turberuile*, Sir *Hugh Perſhall*, Sir *R. Hegecome*, Sir *John Bikenylle*, and Sir *Edmund* Baron of *Carewe*.

Henry proclaimed King in the field.

Iohn Stow.

(59) The slaine body of the usurping Tyrant, all tugged, and torne, naked, and not so much as a clout left to cover his shame, was trussed behind *Blanch Seint-Leger* (or *White-Bore*, a Pursevant at Armes,) like a Hogge or Calfe, his head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and his legges on the other, and all be-sprinkled with mire and bloud, was so brought into *Leiceſter*, and there for a miserable spectacle the space of two dayes lay naked and unburied his remembrance being as odious to all, as his person, deformed, and lothfome to be looked upon: for whose further despite, the white Bore his cognizance was torne downe from every Signe, that his monument might perish, as did the monyes of *Caligula*, which were all melted by the decree of the Senate: Lastly, his body without all funerall solemnity was buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church of that City. But King *Henry* his successor, of a princely disposition, caused afterward his Tombe to be made with a picture of Ablaster, representing his person, and to be set up in the same Church; which at the suppression of that Monastery was pulled downe, and utterly defaced; since when his grave over-growne with Nettles and weeds, is very obscure, and not to be found. Onely the stone cheſt wherein his corps lay, is now made a drinking trough for Horses at a common Inne, and retaineth the onely memory of this Monarchs greatnesse. But his body (as tradition hath delivered) was borne out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-Bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Soware* upon the West side of the Towne. Vpon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a stone of some height, against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance strucke his spur, and against the same stone as he was brought backe, hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and broken, as a wife-woman (forsooth) had foretold, who, before *Richards* going to battell, being asked of his successe, said, that where his spurre strucke, his head should bee broken; but of these things, as is the report, so let bee the credire. Dead hee is, and with his death ended the factions a long time continued betwixt the Families of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*; in whose bandings, to bring, set, and keepe, the Crowne on their heads, eight or nine bloudy set battels had beene fought, and no lesse then foure score persons of the bloud-royall slaine, as *Philip Comines* the French Writer saith; many of them being well knowne to himselfe: after which stormes, and this Tyrants death, a blessed union ensued, by joyning those houses in *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and *Elizabeth* of *Yorke*.

Dead *Richards* body starke naked, was trussed up to *Leiceſter*.

Holinſhead.

King *Richard* laid naked to be scene of all.

His badge defaced and torne downe.

King *Richards* monument.

King *Richards* coffin made a drinking trough.

A living prophecy of King *Richard*.

With *Richards* death dieth the quarrell of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*.

Phil. Com. lib. 5. cap. 7.

(60) Hee was of Stature but little, and of shape deformed, the left shoulder standing out like a Mole-hill on his backe, his haire thinne, and face short, a cruell countenance, in whose aspect might bee perceived both malice and deceit. When hee stood musing (as hee would doe oft) his use was, to bite

The description of King *Richard*.

Iohn Harding's continuer.

Harding saith 27.

bite and chaw the nether lip, his hand ever on his dagger, which ever he would chop up and downe in the sheath, but never draw it fully out. Pregnant in wit hee was, wily to faine, apt to dissemble, and haughty of stomacke, an expert Souldier, and a better King then a man. He founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Yorke*, and a Collegiat Chauntery in *London*, neere unto the Tower, called *Our Lady of Barking*; he endowed the *Queenes Colledge* in *Cambridge* with five hundred Marks of yearely revenew; and disforrested the great Field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his brother had inclosed for his game: he raigned two yeares, two moneths, and one day, and was buried, as we have said.

Iohn Stow.

Iohn Rous.

His Wife.

(61) *Anne* the second daughter and Coheire to *Richard Nevill*, the stout Earle of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, was first married to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Sonne to King *Henry* the sixth, and after his death was re-married to this *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, *Anno* 1472. afterwards by usurpation King of *England*, with whom ingreat State and solemnity she was Crowned *Queene* the sixth of *July*, and yeare of Salvation, 1483. Shee was his Wife to the last yeare of his Raigne, and then leaving her Husband to choose another *Queene*, was laid at rest in the Abbey of *Westminster*, in this thing happy, that she saw not the death of the Tyrant.

Iohn Rous. Warwicke. Cambd. Brit.

His Issue.

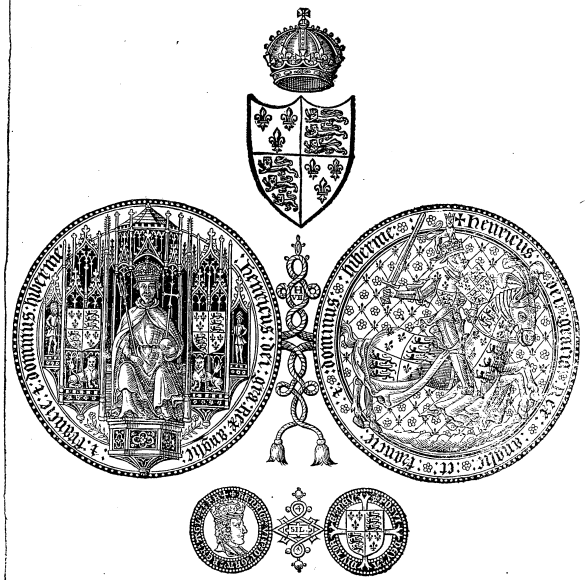
(62) *Edward* the sonne of King *Richard*, and of *Queene Anne* his Wife, and the onely childe of them both, was borne in the Castle of *Middleham*, neere *Richmond*, in the Countie of *Yorke*, *Anno* 1473. and being under foure yeares of age was created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Vncle King *Edward* the fourth, the seventeenth of his Raigne; but his Father King *Richard* in the first of his usurpation created him Prince of *Wales*, the foure and twentieth of *August*, and yeare of *Christ*, 1483. he then being about ten yeares of age, unto whom also the Crowne was intailed by Parliament; but this Prince dying before his Father, and much upon the time of his Mothers decease, saw not the revenge that followed the Tyrants Raigne, whose bad life no doubt hath made doubtfull the place of this Princes buriall, and other Princely offices done him in his life, and at his death.

HENRIE

Henry VII.

HENRIE THE SEAVENTH KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE-SEAVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 57.



CHAPTER XX.

An. Dom. 1485. 22. Aug. The date of his raignes commencement.

HENRIE of that name the seaventh, having by such mixt meanes of *valor* and *practise* as are already described, obtained the possession of *Englands* Crowne, wee must now present unto you his actions in the person and state of a King, maintained by him with like mixture of *courage* and *skill* as it was archieved, to the verification of that rule; *That things are kept by the same Arts whereby they were gained.* In describing whereof, we meane nothing leffe, then for humoring the vaine admirers of phraise and conceit, to mount up into Panegyrical flourishes, in honour of the man, though his excellent vertues would worthily beare, if not duely also exact them: yet may we not omit to observe, that as in his attaining to the Crowne, there was (through divine providence) a concurring disposition of all important circumstances, without which his attempt might have proved disastrous; so he, having now possessed the Soveraigne power, and mastered the State in the maine points, easily made circumstances waite upon his wisedome, and to take their forme from his directions: Of the first kinde, wherein his felicity deserves to be celebrated, were these. That hee by the *Male*-line a meere stranger to both the royall houses, as descended from the *Welsh* and *French*, and by the *female* springing out of such a Family, of *Lancaster* (the *Beaufords*) as by the same law which enabled it to inherite in ordinary estates, was made incapable of succession in the Regalitie, should so safely be conveyed away into forraigne parts, there to continue an head of expectation and revolt; during

Generall observations concerning this Princes whole course.

Concurrence of furtherances to King Henries designe.

ring the inteſtine troubles and dangers, to him inevitable here at home. Secondly, that the Realme of *Englaad* ſhould be ſo averted from *Richard*, (though a very honorable, wiſe, juſt and neceſſary Prince, after hee was ſomewhat ſetled) as for his ſake, to neglect (in a ſort) ſo many naturall heires of the houſe of *Yorke*, ſome of them in right preceding *Richard*; ſuch were the children of *Edward* the fourth, and *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richards* elder Brethren, and all of them juſt barres to the Earle of *Richmond*, who ſcarce had any thing of a legall title, or of a warrantable intention; but his purpoſe to remove an *Vſurper*, and marry the *Lady Elizabeth*, the rightfull inheritrice. Thirdly, *a long and fatall* * *ſlackeneſſe of Richard* in his warlike preparations. through the meere contempt of his enemie the Earle, which was the cauſe, that both hee landed ſecurely, and *Richard* was driven to fight in a manner with tumultuary, rather then trained forces. And finally, that a principall, potent, noble, and yet a deepely ſuſpected Conſpirator, (as being Father in law to the Earle) ſhould have charge, under *Richard*, ouer a chiefe partion of his Army, at the very inſtant of joyning battell.

* *Fabian*: faith, *Richard* leaving little, provided little defence.

(2) Theſe conſiderations (among many other) had in them ſuch an aptitude to his deſigne, as no humane wit could faſhion, and without the which a man of equall ſtarres and parts to *Henry*, or *Henry* himſelfe, might in vaine have beene wiſe, in vaine induſtrious and valiant. Circumſtances of the other ſort ſhall plentifully occurre in the whole carriage of his enſuing actions. In both which, are veriſied two contrary rules; for the ſtate of the firſt obſervations teacheth us with *Plautus*, that *Centum doctorum hominum conſilia hec una vincit Dea; This one Goddeſſe can effect more, then the wits of an hundred learned men*; ſpeaking, as an Heathen man, of that famous Idoll *Fortune*; and in the ſecond, that which *Iuvenall* excellently noteth;

Plaut.

Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia, ſed te
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloque locamus.

Iuvenall.

No Goddeſſe wants, where Prudence guids, though chance,
A Godaeſſe deemd, fond men to heaven advance.

The deſcription of King *Henries* minde and qualities.

(3) Now for the *Character* of this famous wiſe Prince (which with reaſon ought to be ſet in front to his actions, as certaine lights of the mind, by which to diſcerne the fountaine of Counſels and Cauſes) a * learned, eloquent Knight, and principall Lawyer of our time, gives us many things, of which theſe ſelected, are very regardable. "*This King* (ſaith he) *attained unto the Crowne, not onely from a private fortune, which might endue him with a moderation, but alſo from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickned in him all the ſeeds of obſervation and induſtry. His wiſedome* (ſpeaking thereof as it was in his raigne) *ſeemed rather a dexterity to deliver himſelfe from dangers, wheathey preſſed him, then any deepe fore-ſight to prevent them a farre off. Jealous he was over the Greatneſſe of his Nobility, as remembring how himſelfe was ſet up. Great and devout reverence hee bare unto Religion, as hee that imployed Eccleſiaſticall men in moſt of his affaires. In his government hee was led by none, ſcarcely by his Lawes, and yet he was a great obſerver of formality in all his proceedings, which notwithſtanding was no impediment to the working of his will. In his warres* (meaning domeſticke) *he was rather confident then enterprizing, by which alſo he was commonly not the poorer. Generally, he ſeemed inclinable to live in peace, and in the quenching of the Commotions of his ſubjects hee was ever ready to atchive thoſe warres in perſon, ſometime reſerving himſelfe, but never retyring himſelfe. Of nature he coveted to accumulate treaſure: in expending whereof hee never ſpared charge that his affaires required, and in his foundations was magnificent enough. Hee choſe commonly to imploy cunning perſons, as hee that knew himſelfe ſufficiently to make uſe of their uttermoſt reaches, without danger of being abuſed with them himſelfe.*

* *Tob. Roſ. of Henr. M.S.*

(4) * Another having a purpoſe to write in *Engliſh* the Hiſtory of this *Henry* (an Argument which for the worthy doing thereof, requires as wiſe a man as *Henry* himſelfe) hath among many extraordinary prayſes (moſt-what framed out of his ſtrong affection) truely noted concerning his atchievement of the Crowne: "*That the Almighty hand of God brought him over the top of the higheſt and moſt dangerous obſtacles, to ſway this Scepter, when neither Title, Power, nor* (great) *probability could give him ſo much as one ſound puſh to ſet him forward.* And of the man himſelfe, *That he entertained that, as ſodaine, as Soveraigne change of fortune, with ſuch moderation, and un-tranſported diſcretion, as it well appeared hee had throughly conquered himſelfe, before hee ſubdued the Vſurper his enemie.* What could be added greater to ſo true a praiſe? nothing certainely: for that he (as elſe-where that Writer ſaith) *was the Salomon, who brought peace to this Kingdome, long before oppreſſed by warre and tyranny:* it was onely an excellent effect of that excellent moderation. Other Authors of our times concurre in the ſame judgment of him, whom they praiſe * *for ſingular wiſedome, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; for * policy, juſtice, and gravitie*: which princely vertues cauſed him to be highly reverenced of forraine Princes. Theſe honorable Eulogies, after ſo many yeares from his death, juſtly countenance their relations, who * writing, in or about his owne dayes averre no leſſe; among whom, *Bernard Andreas* of *Thoulouſe* is moſt flowing and abundant. This *Andreas* (as himſelfe writes) was afterward entruſted with the inſtruction of Prince *Arthur* (eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry*) in good letters, though he was blinde; and having aſwell the title of *Poet Laureat*, as of the Kings *Hiſtoriographer*, (how hardly ſoever thoſe two faculties meet with honour in the ſame perſon) meant to have hiſtorified and poetized the Acts of this King, but (for want of competent and attended inſtructions in many places of good importance) left his labour full of wilde breaches, and unfiniſhed; yet in ſuch points as hee hath profeſſed to know, not unworthy to be vouched: for there is in him a great deale of cleare elocution, and defaecated conceit above the ordinary of that age. He, among other verſes in honour of this our *Henry* (whom he enſtyleth *the moſt ſapient King*) hath theſe, not hyperbolicall, but proper, wherein he ſalutes him.

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

Princeps ingenio nitente præſtans,
Famâ, religione, comitate,
Senſu, ſanguine, gratiâ, decore.

A peercleſſe Prince, for wiſedome rare,
Fame, piety, courteſie, debonaire,
Knowledge, birth, grace, and feature faire.

Whereby alſo, after theſe pourtracts of his inward faculties, and gifts, may be gueſſed that a body they had for their mortall manſion, no way unſutable; and it ſeemes by that *Majeſty* (ſo they call the images of our Kings, which are carried for repreſentation in their funerall Chariots) which at this day is * extant, that he was of ſtature tall and ſlender, ſomewhat round viſaged, and though in * his childhood ſickly, yet of aſpect in all his outward lineaments, ſo noble and gracious, as well prefaged, and afterward fitted the moſt fortunate height to which hee was now aſcended. But notwithſtanding theſe great prayſes, there want not ſome who thik ke him to have bin an heavie Father to the Common-wealth, which by ſundry courſes hee greatly laboured to bring under, as a ſeeming ground-worke of his owne, and his poſterities ſecurity. And in his laſt dayes, *Avarice* (the naturall malady of age) tooke him ſtrongly, the envie whereof hee partly diverted from himſelfe by

* *Mon. 1113*
* *Bern. Andr.*

by the ſplendor of ſome few publike buildings, which as they gave the people cauſe to talke of their bravery, ſo they alſo inſenſibly wrought in their light minds a mitigation of their burthen.

Howles firſt actions after his victory.
* *Bern. Andr.*

(5) Let us now behold his vertues as they are ſhiningly deduced into action. After the Battell, he having truely firſt aſcribed the whole good of his ſucceſſe to God, commanded, that to the body of * his enemy King *Richard*, *an honourable interrement* ſhould bee given in the Friers at *Leiceſter*, where notwithſtanding * *hee was with little reverence buried.* From thence the King made ſpeed to *London*, as to the chiefe ſeate and Epitome of the *Engliſh* Monarchy, without-which no Prince found himſelfe heere ſecure enough: hee entred the Citie upon a * Saturday, as upon a Saturday he obtained his triumphall and Crowning victory. The Mayor of *London* and his Fellowſhip, * received him in Violet at *Harnſey Parke*, but his entrance (which was at * *Shore-ditch*) was honoured with a very great troup of the Peeres, and Nobles in his Traine, at which our Poeticall Hiſtorian *Andreas* was preſent, and ſaluted the victorious Prince with certaine *Latine Saphicks*, which hee ſung unto him, as himſelfe writeth. But *Henry* ſtayed not in Ceremonious greetings and popular acclamations, which (it ſeemes) he did purpoſely eſchue, for that (*Andreas* ſaith) he entred * covertly, meaning belike, in an Horſe-litter or cloſe Chariot. His lodging was in the Biſhop of *Londons* Pallace, where (after publike offertories and ſolemne thankes given to God in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*) the buſineſſe of his Coronation was ſeriouſly conſulted of; which was afterward (upon his remove to the Tower, where he * created his Vncle *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembroke*, Duke of *Bedford*, and other Eſtates) with due pompe and rituall magnificence * accompliſhed at *Weſtminſter*.

* *Fabian.*
* *Bern. Andr. M.S.* and upon the 28 of August, ſaith *Fabian.*
* *Fabian.*
* *Iohn Stow.*

His Entrance into *London*.

* *Leiceſter.*

* *Aſſized 300 li. per ann.*
* *Iohn Stow in Henry 7.*

(6) But the naturall ſolder and indiſſoluble cement, which muſt make this Kingdome ſtand, was his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter of the late *Edward* the fourth. This as a point of moſt importance, was with great maturity and judgement againe thought upon, when *Henry* was now already crowned. The remoter danger, ſuppoſed to reſide in the perſon of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke* (onely ſonne and heire, even in his infelicities, to that unfortunate Prince *George* Duke of *Clarence*) was prevented; for hee had beene, by King *Henries* direction, brought up priſoner from the Mannour of * *Sherif-hutton* in *Yorkeſhire*, (where aſwell he, as the Lady *Elizabeth* were kept by King *Richard* under guard) and immediately ſhut up within the Tower of *London*.

* *See Cambd. Milh. &c.*

* *30 Octob.* Miſſer *Stow.* His Coronation.
His Marriage with the Lady *Elyzbeth* debated.

(7) *Francis* * Duke of *Britaine* had offered *Henry*, before his departure, to match him with the Lady *Anne* his eldeſt daughter and ſole heire, but hee was otherwiſe affected, as placing his love where it might afford him greateſt and preſenteſt ſtrengths. *Andreas* addeth, that King *Edward* himſelfe deſtinated his eldeſt daughter unto *Henry* then Earle of *Richmond*, and fought in his life-time to have effected it; but his meaning being (belike) ſuſpected, as but a drift to get *Henry* into his hands, the motion tooke no hold, as reſerved till God had cleared the way of all ſuch impediments, as might hinder the conſolidation of both the Royall families, *Yorke*, and *Lancaſter*, (after their ſo mortall and confuſive maſſacres) in the perſon of one Soveraigne.

* *Iſlington.* Edward Earle of *Warwicke* impriſoned.
* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

(8) The Lady her ſelfe, beſides youth and beauty (precious Ornaments of that Sexe) had in her from her * infancy *a wonderfull feare, and care to pleaſe God, and a like dutiouus and humble carriage toward her Parents: her Brothers and ſiſters ſhee did exceedingly love, and as well toward the poore, as all the Servants of Chriſt, ſhe bare a ſingular affection.* * Her Vncle (the late Vſurper) in contempt of God and man (whoſe Lawes he was ſo long accuſtomed to violate, till the juſt reward thereof did at the length overtake him) inceſtuouſly meant to have defiled her, under the

Lady *Elizabeth* deſcribed.
* *Bern. An. M.S.*

* *Sir Th. Moore.*

abuſed name of Matrimony. When therefore the newes of his death came to her ears, the joy of her heart brake forth into theſe words. * *So, yet at the laſt thou haſt, O God, regarded the humble, and not deſpiſed their prayers. I well remember, neither ſhall I at any time be weary to remember that my moſt noble father, of famous memory, meant to have beſtowned me in marriage upon this moſt comely Prince. O that I were now worthy of him; but my Father being dead, I want ſuch good friends as ſhould motion ſo great a matter: and perhaps he will take a wife from forraine parts, whoſe beauty, age, fortune, and dignity ſhall be more then mine. What ſhall I ſay? I am all alone, and dare not open my minde to* * *any. What if I acquainted my mother therewith? Baſhfulneſſe forbids: What if ſome of the Lords? Audacity wanteth. O then that I might but conferre with him! perhaps in diſcourſe I might let ſlip ſuch a word as might diſcover my intention. What will he I know not: this I know, that Almighty God cannot tell how to abſent himſelfe from them who truſt in him. Therefore I make an end of thinking, and repoſe my whole hope upon thee, O my God, doe with mee, according to thy mercy.* Shee ſecretly thus revolving all matters, and reſolving of them in her minde, was heard from above; for king *Henry* having underſtood the honour, chaſtity, and ſingular vertues of the maiden Princeſſe, the rather inclined to make her the Soveraigne of his affections: aſſigning therefore a day, wherein (for the utter abolishment of all Hoſtilities betweene the two Royall Houſes of *Yorke* and *Lancaſter*) to eſtabliſh an union of Families, by conjunction of their two perſons in marriage.

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

* *How then did Andreas know it? either he doth poetize here, or elſe had it from her after relation.*

(9) The meane while he wiſely goes on to ſecure the maine, which conſiſting in ſetling the generall ſtate, and ſecuring his owne perſon, hee, for the one, * holds a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, and for the other, inſtitutes a certaine number of choiſe * Archers, with allotment of fees and maintenance, which under a peculiar Captaine, and the name of *Yeoman of the Guard*, he aſſigned to that ſervice, for him and his ſucceſſors, Kings and Queenes of *England*. In the Parliament was attainted *Richard* late Duke of *Glouceſter*, ſtiling himſelfe by Vſurpation, King *Richard the third*; and with him, by name, many other of the Nobility and Gentry. And yet withall, to lay a foundation for his greene Government in love and clemency, hee, during the Parliament proclaimed free pardon and entire reſtitution of their fortunes, to all ſuch as ſubmitted themſelves to his mercy, and made oath of Fidelity. A ſeaſonable and neceſſary Act; Whereby he greatly weakened malicious humours, and wanne to himſelfe no ſmall acceſſion of friendſhip and ſervices; for many forſooke Sanctuaries, and tooke up their refuges in his goodneſſe and moſt gracious favour. And to remove all ſcandall and danger from his friends, he reverſed and revoked all former Acts, hurtfull either to himſelfe, or to them for his cauſe, the whole houſe of Parliament, * concurring finally in eſtablishing by a ſolemne Act, the Crowne upon him, and his heires for ever.

* *Yr. November.*
* *Inſtituted.* The Kings Guard firſt inſtituted.

King *Richard* and others attainted.

* *Hall.* The Crowne entailed upon King *Henry* and his heires.

(10) After diſſolution of which Parliament, the King redeemes ſuch pledges, as he had left in *France* for money borrowed, and aſſumes into his Councell thoſe two renowned agents in advancing his fortunes, *John Morton* and *Richard Foxe*, as the moſt neceſſary parts and ſupports of his State; the former of which, not long after (*Thomas Bourchier* dying) was elected and enthronized *Archbiſhop of Canterbury*; the latter, was forthwith advanced to be Lord Keeper of his Priuie-Seale, and ſucceſſively preferred to the Biſhopricks of *Exceſter*, *Bathe* and *Wells*, *Durham* and *Winchester*.

(11) The moſt wiſhed and moſt welcome * day of marriage betweene King *Henry* and the Princeſſe *Elizabeth* being now come (was celebrated by them with all religious and glorious magnificence, and by the people, with * fires of joy, dancings, ſongs and bankets through *London*, all ſorts & ſexes beſeeching

The King marrieth the Lady *Elizabeth*.
* *18 January 1485.*

* *Bern. Andr. M.S.*

Almighty God to send the King and Queene most prosperous successe, and an infinite encrease of the common joy, by bestowing upon them a young Prince, and other Issue, at his good pleasure: Which prayers (saith *Andreas*) our Lord Iesus Christ vouchsafed to heare; the Queene within a while after, proving with Childe, of whom shee was happily delivered in the moneth of *September* following at *Winchester*, *which to the most fortunate King was a new happinesse, to the Queene a great rejoycement, to the Church a Soveraigne delight; to the Court an exceeding pleasure; and in briefe to the whole Kingdome an incredible contentment.* Nor that without reason, as it afterward appeared; for (if God had beene pleased to have granted longer life) *not England onely, but the whole world should in such a pledge have had cause of eternall rejoycement.* But God, who governs all things, and in whose hand are as well the Scepters of Princes, as dates of their lives, disposed otherwise.

Prince Arthur borne.

Born Andr. M.S.

(12) Meane-while there were not a few who did envie to King *Henry* this unexpected height of felicitie; but they who first discovered themselves, were certaine remaines of the late overthrow at *Bosworth*, whose diffidence, or evill-will, was greater then to relie upon King *Henries* clemency, or to behold the dazeling brightnesse of his new atchieved glory; and for that cause refused to forsake the Sanctuary, which they had taken at *Colchester*. These were, the Lord *Lovell*, Sir *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his brother. Who, while the King, secure of dangers behinde him, was in his Progresse at *Yorke*, meaning by affability, bounty, and other his wisest courses, to gaine the good wils of the *Northern* people, (with whom the memory of King *Richard* was very deare) and so to weaken the strengths and hopes of all future conspiracies, forsooke their refuge, and secretly in severall places gathered forces, therewith to surprize and dethrone the King. The Lord *Lovell* raised his forces with such speed, that the King, who at *Lincolne* first heard of his escape, and lightly regarded the same, was no sooner setled in *Yorke*, but certaine intelligence came that hee approached fast with an Army; and withall, that the *Staffords* had assembled forces in *Worcestershire*, meaning to assault the Citie of *Worcester*. The extremity of the King (who never dreamt of such a darling) was not small, for neither had he any sufficient numbers about him of his sure friends, nor could justly repose confidence in the *Northern* men, whose love to King *Richard* their late slaine Lord, made them still suspected. But danger quickeneth noble courages, and therefore upon due recollection of himselfe, he armes about three thousand men, (if tanned leather, whereof the most of their brest-pieces, for want of other stuffe, were framed, may be called armour) and sends them under the leading of *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, with commission to pardon, or to fight. The Duke offering pardon, the Lord *Lovell* fled by night to * Sir *Thomas Broughton* into *Lancashire*, where he lurked certaine moneths; the headlesse multitude yeeld without stroake, and the felicity of King *Henry* prevailes in every place; for the *Staffords* hearing what had happened to their Confederates, dispersе their Cloude of Rebels, and speedily take refuge at *Colsham*, a Village about two miles from *Abingdon* in *Oxfordshire*. But the priviledges of that place * being juridically scand in the *Kings Bench*, they were found unable to afford protection to open traitors, whereupon they were forceably taken thence, and conveyed to the Tower of *London*, from whence Sir *Humfrey Stafford* was drawne and executed at *Tiburne*, but his brother *Thomas* by the Kings mercy had his pardon. These short dangers and troubles, by reason of their suddainty did worthily make the King wakefull even over smaller accidents; this blaze being kindled from so neglected sparkles. But there followed devises, which in their owne nature were so strangely impudent, and in their vent so strongly bolstered, that if *Lovels* enterprize made him suspicious, these other might justly fill him with innumerable jealousies.

The attempts of the Kings malignants.

The Lord Lovell and the Staffords rebel.

Hardings continuer saith, they had taken Glowcester.

Polyd. Virgil. in Hen. 7. Hall.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Yeare-books of Henry 7. Anno 2. Traitors taken from Sanctuary, and punished. He is called Lord *Stafford* by *Hardings* continuer.

(13) The records are immortall, which testifie, that the erection of Idols and Counterfeits, to dethrone them who are in possession, is a very olde Stratagem. What troubles a *Pseudo-Nero* wrought, by support of the *Parthians* (who wonderfully favoured *Nero* living,) the *Romane* Writers teach us. Neither hath the Divell (Father of Impostures) any so folemne practise, as Personation and Resemblances of true, whether men or things. Insomuch that some Divines have thought, that as he can, and often doth transshape himselfe into the forme of a Celestiall Angell, so that he also deceived our first mother under that resplendent but assumed habite. And what mischiefs he wrought, in this very kind of thrusting out into the world false pretenders, the speech of wise* *Gamaliel* testifieth, who rehearseth the names of *Theudas* and *Judas Galilæus*; but the world hath since had more woefull experience hereof, in that execrable Impostor *Mahomet*, pretending to bee the *Messiah*. In *England* it selfe (before the time of this *Henry*) what strange practises and conspiracies were set on foote under the title of a *Pseudo-Richard* in the raigne of *Henry* the fourth, the former Histories have sufficiently opened, so that this Prince encountred nothing new in the Generall, howsoever pestilent and extraordinary in the particular. Indeed his raigne (more perhaps then any other of his predecessors) afforded plentifull matter for such devises to worke upon, there being many then, who having beene * *conceived* (as it were) *in the bowels of Sedition, and nourished with the bitter and pernicious milke of dissention*, were not onely apt to embrace, but also, where they were not offered, even there to beget occasions of confounding all. *Men, * who could neither endure warre, nor peace long, nor any lawes in either, as desirous to enjoy the licentious violences of civill warre; a * misery, which all words (how wide soever) want compasse to expresse.* The strange attempts of which kinde of men (rather Monsters) we shall see exemplified in the subsequent tragedies. *Richard Simon*, an ambitious and impofterous wretch, and withall a Priest, neither unlearned, (the sacred shadow of which name the rather countenanced his practises) in hope to make himselfe the principall Bishop of *England*, plotted the advancement of *Lambert Symnell* (being his pupill in the Vniversity of *Oxford*) to the Crowne of *England*; instigated thereto by the divell and suborned by such as favoured the *White-rose faction*, upon this occasion. There went a rumour, that *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne and heire to *George* the late unfortunate Duke of *Clarence*, second brother of King *Edward*, * *was either already murthered, or should shortly be.* This Architect of guile, *Simon*, having this *Symnel* in tuition, (the * sonne of a Baker, or Shoomaker, but a well-faced and Princely-shaped youth, of no * very evill nature, but as it was corrupted by his Tutor,) meanes, out of this rumors aery substance, to produce an apparition and prodigy, which in Title, behaviour, and artificiall answeres (infused by his Tutors practises) should resemble * one of King *Edwards* Children. Here we must confesse, that our Authors leade us into a perplexity: Some * affirming, that this counterfeit was exhibited to the world under the name of *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*, sonne of the Duke of *Clarence*, by the daughter of the most turbulent and fatall Earle of *Warwicke*, slaine at *Barnet-field*. But hereunto reason seemes repugnant. For what ground of claime could that Gentleman have, not onely for that his Father was attainted, but much more for that the Queene of *England* then in being, was the indubitate eldest daughter and heire of King *Edward* the fourth, and sister and next heire to *Edward* the fifth? Neither wants there ancienter authority then any of the others, affirming, that this Idoll did usurpe the name of one of King *Edwards* sonnes; many arguments concurring to buttresse this affirmation. For, if at the

* John Stow was often heard to maintaine this opinion in fleering earnest.

Com. Trivet. Hist. Anon. Annales. Nauclerus. Countesse Princes erected to deliver the true.

* Alter.

Guests examined in Quarter Elect three dayes for affirming the poor sons of King Edward.

* Born. An. M.S.

* John Rouse. Hist. M.S.

* Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.

* John Te. M.S.

The first Idoll erected against King Henry.

Lambert crowned into Ireland and received.

* Polyd. Virg. Sure calls him Earle of Kildare and Lord Deputy of Ireland.

* Pol. Virg. H. 7.

A false Edward in the forge.

* Pol. Virg. Lib.

Lambert proclaimed King of England.

* Born. Andr. M.S. * Pol. Virg. Hen. 7.

Conclusions in the Councell of England upon the same of this conspiracy.

* Pol. Virg. Lib. * Hollinsh.

Stowes Annals. Lambert Symnels History refelled and vindicated.

Born. Andr. M.S.

the same time (as *Polydor* writeth) it was bruted, that *the sonnes of King Edward the fourth had not * beene murthered under their usurping Vncle* Richard, *but were escaped, and lived in obscurity beyond the Sea*; how can that be true, which *Stow* and the rest (who follow *Polydore* therein) affirme, that *Lambert* was crowned King of *England* at *Dublin* in *Ireland*, as heire to *George Duke of Clarence*? For with what injurie to the royall brethren (fained to be alive) was that? Verily there seemes no coherence in the circumstances, nor apparence of truth in the substance. And how much stronger to the purpose of the Conspirators was the fiction of an *Edward*, the Kings sonne, and himselfe once proclaimed King, then of an *Edward*, who was but an Earle, and a Duke of *Clarences* heire; But you will aske, what was the poore Earles part in this tragedie? what other, then that by rumoring his murther, they might bring the person of King *Henry* into common detestation for his cruelty; For clearing whereof the King publikely afterward shewed the Earle to the view of all. And albeit the vulgar fame is, that *Lambert* was called *Edward*, yet * one who then lived, saith directly, that this Cypher was dubbed and mounted from his owne meane ranke to the title of a King, under the name of the second Brother, who for certaine was called *Richard*: but what Record there is to the contrary, is to us as yet unknowne; for our vulgar Bookes extant can hardly passe with a Jury of ordinary Criticks, and Censors for unchallengeable evidence.

(14) This aery *Typhon* (which grasped at the embracement of the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Ireland*) thus throughly schooled and instructed, is secretly convaied by his Sinonian Tutor to *Dublin*, the chiefe City of the Irish, where he was confident of partakers, as amongst the hereditary Clients, and adherents of the house of *Yorke*; which affection was first breathed into them by the cunning popularities of the Lord *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, the first of that line, who publiquely claimed the Englih Crowne. His hopes deceived him not, for the Lord * Chancellor of *Ireland*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald* (of the noble Famile of the *Geraldines*) presently professed himselfe for the plot, and by his authority and perswasions drew the generality of the Irish after him into it. Messengers are hereupon dispatched, upon all hands both into *England*, to such as they had hope of, and into low *Germany* to the Ladie *Margaret*, sister of King *Edward* the fourth, Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundy*, a most mortall enemy of the Lancastrian Family. In both places the lighted matches of sedition found powdry spirits, and wonderfull correspondence. There is flocking from all parts to support the quarrell, and the Irish (to have the glory of giving *England* a King) proclaime and reverence this painted puffe, and flying bubble, with royall Style and honours.

(15) *Henrie* seeing the fire so strangely kindled round about the walls of his best hopes and strengths, fals seriously to counsell at the Monastery of *Carthusian* Monkes neere *Richmond*, where after exact deliberation it was decreed, 1. *That generall pardon* (to stay the mindes of as many as it was possible) *should without any exception be proclaimed to such as from thenceforth should continue dutifull.* Which was principally done to temper, and assure some private persons, as Sir *Thomas Broughton* and others, whose forces, wils, and wealth were held most in suspition. 2. *That Elizabeth*, late wife to *Edward* the fourth, and Mother in law to *Henry* now King of *England*, *should forfeit all her lands and goods, for that* (contrary to her faith given to them, who were in the plot for bringing in *King Henry*) *shee had yeelded up her daughters to the hands of the Tyrant Richard.* 3. *That Edward Earle of Warwicke then prisoner in the Tower, should be openly shewed alive in London.* All which was accordingly executed, but without any great fruit, for still the plot went on.

(16) The condemnation of *Elizabeth Queene* Dowager, rather moved envy towards *Henry*, then relieved his cause; for, to many the justice of that sentence was doubtfull, the circumstance of a *Mother* in law inferred a breach of pietie, and the judgement it selfe did also want example. The justice was doubtfull both in regard of the cause, and of the proceeding: Of the cause, for how could she have defended her Daughters by the priviledge of Sanctuary from such a Wolfe and Tyger, as would have infringed it for her Sonnes, had they not beene quietly delivered to his bloudy hands? The same Tyrant doth now demand her Daughters, as to honour, not to slaughter; but if it had beene to slaughter, what helpe; She, terrified with the motion, after much deliberation yeelds them to him, when shee neither could nor durst detaine them. But you say she violated her faith, and hazarded thereby the lives and hopes of all that were in the plot for her cause. A great crime certainely. But *Richard* was in title, and power a King, and hung over her head with inevitable terrours; when *Henry* of *Richmond* was but an Earle, and he farre off, and in banishment, and without any apparence of prevailing, and her selfe a friendlesse widdow. The manner or proceeding was no lesse strange; for by what law or triall was she condemned in a Præmunire? She nevertheless is put out of all, and confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, where finally she ended her dayes, borne to be an example of both fortunes, having from a forlorne Widdowes estate beene raised to the Bed of a Batchelour Monarcke; and in his life time beene reduced to the seeming of a private fortune, when her Lord was driven to flie the Land; and afterward saw those turnes and varieties as few Queenes ever felt, or saw so many, or more contrary; whether wee regard the height of worldly felicity, when she did behold her Sonne a King, or the depth of misery, when the Tyrant invaded his Crowne and life, or now her Daughter being Queene, and her selfe a miserable prisoner. The consideration whereof, as it may worthily mortifie ambitious affections; so the strangenesse of the sentence verifies that collection among others, which * that learned Gentleman makes of this Kings raigne, in these words: *Hee had* (saith hee) *a verie strange kinde of interchanging verie large and unexpected pardons with severe executions. Nevertheless, (his wisdome considered) it could not be imputed to any inequality, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle, that hee had apprehended, that it was not good, obstinately to pursue one course, but to try both wayes.* Howsoever that was; certainely, shee being so just an object of his commiseration, who had married that Daughter, by which he enjoyed a Kingdome, and gotten that very power, wherewith hee ruined her; it cannot be reasonably thought, but that there were other most important motives, perswading such a sharpe course, or otherwise, that it must be reckoned among the chiefe of his errours. But as in the times of her flourishing estate, she founded and endowed a faire Colledge for Students in *Cambridge*, which of her is called the *Queenes*; so we will leave to those her Beneficiaries the farther search of this Argument, and deploration of her fortune, which seemes such to us, as if King *Henry* affected to leave somewhat in this example, wherewith to oppose and amaze the World. Vnlesse perhaps it were, that having proclaimed a generall pardon for all offences, without exception, to such as in future should remaine loyall, and fore-seeing that some, who might be willing to lay hold of that benefit, might also be cunningly practised-with to fall away, upon distrust of his word, when once he had served his present ses, he therefore meant (by so cleare a demonstration, as the utter undoing, and perpetuall imprisonment of his wives owne mother,) to give them assurance, that he, who upon her person had beene so severe a punisher of faith-breach, would never

Queene Elizabeth deprived of her estate, and condemned to a Monasterie.

* Sir Fr. Bacon Reg. M.S.

A probable cause why King Henry dealt so rigorously with his mother in law.

never violate it in his owne, and thereby secure them in that poynt, and secure himselfe of them.

False de la Pole Earle of Lincolne, and others, flie to the Dutchesse of Burgundy.

(17) Yet neither could this devise take so good effect, but that *John* Earle of *Lincolne* (sonne of *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolke*, and *Elizabeth* King *Edward* the fourths sister) secretly fled into *Flanders* to the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, whither *Francis* Lord *Lovel* was likewise not long before escaped. Sir *Thomas Broughton* (another principall confederate) temporized in *England*, there to remaine a stay to the businesse, as well for mutuall intelligence, as receipt of an Army when it should arrive. This Earle of *Lincolne*, besides that he could not with any patience behold a Lancastrian weilding the English *Scepter*, was also of a * *sharpe wit*, *and high reach*, and therefore not without an ambitious sensibility, that in counrenancing King *Henry*, hee wronged that expectancie, and relation to the Crowne, which hee had in right of his Mother, sister to King *Edward* the fourth, and to King *Richard* the third, who had * designed him for heire apparant, and contracted his sister the * Lady *Anne de la Pole*, to *Iames* Prince of *Scotland*: was also the rather animated by * letters received from his Aunt the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, earnestly calling upon him for his presence. This Dutchesse was the second wife of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, * slaine by the *Switz*s at the battell of *Nancé*; by whom though hee had no issue, yet by reason of her great dower, and wise behaviour among the Dutch, she was strong in money and friends; all which she was willing to convert to the utter subversion, howsoever, of the *Lancastrian* line. Though therefore, she well knew that this *Lambert* was but an Idoll, * hammered out of the hote braine of that *Boutefew Richard Simon*, yet she embraceth the occasion, countenanceth the Impositure, and leaves nothing unsaid or undone, which might give life and successe to the enterprise. The Earle, the Lord *Lovell*, and others, she furnished abundantly, and joyneth unto them a renowmed Coronell *Martin Swart*, a Gentleman of * honorable birth, exemplary valour, and singular experience, and certaine selected Companies, to the number of about two thousand Almaines, which soone after arrive at *Dublin*. *Lambert*, who before was but proclaimed, is now in Christs Church there solemnely by them crowned King of *England*, * feasting and triumphing, rearing mighty shouts and cryes, carrying him thence to the Kings Castle upon tall mens shoulders, that he might be seene and noted; as he was surely (saith *Stow*) an honourable boy to looke upon; though nothing lesse was meant, then that he should enjoy that honour if they prevailed, as meaning then to erect *Edward* Earle of *Warwicke*. Posterity might worthily doubt of the truth of these so desperate impudencies, and ridiculous Pageants, practised in the highest affaires of mankinde, but that the thing is so universally testified, and also that the highest affaires of the world (when once they are passed) are little better then such like Pageants.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Cambd. in Notting. * Fo. Leste. * Bern. Andr.

* Philip de Com.

* John Dc. M.S.

* Polyd. Virg. saith he was of mean gentle nature.

* Lambert crowned King of England at Dublin. Iohn Stow.

(18) King *Henry* (on the other side) though he had by most diligent espials endevoured to know the truth of *Lamberts* quality, to divert the streame of affections, which he saw inclined that way, for that the practise was carried with such wonderfull art, as that very many (otherwise discreet and sober men) were induced to beleeve that he was indeede King *Edwards* sonne; and although the generall pardon proclaimed by King *Henry*, did undoubtedly stay very many from open revolt, but much more the carefull watch which was kept at the Ports, to hinder the escape of Male-contents or factious Fugitives: yet he manifestly saw, that it would in the end come to a Field: for which cause he takes order for the levie of an Armie, resolving to give his enemies Battell with the first opportunity, it being the ancient and manfull fashion of the English (who are naturally most impatient of lingring mischiefes) to put their publique quarrels to the triall of the sword. *Lambert* attended with *John* Earle of *Lincolne*, *Francis* Lord * Vicount *Lovell*, *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, or rather *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* (belike his sonne) and Coronell *Swart*, with an Army of desperate and picke Souldiers, as well *English*, *Dutch*, as *Irish* (all fired with infinite hopes and promises to be enjoyed upon the overthrow of King *Henry*) come on shoare in *Lancashire* at a place called the pile of *Foudray*, where they joyne with their assured Confederate Sir *Thomas Broughton*, and his sequell; and after some short refreshment in those parts, march with erected courages against King *Henry*, taking their way through *Yorkeshire* (the hoped Nursery of their surest friendships) and gloriously publishing their new King every where, though without any increase of force by concourse, (for King *Henries* wisdome had marred their errand,) their journey was directed toward *Newarke* upon *Trent*.

Lambert lands in Lancashire.

King Henryes Oration before the battell at Stoke.

(19) The King then at *Coventree*, being by such scouts as he had appointed for that service, presently advertised of *Lamberts* arriuall, and having his forces ready under the conduct of *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, & the *Earle of Oxford*, (because delay, in this case, was on all hands reputed mischievous,) sets forward to *Nottingham*, and by a Wood side called *Bowrs*, encampeth his people; in whom there appeared a gallant forwardnes to revenge themselves, by the sword, of that indignitie, which was offered to the English name by strangers and Rebels, who durst hope to give them a Ruler. Thither repaired *George Talbot* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, *George* Lord *Strange* his sonne, Sir *John Cheinie*, and other noble and valiant Gentlemen with their numbers, which added no small finewes to King *Henries* musters. *Polydor* * hath diligently set downe the names of such principall men in those parts as repayred thither, partly voluntary, partly sent-for to the common defence of the King and Kingdome; but without due additions of each mans degree and place of precedency; yet their names doe well deserve to be remembred, both for the honour of their Families, and examples of loyalty. Hee recounteth sixtie five Captaines which assembled from places thereabout, under whom there cannot probably be thought fewer Souldiers then eight or tenne thousand, the English usually, till of late, having commonly an hundreth and fiftie in a Company. Their surnames (besides *Edward* Lord * *Hastings*) are in him as followeth; *Longford*, *Montgomerie*, *Vernon of the Peke*, *Shurley*, *Folgeham*, *Grisley*, *Sutton*, *Stanley*, *and Stanley*, *Houghton*, *Meryng*, *Stanhop*, *Clifton*, *Stapleton*, *Willoughby*, *Perpoint*, *Babington*, *Bedyll*, * *Brudenel*, *Markham*, *Merbury*, *Borough*, *Tyrwit*, *Hussey*, *Shefeild*, *Newport*, *Ormeston*, *Tempest*, *Knywett*, *Willoughby*, *Dygby*, and *Dygby*, *Harrington*, *Sacheverel*, *Fyllers*, *Fylding*, *Poulney*, *Faux*, *Gryne*, *Gryffin*, *Lucy*, *Belknap*, *Throgmorton*, *Gray of Ruthin*, *Wollston*, *Fynder*, *Philips*, *Cheney*, *Cotton*, *S. John*, *Mordant*, *Terell*, *Rainsford*, *Paynton*, *Daniel*, *Marney*, *Armidel*. From the uttermost bounds of the North, there repayred also other chiefe persons and leaders (saith he) as * *Ogle*, * *Neuyle*, * *Latimer*, *Bulmer*, *Langford*, *Norres*, *Neuyle* of *Thortunbrig*, and *Williams*. The Earle of *Lincolne* nevertheless comes forward with his Counter-King, nothing perhaps adding greater courage to that side, then the example of *Henry* himselfe, who with lesse numbers (but much more secret Art) prevayled in a pight field at *Bosworth*: his meaning was to get into *Newarke*. The King wakefull upon all advantages, and perfectly instructed of his enemies courses (whom desperation did thrust forward to a daring hope) dislodgeth with his Army, and passeth through *Newarke*, leaving it behinde him about three miles, to intercept the *Lambertines*; and there fits downe againe. The Earle of *Lincolne* encampes with great bravery and shew of courage in the face of the Kings forces.

Mustring on the confines of Leicestershire.

Great repaire of the Kings and people to his aid. Polyd. Virgil.

* Polydor calls him Rygdon, meaning Hastings.

Brandon, a Poyle or executioner cruelly exhibits.

* These three seeme Barons, as them whom his summons by privie writ

(20) The next day both the Armies are brought forth to fight, neere to a little village called *Stoke*. The *Earle of Lincolne* marshalled his people by the advise of

* Camb. in Oxf.

* Bern. Andr.

of *Coronell Swart*, and others, to the best advantage; upon the * Brow or hanging of an Hill, expecting the charge. The *Almaines* were all of them hardie and approved men, and throughly well-appoynted, and so in likelihood were such *English* as stood for that side; but the *Irish*, besides multitudes and fiercenesse, had small provision, save (after the rude manner of their Nation) darts, skeins, or the like. The maine of the Battell rested wholly upon the *English* and *Almaines*. King *Henry* on the other side, (as he that thirsted for an end of this bloudy dayes worke,) speedily disposed his whole numbers into three Battalions: the Vaward whereof was best replenished with store of choise and picked men, well armed and appoynted, and fortified with wings. The armie being thus ordered, *Andreas* saith that King *Henrie* useth this speech.

"(21) Most faithfull Lords, and you most valiant "Companions in Armes, who have (together with "us) endured so great perils by Land and Sea; loe, "wee are againe, against our wils, drawne to trie our "fortunes in another Field. For the Earle of *Lincolne* (a perjured man) without any occasion minis- "stred by us, defends an unjust quarrell against us: "neither doth he it dissemblingly, but most openly "campeth, without any feare of God; not so much "onely to endammage us, as to fulfill the humour of "a giddie, and intemperate-tongued woman, who is "not ignorant that her bloud was extinguished by "her Brother *Richard*; but because that line did al- "wayes maintaine a most deadly fewd against ours, "shee (without any great regard to her Neece, my "deareft Confort) assayes to destroy as well us as our "posteritie. Yee fee therefore how often wee are "provoked by them; but they shall not carrie it a- "way unrevenged. God therefore and his holy An- "gels we first call to witnesse, that we are provident "both night and day for your safetie, and for the "Common quiet; though thus the ancient enemy "repugneth. But God, a just, strong, and patient "Iudge, will also bring a remedy to this evill In the "meane time we exhort and admonish you, that the "consideration of our just inheritance be at this pre- "sent more forceable with you, then their wicked- "nesse; neither doubt, but that the same God, who in "the former warre made us victorious, will enable "us to triumph now also over these enemies. Let us "therefore set upon them courageously; for God is "upon our side to assist us.

(22) The *Earle of Oxford*, (on the behalfe of the whole Army) was prepared to make answere, but the King hastening to the proofe, brake off all Ceremonies; and the signe of Battell given, they thunder forward with shouts of people, and sound of martiall musicke, and like a blacke tempest, powre themselves upon the Front of the Enemies Batrels; who rushed forward with equall violence and furie, as men that at once encountred against feare and fortune. The fight continued doubtfull above * three houres. A long space for men of courage to be employed in killing one the other, and fit to glut the hunger of furie. The Earles *English* wanted nothing but a good cause, and the *Almains* gave not place to the Kings people in any poynt worthy of gallant Souldiers, but sold their lives dearely, and their *Coronell Swart* had scarce any before him in personall performance. Neither were the *Irish* behinde for their parts, if their skinnes had beene sword-proofe, for the contempt of death was alike in them as the rest. Briefly, the wonder of that dayes worke was, that Christian men, in no sounder a quarrell, could dare to die so boldly, such chiefly, as the Earle of *Lincolne*, and some others, who knew the secret of that desperate enterprize. *But God, the Lord of revenges; punishing their unjust malice, with a suddaine whirlewinde, rising in the heate of the Battell, (even as when Constantine fought against the enemies of the Church) our Souldiers, who seemed vanquished, became victorious.* For the Kings vant-gard * re-enforced it selfe, and gave so furious a re-charge, (in likelihood upon this encouragement sent as it were from Heaven) that it utterly brake the Enemies squadrons, and giving in among them with full randon, flew * first such Captaines as resisted, and put the residue which yeelded not, either to the sword or flight. Herewith the whole Armie * shouted, the Trumpets sound victory, and the generall crie runnes King *Henrie*, King *Henrie*. When the battell and chase were ended, so that there was time and leasure to view the field, it then appeared what mindes the slaine bodies carried; for all the chiefe Captaines, the Earle of *Lincolne* himselfe (though the King would gladly have had him fived, to come thereby to a greater light of his dangers) the Lord *Lovell*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Coronell Swart*, and * *Maurice Fitz-Thomas*, Generall of the Irish, were (like * *Catiline* and his Complices) found to cover those places dead, which they defended living, among foure thousand other Souldiers which were sluine upon that side. The King at this Battell lost * almost halfe the People in his Vantgard, and Surgeons had store of worke among the Survivers, so that the Garland gained at this journey was not undipt in bloud; Howbeit there is no mention that any man of honour or speciall note, fell upon the Kings side.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Bern. Andr.

The King prevailes.

* Polyd. Virg.

The Earle of Lincolne, and all the chiefe Leaders of that side, slaine in the field.

* Polyd. Virg. * Edm. Campion. Hist. of Ireland. * Sir Salustius Catalin.

* Polydor. Virg. But he saith there very few were slaine.

(23) Among the Prisoners was the *Counterfeit* himselfe, and the lewd contriver of this wicked stratagem, *Richard Simon*, who with little change may most truely be called another *Simon*. The King, (who reserved himselfe in this battell, as in others, but * never retired) made both their persons examples of his clemency. For *Lambart* being questioned, how *such a* * *breeching-boy as he was, durst attempt so great a wickednesse, denied not, that he was compelled thereunto, by certaine bad persons, who were of that conspiracy*; and as for his parents quality, *he confest them to be such as indeed they were*; *altogether of base and despicable calling.* * *Simon* subtill, or Sir *Richard Simon* the Priest, whether for discovery of some great secrets, or the extraordinary reverence borne to his function (*extraordinary* say wee, for otherwise * Priests had beene openly put to death) was not executed, but * condemned to a dungeon, and perpetuall shackles. *Lambert* (whom the glittering periwig of regall style did but lately so adorne) was condemned to * the Kings kitchen, there to manage spits at the fire; who if *his wit and spirit had answered his late Titles, would have chosen much rather to have beene turned from the Ladder by an hangman.* But * having in this abject condition given sufficient proofe that he was but a Puppet, or a property in the late tragicall motion, * *he was at length* (*promoted we cannot say*) *made one of the Kings Falconers*, in which estate it seemes hee lived and died inglorious. This Battel was fought upon a * *Saturday*, a day of the week which is * observed to have beene favourable and luckie to this *Henry*. His first care after the victory setled, was that which most became a religious Prince, the humble and joyous acknowledgement of thankes to God, in the very place. From thence he passeth to * *Lincolne*, where he spent three dayes in publike supplications, Processions, and thanksgivings, and sent his Standard to our *Ladies Church at Walsingham* in *Norfolke*, there to remaine as a Monument of his victorie and gratitude. Such as were taken in the Battell or Chase, are then executed. From *Lincolne* hee progresseth into *Yorkeshire*, where he tooke a severe course, as well by execution, as ranfome, for purging those parts from such as were culpable, or probably dangerous. At *Newcastle* about the * middle of August, he dispatcheth his experienced and trusty Agent *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Exceter*, and Sir *Richard Edgcombe* Knight into *Scotland*, there to settle a peace with King *Iames* the third, to empeach the retreat and protection which his enemies and Rebels found therein. Himselfe having spent a great part of Summer in this progresse, or rather itinerary Justicing, returnes by *Leicester* toward *London*. Those prudent Ambassadors

* Fragm. M S.

* Impudc. Bern. Andr. MS.

* Id. De M.S.

* The middle Head of each Page Engr. Hollinsh. who also follows Stow. * Polyd. Virg. * Iohn Dc. of Her. M.S.

* Polyd. Virg. Lamberts fortunes.

* Id. De M. S.

* 16 Iun. A.D. 1487. Fabian Reg. * Bern. Andr. M S.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Andreas Ambellicus in his Stanzas.

* Lyle in Jacob. 5.

Bishop Foxe, first a great furtherer, and now a chiefe professour of King Henries Regality.

* Bern. Andr. M.S. The Dutchesse of Burgundies immortall malice.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Bern. Andr.

* 3. November. Anno D. 1487.

* Added to Feb. 8. Anno 16. Crowned Queene of England.

A difficult case, whether King Henry should aide the Britaines, or no.

Charles King of France practiseth to joyn Britaine to his Empire.

Ambassadours out of France to King Henry.

fadors in the meane time negociating with the Scottish King, wrought* him to be more inclinable to a perpetuall peace; then it stood with his safetie to let his Subjects understand, who favoured him not. Seaven yeares truce is consented unto, with a secret promise of King *Iames* to renew that terme, as it began to expire; with which assurance the Ambassadours returning; gladded their wise Soveraignes heart; who thereby found that the Bishop of *Exceter*, was no lesse industrious in preserving his Regall state, then he had beene prudent in furthering *Him* unto it. The fire-brands and readiest fuell of Rebellion thus seemed to be quenched, and the King beholds himselfe in the Grace and favour of his people, nor lesse of forraine Princes; *Margaret Dutchesse of Burgundy* (his implacable* *Iuno*) excepted; whom the newes of her Nephewes the Earle of *Lincolnes* death, and the bloudy blowing up of all her late hopefull and costly contrivements, did gall and wound extreamely; but added fresh appetites of revenge to her former immortall malice, which* never gave over working, till she had vented another no lesse prodigy then *Lambert* was. But the King being honoured and fought unto, as well by a *Nuncio** from the *Romane* See, who obtayned leave to publish a *Croisado* here against the Turkes, as also from the *French*; after his many labours, as well Martiall as Civill, sustained on behalfe of himselfe and the Common-weale, makes a triumphall* entry into *London*, which was adorned in the best manner. And in the same moneth upon * *Saint Katherines* day, his wife *Elizabeth* was Crowned *Queene of England*, as if that then first he had held himselfe assured of Royall estate: for he saw not what dangerous lifts would yet be given by that unquiet Ladies practises, to heave him out of authority.

(24) The next maine action which fitted the judgement, and tride the sinewes of King *Henry*, was a forraigne case, of more difficulty and Art, then of intestine danger, as in which the high and paramount respects of Common-weale were intangled, or encountred with offices most neerely concerning the honour of a Princes minde, which never is more blemished then with the note of ingratitude. A dispute and combate betweene wisdome and bloud, publique and private, (if any quality, or action of a King may be said to be private) which seemed worthy of so excellent, cleare, and considerate a discourse, as that of *Henries*. You heard what notable favours and humanities, when he lived a banisht Earle in the Continent, he had received, first of the Duke of *Britain*, then of *Charles* K. of *France*; so that hee stood equally (as it were) obliged to them both, and could acknowledge no lesse. *Charles* (more ambitiously then justly) desired exceedingly to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*, taking occasion of the time, and other circumstances, which all seemed to conspire with his affections. The Duke olde, and the father of one onely daughter surviving till marriage; *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, and rivall of King *Charles* in the same desires, (as well for the *Dutchy*, as the Daughter,) feeble in meanes; and King *Henry* as well obnoxious to the *French* for benefits, as busied in his particular at home: and the Duke of *Britaine*, by succouring *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other *French* Lords, whom King *Charles* reputed his adversaries, ministred to the *French* an occasion (or colour at least) of warring upon *Britaine*, and so by the apt concurrence of circumstances, to annexe it by conquest, if by treaty hee could not. *Henry* of *England* now knowne to be victoriously setled, seemes worth the Courting. Ambassadors come from the *French*, *who lay open the wrong offered by the* Britaines, *in succouring the enemies of* France, *put* Henry *in minde of passed benefits; and pray his assistance, or at the least a neutrality*; but altogether concealing the mystery of this warre, which was to annexe *Britaine* to the Crowne of *France*. Howsoever, *Henry*, though he well enough knew, that a King must ever bee the best part of his *Councell*, (for what are others opinions, if himselfe want the happinesse, or judgement, to choose the best?) propounds the points to his privy Councell, whereupon he Christianly *offers himselfe a Mediatour betweene* the French *and* Britaine; an office, in which it was apparant hee might best satisfie all obligations and duties both to God and them. *The* French *pretend liking, but in the meane time follow their designe hard. Henry* sends his Chaplen Mr. *Christopher Urswicke* a man* whom he very often imployed. The *French* maske on. Things come to some extremities. It becomes manifest that King *Charles* abused the King of *Englands* credulity; for the City of *Nants* in *Britaine* was brought by siege to point of yeelding, while messengers, and packers, outwardly oyled with the name of peace, slide to and fro, and the *French* doubt nothing so much, as lest the *English* should stirre, before their victory had made *Britaine* irrecoverable. The Lord *Woodvile* (as without the Kings will, or privity) slips over into *Britaine* with three or foure hundred choise men, to assist the Duke, and came time enough to be slaine with almost all his Souldiers, at the battell of *Saint Albine*, where the *French* wanne the day; notwithstanding that the *Britaines*, the rather to appall their enemies, had apparelled * feaveneene hundred of their own Souldiers in white Coates with red Crosses, after the *English* manner, & made therby a shew of two Regiments of *English*. The *Britaines* had a great losse in that battell, wherein they were made fewer by sixe thousand. The Duke of *Orleance* and Prince of *Orange*, who then were *British* in faction, were taken prisoners in the same fight. The *French* lost about twelve hundreth, and their *Generall* an *Italian*. So that the state of *Britaine* seemed ripe for a fall.

(25) But King *Henry*, having long since suspected, and fore-seene, what the uttermost marke of the *French* might be, and seeming to have enough suffered the intereste, which they might expect in him as a man, to be abused by their practises, to the prejudice of his other friend, the Duke of *Britaine*, (who forgat not to follicite and urge that point) had made the quality of this affaire knowne to the body of State in open Parliament, for that purpose assembled; as meaning by authority thereof to purge himselfe from all imputation, if, as a King, he did that which the reason of Government required, which would not assent *that* Britaine *should be made* French, *left by that accession their Neighbourhood might grow intollerable*, Britaine *having so many Sea-townes and out-lets to mischiefe the* English *trafficke*. Himselfe was otherwise also sufficiently resolved, *that the generall good ought to predominate the particular, and that his private obligations ought not to entangle, or prejudice the publike service*. The Parliament therfore, considering that which stood for the Common-weale, decrees aide of men and money, on behalfe of the Duke of *Britaine*; it being (besides all other respects) a perillous example, to suffer the great to devoure the lesser Neighbour-States, upon pretences of justice, or revenge. Forces are levied; but (for respect of King *Charles*, and in hope that the shew of preparations would stoope him to equall conditions,) not yet so roundly, as the *Britaines* necessities expected. Meane-while that no formality or Princely ceremony should be un-accomplished, King *Henrie* by his Ambassadors *certifies King* Charles *of his Parliaments decree; prayes him to desist from farther Hostility; otherwise that he must assist the Duke, but yet (for the* French *Kings sake) with this reservation, of pursuing his subjects no where but in* Britaine. *Charles* made small account of these overtures, because hee truely perswaded himselfe that the *English* aides would not arrive in season; which fell out accordingly; for before that time, the *French* had gotten that victory, (whereof even now wee spake) at the Battell of *Saint Albine*. Vpon newes whereof, the English Regiments were immediatly sent over under *Robert* Lord *Broke*,

* Lyle in Jacob. 5.

* Polyd. Virg.

* John Meddelton in vit.

* Hollinshed. Iohn Davis M.S

* Polyd. Virg.

The Duke of Britaine dies, and the English return.

The Lord Woodvile slaine in Britaine.

* Paul. Emil. in Carolo.

The beginning of new stirres in Yorkeshire.

The Battell of Saffray-moor in the French provaile.

Iob. Stow ex Iob. Episcop.

King Henry propounds the case in Parliament.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 26. Iob. Stow Ann.

The Earle of Northumberland stirres up the people in a tumult.

The Parliament grants ayde of money to support the warre of Britaine.

The King in person in Yorkeshire.

Iob. Stow Ann.

Sir John Egremond Captaine of the Rebels escapes to the Dutchesse of Burgundy.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Bern. Andr. M.S.

Eight thousand English sent ready into Britaine. Iob. Stow Ann.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Lyle in Iacob. 5.

* Polyd. Virg.

King Henry in vaine seekes to reconcile the Scots to their King.

Iob. Lesly Bishop of Rosse.

Iames the third, King of Scotland, slaine in battell by his Subjects.

* Iob. Stow Ann.

King Henries bountie to a Stranger for Learnings cause.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.

The first reviver in this age of pure Latine and chiefe learning.

Godwins Catal. of Bis. in Bath. &c. pag. 309. Paul. Iovius.

* Hadrian. 6.

Broke Generall, Sir *Iohn Cheiney*, Sir *Iohn Middleton*, Sir *Rafe Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornewall*, Knights, and Coronels. The whole Army contained eight thousand men. These march toward the enemy; who, acquainted with the temper of the *English*, *whiles they are fresh*, as * *being then almost invincible*, containe themselves within their Campe; but yet * molest the *English* with continuall skirmishes on horse-backe in severall places at once; finally to the profit of the *French*, who * were alwaies put to the worse, the Archers received them with such perpetuall stormes. In the meane space, *Francis* Duke of *Britaine* dyes, leaving in effect, one onely daughter, the Lady *Anne*, (for the other, * being the younger) deceased not long after. This altered the whole state of the case. The *British* Nobilitie (under their young Mistresse) immediately fall at variance among themselves, and the *English* thereby were on every hand in danger: so that God (as it appeared by the sequell) had destined *Britaine* to be annexed to the Crowne of *France*; for the *English* (after five moneths stay) were in wisdome compelled to returne; the rather, for that Winter now was come upon them, and *Britaine*, destitute of competent defence, (her Rulers disagreeing among themselves) was finally by the marriage of King *Charles* with the Lady *Anne*, made a parcell of the *French Monarchy*, as hereafter will appeare.

(26) King *Henry* the while was againe in danger to have had prefent use of Souldiers at home. We shewed, what care was heretofore taken by him to weed the North, and free it from lurking enemies. That notwithstanding, when the Earle of *Northumberland*, Lieutenant of the North) signified at an Assembly (according as the truth was) *that the King (though the Northerne people had besought it) would not remit one penny of such Subsidie, as was granted in Parliament for supportation of the warres in* Britaine, * *lest the Acts of State should be reversed at the rude peoples pleasure; but that on the contrary, Commission and warrant was sent downe for him to see the same levyed by distresse, or otherwise*: the desperate multitude, fatally supposing that the Earle was the occasion of such an answer, did suddenly set upon him at the incitement of one *Iohn à Chamber*, and furiously murdered him, with certaine of his servants in a place called *Cockledge* by *Thrusk*, eighteene miles from *Yorke*. They to carry their wicked attempt through, make head under Sir *Iohn Egremond*, a discontented Knight of those parts, openly declaring where they came, that their meaning was to fight with the King in defence of their liberties, as if the cause leffe killing of a most noble Lord had beene one of them. *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* sent from Court with some forces to represse their increase, skirmisheth with a route of these Rebels, beats them away, and takes *Iohn à Chamber* prisoner. The whole swarme flockes to *Yorke*, where they roosted about three or foure dayes, when hearing of the Kings approach (who was ever one of the first in the necke of such occasions) they scattered themselves, but the Ring-leaders were hanged and quartered, and *Iohn à Chamber*, with some others, were executed at *Yorke* after an extraordinary manner. Sir *Iohn Egremond* escaping, fled to the common Center of all King *Henries* dangers and enmities, *Margaret* Dutchesse of *Burgundy*, so that though the colour of rising was about money, yet *Egremond* at least had reference, it seemes, to the generall perturbation of the Kingdome, upon the old ground of quarrell (*hatred of the Lancastrian Family*) and this to be but a sparke or flash of that great and troublous fire, which afterward brake forth and blazed so prodigiously. The Earle of *Surrey* is left by the King (having * severely punished the murtherers) Lieutenant of the *North*, and Sir *Robert Tonstall* Knight, as chiefe Commissioner for levying the Taxe or Subsidie.

(27) The unworthy death of the Earle of *Northumberland*, was seconded by a more unworthy, of *Iames* the third King of *Scotland*, so as King *Henry* lost at home a most honourable stay of his *Northerne* affaires, and a sure Ally abroad. This unfortunate Prince, having * by some irregularitie of life, and partialities, and errours of government (amplified perhaps by the constructions and reports of his malignant Subjects) incurred extreame hatred with many of the Nobilitie and people, laboured with * King *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and King of *France*, to make an accord betweene him and his Mutinadoes, for that they had compelled Prince *Iames*, his Sonne, to bee the titular and unnaturall Head of those armes, which traiterously (as pretending to have a right on behalfe of the Common-weale to depose an evill King) they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by earnest Ambassadors, but could obtaine no other then this outragious answer: *That there was no talking of peace, unlesse hee would resigne his Crowne.* King *Henry* and King *Charles* vehemently protested against these their whole proceedings, declaring by their Ambassadour, *that they thought the same to be as a common injury done unto themselves; and the example to bee very wicked and pernicious, and not sufferable by Princes, that Subjects should be permitted to put hands unto their Soveraigne.* Hereupon it came to a Battell at *Banocksborne* by *Strivelin*, whereat King *Iames* (rashly fighting before his whole numbers were come) was notwithstanding the contrary commandement of the Prince his Sonne) slaine in the Mill, of that Field, whither he fled after the Battell ended. By reason of this infortunate precipitation of the *Scottish* King, *Hadrian de Castello* an *Italian* Legate, whom Pope *Innocentius* the eight had sent to take up the cruell quarrell, came too late, (for he arrived not in *England* till the Battell at *Banocksborne* was passed,) but not too late to receive honour at the hands of King *Henry*, who respecting his wisedome and excellent learning, (upon the speciall commendations first * of *Iohn Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, but afterward upon his owne experience of the Man in sundry employments to the *Romane* See,) bestowed upon him the Bishopricke of *Hereford*, and (after resignation thereof) the Bishopricke of *Bath* and *Wells*; who was also at the length created Cardinall by Pope *Alexander* the sixth. * *But who is hee among many thousands* (saith *Polydor*) *that useth not to admire these outward honours which may alike bee given to the unworthy as well as to the well-deserving, and may alike be taken away from either? But the praise of this* Hadrian *is of another farre more noble kinde and eternall: for hee was the man who first revived the glory of the ancient Latine eloquence, and of all other sorts of obscruse and exquisite learnings, as in which himselfe excelled.* Thus doth *Polydor* (himselfe an *Italian*,) celebrate the learning of his Country-man, of whose other qualities, yet others write more harshly; as that out of meere ambition to be Pope, without any other grudge) hee conspired with *Alphonso Petruccio*, and other sacred Cardinals, to murther Pope *Leo* the tenth: induced thereto by suggestion of a Witch, who fore-told him that one *Hadrian*, an old man, of meane parentage, of great learning and wisdome, should succeed in the Papacy. The man thought it must needs be himselfe, as being, though of very base Parentage, yet of some noble qualities: but another * *Hadrian*, the sonne of a Dutch Brewer, and instructer of *Charles* the fifth the Emperour, prooved to be the man; and this our *Hadrian* lost by depravation all his promotions whatsoever, for his nefarious attempt. Into such extreame folly is learning and wisdome metamorphosed, where it is tainted with Ambition, or wants a Religious discretion to manage it aright.

(28) And albeit the King himselfe could very gladly have spent his time in the studies of peace, as

Warre with France, and the causes.

those which were far more apt for the service of God and for attaining of knowledge, then in martiall tumults; yet the qualitie of his super-eminent place envied unto him that felicitie; for he was necessarily drawne into a war with *France* upon lesse occasions. *Anne* the young *Dutchesse of Britaine*, (by their advise, who affected to preserve the liberty of that *Dukedome*, which by union with *France*, would be absorpt and extinguished) had so farre entangled and engaged her selfe with the Procurators of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, that she was not onely publiquely contracted, but contented (for uttermost performance of those rites whereof marriage by proxie was honourably capable) to take upon her the Bride, and being solemnly bedded, to permit *Maximilians Deputie*, in the presence of sundry Noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put in his legge, ſtript naked to the knee, betweene the ſpouſall ſheetes, that ceremony seeming to amount to a Conſummation. *Charles* King of *France*, notwithſtanding theſe ſolemnities, and his owne particular engagement with the Lady *Margaret* daughter of *Maximilian*, (whom for the purpoſe of marriage he had already entertained into *France*,) did ſo ambitiouſly and vehemently covet to gaine *Britaine*, that upon confidence of his force, he reſolved to breake through all reſpects, and not onely to offend all his forraine friends, but to make them his juſt enemies, rather then to faile in effectuation. Inſtruments are therefore very ſecretly ſet on worke, and battery is placed with bags of gold at all the opportunities which might let in his purpoſe. Ambaſſadors alſo (the* Lord *Francis of Luxemburg*, *Charles Martinian*, and *Robert Gagwine*, * *Generall* of the Order of the holy *Trinitie*, are diſpatched to *Henry*, praying that with his good-will he might diſpoſe of the body of the Lady *Anne* in marriage, according to the right which he had thereunto, as the chiefe Lord of whom ſhe held the Dukedome. *Henry denied the requeſt*, but yeelded notwithſtanding to ſend Ambaſſadors into *France* there *to Capitulate about a Peace*. The *French* carryed this affaire with notable Art, for to divert the world for looking into the depth of their drift, King *Charles* ſtill detained the young Lady *Margaret*, *Maximilians* daughter; ſo as at moſt it could be but ſuſpected, that *Charles* as at moſt it could be but ſuſpected, that *Charles* meant to match her with ſome of his bloud, and all the entercourſe at *Orators* and Ambaſſadors uſed in the meane time, tended but to hold the *Engliſh* buſied upon other objects, till they had wrought their feate in the Court of *Britaine*. For *Maximilian*, (to let the world ſee what injuries ſhall be offered even to Kings, that are not ſtrong) him they altogether neglected; King *Henry* they played with, and *Ferdinando* King of *Caſtile* (who was ready to joyne with *Maximilian* and *Henry* * againſt the *French*) they reſolve to appeaſe, with rendring up unto him the Counties of *Ruſcinoon*, and *Perpinian*; as accordingly they * did, without re-emburſement of one penny of thoſe 300000. Crownes, for which *John* King of *Arragon* (father to *Ferdinando*) had morgaged them. The young Ladies doubts, riſing either out of Religion, or point of honour, his cunning Agents, and Emiſſaries wipe away with theſe ſolutions. *That Maximilians daughter was not of yeares to conſent, and therefore the contract betweene King Charles and her, did not binde either in law, or conſcience: That her owne contract with Maximilian was voide, for that it was done without the conſent of her Soveraigne Lord, King Charles, whoſe Ward or Client ſhe was.* The Lady vanquiſhed in her judgement with theſe reaſons, attracted with the preſent greatneſſe of King *Charles*, and loath by refuſall to make her Country the ſeat of a long and miſerable warre, *ſecretly yeelded to accept of another husband. Thomas Goldſtone* Abbot of Saint *Auguſtines* in *Canterbury*, and *Thomas* Earle of *Ormond* in *Ireland*, King *Henries* Ambaſſadors into *France*, having beene dandled by the French during theſe illuſive practiſes, returned without other fruit of their labours.

The young Dutcheſſe married by proxie.

* *John Stowes Annal.*
* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

The *French* carried the practiſe of marriage with the Inheritrix of *Britaine* moſt artificially.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Iob. Vil. chron.*
* *L. Marin. lib. 20. de reb. Hiſpan.*

(29) What could now the moſt patient doe leſſe then take Sword in hand upon ſo palpable and unworthy illuſion? But *Maximilians* wrongs were too impudent and intollerable; for *Charles* ſent home the Lady *Margaret*, and married the Inheritrix of *Britaine*, annexing it to his owne Realme: whereas King *Henry* found himſelfe rather mocke, then otherwiſe empayred. *James Contibald* hereupon comes Ambaſſadour from *Maximilian*, and obtained his requeſt; which was, *that they with joynt forces ſhould by a certaine day preſixed, invade the French*, in full revenge of theſe their bold provocations; *Maximilian* for his part, promiſing to ſupport that warre with at leaſt ten thouſand men for two yeares. King *Henry* having formerly in abundant manner provided himſelfe of treaſure, was ready before the day with a royall armie: but *Maximilian* (whoſe will to worke the uttermoſt miſchiefe to *France* was not doubted,) being ſent unto by King *Henry*, ſignifying his forwardneſſe, was found utterly unfurniſhed. Cauſes of *Maximilians* weakeneſſe in ſtate, were the Rebellions and diſlikes of his Flemiſh Subjects, cheriſhed by the *French*, the jealouſie of Princes neighbourhood, making them unjuſtly glad either of others moleſtations. For ſubduing whereof, though King *Henry* had heretofore given him good and ſucceſſefull aſſiſtance, under the conduct of *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, Governour of *Callis*, the Lord *Morley*, and others, whereby he the rather overcame; yet was he the feebler, as then, by reaſon of ſo freſh exhauſtures. King *Henry* with good cauſe was not a little troubled at theſe newes, ſecretly ſignified by his truſtie Almner M. *Chriſtopher Vrſwick*, and Sir *Richard Riſley* Knight, his Ambaſſadors to *Maximilian*; For he was very loath to undergoe ſo great an Action upon his particular ſtrengths, though hee doubted not to finde a potent partie among the *Britaines*, whoſe affections were as yet but looſely ſetled toward King *Charles*,) and yet farre more loath to deceive the expectation of his owne people, who had ſo largely contributed; Chiefely the Citie of *London*, out of which, even in thoſe dayes, he received for his furniture in that voyage almoſt * ten thouſand pounds from the Commoners, and (as it ſeemes by our Author) two hundreth pounds beſides from every Alderman, where the ſame King could not, but with ſome difficultie, levy in the third yeare of his Raigne a loane of foure thouſand pounds, whereof three of the beſt Companies are noted (as for having done and deſerved extraordinarily, to have lent above nine hundred. And verily this wiſe King (knowing how great a ſtrength that rich Citie was unto him) humoured that people with all ſorts of popularities, for himſelfe did not onely come among them, and cauſe himſelfe to be entred a Brother, in * one of their Companies, but ware the habite at a publike Feaſt, and ſate as Maſter, as is very credibly reported out of the Records of their Hall. His wiſdome therefore ſaw, that in giving over the invaſion of *France*; he ſhould ſloathfully abandon a goodly occaſion of making himſelfe univerſally acceptable to his people. His reſolutions therefore are by him at leaſt-wiſe pretended to continue, and for that cauſe he ſufficiently encreaſeth his numbers, that he might ſeeme able to goe through with that enterprize alone; and though the time of yeare were too farre ſpent (for he landed not at *Callis*, till the ſixth day of October) yet marcheth he with his whole forces toward *Bologne*, being well aſſured that with this trowell he ſhould at once plaiſter two wals, that is, humor his *Engliſh* ſubjects, and for a peace draw to himſelfe ſtore of Crownes from the *French*.

(30) He had with him, beſides the flower of his Nobilitie, and Captaines, anſwerable numbers of People fit for the ſervice. The moſt named perſons were theſe, *Jaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, Lieutenant Generall of the army, *Thomas Marqueſſe Dorſet*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Suffolke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Devonſhire*, and *Ormond*, ſundry Barons, as *Dawbeney*

Britaine ſubmitted to *France*.

Maximilian unprovided to joyne with *Henry*.

Bologne beſieged by King *Henry*.

* *Polydor calls him Deſquerdo.*
* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

Reaſons moving the Kings to a peace.

* *Phil. de Com.*

* *Annal. Burton. Hill. ad A. D. 1492. Polyd. Virgil. in Hen. 7.*
* *John Stowes Annal.*

* *Addit. to Fab. Chron.* The Londoners ſeigneme tribution to the King.

The high points of wiſedome practiſed by King *Henry* in atchieving his ends.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

Hideſteed.

* One hundreth eighteene thouſand, two hundreth & fifty pounds Engliſh.
* *Bern. of Her. M. S.*
* *Polyd. Virg.*

King Henry populariſes in London.
* The Merchant Taylors

An. Dom. 1492. An. Reg. 8.

Forraine penſion of what uſe or hazard.

The chiefe Lords name who ſerved in this voyage.

* *Bern. Andr. Henry recontres.*

* *Fr. Decouil. lib. 13. Guic. lib.*

Dawbeny, *Abergenny*, *Delaware*, *South*, *Haſtings*, *Cobham*, *&c.* But it is needleſſe to weary our ſelves with long relations of a ſhort voyage, for King *Henry*, *before hee ſet forth out of England*, was ſecretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Governor of *Henault*, according to inſtructions on the French Kings behalfe, to accept of conditions, which till *Bologne* was beſieged (as now by him it was) was not knowne. The ignorance of this myſtery made many forward Gentlemen to morgage their lands, and runne into much debt for their fuller and braver furniture, in hope to get great matters in this warre, whereof to their griefe they found themſelves deceived. In the meane time the Lord * *Cordes*, having met at *Callis* with *Richard Fox* Lord Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and * *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, the Kings Commiſſioners; after juſt and long debatement, concluded upon Articles of Peace betweene the two Kings.

(31) *Bologne* was brought to ſome diſtreſſe, when by intervention of this agreement it remained ſafe and quiet: King *Charles* was chiefly moved to buy his peace at a deare rate, both for that the ſtate of *Britaine* was as yet unſetled, and for that he meant forthwith to march into *Italy* for the * conqueſt of the Kingdome of *Naples*; and King *Henry* on the other ſide was not unwilling, becauſe *Maximilian* had fayled, and *Britaine* ſeemed clearely paſt poſſibilitie of eviction. To which may be added, a naturall, noble, and religious inclination in King *Henry*, to live in amity with his neighbours; *the inckling of new* * *dangers*, then in brewing againſt him by the turbulent, and unappeaſeable Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, and * cheriſhed by King *Charles*; and laſtly, the enrichment of himſelfe by re-emburſing the charges both of this, and the *Britiſh* warre, out of the *French* elſewhere, whereby he ſhould farre the better be able to withſtand all forraine practiſes, or domeſticke outrages. As for the preſerving of himſelfe, and his honour with his Subjects, he wanted not both true and honourable gloſſes: Such as were the care to avoyde unneceſſary effuſion of Chriſtian bloud: the uſes of his preſence at home, beſides many other: but his wiſdome in the carriage of this right weighty action was chiefly eminent in this: *That hee would not enter into Treatie, till hee was in the Field; and that with ſuch a puiſſance, as was likely enough to force his owne conditions; nor ſuffer the leaſt ſigne of his ſecret willingneſſe to peace, or inward doubt of troubles at home; to creepe out at any Crany or Chinke of his diſcourſe or carriage*, whereby hee as farre outwent the *French* fairely, as they formerly ſeemed to have over-wrought him ſubtlely. Had they truely beene informed in theſe points, it is probable they might have gone a cheaper way to worke: for, beſides what other Articles ſoever, it was concluded, That *Henry* ſhould * not *quit his claime to France*; but that for a Peace, which by the contract *was onely to continue during the two Kings lives*, *Charles* of *France* ſhould pay in preſent to *Henry* for his charges in that warre, * ſeven hundred fortie and five thouſand * Duckets, and twentie five thouſand Crownes yearely toward the expences which hee had heretofore been at in aiding the *Britains*. Which (by the Engliſh called Tibrute) was duely paide during all this Kings raigne, and alſo to *Henry* his Son, till the whole debt was run out, thereby to preſerve amitie with *England*. There were moreover (by *Henries* conſent, who was thus content to gratifie his Peeres at anothers coſt) not onely preſent rewards, but alſo certaine annuall penſions allotted to the chiefe Lords of his Privie-Councell. A courſe of bountie which might otherwiſe have proved prejudicious to the ſervice of the King of *England*, by engaging his Counſellors affections to the *French*: The ſiege of *Bologne* laſted till the eight day of November, and *Henry* (whom his Queenes moſt * tender, frequent, and loving lines, did the rather invite to ſpeedieſt returne,) having ſetled all his tranſmarine affaires, * arrived at *Dover*, from whence he journied to *Weſtminſter*, there to celebrate the Feaſt of Chriſtmas. This voyage into *France*, affording no greater exploites then we have heard, was celebrated by blind * *Bernard* with hyperbolicall and wellborne Verſes, not ordinary, in which directing his ſpeech in honour of *Henry*, to the *Howres* hee concludes.

Effugite ignivomos celeres conjungere Solis,
Quadrupedes: Hora protinus ecce parant;
Non opus eſt vobis; quia, ſi privatus Apollo,
Paverit Admeti rurſus & ipſe boves,
Principis hic noſtri vultus lætialis, abunde
Lumina, crede mihi, Phœbe recede, dabit.

King *Henry* returned.

* *Andr. Thol. M. S.*

(32) The famous counterfeiſance of *Perkin Warbecke*, with which the braine of the Lady *Margarets* Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Burgundie* had long travelled, doth now begin to diſcloſe it ſelfe, and make new buſineſſes for King *Henry*. The inglorious glory of the firſt invention in his raigne of this kinde of vexation, *Lambert Simnels* perſon had given to his Maſter the wily *Simon*, ſo that our Dutcheſſe was but an imitattrix, and yet perhaps ſhe gave not place in any point to the firſt example, or Archtype, nevertheleſſe the fortune of the firſt deviſe, being no more ſucceſſefull then it was, might reaſonably have deterred her from the edition of a ſecond: but whether it were an immortall envie toward the Lancaſtrian race, or a burning zeale of advancing one that might at leaſtwiſe beare the name of a *Plantagenet*, though by any ſiniſter practiſes; as if it had beene lawfull to attaine her ends (admit them juſt) by any injurious courſes, ſhee reſolves to erect another Idoll, as perceiving by the firſt, how notable an engine impoſture was, to trouble *Henry*; being well aſſured, that *England* was full of corrupt humors, and ill-affections to worke upon, nor ſo much through the deſert of her preſent King, as for that the dregges which naturally reſide in the bottom of mens hearts, where moſt bloudy and barbarous factions have for a long time weltered, and wurried one the other with various event, were not cleanſed and avoyded. The Divell therefore ready to furniſh all attempts which may raiſe trouble, and miſchiefe, eaſily fitted her. There was come therefore to her hands a youth adorned with ſuch a ſhape, as might eaſily perſwade the beholders was worthy of a noble fortune: he had thereunto a naturall fine wit, and (by reaſon of his abode in *England* in King *Edwards* daies) could ſpeake our language, as alſo ſome other, which he had by a kind of wandring travell obtained. This youth was borne (ſay they) in the Citie of *Torney*, and called * *Peter Warbecke*, the * ſon of a converted Iew, whoſe God-father at Baptiſme King *Edward* himſelfe was. The Engliſh in * contempt (and for a note perhaps of his forraine birth) did afterward call him by a diminutive of his name, *Peterkin* or *Perkin*. Him the Dutcheſſe (as a fit peece of timber, out of which to carve a new Idoll) moulds by degrees, and makes him take ſhape according to that *Idea*, which ſhe had preſigured in her working imagination, before the which the late honours of her houſe conſpicuous in three Princes (which altogether made not twentie and five yeares of raigne) did ſo perpetually hover, as her ſoule could never take contentment, but in the hope that the Houſe of *Yorke* ſhould againe be the dwelling place of Majeſty.

* *Polyd. Virg.*
* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*
* *Polyd. Virg.*

Edw. IIII.
Edward V.
Rich. III.

(33) Her offence againſt *Henry* wanted not many ſeeming reaſons, but none ſo great as that hee had ſlaine her owne brother King *Richard*, who albeit he was the reputed murtherer of her Nephewes, yet were they a degree more removed from her, and ſo leſſe deere in likelihood then a brother; and howſoever ſhee might ſecretly deteſt, or beleeve the commitment of that patricide, yet could ſhe never brooke (ſeeing they were gone) that the reward of her Brothers death, and that even to him who ſlew him, ſhould be the Crowne of *England*, whereby not

Cauſes moving the Dutcheſſe to beare King *Henry* no mortal hatred.

onely her brother, but the whole male-line of her Family was for ever to be excluded; much leſſe could ſhe (a *Plantagenet*) abide that *Henry*, who brought to the Crowne the ſur-name of a newly raiſed Family. Theſe and other conſiderations in the breaſt of a Lady, bred up in a dominating Family, her ſelfe a Dowager, in ſuch a fortune, as in which ſhe was Paramount for the time, and abſolute without controlment, being careleſſe withall of ſaving for poſteritie, becauſe ſhe was without a Child, and in that regard the more abundantly ſtored with treaſure; all which made her ſpirits over-boyle with impatience and virulency; ſo farre forth, that having infuſed all her principles into *Peter* her creature, under the Title of *Richard Plantagenet*, ſecond Sonne of King *Edward* the fourth; ſhe moſt covertly ſends him into *Portugall*, from thence to take his *Icarean flight*, as * elſe-where is related. Nevertheleſſe, there will not (perhaps) want ſome, who in defence of the Dutcheſſe, had rather referre it to *Magnanimity*, and *Nobleneſſe of Spirit*, in ſeeking the honour of her houſe; which, if it might paſſe for ſuch among the Heathen, yet can it not among Chriſtians; much the leſſe, for that her dutie to *England*, and the royall flouriſhing eſtate of her owne Neece, the right heire, exacted at her hands a greater tenderneſſe.

* *Infra* 5. *prox. & ſequen.*

Q. *Elizabeth.*

(34) That *Peter Warbecke* ſhould bee inflamed by her favours, and encouragements, to dare in earneſt the perſonation of a Kings ſonne, ſeemes not a thing to be admired; for there is in humane nature (which tyes not her ſelfe to Pedigrees, nor Parentages) a kinde of light matter, which will eaſily kindle, being touch't with the blazing hopes of ambitious propoſitions. He therefore upon the firſt diſcloſe of * himſelfe, did put on ſo excellent a ſeeming as might juſtly moove King *Henry* to be jealous, whereunto the pernitious practiſe might come at laſt; for there wanted nothing in the whole forme of the young up-ſtart, but onely the conſcience of a truth, and truth it ſelfe: which makes mee call to minde * what one hath written of a goodly white Saphyr in *Venice*, made by Art ſo neerely to reſemble a true Diamond, that with much difficultie, and but by one onely lapidary, it was diſcovered; which if it had beene graced with ſome great Princes wearing, what could want to have made it paſſable for a very Diamond of greateſt value? *Perkin* came ſuch from out of the Burgundian forge; and (if his parentage be reſpected) aſſumed the image and reſemblance of a King, being otherwiſe not ſo much as a meane Gentleman. Neither can it be marvelled at, if ſuch a Phantaſme as this, did abuſe, and trouble the common people of that time; for even to ſuch as doe write thereof, it begets a kinde of doubt (which without ſome little collection of their ſpirits doth not eaſily vaniſh,) it ſeeming almoſt incredible, that ſuch a bloudy play ſhould meerely be diſguiſed and fained; the diſcovery therefore was worthy ſuch a wit as King *Henries*, and the puſh it gave to his ſoveraignty did throughly try his fitting, being of force enough to have caſt an ordinary rider out of ſaddle.

* *Pyrrhi imitatrix Lucretia* the Dutcheſſes name, by exact reſemblation of a *Richard Plantagenet*. *Vide ſup.* 9. 32. * *Pancirolus.*

(35) Therefore, it was the Dutcheſſes miſfortune, that her inventions (if they were hers) had to encounter ſo politique and conſtant a man as King *Henry*; whoſe prudence ſearcht into the abſtruſeſt ſecrets, and whoſe diligence over-came all difficulties. Yet the Lady *Margarets* courſe to vent her Creature at the firſt was exquiſite; for ſhee (as in a Magicke practiſe) having kept him ſecret till ſhee ſaw her time, cauſeth him to be cloſely convayed into * *Portugall*; from whence (attended with fit aſſociates and Privadoes) he ſayles into *Ireland* (the Foſter-place and nurſery of immortall good will to the houſe of *Yorke*) where (notwithſtanding their late calamities,) he ſo ſtrongly enchanted that rude people with the charmes of falſe hopes, and miſts of ſeemings, as he was ſure of partakers in great plentie. *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, hearing (and perhaps beleeving) that the Duke of *Yorke* was alive, and glad to have ſo probable an occaſion of doing miſchiefe to *Henry* of *England*, in regard of theſe flagrant enmities which as then remained unquencht betweene them, invites Duke *Richard* moſt officiouſly to *Paris*, and beſides all other honours, aſſigned him (at his comming) a guard for his perſon, whereof the Lord *Congreſhall* was Captaine. Afterward there repayred to this new Duke, Sir *George Nevill* Knight, (a * baſtard of the noble houſe of the *Nevils*,) Sir *John Taylor*, *Rowland Robinſon*, and about an hundreth Engliſh, to whom (as a principall) we may adde * *Stephen Frion*, French Secretary to King *Henry* himſelfe; all which, together with the whole Stratageme, was ſmoakt out of *France* with the firſt graine of Incenſe ſacrificed upon the Altars of Peace at *Boloigne*, after the ſame was once made and ratified (as you have heard) betweene the French and us. The Dutcheſſe then ſeeing her artificiall creature thus turned againe upon her hands, *pretends an extreame ignorance that ever ſhee had ſeene him before that preſent, and an exceſſive joy for his miraculous eſcape, and preſervation*, which ſeemed ſuch to her as ſhe pretended) as if hee had beene revived from death to life, and that the fable might want no quickning, wᵗʰ her perſonal countenancing, or her Court could afford, ſhe openly ſalutes him by the delicate Title of the * *White Roſe of England*, and queſtions him of the manner of his eſcape, with ſuch like, to beget a firme beliefe in the hearers, that ſhee never had ſeene him before that time, and that he was indeed her Nephew *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*. The Nobility of *Flanders* accordingly, doe unto him all honour, and ſhee environs his perſon with a guard of thirtie men in murrey and blew. Neither was hee in any point wanting to his part; but fitted ſuch likely anſwers to all queſtions, and ſuch princely behaviours to all occaſions, as made fame bold to publiſh him with the fulleſt blaſt of her Trumpet, for no other then a true *Richard Plantagenet*; and as it is ſo obſerved of ſome, that by long uſing to report an untruth, at laſt forgetting themſelves to be the Authors thereof, beleeve it in earneſt; ſo theſe honours making our *Peter* to bury in utter oblivion his births obſcuritie, hee ſeemed to be perſwaded, that he was indeed the ſelfe partie, whom hee did ſo exactly perſonate. Noveltie, and impudencie were fcarce ever knowne to have found more applauſe, or beliefe, even among many very wiſe, and (otherwiſe) worthy men; who moved in conſcience, and not onely upon diſcontent, inclined to partake with this new *Plantagenet*, as the only right heire of the Engliſh Diadem, as if, whether he had beene the true one, it was paſt diſpute. This intoxication, and abuſion of the world, was wonderfully encreaſed by the ſecret revolt of Sir *Robert Clifford* Knight, whom (as one that had ſeene, and knowne the true *Richard*) the cunning conſpirators in *England* had ſent over, to informe himſelfe, and them, *whether he was indeed as he ſeemed*. Sir *Robert* (whoſe preſence and errand were to the Dutcheſſe moſt welcome,) being brought to his ſight, did forthwith give credite, and conſtantly ſignifie, that *this was indeed Richard Plantagenet, the true Duke of Yorke*, and that he well knew *him for ſuch*. Money and encouragements, were hereupon ſent out of *England*, from ſuch as favoured him, among whom was * Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain to King *Henry* (by whoſe punctuall revolt from K. *Richard*, he had principally atchieved the Crowne of *England*) * *John Ratcliffe, L. Fitzwalter*, * Sir *Simon Montfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwates* Knights, and others; but the maine countenance of the cauſe in foraine parts was Sir *Robert Clifford* (a Knight of an honourable fame and Family) which moved the ſecret friends of the new Duke to ſet the rumour ſo cunningly on foot among the Engliſh, that * *ſooner might a cloud, which cauſeth thunder, be caught or knowne, then the Author thereof*; and multitudes being weakened therewith, ſtore of humor

A ſtirmoury relation of *Perkins* firſt fortune after he was publiſhed.

* *Stowes Annal.*

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

Perkin in Flanders with the Dutcheſſe.

* *Stow Annal.*

* Sir *Robert Clifford* wanne away from the Dutcheſſe.

* Preſtain. of Perkin, as a King *Rich. 3d. S.* ſonne Sir *Robert Cotton. Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.*

The maine argument proouing that King *Edwards* ſons were both of them murthered.

Sir Rob. Clifford ſignifies to his friends in *Eng land* that *Perkin* was the true Duke.

* Sir *Th. Thwates.*

The Dutcheſſe of Burgundies two monſtrous births.

* Lambert and Perkin were about fifteene yeares old (*Polydor.*) at the time of their appearance.

* *Bern. Andr. M. S.*

* *Iohn Dn. of Herf. M. S.*

humor, dangerouſly prepared to mutation, did every where diſcover it ſelfe.

King ſtrengthens commiſſiones and counſels againſt this Perſonated Richard.

(36) For prevention therefore of all thoſe effects which might riſue out of theſe cauſes, (being in their proper nature moſt generative of fedition, and of all ſorts of civill furies) King *Henry* diligently cauſeth the coaſts of *England* to be well and ſtrongly watcht, aſwell to empeach the landing of enemies, as the eſcape of fugitives: but above all, hee writes letters to his beſt friends in foraigne parts, & alſo employes nimble wits with ſeverall inſtructions; ſome to aſſaile the conſtancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*, (the maine ſtay and credite of *Perkins* cauſe) with promiſe of immunity and favour if hee would returne into *England* in quiet; others, to finde out the truth of *Perkins* quality, being furniſhed with treaſure to draw and requite intelligences; and all of them (as occaſion ſhould ſerve) to pretend themſelves vehement favorers of the new Duke. Theſe neceſſary hypocrites and double-faced *Ambidexters*, called *Spies*, (whoſe ſervices, howſoever conducible to ſuch as ſets them on worke, yet their perfidious quality commonly partakes with that of *Iudas Iſcariot*, and often meetes with like reward,) doe plye their charge ſo roundly that * Sir *Robert Clifford* is ſecretly drawne off, the new Duke is diſcovered aſwell by them, as by * ſundry letters from friends abroad, to bee but *Perkin Warbecke*, and many other myſteries are revealed. This gave to the wiſe King great ſatisfaction, who to weaken the enemies practiſe the more, not onely divulgeth the fraud, but ſends over-ſea Sir *William Poyninge* Knight, and Sir *William Warham* his Ambaſſadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* (then governed by others by reaſon of his tender age) who promiſed not to aſſiſt the ſaid *Perkin*, but if the Dutcheſſe *Dowager* would doe any ſuch thing, to the prejudice of King *Henry*, it was not in him to hinder her, for that ſhe might diſpoſe of her owne. A maine argument uſed by theſe Ambaſſadors before the Arch-Dukes Counſell to convince, that *Richard* the very Duke of *Yorke* was murthered as well as King *Edward* his Brother German, as *Polydor* (who ſeemes to have had good meanes to underſtand theſe times) reheareth it, was, *That their Vncle* Richard *ſhould in vaine have made away the elder Brother, if the younger had beene ſuffered to ſurvive, for that the right of the elder, was immediately upon his death in the younger, and that conſequently during his life, King* Richard *could have no more aſſurance, then if the elder were ſtill alive: which Argument notwithſtanding doth at moſt proove nothing but this: That their Vncle the Vſurper might intend, that both his Nephewes ſhould bee murthered, and that hee knew nothing perhaps to the contrary.* Whereas facts are to be proved by confeſſions of parties, by witneſſes, or vehement preſumptions, (though vehement preſumptions are ſaid to conſtitute but an halfe proofe) al which are * otherwhere ſo ſupplyed, as leaves ſmal cauſe to doubt of both their deaths. But *Warham* (a learned Prieſt and Doctor in the Lawes) the mouth of that Ambaſſage ſent to the Arch-Duke, in the end of his oration uſed this bitter ſcoffe and Sarcaſme againſt the Lady *Margaret*: *That ſhee in her old age brought forth two Monſters within the ſpace of a few yeeres, and both of them not in the eight, or ninth moneth after their conception, as naturall mothers, but in the one * hundred and eightieth moneth; and where as other women brought forth Infants utterly unable to helpe themſelves, theſe births of hers were tall ſtriplings, and as ſoone as they were borne, offered battell unto mighty Kings.* And albeit the Arch-Dukes anſwer ſeemed reaſonable, yet was not King *Henry* ſo ſatisfied, but that within a while after, for * that the Arch-Duke had ſecretly furniſht *Perkin* with leaders, he tooke occaſion to baniſh all *Flemings*, and Flemiſh wares out of his Dominions, and inhibited his Subjects to trade in any Countries within the obedience of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, or of the Arch-Duke *Philip* his Sonne, who by way of *talio* and requitall did the like againſt the Engliſh.

* *Stowes Annal. Polydor* calls him but a Knight.

King Henry executes S. Robert Clifford in the Tower of London.

(37) Let us come now from the addreſſes of things, to their doing. The high prudence and induſtry of *Henry* having thus diſcovered the foundations of *Perkins* hopes in *England*, and the humours which were moſt unſound, made it his firſt worke to raze thoſe ground-workes, and purge the vaines of his Realme from that corruption by needfull Phleborotomy. The * Lord *Fitzwalter*, a principall conſpirator, being condemned, and ſent to *Calis*, lived there in hope of pardon; but for practiſing with his Keepers to eſcape, hee finally payed his head for ſatisfaction. Sir *Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeney* (Gentlemen of Noble houſes) as Captaines and Authors of the Conſpiracy, were beheaded, but al the reſt, aſwell Clerks as Lay-men, had their pardons. Not long after theſe executions and pardons, the King upon ſure intelligence that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whoſe boſome the ſecret of all *Perkins* plot lay) was arrived, entred the Tower of *London*, and there continued; that ſo, if *Clifford* ſhould accuſe any of the great, (and whom hee then would accuſe, it is probable King *Henry* knew) they might without ſuſpition, or tumult, be attached; the Court, and publike priſon for crimes of higheſt nature, being then within the cincture of one and the ſame wall. Sir *Robert Clifford* at his comming into the Kings preſence, (though he was ſecretly before aſſured of his life) moſt humbly praying and obtaining pardon, appeached (among many others) Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine. The King would not at firſt give credite (or at leaſt-wiſe pretended not to give credit) to the accuſation of a Peere ſo great, and ſo neere unto him; but upon farther ſearch, finding the ſame confirmed with circumſtances, and particularly, for that ne ſaid to *Clifford*, * *He would never beare Armes againſt the yong man, if hee knew him for certaine to bee the Sonne of King Edward*, he reſolveth to uſe ſeverity againſt the delinquent.

Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine accuſed.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

(38) But *Bernard Andreas* directly ſaith, That (beſides bare words and purpoſes) Sir *William had ſupported Perkins cauſe with treaſure*, wherein hee is recorded ſo to have abounded, as that in his Caſtle of * *Holt* he had in coyne and plate to the value of forty thouſand Markes, beſides Lands of inheritance in ſundry places about, to the yearely value of three thouſand pounds (a pretty ſtocke in treaſure at thoſe times, to uphold the firſt brunt of a Warre, and a large extent of Land to furniſh the wing of a powerfull Battell, with able Souldiers out of *Tenancies*) with all which the ſame Author in plaine words, ſaith, *That hee promiſed to defend the ſaid Pretender, and bring him into the Kingdome.* And if we have any in-ſight into King *Henries* diſpoſition, it ſeemes to us, that before hee entred into the Tower, he not only knew the Lord Chamberlaine un-found, but alſo that for his quiet apprehenſion hee chiefely repaired thither. *Stanley* being hereupon attached, and referred to farther examination, is ſaid, * *To have denyed nothing of all that wherewith he was charged*, which hee perhaps the more confidently did, in hope that King *Henry* would pardon him, in reſpect of paſſed ſervices, they (in their effects conſidered) being the greateſt whereof mortality is capable, *preſervation of life, and gayning of a Kingdome*: But the poore Gentleman found himſelfe farre deceived in his politicke Lord and Maſter, who (to teach mankinde thereby, *how dangerous it is to make a King*) was not unwilling to cut him off, as perſwading himſelfe, that thoſe ſervices proceeded of ambition, not of affection, or if of affection, the cauſe now ceaſing, the contrary effects might proove as pernicious, as the other had beene advantageous and availeable. The King was unwilling to diſpleaſe his Father-in-Law, *Thomas* Earle of *Derby* (Brother-German to Sir *William Stanley*) and did therefore for a while ſuſpend his judgement; but rigour finally prevailed, hee was at *Weſtminſter* openly arraigned, convicted, and afterward

* *John Stowe Annal.*

Illum tutari & imperium addu cere poſſe confirmat.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

Stanley Lord Chamberlaine beheaded.

ward at the block on Tower-hill beheaded. In whose office *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* a moſt faithfull and moderate man ſucceeded. This ſharpe juſtice exerciſed upon ſo eminent a perſon, was of great uſe in the ſtay of peoples minds through the Realme of *England*. But in *Ireland* they were not ſo ſetled, or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, *Henry Deny* (a Monke of *Langton* Abbey) was ſent Lord Chancellour thither, with orders and directions, and Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight, with Souldiers; whoſe greateſt diligence and cares were not wanting, to puniſh ſuch as heretofore had ayded *Perkin*, or might hereafter. The Earle of *Kildare* Lord Deputy, falling into ſuſpition with *Poynings*, was by him apprehended, and ſent priſoner into *England*; where the King did not onely graciouſly heare and admit his defences, but alſo returned him with honour, and continuation of authority. In the meane time (the errour, or weakneſſe of the *Burgundian* Dutcheſſe and her *Perkin*, ſuffering their enemy in this ſort, to purvey for his owne ſecurity, and their depulſion) and King *Henry* for farther aſſurance of himſelfe makes a progreſſe into *Lancaſhire*, there to recreate with his Father in law the Earle, and the Counteſſe his Mother, where among all other his ſecret purpoſes, he throughly ſatisfied the Earle, both for the juſtice and neceſſity of Sir *William Stanleys* death.

(39) Theſe certainely, were perillous times to live in, and undoubtedly full of infinite jealouſies, and hypocriſies, nor unlike to thoſe lately paſſed, * *Wherein there was nothing ſo plaine, and openly proved, but that yet for the common cuſtome of cloſe and covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly ſuſpect, as many wel-counterfeited jewels make the true ſuſpected:* Theſe generall diſtruſts being among the ſtrange gradations, by which the incomprehenſible providence doth uſe to chaſtiſe inſolent Nations, and to make regular Princes, meere and abſolute. But the Dutcheſſe and her *Perkin* knowing all things as they paſſed in *England*, reſolve notwithſtanding to proceed; and therefore taking advantage of the Kings abſence in the North, hee with a force of broken and diſcontented perſons, ſets ſaile for *England*, and approcheth the coaſts of *Kent* about *Sandwich* and *Deale*, there to begin his enterprize for obtaining the Crowne of *England*, under the borrowed name and title of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, if he found the Commons forward. But they, though doubtfull at firſt what to doe, yet at the laſt conſidering that his Souldiers were for the moſt part of deſperate fortunes, and felonious quality, (though hardy otherwiſe, and approved men of warre,) remembring withall the miſchiefes of part-takings, would not adhere, but trayning them within danger upon promiſe of ſuccour, and aſſaile, drive them to their ſhippes, take five of their Captaines, *Montford, Corbet, Whiteboll, Quintin*, and *Genin*, and * one hundreth, ſixty foure others, which were all of them afterward executed. *Perkin* himſelfe who would not truſt his perſon on ſhore, being worthily troubled at the in auſpicious fortune of his followers, preſently hoiſed ſailes, and returned to his Lady Patroneſſe and Creatrix, into *Flanders*.

(40) Theſe newes being brought to the King, where he was then in the North, he is * ſaid to have given God thankes, and declared his joy in theſe words: *I am not ignorant (moſt mercifull Ieſu) how great victories thou haſt given mee, upon the Saturday, at the prayers of thy moſt gracious Mother, all which I aſcribe not to my deſerts, but to the bounty of thy celeſtiall grace. Thou (ceſt, O moſt benigne Ieſu, how many ſnares, how many deceits, how many weapons, that terrible* Iuno *hath prepared, notwithſtanding that after my marriage, ſhee faining her ſelfe joyfull, hath faithfully promiſed to beare toward us all favour and good-will, but ſhe, more changeable then the wind, perverting all things, aſwell divine as humane, feares not God, but in her fury ſeekes the utter ruine of her owne bloud. Thou, Oh God, who knoweſt all, deliver us alſo (if wee ſeeme worthy) from theſe evils, but if our ſinnes have deſerved to ſuffer, doe thou, O Lord, thy good pleaſure. Neverthelеſſe, wee owe to thy Grace immortall thankes, which though with our tongue wee cannot utter worthily enough, yet muſt they bee rendred. Wee are alwayes of good courage, and ſo minded for certaine, that no proſperity, no adverſity, no chance, no diſtance of places, or times, ſhall once make us of thee unmindfull.* The moſt modeſt King having ended his ſpeech, doth forth-with (ſaith our Author) ſeriouſly deliberate with his Councell what was to bee done hereafter. It may probably ſeeme, that hee had with drawne into the North, to invite *Perkin* (by occaſion of his abſence) the rather to take Land, that ſo hee might draw all his dangers into one place, and decide them in a Battell, if his Subjects ſhould revolt to *Perkin* in any numbers, or if they did not, then might hee fall into his hands, by landing unwarily upon truſt of the peoples favour, and ſo by a more compendious and eaſie way ſettle his Eſtate, of which he failed but little, by the ſaid counter-policy of the Kentiſhmen. In regard whereof, in the firſt Act of Councell, praiſe and thankes were decreed to them, with which firſt Sir *Richard Gilford* Knight was preſently ſent away, and order taken for the erection and watching of Beacons upon the Coaſts.

(41) The Dutcheſſe on the other ſide, ſeeing the South of *England* proove ſo dry, and barren to her drifts, conveighes againe her Idoll into *Ireland*, where ſhee well knew there could not want partakers; and *Perkin* himſelfe daring to entertaine the hope of a Crowne, (for by ſo long perſonation of a Kings Sonne, and heire, ambition had throughly kindled his youthfull bloud) was now no little cauſe of bringing things to an iſſue by his owne forwardneſſe. * *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, whether as one willing to keepe the Engliſh buſied (* *Henry* having forbidden his Subjects all traffique with the Flemmings, and all other of his Sonne the Archdukes Subjects,) or as crediting the fiction, and therefore led thereunto in honour and conſcience; * *Charles* alſo King of *France*, but ſpecially the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, (by whom this bubble was firſt blowne up, and put abroad) did concurre to the makeſtation of King *Henry*; *Maximilian*, and the *French* King, more ſecretly, but the Dutcheſſe with all her Oares and Sailes plyed it in open view. Borne up by theſe ſupporters, he the rather eaſily drew the Iriſh to aſſent to his pretext; but his counſell weighing with themſelves that the Iriſh-mens friendſhip, how firme ſo ever, was inſufficient in reſpect of their nakedneſſe and poverty to worke their wiſhes, hee according to ſuch adviſes as were taken before his departure from his Creatrix, croſſeth into *Scotland*, *for feare of puniſhment*, faith * *Andreas*; if perhaps by the Kings true Subjects within *Ireland* hee ſhould chance to bee apprehended; but the event ſhewes, that it was not onely for his more ſecurity, but principally *to ſtrengthen his enterprize with the Scottiſh ayde*, whereof in thoſe dayes hee had ſmall reaſon to bee doubtfull; and his caſe was ſuch, that no third courſe was left unto him, but either to fight and conquer, or live branded with immortall infamy both of Cowardize and impoſture. *Henry* hearing theſe things, was not ſlacke to provide for his juſt defence, greatly carefull upon what coaſt this wandering cloud would at length diſſolve it ſelfe, in what effects ſoever; and therefore obſerved all his wayes with as much curioſity as was poſſible.

(42) *Iames* the fourth, a young Prince of great hope was at that time King of *Scots*, to whom this bold counterfeit (being ſpecially recommended, for the true *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, by the * King of *France*, and undoubtedly much more by the Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*,) repaires; and had moſt courteous entertainement, and audience, the effect vvhereof *Andreas* thus coucheth: *That the King was finally deceived by errour, as moſt of other, though moſt prudent, Princes, had beene before.* But the rare impendency of th

Sir Tho. Moore in Richd. 3.

Perkin upon the Kentiſh Seas.

Polyd. Virgil. Iob. Stow Ann.

* Reynard. And. ſaith about 400.

* Bern. Andr. M. S.

The Kings prayer and Ieſu-ch to God.

John Stows Annals.

* M. S. Perkini proditoris partes diu & diligenter, * Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.

* M. S. Perkini proditoris. * Polyd. Virg. lib. 26. * M. S. Pernot.

Perkin ſailes into Ireland.

* Bern. Andr. M. S. * Stowe. Ann. His great Retainge of Irish.

* Iohn Taſſe. Epiſt. Reſ.

* Epiſt. Reſſ.

Perkin ſolicits the Scotiſh King. * Bern. Andr.

* Bern. Andr.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 26.

Perkin ſucceeds in Scotland.

the Lad, and that connexion which his diſtreſſes had with ſo many great Princes, deſerve not to be ſo ſlenderly overpaſſed. He therefore being in honourable manner accompanied, and brought to the preſence of King *Iames*, had words to this effect. *That* Edward *the fourth, late King of* England, *leaving two ſonnes* Edward *and* Richard *Duke of* Yorke, *both very young,* Edward *the eldeſt ſucceeded their Father in the Crowne, by the name of King* Edward *the fift: that their Vncle* Richard *Duke of* Glouceſter *to obtaine the Kingdome, purpoſed to murther both, but the inſtrument employed by him to execute the execrable Tragedy, having cruelly ſlaine King* Edward *the eldeſt of the two, was mooved to ſave King* Richard *his Brother, whom nevertheleſſe the world ſuppoſed to have beene alike barbarouſly made away; though falſely ſuppoſed; for that himſelfe there preſent, was that very* Richard *Duke of* Yorke, *brother of that unfortunate Prince, King* Edward *the fift, now the moſt rightfull, and lineall ſurviving heire-Male to that victorious and moſt noble* Edward *of that name the fourth, late King of* England. * *That he in his tender age thus eſcaping by Gods mercy out of the Countie of* London, *was ſecretly conwayed over the Sea,* * *whither when hee was brought, the partie who had the conveiance of him in charge, ſuddenly for ſooke him, and thereby forced him to wander into* * *divers Countries, where hee remained certaine yeares as unknowne,* * *till at length he came to the true underſtanding of himſelfe.* * *In which ſeaſon it hapned one Henry, ſonne to* Edmund Tydder *Earle of* Richmond, *to come from* France, *and enter into the Realme, and by ſubtill and foule meanes, to obtaine the Crowne of the ſame, which to him the ſaid* Richard *rightfully appertained. That Henry as his extreame and mortall enemy, ſo ſoone as he had knowledge of his being alive, imagined, and wrought all the ſubtill waies and meanes he could, to deviſe his finall deſtruction. That the ſaid mortall enemy hath not only falſely furniſhed him to be a fained perſon, giving him nick-names; ſo abuſing the world, but that alſo, to deferre, and put him from entrie into England, hee hath offered large ſummes of money to corrupt the Princes, with whom he had beene retained, and made importune labour to certaine ſervants about his (the ſaid* Richards) *perſon, to murder or poiſon him, and others, to forſake and leave his righteous quarrell, and to depart from his ſervice, as Sir* Robert Clifford, *and others. That every man of reaſon may well underſtand, that the ſaid* Henry *needed not to have mooved the fore-ſaid Coſts, and importune labour, if hee had beene ſuch a fained perſon. That the truth of his cauſe ſo manifeſt* * *mooved the moſt Chriſtian King* Charles, *and the Lady, Dutcheſſe Dowager of* Burgundy, *his moſt deare Aunt, not onely to acknowledge the ſaid truth, but lovingly alſo to aſſiſt him. That now becauſe the Kings of* Scotland *(Predeceſſors of the ſaid King* Iames) *had oftentimes ſupported them, who were reſt and ſpoyled of the ſaid Kingdome of* England, *(as in freſheſt memory King* Henry *the ſixt,) and for that he (the ſaid King* Iames) *had given cleare ſignes, that he was in no noble qualitie, unlike to his royall Anceſtors, he, ſo diſtreſſed a Prince, was therefore mooved to come, and put himſelfe into his hands, deſiring his aſſiſtance to recover the Realme of* England, *promiſing faithfully, to beare himſelfe towards the ſaid Scottiſh King, no otherwiſe, then as if he had beene his owne naturall brother, and would (upon recovery of his inheritance) gratefully doe to him all the pleaſure which lay in his utmoſt power.*

(43) *Perkins* ſpeech ended, and his amiable perſon being fitted with ſo many countenancing circumſtances of ſtate, and ſeemings, (by the recommendations of great Princes, ayde from the *Iriſh*, aſſured hope of ayde in *England*, and his owne well-appointed company,) made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion in the young Kings conceit, that, albeit there wanted not ſome, who with * many arguments adviſed the King *to repute all but for a meere dreame, and illuſion*, his perſon was honourably received, as it became the perſon of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and in his quarrell entertained; which the more to grace in the Worlds eye, hee gave his conſent, that the ſaid Duke of *Yorke* ſhould take to wife the Lady *Katherine Gordon*, daughter to the Earle of *Huntley*, being neere Coſen to the King himſelfe, a young Maide of excellent beautie and vertue. By which marriage, as the gentle King abundantly declared, that he tooke him for the very Duke of *Yorke*, ſo *Perkin*, (*diſtruſtfull of the Scots*, * *and deſirous to gaine the love and favour of the Nobles of the Realme*) cunningly ſerved his owne ends for the preſent, paſſing current for a Prince of high bloud, and royall hope. Upon this ground a warre was preſently undertaken againſt *Henry*, and entred into; the King of Scots in perſon, and *Perkin* followed with great numbers, ſpecially of Borderers, fell upon ſundry parts of *Northumberland*, which they moſt grievouſly afflicted, burnt and ſpoyled, publiſhing nevertheleſſe by Proclamation made in the name of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, much favour and immunitie to all ſuch as would adhere to his juſt quarrell, and a * thouſand pounds in money, and one hundreth Markes by yeare of Land of inheritance to the meaneſt perſon, that could either take or diſtreſſe his great enemy who (he ſaid) was flying the land. But King *Henry* by his diligence, and wiſdome had ſo ſetled the minds of his people in thoſe parts, that there is no mention made of any one perſon which offered his ſervice. This unexpected averſion ſo blanket and dampt the Scottiſh enterprize on *Perkins* behalfe, that the King offended therewith, retired with his Army (laden with bootie) into his Realme, and from thenceforth eſteemed of his new Coſen the leſſe. But King *Henry* not minding to forgive ſo unjuſt and cauſeleſſe out-rages, calles a Parliament, opens his griefes, and prayes ayde for an invaſive warre againſt *Scotland*, which was generally aſſented unto, there being ſcarce any more gratefull propoſitions to the *Engliſh* in thoſe ſwording times, then warre with *French* or *Scots*: an humour, upon which this King did practiſe to enrich himſelfe. For the publike monies by theſe occaſions came into his Exchequer, with a ſmall part whereof he flouriſhed out a ſhow of hoſtile proviſions, and the Remainder thereupon (if peace enſued, which he alwaies knew how to bring about with honour) was clearely his owne without account. The ſumme aſſented to be gathered was * ſixeſcore thouſand pounds, and for collection thereof were granted two diſmes, and an halfe, and two fifteenes. But the levie of this money ſo granted in this Parliament, kindled a dangerous blaze in *England*; in ſo much, that the Lord *Dawbeny* being ſent *Generall* of the Forces againſt the *Scots*, and upon his way thither, was recalled by occaſion of inteſtine troubles.

(44) Which troubles had their Originall from the levie of ſuch payments among the Corniſh, as were aſſeſſed for the Scottiſh warres. When therefore the Collectors came among them, the People (being a ſtout, bigge, and hardy race of men,) tumultuouſly aſſembled; whom one *Thomas* * *Flammocke* a Lawyer, and *Michael Ioſeph*, a Blacke-ſmith or Horſe-Farrier of *Bodnim*, like firebrands of rebellion inflamed, and were followed as Captaines, not without ſecret and ſilent relation (as it may be ſuſpected) to *Perkins* pretences, and that hope of redreſſe (if he were King,) which, by his Proclamations he had colourably given to the people, at the time of the Scottiſh Invaſion; where, among many other things, (tending to humour ſuch as were malevolent, by making the perſon and government of King *Henry* odious,) this we finde.

(45) *Our great enemy* (faith the Proclamation) *to fortifie his falſe quarrell, hath cauſed divers Nobles of this our Realme, whome he held ſuſpect, and ſtood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered: as our Coſen Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlaine, Sir Simond Montford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Humfrey Stafford,*

Perkin credited and aided matries into the bloud-royall of Scotland.

* Bern. Andreas. * Epiſt Reſſen.

The Scots invade Northumberland in Perkins quarrell and returne.

* Fract. Per. M. S.

King Henry prepares for revenge.

* Add. to Fabian.

The Corniſh rebellion.

* Polyd. Virg. Iob. Stow Ann. Hall Hiſtor.

Perkins Proclamation.

Stafford, and many other, besides such as have deerely bought their lives, some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison our right intirely well-beloved Cosen, Edward, sonne and heire to our Vncle Duke of Clarence, and other, with-holding from them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they should never bee of might and power, to aide and assist us at our need, after the dutie of their leageances. Hee hath also married, by compulsion, certaine of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our foresaid Cosen, the Earle of Warwicke, and divers other Ladies of the blood-Royall, unto certaine his kinsemen and friends, of simple and low degree; and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, hee hath none in favour, and trust about his person, but Bishop Foxe, Smith, Bray, Lovell, Oliver King, Sir Charles Sommerset, Davy Owen, Rysly, Sir John Torbarvile, Tyler, Chamley, James Hobert, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyot, and such other Caitives, and villaines of birth: which by subtill invencions, and pilling of the people, have beene the princi-pall finders, occasioners, and counsellers of the mis-rule and mischiefe now raigning in England, &c. We remembring these premisses, with the great, and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the liberties, and franchises of our mother, the holy Church; to the high displeasure of Almightie God: besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, man-slaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people, by dismes, taskes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawfull impositions, and grievous exactions, with many other hainous effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole Realme, &c. shall by Gods grace, and the helpe, and assistance of the great Lords of our bloud, with the Counsell of other sad persons, &c. see that the commodities of our Realme be employed to the most advantage of the same, the entercourse of Merchandize betwixt Realme and Realme, to be ministred and handled, as shall more be to the Common-weale, and profit of our subjects: and all such dismes, taskes, tallages, benevolences, unlawfull impositions, and grievous exactions as be above rehearsed, to be fore-done, and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such causes as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England, have of old time beene accustomed to have the aide, succour, and helpe of their subjects, and true liegemen.

The Earle of Warwicke imprisonment objected.

Popular insinuations by Perkin.

(46) The tide of people being thus up: *Flammock* and the *Blacke-Smith* (having firme promise of the Lord *Audleys* personall help) lead them forth toward *Kent*, where they doubted not greatly to encrease their numbers; and had in likelihood so done, but that the singular diligence and wisdome of the King, frustrated their hopes by sundry Princely Acts. Yet they flow on; and to shew what they durst doe, they slew in their way at *Tamford*, the Provost of *Perin*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidie; and marching forward, without offering other violence, *James Tuchet* Lord *Audley* joynes himselfe at the Citie of *Wells* unto them, according to secret agreement, and becomes their Generall. From *Wells* they proceed to *Salisbury*, thence to *Winchester*, and so toward *Kent*, where the Countrey was setled and provided. But the King farther doubting that the Scots would take fresh occasion, by these seditious uproares, to invade the borders of his Realme, dispatched *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* (* a Peere of excellent vertue) to defend those parts, with the helpe of the Bishopricke of *Durham*, and the Marches, till these homecommotions were appeased; that then the Lord *Dawbeny* might with a just and full Army prosecute the warre against the Scots. But *James* their King, perceiving the end of the English intestine warres, would be the beginning of his troubles, thought it best by way of anticipation to weaken his enemy before hand as much as he could, and thereupon fiercely invaded *Northumberland* againe, and * besieged *Norham* Castle belonging to *Richard Fox*, whom the King for his noble services and deserts, and now advanced from *Exceter*, and *Bathe* and *Wells*, unto the Bishopricke of *Durham*. But the Scottish King, hopelesse to winne the Castle, though having done much hurt both to it and to the Countrey, withdrew his people before the Earle of *Surrey* could approach with his Army, wherein was the Earle of *Westmerland*, the Lords, *Dacres*, *Strange*, *Nevill*, *Latimer*, *Lumley*, *Scrope*, *Clifford*, *Conyers*, *Darcy*, the Baron of *Hilton*, and many Knights, as *Percie*, *Bulmer*, *Gasgoigne*, *Penington*, *Bigot*, *Bowes*, *Elarker*, *Parr*, *Wharton*, *Strangwith*, *Constable*, *Ratcliffe*, *Savile*, *Gower*, *Musgrave*, *Mallerie*, *Loder*, *Everingham*, *Stapleton*, *Worsley*, *Pickering*, *Hiron*, *Gray*, *Ridley*, *Griffith*, *Fenwicke*, *Ward*, *Strycland*, *Billingham*, *Curwen*, *Warcop*, *Tempest*, *Metcalfe*, and others; who missing the enemy, marched after into *Scotland*, and tooke such revenge as the shortnesse of their sodaine provisions would enable.

The Scots invade and retire.

* Polyd. Virg. Principium pretiosissimum virtutis præsidium.

* Epist. Rossi. Polyd. Virgil.

(47) The Rebels on the other side, (whom King *Henry thought not good to encounter in their first heates*; but suffered them to tyre their furie, and furbate themselves with a long march, the Countries as they past being fore-laid from joyning with them) comming neere to *Kent*, found few, or no partakers there; but the Countrey strongly defended against them by the Earle thereof, the Lords *Aburgeny* and *Cobham*, with other principall men and their followers; which made divers of the Rebels fiercely shrinke and abandon the enterprise. But the Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, *Michael Ioseph*, and the rest, kept on their way, and encamped upon *Blacke-heath*, betweene *Greenwich* and *Eltham*, from the top whereof they might behold the City of *London*, and the whole bravery of that Horizon. Here they resolve to abide the King, or to assaile *London*. The King on the other side, by the diligence of the Lord Major, and other the magistrates, secured the City, which was full of feare and businesse; himselfe enuironed with his Nobles, and the choyse of the South, hearing where the Rebell was encamped, resolved by dint of Sword to deliuer his people from tiring expectations, and for that purpose marcheth out of *London*, and encamps in S. *Georges* field, where hee * lay that night. The next day, when hee vnderstood that the Enemy had drawne forth his people, and set them in battell-ray, he sends out *Henry Bourchier* Earle of *Essex*, *Edmond de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, and others, with certaine Corners of Horse, and Companies of Archers, to beset the hill, and the descents thereof, while *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* with the strength of his Army, chargeth the Enemy in *Front*, whom with some slaughter they drave from the Bridge at *Deepford* strand; and then mounting the hill, he and the Earles charge the maine squadrons on all sides, and without much labour breake and defeate them. The number of the Rebels slaine is uncertainly reported, the ods being betweene * two thousand and * three hundreth. The Kings army returned fewer by three hundreth. Fifteene hundreth rebels were taken Prisoners, and the takers had their Prisoners goods granted them. *James* Lord *Audley*, *Flammocke*, and the *Smith* were taken, and executed. To all the rest mercy was seasonably extended. The Lord *Audley* led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a Coate of his owne Armories painted on a paper, reverst and torne, there paid his head, for being a Head to that heady Route: *Flammocke* and the *Smith* were quartered. Memorably * strange was the comfort, with which this Blacksmith is said to have cheered up himselfe at his being drawne to execution, saying, *That yet he hoped thereby, that his Name and Memory should be everlasting.* Who could beleeve that the desire of a long-lasting name, how soever, should take the affections of so meane a person? Such therefore was the end of this insurrection; but the times being queasie, the King wisely forbare to take any severe revenge upon more then onely upon the chiefe Leaders, for hee was truly informed that this calamitie had not broken the wils of the Cornishmen, who remained ready

* John Stow Annal. The King marcheth against the Rebels Ann. Dom. 1497. Iunii. 8. Reg. 13.

Blacke-heath field.

* Polyd. Virg. Hall.

* John Stow Annals.

* Polyd. Virg.

The Blacksmiths conflict at his death.

King Henry ferleth peace with neighbour Princes.

* Edw. Hall.

ready for any desperate sudden occasion, and therefore he abstained from needlesse exasperations, insomuch as that the quarters of *Flammocke*, and the Smith being once appointed to have beene set up in *Cornwall* for terror, were onely fixed about *London*, the King thinking good to temper his justice even in such a circumstance.

Heestirred, from Stowes Ann.

(48) His next care was so to order the warre against *Scotland*, that the Peace, whose foundations he had laid a farre off, might be made to his more honor: and because the injuries sustained by the youthfull errour of King *Iames*, were too publike to be altogether forgotten; hee sent the Earle of *Surrey*, the Lord *Nevill*, and others, to invade the Scottish borders with an Army, who pursued the revenge with great vehemency. Meane-while there arriveth in *Scotland Peter Hyalus* an Ambassadour from *Ferdinando* and *Elizabeth*, King and Queene of *Spaine*, as from friends equally well affected to both parties, to mediate a peace betweene the two Kings of *England*, and *Scotland*, which perhaps in their owne persons would not easily have beene brought about, the poynt of honour might thereunto have given such Impeachment. But this was the way to a peace which King *Henry* fore-saw, there being not onely a strict bond of love betweene him, and *Ferdinando*, but an overture, if not a * secret conclusion, to match his eldest Sonne Prince *Arthur* with the young Lady *Katherine* daughter of *Spaine*, who for her excellent vertues was well worthy to be the happy wife of any Prince then breathing. *Hyalus* so handled the poynt of his employment, that an honourable truce followed. This Ambassadour was a practicke man, of much experience, and knew the better how to deale on the behalfe of King *Henry* against *Perken Warbecke* (* *an imaginary and Stage-play Prince*) for that his Soveraigne Queene had also beene exceedingly molested by a Counterfeit. For *Henry* the fourth King of *Castile*, and brother to *Elizabeth*, being unable to beget Children, *Ioan* (Daughter of *Edward* King of *Portugall*) his wife found meanes notwithstanding to beare one, by occasion whereof, after King *Henries* death, for that it was borne in marriage, a dangerous warre was undertaken by * *Alfonso* King of *Portugall*, on behalfe of *Isabel* the supposed inheritrix; but Truth, partly by force, and partly by mediation, was in the end victorious; and *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella* sister of *Henry* succeeded to her brother, and brought the inheritance of the Kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*, with her to *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*. The chiefe point of this truce with *Scotland* was, That *Perken Warbecke* should leave that Kingdome, seeing King *Iames*, standing upon his honour, would not deliver him up to King *Henry*. *Perken* having now no remedy, did accordingly, taking with him his Wife, the Lady *Katherine Gordon*; and with such few as remained to him, past into *Ireland*, wheere hee had not continued long, but the Cornish-men offer to rise at his arrivall, and to adventure their fortunes and lives in his quarrell: Which motion *Perken* gladly entertained, as perceiving yet some little hope left to maintaine himselfe, by the troubles and hazards of others: but the policy and fortune of King *Henry* were growne so venerable with the Princes his Neighbours, that Ambassadours came from *Fraunce*, and from the Arch Duke of *Burgundy*; the one to ratifie amity, the other to request the restitution thereof; both which K. *Henry* (who reposed his whole trust next under God, upon the amity of his neighbours) granted, and the English Merchants (who had beene somewhat long forbidden by their Soveraigne to trade in the Arch-Dukes Dominions) * returning to *Antwerpe* were received into the same with Procession: so that *Perken* could scarce cast his eye upon any place, not onely where to raise aydes, but not where to rest his head, unlesse perhappes in the Court of the Dutchesse of *Burgundy*; neither in all his fortunes

* Affaits to Fa. A Spanish Ambassadour procures a truce betweene England and Scotland.

* Combd. in Decastis 8. imaginarius & Scenicus princeps. The Queene of Spaine troubled by a counterfeit.

* Franc. Tarapha. in Hen. 7. Inc. Mariteus Siculus.

Perken warbecke banished out of Scotland.

The Cornish rall in Perken Warbecke.

Perken Hirres the Cornishmen.

* Bacon Annals. M. S.

did any thing seeme miserable or unworthy, but the great infelicity of his Wife, whose beauty, birth, and honourable qualities ought not to have beene so betrayed by her friends temerity. *Perken* hereupon landing at *Whitsand Bay* in *Cornwall* in September, found meanes afterward at *Bodmin* to raise some thousands of people, whom with most lavish promises, invective proclamations, and strong impudency, hee held together under the Title of *Richard* the fourth King of *England*, whose fate was none of the happiest, while the majesty of her name might so bee played with by impostors. *Perken* thus accompanied, marcheth toward the City of *Exceter*, purposing if hee could winne it by force, to enrich his Souldiers with the spoyles thereof, and to invite all other loose, or lost people to his service by the hope of like booties, and by taking into his possession such places of strength as lay in his way to secure his retreat, if (according to the ordinary fortune of warre) any thing should happen to him luckily.

The City of Exeter assaulted by Perkin.

(50) But the King (hearing that the Varlet was landed, and againe made head against him in Armes upon trust of the Cornish-mens assistance) is said to "have smiled, using these words; * *Loe, we are againe "provoked by this Prince of Rakehells, but lest my peo-"ple should through ignorance be drawne into destru-"ction, let us seeke to take this Perken by the easiest "wayes we can.* Reason he had to smile, for now hee seemed to see the bottome of his perill, and as it were to hold his enemy empounded within the English Ocean, it being a perpetuall and noble wish of his, *that he might looke his dangers in the face, and deale with them hand to hand*, as the neerest cut over to a full conclusion. He therefore provides accordingly, assembling his forces, and his wits (no lesse to bee dreaded then this forces) sending forth his espyals into all parts to observe the tracke, and hopes of this empty cloud, which is now seene before *Exceter*, a principall strength, and ornament of the Westerne parts of the Kindome. *Parlees*, and the allurements of words under the guilt title of King *Edwards* Sonne, proving unavaileable with those resolute and faithfull Citizens; *Perken* forthwith betakes himselfe to violence, sets fire on the gates, mounts his scaling Ladders against the walls, and with his utmost fury labours to force a suddaine entrance, for that as hee suspected, succours could not long bee wanting. The Citizens on the other side, and such of the Country as came in, prepare, and make a very valiant defence against the Rebell, and instead of quenching the fires kindled by the enemy at the gates, to open a passage (for they had not Canon, or any other Ordonance) the Citizens threw on great store of fagots and fuell, and so with flame did shut up the way, when the gates themselves were now consumed; and in the meane-while they cast up trenches, and man their walles, from whence, with the slaughter of about two hundred Rebels at this assaule, they valiantly drave them. Such messengers as by cords slipt downe the walls, to signifie their perill, sped toward the King; but the loyall diligence of * *Edward Courtney* Earle of *Devonshire*, the Lord *William* his Sonne, with many principall Gentlemen of those parts, as *Trenchard*, *Carew*, *Fulford*, *Halewell*, *Croker*, *Edgecombe*, *Semar*, followed with great store of Souldiers, saved him the labour of a personall rescue by timely approach.

The Excellent pollicy in detecting a fire by fire.

* Polyd. Virgil.

Perken sits Taunton

(51) *Perken* hearing thereof, riseth from before *Exceter*, and marcheth to *Taunton* (agoodly towne not farre off) there to take the musters of his Army, and to provide for encounter, where he found very many blanks in the list of his numbers, for that they had secretly shrunke away, as misdoubting the sequell, the Earle of *Devonshire* being so neere at hand with the power of the Country, and the King upon his way against them, with the majesty and terrour of a royall name, and Army, none of the Nobility (which was chiefly hoped) comming to their aide,

Perken nevertheleſſe makes ſhew of ſtanding, with ſuch as were left unto him. The Earle of *Devonſhire* marching towards *Taunton*, in the way there came unto him *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, a * young Lord, full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, and others excellently well appointed, both for their own perſons, and their peoples. Theſe we finde named as principall; *Bridges, Bainham, Barkley, Tame, Wiſe, Poyntz, Vernon, Mortimer, Tremail, Sutton, Paulet, Bricknell, Sapcott, Lutterell, Wadham, Specke, Beauchamp, Cheney, Tokett, Long, Latimer, Turbervile, Stourton, Newbrough, Martin, Lynde, Rogers, Hungerford, Semar, Darrell, Barow, Norris, Langford, Corbet, Blunt, Lacon, Cornwall*; and many other prime and valiant men of Armes. The King laſt of all (to permit as little to fortune as was poſſible) ſent *Robert* Lord *Brooke*, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, and that renowned and truſty Welſhman Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the marrow and ſtrength of his Army before, himſelfe following in perſon with ſuch as hee thought good. Neither was his care cauſeleſſe, for the Corniſhmen were come to that height of deſperate obſtinacy and malice, * *as not one of them but reſolved to conquer, or to leave his carkaſe in the place.* But God loved him and them better, then to ſuffer it to come ſo farre; for *Perken*, whether fearing treaſon in his owne Army, or otherwiſe touch't with the conſcience of his quality, and damnable eſtate of the quarrell, wherein it was horrible to die, having in his troupe but threeſcore horſe, ſecretly fled from the ſeduced Commons. Which when the King heard, hee preſently ſets out five hundreth horſe to purſue and apprehend him, before he ſhould get to the Sea, and ſo eſcape. *Perken* and his remaines thus ſtreightned, tooke Sanctuary at *Beaulieu*, a religious houſe within *New Forreſt*, (not farre from *Hampton*) where the Kings Cornets of horſe found them already regiſtred; but according to inſtructions they beſet the place, and maintaine a ſtrong watch about it day and night. The other Rebels the while without ſtroke ſtricken, humbled themſelves to their Soveraignes mercy, and found it in undeſerved meaſure. Other ſtrong troupes of Horſe are at the ſame inſtant diſpatched to Saint *Michaels Mount* in *Cornwall*, where the beautifull Lady *Katherine Gordon* had beene left by her lewde Husband. Her without reſiſtance they brought ſafely to the King, whoſe beauty the whole Court praiſed, and pitied; but the King moſt gratiouſly comforting her, ſent her away well attended to the Queene his Wife, and for her births-ſake allowed her * maintenance, which in honourable manner ſupported her during the Kings life and many yeares after. Her faireneſſe was ſuch, and her preſence ſo amiable, that ſhee deſerved to bee commonly called *The White Roſe*; whoſe fortunes (being ſo farre unworthy either of her birth, her ſingular modeſty, or Wively faith, notwithſtanding the ſo abject condition of her Husband) as they moved juſt commiſeration toward her, ſo they doubled the luſtre of her praiſes.

(52) In the mean-while the King makes a rejoyceſull entrance into *Exceſter*, to teſtifie his princely love to the Citizens, whom hee highly commended and graced, both for their courage and loyalty; commanding ſome of the Corniſh Rebels to be executed there, which did the better ſet off the others contrary condition. There alſo hee gave directions, to offer life, and oblivion of all crimes to *Perken*, if he would voluntarily quit the Sanctuary, and ſubmit himſelfe. *Perken* being now *without hope, without abode, without eſtate*, moſt gladly came forth, and did put himſelfe into the Kings hands, Reaſons leading that wiſe Prince to extend this favour, were drawne out of the depth of true judgement, cleared from vulgar perturbations: firſt, it was not altogether impoſſible, but that *Perken* might eſcape him, (though by offering ſelfe-violence) and ſo the world ſhould looſe the light of ſatisfaction in ſo profound and perhaps a matchleſſe impoſture; then againes his youth might merite ſome compaſſion; but the infinite deſire which *Henry* had, from the mouth of the party himſelfe, to learne all the ſecrets of the plot, and who they were that lay undiſcovered, and yet had finger in the myſticall practiſe, moved him to affect the poſſeſſion of his perſon alive; which now hee had. Thus was this ſo dreaded a blaze of Rebellion ſuddainely and finally quenched; but not without the teares of many in *Devon* and *Sommerſetſhire*, whoſe eſtates the Kings Officers ſqueazed and drained, in revenge of their partaking, and ſupporting the Corniſh-Rebels, either in the field, or flight. *Henry* having *Perken* in his power, gave way to all ſuch ſcornes and ſcoffes, which his Courtiers or others were pleaſed to paſſe upon him, the more to make his perſon contemptible, who well-watched, followed the King to *London*, whither as he progreſſed, multitudes flockt about to behold the Captiſe, * *Who being a ſtranger, nor any way (whatſoever hee boaſted to the contrary) deſcended of Nobles, had dared to trouble ſo great a Kingdome, and by his craftie convoiances had induced ſo many Princes and Nations (not without miſchiefe and ruine unto divers) to believe of him, that which he never was.* And that he might in no part be unknowne, he is leaſurely conveied on horſebacke from the furtheſt part of * *London*, through *Cheapſide* and *Cornehill* to the Tower, and backe from thence through *Canning-ſtreet* to *Weſtminſter*, as the ſubject of wonderment, and of all reproach and infamies. The King having in this ſort taken revenge of his ſo ſtrange an enemy, and by curious and often examination comming to the full knowledge of that his ſoule deſired, did ſet ſuch to attend, as never went an inch from *Perkens* ſight, (though he ſeemed to goe at liberty) left through the ſlippery Arts of his tempting ſpeech and behaviour, he might vaniſh into forraigne parts, and raiſe freſh ſtormes in *England*, and bring new comfort to the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy*, the ſinneſull countenance of all this curſed Serataggeme, whoſe heart was now almoſt riven in ſunder with the newes of her *Perkens* moſt hideous ſhame and miſery; the whole bluſhing tenour whereof might eaſily come to her hands at once; for *Henry* cauſed ſo much of the principall matter, as *Perken* had confeſſed, to bee * committed to the Printing Preſſe; (an Art then firſt appearing among us,) and publiſhed. None can juſtly wonder, that wee have dwelt ſo long in this wonderfull Story, but rather perhaps wiſh that more particularities (though with more prolixity) had bin uſed. And though ſome other Actions as * *Sebaſtian Cabots* diſcovery, and overtures of marriages with *Spaine* and *Scotland*, came betweene this apprehenſion, and the execution of *Perken*, yet have we thought it beſt, (the ſooner, and at once to rid our hands of a * *knave*, as King *Henry* juſtly called him) to couch all that which concernes him here together, not fearing to incurre among the learned, the taxation of committing therein contradiction, and confuſion of times.

(53) *Perken* being thus guarded, doth notwithſtanding attempt to eſcape. And if it were lawfull to inſert particular conjectures, drawne out of the conſiderations of circumſtances, we ſhould perhaps not ſpare to ſay, *that his attempt for eſcape*, was not without the Kings privity; uſing ſuch inſtruments to perſwade, or furniſh his flight, as might withall betray him, that ſo by degrees (occaſion taken to cut him off) the Realme might be ridde from ſuch perpetuall matter of trouble. For the depraved wit and will of man might finde or faine reaſons to abuſe the world ſtill, if *Perken* were at liberty; *as that the confeſſions were extorted by feare, or forged by Henry to ſerve his turne*, and the like. Therefore *Perkens* intention and eſcape (for hee was eſcaped) being diſcovered to the King, all the wayes were beſet, and he ſo cloſe purſued, that in the end betaking himſelfe to a religious houſe of Carthuſian Monkes, hee declared *who*

* Polyd. Virgil.

The King and his people march towards him.

* Polyd. Virg.

Perken flies from his hoaſt.

Perkins Wife taken, and honourably uſed by the King.

Spiſe. Reſ.

The King at Exceter.

Polyd. Virg. five ſpecifies five, five for unis.

Perken yeelds himſelfe to the King.

Perken ſet openly in the ſtockes, &c.

* Eng. Heroick. 231.

* John Stow. Annal.

* Holinſh.

Perken maketh an Anatomy of his deſcents and lineage.

The King returnes to London with Perken.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Stow Annal. 28 Novemb.

Perkins education or bringing up.

* Bern. Andr. MS.

* Sebaſtian Cabot by Rich. Hakl.

* Bern. Andr. MS.

Perken a notable Land-loper.

The laſt would have Perken take upon him to be the Duke of Clarence ſonne.

They beare Perken downe with oathes, that he is King Richards baſtard.

who he was, and beſought their Prior in the humbleſt manner he could, *for Gods ſake to beg his life*, which at the Priors ſuite was granted; but the Kings wrath being kindled, or the paſſage of his ſuppreſſed wrath opened thereby, he baniſht all former reſpects, commanding him to be fettered, and ſet (for an whole day) in a paire of Stockes, mounted on a Scaffold before the Gate of *Weſtminſter Hall*; and the next day to be alike expoſed in * *Golden Cheape*, to the baſeſt of all contempt and ſcorne, ſo fettered, ſtockt, and Scaffolded as before, *to the great wonderment* (ſaith * *Stow*) *of many*, as either inſinvating that all were not perſwaded of the impoſture, or that it ſeemed ſtrange that one lately of ſo great Proweſſe, ſhould undergoe ſo deſpicable a puniſhment. But for a ſcale and totall ſumme of all ignominy and ſhame (ſuch as no face did ever beare greater) he read his owne confeſſion, written with his owne hand, * as followeth.

(54) It is firſt to be knowne, that I was borne in the Towne of *Tourney* in *Flanders*, and my Fathers name is *Iohn Oſbecke*, which ſaid *John Oſbecke* was controller of the ſaid Towne of *Tourney*, and my Mothers name is *Katherine de Faro*. And one of my Grandfires upon my Fathers ſide was named *Diricke Oſbecke*, which dyed. After whoſe death my Grandmother was married unto *Peter Flamin*, that was receiver of the fore-named Towne of *Tourney*, and Deane of the Boremen, that row upon the water or River called *Le Scheld*. And my Grandfire upon my Mothers ſide was *Peter de Faro*, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of *Saint Iohns*, within the ſame Towne of *Tourney*. Alſo I had an Vncle called Maſter *Iohn Stalin*, dwelling in the Pariſh of *Saint Piaz*, within the ſame Towne, which had married my Fathers ſiſter, whoſe name was *Ione* or *Iane*, with-whom I dwelt a certaine ſeaſon.

(55) And after I was led by my Mother to *Antwerpe* for to learne Flemiſh, in a houſe of a Coſin of mine, an officer of the ſaid Towne, called *John Stienbecke*, with whom I was the ſpace of halfe a yeare; and after that I returned againe to *Tourney*, by reaſon of warres that were in *Flanders*: and within a yeare following, I was ſent with a Merchant of the ſaid Towne of *Tourney* named *Berlo*, to the Mart of *Antwerpe*, where I fell ſicke, which ſickneſſe continued upon me five moneths. And the ſaid *Berlo* ſet mee to boord in a Skinners houſe, that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſh Nation. And by him I was from thence carried to *Barow* Mart, and I lodged at the ſigne of the olde Man, where I abode for the ſpace of two moneths.

(56) After this, the ſaid *Berlo* ſet me with a Merchant of *Middleborow* to ſervice, for to learne the language, whoſe name was *John Strew*, with whom I dwelt from *Chriſtmas* to *Eaſter*, and then I went into *Portugall* in company of Sir *Edward Bramptons* Wife, in a ſhip was called the Queenes ſhippe. And when I was come thither, then was I put in ſervice to a Knight that dwelled in *Liſboane*, which was called *Peter Vacz de Cogna*, with-whom I dwelled an whole yeare, which ſaid Knight had but one eye. And becauſe I deſired to ſee other Countries, I tooke licenſe of him, and then put my ſelfe in ſervice with a *Britaine*, called *Pregent Meno*, which brought mee with him into *Ireland*. Now, when we were there arrived in the Towne of *Corke*, they of the Towne (becauſe I was arraied with ſome cloathes of ſilke of my ſaid Maſters) came unto me, and threatned upon me, that I ſhould be the Duke of *Clarences* ſon, that was before-time at *Dublin*.

(57) But forſomuch as I denyed it, there was brought unto mee the holy Evangeliſts, and the Croſſe, by the Major of the Towne, which was called *Iohn Lewelin*, and there in the preſence of him and others, I tooke mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the fore-ſaid Dukes ſonne, nor none of his bloud. And after this came unto mee an Engliſhman, whoſe name was *Stephen Poitron*, and one *John Water*, and laid to me in ſwearing great oathes, that they knew well that I was King *Richards* Baſtard-Sonne; to whom I anſwered with like oathes, that I was not. Then they adviſed mee not to be afeard, but that I ſhould take it upon me boldly; and if I would ſo doe, they would ayde and aſſiſt me with all their power againſt the King of *England*; and not onely they, but they were well aſſured, that the Earle of *Deſmond* and *Kildarre* would doe the ſame.

(58) For they forced not what part they tooke, ſo that they might bee revenged on the King of *England*: and ſo againſt my will made me to learne Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould doe and ſay: And after this they called me Duke of *Yorke*, ſecond Sonne to King *Edward* the fourth, becauſe King *Richards* Baſtard-ſonne was in the hands of the King of *England*. And upon this the ſaid *Water*, *Stephen Poitron*, *John Tiler*, *Hubert Burgh*, with many others, as the forefaid Earles, entred into this falſe quarrell, and within ſhort time, others. The French King ſent an Ambaſſador into *Ireland*, whoſe name was *Loit Lucas*, and Maſter *Stephen Friham*, to adverciſe mee to come into *France*: and thence I went into *France*, and from thence into *Flanders*, and from *Flanders* into *Ireland*, and from *Ireland* into *Scotland*, and ſo into *England*.

(59) From having thus beene made a publique ſpectacle, till all eyes were wearied with the view, and imaginations tyred with thinking; hee is conveied to the Tower of *London*: where it had beene happy, if hee had onely wrought his owne deſtruction; but the bloudy fate (ſo to ſpeake of his diſaſterous birth) would not ſuffer him to periſh ſingle. In the ſame Tower was priſoner *Edward* the young Earle of *Warwicke*, having ſo beene from the firſt yeare of *Henry* to this preſent, for no fault of his, but for that, as neere Titler to the Crowne, hee carried in his living perſon inſeparable matter of danger and ſedition. Of his ſimplicity, by reaſon of his education in priſon from his infancy, there is a report, that as one vvho lived out of the vievv of the vvorld, hee knevv not an * Henne from a Gooſe, or one Fovvle or Creature from another. To haſten the ruine of ſo innocent a danger, behold there breakes forth a counterfeit Earle of *Warwicke*, as if all that vvhich the vvorld ſavv horrible in *Perkins* darings, had been but a document to inſtruct others in the like, and that nothing were to be taxed therein, *but want onely of ſucceſſe*, vvhich vvhoſoever could propound to himſelfe all things elſe vvere full of encouragement and reaſon. This counterfeit vvas a * Cordvvainers ſonne of *London*, aged about tvventy yeares, and called * *Ralfe Wilford*, vvho for falſely aſſuming the name and title of the ſaid Earle, being thereunto taught and ſubborned (a practiſe vvhich vvell declared that the malicious Dutcheſſe of *Burgundy* did ſtill live) vvas hanged at S. *Thomas Waterings* by *Southvvarke* upon Shroutetueſday.

(60) This nevv deviſe to uncrovvne King *Henry*, ſo vvakened his owne feares, and the eyes of the *Caſtilians*, (vvho had ſecretly agreed to marry their Princeſſe *Katherine* to our Prince *Arthur*) that there ſeemed no ſure ground of ſucceſſion, *if that the Earle of Warwicke were not made away.* A fearefull caſe, where the falſe reaſon of State ſhall faine to it ſelfe an impoſſibility of well doing, without ſhedding innocent bloud, and ſhall therefore reſolve to found upon ſo crying a ſinne, the hope of perpetuity in ſucceſſion; ſith nothing is truer, *then that ſinne was ever an unſure baſis to ſettle laſting workes upon.* But O the narrow capacities of the moſt ſeeing men! the confidence whereof did undoubtedly leade this King (herein not juſtifiable, howſoever excuſable in reſpect of humane frailty, which might propound to it ſelfe many feares, and reſpects both publique and private) to connive at the plotted death, or rather formall murther of this harmeleſſe Gentleman, whoſe vvrong may yet move the hardieſt to compaſſion, as it aftervvard ſtirred

An. Dom. 1498. *An. Reg.* 14

Perken in the Tower, and the Tragicall effects.

They call him Duke of *Yorke*.

* *Polyd. Virg.*

* *Addit to Pol.*

* *Hollinſh.*

A counterfeit Earle of warwicke executed

The true Earle of warwicke deſigned to die.

God in justice to revenge, prospering no part of that great worke which was thereupon thus corruptly sought to be perpetuated. That noble Lady *Katherine* her selfe was hereof so sensible, that when the divorce was afterward prosecuted against her by King *Henrie* the eight, her second Husband, she is reported to have said, That it was the hand of God, for that to cleare the way to her marriage, that innocent Earle of *Warwicke* was put to unworthy death. Neither let licentious practises vouch the singular Act of *Solomon* in taking away the life of his elder Brother *Adoniah* to colour this homicide: for hee that will argue from particular facts in Scripture, shall not onely leave to *Adoniah* living, but perhaps no *Salomon*. To worke this young *Warwickes* ruine, the mischievous and dismall wretch *Perken* becomes an occasion, if not an instrument, for he by his supple insinuations, and flowing promises, had corrupted his keepers, the servants of Sir *John Digbie* Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower; who (*as* * *was affirmed*) meant to have murthered their Master, and then to have set *Perken*, and the Earle at large, to which practise of escape, the poore Earle is said to have consented. *Perken* for this conspiracy had his tryall at *Westminster*, and he, together with one *John a Waters*, who had been sometime Major of *Corke* in *Ireland*, were condemned, and being drawne to *Tyborne*, had the sentence of death executed upon them. *Perken* at the Gallowes did *reade his former confession, taking on his death that the same was true*, and under-went his punishment with patience. *Walter Blewet*, and *Thomas Astwood* (being two of the Conspirators, for the other two, *Strangewaies* and *Long-Roger*, being the Lieutenants men also, were not executed, nor for so much as we have read, arraigned) not long after received the reward of their offence at the same place.

(61) Iustice thus tooke hold at last of *Perken Warbecke*, on whom, the Proverbe which saith, that *Pride is the Vsher of shame*, was worthily verified. Neither could the world accuse King *Henry* for his death, unlesse it were, for that he had not hanged him sooner, but suffered him to live till he had drawne after him a greater ruine in *Warwickes* person, then in all the former Tragedies. For this Earle being a chiefe Prince of the bloud, and next heire-Male of his House to the Crowne of *England*, (a crime of which his birth onely made him guilty, and not any fact of his) being thus charged to have given assent to *Perkens* plot of escape, he was publikely arraigned before the Earle of *Oxford* (then High Steward of *England*) by the name of *Edward Plantagenet* Earle of *Warwicke*, and indited for *minding to have escaped* (*as* * *they said*) *out of the Tower*, and consequently (according to the dreadfull license of inferences among our *English* pleaders in cases of death) to deprive King *Henry* of his royall Crowne and dignity, and to usurpe the Title and soveraigne office, prosecuting their bloudy Poetry with the like fangination syllogismes, though utterly without measure, or fashion. The Earle doubly betrayed, first by the setters of the snare, and then by their silly or deceitfull perswasions who were put about him, confesseth the enditement, and submitteth himselfe to the Kings mercy; that is, offered up his head to be a slippery foundation of King *Henries* further purposes; for sentence of death was thereupon pronounced as against a Traitour. This one practise seemes sufficient, if not to cast upon *Henry* the Title *of a shrewd and perillous man*, yet to raise a doubt, *whether* (* as one writes) *he was more sincere and entire then* Ferdinand *King of* Spaine, *upon whom* (saith that Authour) *hee did handsomely bestowe the envie of the death of* Edward Plantagenet *Earle of* Warwicke. The life therefore of this Prince (according to rigour of law) being thus in his power, the King gently pardoned all the paines, but the losse of his head, which was cut off upon a scaffold at *Tower-hill*, and then (another gracious favour) his body was not buried in the Chappell of the Tower, or in any other common place, but at * *Bisham* by his Ancestors. Iealous (saith * one) the King was over the greatnesse of his Nobility, as remembring how himselfe was set up; and much more did this humour encrease in him after hee had conflicted with such Idols and Counterfeits, as *Lambert Simnel* and *Perken Warbecke*. The strangeneste of which dangers made him thinke nothing safe. This Earle was the last heire-male of the bloud, and surname of *Plantagenet*; whose race, as it was a long time glorious for giving Kings to *England*, (even from King *Henry* the second) so in the end (chiefly for the house of *Yorke*) it became hatefull (as it seemes) to God and man, for the most horrible and inexpingvible deadly fewdes, murthers, perjuries, and other horrors committed within it selfe, which (as then not fully expiated) lay heavily upon the head of this Earle, and finally threw open all those fences, which the possession of Majesty, and numerosity of issue had for sundry ages cast about it, letting in thereby the surname of *Tydder*, being but two descents *English*, and which now after three descents and five Princes is also vanished. Now, among those few great workes of peace which ensued these firebrands of warre, we must remember the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, with the Princesse of *Spaine* Lady *Katherine*: The *interim* from *Warwickes* death till then, brought forth a very great plague, whereof in *London* there are said to have dyed about thirty thousand. The King, and Queene remove to *Callis* in *May* and returned in *June*. The maine * busines was to review and ratifie the state of amity, and negociations, between the *English* and the Duke of *Burgundies* Subjects. *Shine* also was burnt, and the like, it will be fitteſt to have recourse to vulgar Annals.

(62) The Coast of State now seeming cleare from all thickning weather, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* King & Queen of *Spain*, according to the points of agreement betweene them, and King *Henry*, concerning their fourth daughter the Lady *Katherine* (borne at *Alcala de Finari*, or *Complutum*) sent her royally appointed in a goodly Fleet to *England*, there to fulfill in person, what hitherto had beene onely treated of, who after many difficulties tooke land at * *Plimmouth* in *October*. *Ferdinand* her father was the sonne of *John* King of *Arragon* and *Sicilia*, and although hee was unlearned, as being brought up among armes and souldiers, *yet by using the familiarity of wise men hee also became very wise*, and proved that great Prince, which first in these latter times recalled the old glory of *Spaine*: and reared it to such an envious magnitude, as that the jealousie thereof hath bred no small quarrels in Christendome. For by his marriage with *Isabella*, (sole sister and heire to *Henry* the fourth King of *Castile*, and *Leon*,) he reigned in right of his wife; and joyntly with her, over those two Kingdomes and their appurtenances, who *together* (saith * *Marineus of Sicilia*) *did admirable things, and works most holy*. They * recovered the huge City and Kingdome of *Granada*, and part of *Andaluzia* from the *Moores*, after they had beene in violent possession thereof seaven hundred and foureſcore yeares, and having purged those places from the filth of *Mahomets* superstitions, built Churches to the honour of *Iesus Christ*, by occasion whereof *Ferdinand* was surnamed *the Catholicke King*. The walles of the City of *Granada* at the time of the surrender, which (after about tenne yeares warres) was by *Voabdelin* King thereof, made to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, had * twelve miles in compasse, and in the same twelve Gates, and a thousand Towers, enclosing seaven Hills covered with building, innumerable people, and inestimable riches, and the Spanish forces at this conquest were about 12000. Horse, and one hundred thousand foot. The said King and Queene, besides many other their mighty actions, did also first discover *America*, by *Christopher Columbus*, and thereby brought a whole

* *I. Stow. Ann.*
* *Sir Fr. Bac. Hi. S.*

*Edward Earle of Warwicke last Male Plantagenet beheaded.

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Iohn Stows. An.*

Prince *Arthur* dieth.

* *Bern. Andr. Hi. S.* Prince *Arthurs* bookes, and learning.

The Lady Katherine of Spaine landed in England.
* *Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.*
* *Addle to Ed.*

* An. Do. 1501. *An. Reg.* 17.

* The contract between *Iames* King of Scots and Lady *Margaret* published.
* *Stowes Annals in Ia. 4.*

* *Rot. Scotiæ, Pipe. Roy.*

Iohn the Queen of Spaine descended from our *Edward* the third King of *England*.
* *Ant. Nebriss. Gram. Lib. 1.*
* *Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.*

* *Luc. Marin. Sic.*

Prince *Arthur* married.

* *Addit to Edw. saith on a Sunday the feast of S. Erkenwald.*

* *Polyd. Virgil.*

* *Iohn Stows. An.*

* *Bern. Andr. Hi. S.* Prince *Arthurs* bookes, and learnings.

The Lady Katherine of Spaine landed in England.
* *Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 7.*
* *Addle to Ed.*

whole new World to the notice of Christendome. *Isabella* her selfe, descended of the bloud-royall of *England*, being daughter of *John* the second King of *Castile* and *Leon*, sonne of *Henrie* the third King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and of *Katherine* his wife, (daughter of * *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, third sonne of our *Edward the third* of triumphall and never-dying memory) was a Lady, whose * like the Christian world had seldome any of that wisdome, gravity, chastity, and of so labourious a devotion, that * *she did not one-ly day by day performe the Canonicall, and howrely taske of prayers vsed by Priests, but many other*, and brought up her children accordingly.

(63) The Lady *Katherine* being about eighteene yeares old, and borne of so great, so noble, so victorious and vertuous parents, is with just majesty and solemnity openly * married in *Pauls*-Church to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, aged about fifeene yeares, and eldeſt sonne to *Henry* the seaventh, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, assisted with nineteene Bishops and Abbots mytred, joyned their hands, and performed all the other Church Rites upon that great day. The vulgar Annals can tell you the splendor and glory thereof, in Apparell, Iewels, Pageants, Banquets, Guests, and other princely complements, the onely weighty businesse of many weake braines. A grave Lady (as some have written) was laid in bed betweene the Bride, and Bride-groome, to hinder actuall consummation, in regard of the Princes greene estate of body; but others alleadge many arguments to prove that matrimoniall performance was betweene them, how soever her self, (when that afterward came in question) * appealed to the conscience of King *Henry* the eight (her second husband) if he found her not a Maid. But Prince *Arthur* enjoyed his marriage a very short while, for in *April* following he died at *Ludlow*, being under sixeteene yeares of age: being a Prince, in whose youth the lights of all noble vertues did clearely beginne to shine. His aptnesse to learne was almost incredible; for (by the report of his * Master) he had either learned without booke, or otherwise studiously turned and revolved with his owne hands and eyes these Authors following. In *Grammar*, *Garin*, *Perot*, *Sulpitius*, *Gellius*, and *Valla*: In Poettie, *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Lucan*, *Ovid*, *Silius*, *Plautus*, and *Terence*: In Oratorie, *Tullies Offices*, *Epistles*, *Paradoxes*, and *Quintilian*: In Historie, *Thucydides*, *Livie*, *Cæsars Commentaries*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Plinius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Salust*, *Eusebius*. Wherein wee have beene particular, to signifie what Authors were then thought fit to be elementary and rudimentall unto Princes; and by their example, to all of Noble or gentle birth, whose superficiall boldnesse in bookes in these frothy dayes, is become most scandalous and injurious to the honour, and use of learning.

(64) But before the untimely expiration of this great hope of *England*, King *Henry* weary of warres and tumults, and desirous to lay the beginnings of a long peace by most inward friendship with all his great neighbours, had concluded a match betweene *Margaret* his eldeſt Daughter, and *Iames* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the * affiurance whereof was published in the *February* next before Prince *Arthurs* death at *Pauls*-Crosse; in rejoycement whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and other signes of publike joy declared. The * Bishop of *Rosse* saith, that the Earle of *Bothwell* did openly hand-fast, or espouse the said faire Lady, in the name of King *Iames* at *Pauls*-Crosse, being Saint *Pauls* day. This Contract was brought about in manner following. After that the storme of warre had (by mediation as before-said) beene throughly laid betweene the two sister-Nations, it chanced certaine of the *Scots* by their suspitious behaviour, and rough Phrases to provoke the Garrison of *Norham*-Castle to issue, who in the bickering slew and hurt some of them, and drove the rest away. King * *Iames* expostulates this violence very sharpely by letters with King *Henry*, who returned most satisfactory answers. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (whose the men and Castle were) wrote also many deprecatory letters, humbly praying the *Scottish* King to accept amends, whereunto he in the end inclined, and having some matters of farre greater moment to impart, desired the Bishops presence in *Scotland*, (knowing his deepe wisdome, and great grace with his Soveraigne) which King *Henry* gladly assented unto. The meeting was at *Melrose*, an Abbey of Cistercian Monks, where the King abode, who having roundly uttered to the Bishop his offence conceived for the breach of good termes at *Norham*-Castle, and yet being finally pleased to receive satisfaction, hee then secretly discovered his whole minde, the summe whereof was, *That the King of England would be pleased to give to him in marriage the Lady Margaret his eldeſt Daughter, as a pledge of indissoluble amitie*. The Bishop promised his best diligence, and accordingly after his returne, laboured therein with King *Henry*, who most gladly hearkened thereunto. Whereupon the *Scottish* King sent the Archbishop of *Glasco*, the Earle of *Bothwell*, and others, to demand the Lady in marriage. Their entertainment was hearty and Princely. But when the proposition came to scanning at the Councell-Table, it had not currant passage at first: for there were who objected as an inconvenience; *That by this marriage the Crowne of England might come to the Scottish line, by the issue of Lady Margaret*. Whereunto it is said, King *Henry* made this answere, * *What if it should? for if any such thing should happen, (which omen God forbid) I see it will come to passe, that our kingdome shall loose nothing thereby, because there will not be an accession of England to Scotland, but contrarily of Scotland unto England, as to that which is farre away the most noble head of the whole Iland, seeing that which is lesse vseth to accrue to the ornament and honour of that which is much the greater*, as *Normandy heretofore came to be under the dominion and power of the English our fore-fathers*. When this was said, the whole boord of Councell received it as an Oracle, and it went cleare about, *That Margaret should be married to the King of Scotland*. With this answer, and other instructions, the *Scottish* Ambassadours were sent home, who afterward returned into *England* with full authority and satisfaction to all *Henries* propositions, whereupon ensued the before-said publishment of assurances at *Pauls*-Crosse. It was a principall Article in this agreement: *That no Englishman should enter Scotland, nor Scot into England without commendatory letters from their Soveraigne*. Which Article was reputed a speciall meane to preserve the peace inviolable.

(65) But ere the youg Lady her selfe was conveyed into *Scotland*, her brother Prince *Arthur* dyed, and in * *February* next ensuing, their Mother also Queene *Elizabeth*, as thee lay in Child-bed within the Tower of *London*. The King to repaire his mind with fresh Consolations, in advancing his onely remaining sonne, *Henry* Duke of *Yorke*, created him suddainly Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Chester* and *Flint*, within few dayes after his Mothers decease. Thus was *Arthurs* losse supplied, how soever. *Henry* made Prince, espoused soone after (* though with much reluctation) the Lady *Katherine* his elder brothers Widdow, * upon the five and twentieth of *Iune*, at the Bishop of *Salisburies* house in *Fleetstreet*. And in this wise, by providing so worthy a Wife for him, (though to say truth, her great Dower was the chiefe motive (the King thought, that the estate of *England* was sufficiently setled; wherfore converting his cares to the accomplishment of affinity with *Scotland*, hee most sumptuously furnished his deereſt eldeſt daughter for her journey, and himselfe in person travelled from *Richmond* as farre with her as *Colmeston* beside *Northampton*, where his Mother the Countesse lay: * after certaine dayes spent in solace, the King gave her his blessing, with fatherly counsell and exhortation,

* *Sir Fr. Bac. Hi. S.*

* *Iohn Stows Annal.*

Perkin condemned and executed. An. Dom. 1499. *An. Reg.* 15

The Earle of Warw. set mind by Perkins conspiracy.

* *Iohn Stowes Ann.*

The Earle confesseth the inditement.

* *Sir Fr. Bac. Hi. S.*

* *Mem. Scotiæ Regnum Scotiæ Compilatum.*
* *Franc. Tolet. Reg. Hisp.*

The brides of Ferdinand and Isabella given to diverse.

* *Luc. Marin. Siculi. 10.*

Bishop Fox his presence desired by the Scottish King.

* King *Henries* answer to an objection against the match with Scotland.

Epist. Rosse ex Polyd. Virg.

An. Dom. 1502. *An. Reg.* 18 King *Henry* a Widdower, and *Henry* his son created Prince of *Wales*.

* See in this life of *Henry* the 8.
* *I. Stow. Ann.*

King *Henry* brings his daughter the Lady *Margaret* on the way to Scotland.
* *Epist. Rosse.*

exhortation, and committed the guard and conduct of her person principally to the Earles of *Surrey* and *Northumberland*, and to such Ladies and Gentlewomen as were appointed to that service; a great company of Lords, Knights, Esquiers, and men of Marke attending them as farre as *Barwicke*. At S*t*. *Lamberts* Church in *Lamer Moore* within *Scotland*, the King attended by the principall of his Nobles, received her from the hands of the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the next yeare after, married her at *Edenborough*, in the presence of his Nobility. The King gave great entertainment to the *English*, and shewed them justing and other pastimes, after the *Scottish* fashion. The *Scottish-men* (saith * the Bishop of *Rosse*) were not behinde, but farre above the *English-men*, both in apparell, rich jewels, and massie chaines, many Ladies having their habiliments set with Gold-smith worke, garnisht with Pearle and Stone of price, with gallant and well-trapped horses. Diverse Ladies, also and young Gentlewomen of *England*, attending Queene *Margaret*, remained there, and were well married to certaine Noblemen of *Scotland*, whose progenie lives honourably there even to these dayes. The effect of this marriage is gravely described by the same Bishop in these words: *There was perfect peace and sincere amity betweene the two Realmes of England and Scotland a long time after. And verily, during the life of King Henry the seventh, no cause of breach was minisired by either of the Princes, but they continued in great love and friendship, and mutuall societie, contracting of Marriages, continuall enterchange of Merchandise betwixt the Subiects of both the Realmes, as they had beene* A ll *under the obedience of* One Prince; *where-through, Iustice, Policy and Riches did flourish and abound throughout the whole Isle of Albion.* And of this marriage was Iames the first descended, being that One Prince under whose obedience A ll were governed, and (God be praised) now are by Our Gracious Soveraigne King Charles, as under the sole and lawfull lineall *Monarch of Great Britaine*: for that Iames the fourth had Issue Iames the fift, he had Issue Queene *Mary*, shee had Issue Iames the fixt, the great Grand-child of the said Queene *Margaret* eldest daughter of King *Henry* the seaventh.

The Earle of *Northumberland* delivereth to King *James* within *Scotland*.

* *In Jac. 4.*

The immediate happy effects of this marriage.

(66) Which effects of peace and riches, as they could not but be comfortable to so wise a King as *Henry*, they being the fruit as it were of his owne paſt labours; so let us now obſerve the laſt worldly cares of his raigne, and upon what objects hee fixed his minde, freed from the awe of open challenges of the Crowne, and from throwes at his maine, which with what art, valour and felicity, heat firſt atchieved, and with how great hazards, troubles, and bloudy buſineſſes, hee brought it to ſuch paſſe, that neighbour-kings reputed it ſafe to enter-marry with his Family, we have already heard: Two principall points tooke up the laſt Scenes of his life; for the reſt of his time he wholly emploied, either in the ſervice of Almighty God (wherein he was ſo diligent, that every day he was preſent after the devotions of thoſe times, at two or three Maſſes, oftentimes hearing godly Sermons) or in *building*, wherwith he kept his ſenſes buſied. The one of the two chiefe points, was to watch over the wayes of his wives kindred (the remaining branches of the turbulent and unfortunate houſe of *Yorke*) whoſe growth and greatneſſe hee ſuppoſed might at ſome time or other over-top his owne; the other was, under opinion of juſtice, to encreaſe his treaſure out of the common purſes, whereby he feemed onerous to many, and ſomewhat obſcured the brightneſſe of his former glory, at leaſt-wiſe diminiſhed his opinion with the generality. Conſidering his courſes holden with his wives kindred, (the late-rall iſſues and ſtaddles of the *Plantagenets*) it fell out thus; which (by * occaſion of the accidentall landing of *Philip* King of *Spaine* at this time, whereby the * Earle of *Suffolkes* taking was procured) we thought it beſt to handle here together. *Edmund de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, (ſonne to *John* Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Elizabeth* ſiſter to King *Edward* the fourth) in the ſixteenth yeare of King *Henries* raigne, wilfully flew a common perſon in his fury. *Henry* not ſorry to have occaſion of increaſing his popularity, by preſenting ſo great a perſon to exemplary juſtice, and in the ſame act to blemiſh the honour of a man, whoſe quality was to him ſuſpected, cauſed him for the ſame to bee arraigned. The fact he was perſwaded to confeſſe, and thereupon had pardon. The Earle neverthelеſſe, as a Prince of the bloud, holding himſelfe diſgraced, by having beene ſeene a priſoner at the *Kings-Bench-Barre*, fled the Land diſcontented, and went to his Aunt the Dutcheſſe *Dowager* of *Burgundie*; but within a while after, being fairely reconciled, he returned. After w*ch*, notwithſtanding, whether it were by reaſon of debt (the certaine attendant of vaine-ſpirited, and baſe-brave-minded Courtiers) whereinto he had deepely throwne himſelfe, for his furniture, at the Celebration of his Cozen Prince *Arthurs* marriage, or for that the reſtleſſe ſpirit of envie in the Dutcheſſe had prevailed, he taking his brother with him, fled againe the next yeare after. The King, who had pardoned his life, ſeemed now to repent his clemencie,* though it is plaine, he ſpared him of purpoſe, till hee might diſcover more of a conſpiracy which hee knew was in hammering, but his ſlight troubled him not a little, knowing the violent humour of that Lord, and remembring to what a dangerous and bloudy iſſue his brother the Earle of *Lincolne* had once already brought things at the battell of *Stoke* in the beginning of his reigne.

A Prince of the bloud-royall arraigned for murther of a private perſon.

The Earle of *Suffolke* cauſeth troubles.

Polyd. Virg. Edm. Hall. Holinſh. Fab. Stow. &c.

*Polyd. Virg.

(67) For remedy, he betakes himſelfe to his wonted arts, and therefore to learne the ſecret of the enemy, Sir *Robert Curſon* Knight (Captaine of the Caſtle of *Hammes* by *Calliis*) faines himſelfe a friend to the Earle, and flies from his charge unto him. An office unworthy of Knighthood; neither can any good ſpirit in the world ſtoop it ſelf to ſuch double-faced employment, which beſides the treacherous diſſimulations therof, cannot but be accompanied with willfull impieties. For who is admitted into truſt upon a contrary ſide, without invocations of Gods holy Name, proteſtations, adjurations, oathes, the utmoſt aſſurances which man can give to man, to beget a convenient affiance in his ſincerity? but by this ſtratagem the King ranſacks the boſomes and cabinets of his adverſaries, diſcovering their deſignes and hopes. Whereupon, *William Courtney* Earle of *Devonſhire* (being moſt nobly deſcended, and having to his wife the Lady *Katherine*, one of the daughters of King *Edward* the fourth, and ſiſter to Queene *Elizabeth* wife of King *Henry*) *William de la Pole* brother to the ſaid *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *James Tyrrell*, Sir *John Windham* Knights, with other, were attached, and committed to cuſtody, and afterward alſo * *George Nevill* Lord *Abergenie*, and Sir *Thomas Greene* Knight, were likewiſe apprehended, but were ſoone delivered. The Earle of *Devonſhire*, though innocent (for it is the miſery of ſuch great men, that their owne innocency cannot alwayes procure their owne ſafety; but their birth-right many times, and often other mens deſignations without their leaſt privity, is enough to hazard them, yea it is in the power of any Conſpirator by bare nomination, to doe as much, ſo that it concernes them *to have an eye not to their owne onely, but to the behaviour alſo of their whole Alliances and dependancies*) this Earle (I ſay) though innocent, remained priſoner during this Kings life, and ſome yeares after his Sons raigne, who ſet him at liberty. The other, *William* the Earle of *Suffolkes* brother, had not ſo ſtrict an hand holden over him. But Sir *James Tyrrell*, Lieutenant of *Guines* Caſtle, and Sir *John Wyndham*, *Welbourn*, ſervant to Sir *James Tyrrell*, *Cuaſon* a Purſevant, *Matthew Iones* Yeoman, and a Shipman, were condemned of Treaſon, for ayding the Earle of *Suffolke*. The * two Knights were beheaded at Tower-Hill. The Shipman

Apprehenſions of perſons for the Earles of *Suffolkes* cauſe.

*Polyd. Virg.

Philip the firſt, King of Spaine, and his Queen driven by tempeſt into England.

The miſery of great Subjects and a leſſon to them.

Executions for the Earles of *Suffolkes* cauſe.

* *Stows Annals.*

* *Addit. to Fab.*

man quartered at *Tiburne*: * *Curſon* and *Iones* ſuffered death at *Guines*.

*Addit to Fab. The Earle of Suffolke, and Sir Robert Curſon and others accuſed.

(68) This ſo round and quicke dealing with the Earles complices and favourers, ſtartled his ſhallow, and raw inventions, and made their whole bulke to ſwarve and ſplinter; but the King reſted not ſo; for upon the Sunday before the feaſt of S. *Simon* and *Iude*, in the ſame yeare, of the ſaid executions, there was publiſhed at *Pauls*-Croſſe, by the Kings procurement from Pope *Alexander* the ſixt, a Bull of * *Excommunication* and curſe againſt the ſaide Earle of *Suffolke*, Sir *Robert Curſon*, and five other perſons by ſpeciall name, and generally all other which ayded the Earle againſt the King, to the diſturbance of the Kingdome. Thus did the moſt prudent *Henry* purſue his enemies, not onely with ſecret countermines and open weapons of Law, before they could aſſemble to make any ſhew, but alſo with ſpirituall lightenings; which doubtleſſe, had they beene upon juſt cauſe, and by lawfull authoritie fulminated, ought infinitely to be dreaded of good Chriſtians, becauſe (as Saint *Paul* ſaith) *they deliver over to Satan*. Sir *Robert Curſon* was named, of purpoſe, to make the Earle ſecure of him; which may well be called a perillous, if not a prophane deviſe, though his Holineſſe were made the inſtrument thereof. Neither did the King leave here, for by his Letters and Meſſengers hee ſo prevailed with Pope * *Alexander*, as hee decreed by his Bull, *That no perſon ſhould afterward have privilege of Sanctuary, who had once taken the ſome, and come forth againe: and that, * if any Sanctuary-man ſhould afterward commit any murther, robberie, ſacrilledge, treaſons, &c. hee ſhould by lay force be drawne thence to ſuffer due punishment.* Thus was of great uſe to the King, and preſerved many Subjects from precipitation, for, the abuſe of Sanctuaries had beene an efficient of many troubles. But the ſame Pope (having ſent *John Giglis* his *Receiver*, to gather money in *England*) ſhewed himſelfe much more favourable to ſuch as perpetrated thoſe ſaid hainous offences, as alſo, *Vſury, Symonie, Rapines, Adulteries, or whatſoever offences, (excepting certaine offences againſt the Pope and Clergy, &c.)* when hee ſent a * *Bull* of pardons (for money) to all ſuch offendors in *England*; *diſpenſing alſo thereby, with ſuch, as kept away, or by any fraud had gotten the goods of other men, which they ſhould now retaine ſtill without ſcruple of conſcience, ſo as they paide a ratable portion thereof unto his Holineſſe Receivers.* Sir *Robert Curſon* (though before accurſed by the Pope) returnes, when he ſaw fit time into *England*, and withall into wonted favour with his Soveraigne. The Earle, ſeeing himſelfe thus ſtripe of all hope to doe much harme, wandred about *Germany*, and *France* to finde repoſe, but in the end quite tyred, hee put himſelfe into the grace and protection of *Philip* then in *Flanders*, who by the death of *Iſabella* was King of *Spaine*, in right of *Ione* his Wife, eldeſt Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; where hee remained in baniſhment, till King *Philip* was driven by tempeſt in the moneth of *Ianuary* into *England*, as hee meant to have paſſed through the *ſleeve*, or *Engliſh* Ocean, into *Spain*, there to take poſſeſſion of that Kingdome, and other the appurtenances.

*Antiq. Brit. Ridem.

*Antiqu. Brit. in Martens life, aunce Innocentius, and not Alexander.

*Polyd. Virg. Ant. quit. Brit. in vita Martyn.

Anno Dom. 1506. *An. Reg.* 21

(69) The chiefe Ship of the *Navie-Royall*, wherein the King was, and two other (all the reſt being ſcattered by the fury of the weather into ſeverall places and other Ports of *England*,) thruſt into Harbour at * *Falmouth*. Himſelfe weary and ſicke with the violent toſſings of the Sea (whereunto hee had never, as it ſeemes, beene uſed,) would needs come on ſhoare, and refreſh his ſpirits, though the principall men about him diſſwaded that courſe, as foreſeeing it would procure a longer ſtay, then the nature of their occaſions would perhaps well beare. And ſo indeed it fell out, for being now in another Princes (though his friends) Dominions, where he had no power over himſelfe, nor others, and the rumour of arrivall ſtirring the men in authority thereabout; Sir *Thomas Trenchard* Knight with the ſudden forces of the Country, not knowing what the matter might be, came thither, and underſtanding the royall quality of the perſon, invited him with all humble humanity to his houſe, and forthwith diſpatched poſtes to Court; not long after Sir *John Carey* Knight, (with a great troupe of armed men) repaired alſo, purſuing the like humble entreaties; which the King, fearing conſtraint, becauſe they were but ſubjects, and durſt nor let him paſſe without their Lord and Maſters leave neceſſarily yeelded unto. Vpon notice of this mighty Princes caſuall arrivall, King *Henry* preſently commanded the Earle of *Arundell* to entertaine him till himſelfe could come, who very magnificently did ſo, with * three hundred Horſes by Torch-light, and in the meane-while King *Henry* himſelfe prepares. *Philip* perceiving, that whatſoever ſpeed his affaires required, yet now there was no remedy but to ſtay, thought not good to expect his approach, but to prevent it, and came upon the ſpurre to *Windſor*, that hee might be gone againe the ſooner, after whom Queene *Ioan* his Wife came leaſurably. The reſt of this entertainement, becauſe it hath matter of weight, and is well ſet downe by *Polydor Virgil*, it ſhall ſuffice us to follow his ſoorſteps. At *Windſor* the two Kings, after long and ſeverall diſcourſes, began to conferre about renewing their league. *Henrie* required *that Edmund Earle of Suffolke might be delivered up into his power*, which *Philip* denyed to be a thing that he could doe, as holding it moſt unreaſonable to bee the authour of his death, whom he had taken into protection: but when at the laſt he found, that no excuſe nor reaſon could ſatisfie, for that, *Henrie* voluntarily offered to ſave the Earles life, he promiſed to do therein what he deſired, and preſently took order for his ſending over. According whereunto, King *Henrie* (to draw out the time, till he had the wiſhed prey) conveied King *Philip* to *London*, to ſhew him the head Citie of his Kingdome, out of which, after a little ſtay, he re-conducted him. The Earle in the meane time, who conceived horror at the firſt newes of King *Philips* landing in *England*, as fatall to him, and reſolved that no hope was longer to bee repoſed in the faith of forraine Princes, *came over not unwillingly*, preſuming that after pardon of life, hee might alſo in time re-gaine his liberty; or if that hope failed, yet ſhould he at leaſt-wiſe obtaine to die, and be buried in his Countrey. But King *Philip* and his Queene, having feaſted with her ſiſter the *Princeſſe of Wales*, departed *England*. The Earle was brought through *Flanders* to *Callis* upon the ſixteenth of March, and landed at *Dover* upon the foure & twentieth of the ſame, conveyed thither by Sir *Henrie Wyat*, and Sir *John Witſhire*, with threeſcore men in armour of the Garriſon of *Callis*; and at *Dover* Sir *John Lovel*, and others receiving him, guarded him ſafe to the Tower of *London*. King *Philip*, not long after his landing in *Spaine* deceaſed, being not thirtie yeares old. That tempeſt which drave him into *England*, was holden by the people as prodigious; for it blew downe the *Golden-Eagle* from the famous Spire of *Pauls*-Steeple (being of Copper, richly over-guilt, of forty pounds weight, in length foure foot, and in bredth three,) which alſo in the fall therof, brake and battered the ſigne of the *Blacke-Eagle*, in *Pauls*-Church-yard, in the place where now hee *Schoole-houſe* ſtands. This accident even then made ſome conjecture, that the Emperour *Maximilian* (whoſe Imperiall Enſigne the *Eagle* is) *ſhould ſuffer ſome accordingly* (ſaith *Polydor*) *as indeed hee did by the death of King Philip his ſonne.* Which (if any ſuperſtitiouſly delight in Calculations of that blinde nature) wee may well paralell with that * lightning which ſtroke the Letter C. out of *Cæſar* in the inſcription of *Cæſar Auguſtus* his ſtatue; whereupon it was gathered, that *Auguſtus* ſhould live but *one hundreth* daies after, and then be called a *god*. (*Æſar* the remaining ſyllables ſo ſignifying in the old *Hetruſcan* tongue,) which accordingly hapned.

*Addit. to Fab.

*Stowes Annals.

The Kings of *England* and *Spaine* at *Windſor*.

Polyd. Virg.

The Earle of *Suffolke* delivered up, and ſent to the Tower.

The ominous fall of the weather-cocke of Pauls.

* *Suet. in Aug. cap. 97.*

King Henries gathering of treasure.

(70) Thus was the Earle of *Suffolke* brought backe, and the King anchored his quiet at the safe custody of his person within the Tower. The other worldly point wherein he chiefly bestowed his ages care, was to gather money, though by courses seeming very grievous and full of bitternesse; the tooe griping *greedinesse*, and too-profuse *lavishnesse* of money in Princes, being both alike offensive to a well-setled estate. Some excuse his doings herein (amongst whom *Polydor* is chiefe) as not proceeding from any depravation, or uncorrected affection of his nature; but from an opinion and fore-cast of generall profit: because a Princes humour of gathering tenderth, though with distaste of particular men, to the good publique, wheras his profusenesse, though with some particular mens profit, endeth in the empoverishment of the whole. And *Henry* himselfe protested (saith *Polydor*) *hee did it not for love of money, but with a purpose to bridle the fierce mindes of a Nation bred up among factions:* though they (saith the same Author) who felt the smart, and were wounded by his *Instruments*,* cryed out *they were not so much the darts of severity, which did hit them, as of avarice,* Yet *Polydors* Apologie may be currant: for it is not to be doubted, but that such use the King might propound himselfe; and yet withall, wee can hardly finde any commendable root thereof, the wayes being so importune and harsh, by which hee raised money. Let us heare in this point the observative

* *Non tam severitatis, quam avaritiæ telà esse clamabant.*

* Sir Fr. Bac. in S. King Henry gives way to the needlesse mobilitation of his people.

* Knight. *Of Nature* (saith he) *Henry coveted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of Monarchies, anaturall desire to discharge of their Princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute unto Cardinall Morton, and Sir Reinald Bray, who (as it afterward appeared) as Counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so sound his humour, as nevertheless they tempered it.* Where it is truely said, *it afterward appeared:* for till they were gone to account to God, and his feare for the maine quite banished, the King did not let loose the reines to his immoderate desire of having, which yet was not more sinfull, then the meanes under him practises, were odious. *For* * *Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise then the servile following of his owne humours, gave him way, and shaped him meanes to those extremities, whereby himselfe was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor disavowed.* And this we take to be a true judgement. To be particular in the recitall of things worthy to dye in forgetfulnesse, is not only to recite, but in a sort to teach them also, as some, who by broad invectives, have as it were read a lecture of those vices, against which they have pretended to inveigh. But publique and shamefull Arts may more safely be delivered. The instruments whom the King set on worke, (or who perhaps set the King on worke) were * two Lawyers, *Richard Empson*, (afterward Knighted) and *Edmund Dudley* Esquier; their employment was to call the richer subject into question for breach of old penall lawes, long before discontinued and forgotten, whereby they brake in upon the people, as it were at unawares, like a kinde of authorized robbers, masked under the pretext of *service for the King*, and the names of *Delators*, or *Promotors*, a * familiar sickneſſe in the times of ancient Tyrannies. But the courses to execute their imployment, were voyd of all conscience and colour. For one of them was to * *outlaw persons secretly, and then to seize their estates*, driving them to chargefull compositions with the King, and heavie bribes to the Authors of their trouble. More detestable was another practise of theirs: For *there* * *were false Iurors and ring-leaders of false Iurors, who would never give any verdict against the will of their patrons*, the said *Empson* and *Dudley*; so that if any durst stand out upon tryall, the destiny of their causes was squared forth by the leade rule of those fellows consciences; which to be a truth, the expiatory punishment which King *Henry* the eight tooke of them in the first yeare of his raigne, doth clearely convince, By these meanes many honest and worthy Subjects were rigorously fined, imprisoned, or otherwise afflicted, which filled the land with sorrow and repinings. Among very many others thus abused, Sir *William Capell* Alderman of *London* was eminent, as from whom, in the tenth yeare of the Kings raign, had beene scrued, under the colour of moth-eaten and un-revived *Lawes*, above sixteene hundreth pounds sterling, and was now againe plaide at afresh, and another hand drawen upon him for two thousand pounds, which, because he would not pay, hee was by *Dudley* commanded prisoner to the Tower; but by the death of the King which ensued, all such prisoners were released. If any perhaps will sleight the hard usage extended to Citizens, and to the like. they are unwise therein, neither thinke as Patriots ought. For though it may so fall out that the personall vexation of some few, merits no great pitty; yet the example is pestilent; & it is a part of the cunning, to chuse out at first such for patternes, as upon whose persons least compassion may fall, which examples may afterward be extended to whomsoever. These revels and rages against the wealthier fort continued, till it pleased God to sting the Kings heart with just compunction toward the horrour of his death; who had the favour from Heaven, as to lye sicke of a consuming disease, which wasted him by such insensible degrees, as gave him the use of his whole selfe (as it were) till the last gaspe, whereby he had meanes to recollect himselfe, after those many soule-wounding assaults to which attend regall greatnesse, and to submit his thoughts to such ghostly admonishments (touching another life) whereunto in dayes of health, the hearts or eares of great Princes are seldom attentive.

* *Addit to Hall.* The tenths practised to empoverish the subiects.

* *Cor. Tacit.*

* *Polyd Virg.*

* *Sr. Tho. Mo.*

An. Dom. 1508. *An. Reg.* 23

(71) About the yeare of his death, having understood that *Lewis* King of *France*, despairing of Issue-male, had disannulled the Contrets made betweene *Charles* King of *Spaine*, (sonne of the late King *Philip*, and afterward elected Emperour by the name of *Charles* the fift) and the Lady *Claudia* his eldest daughter, whom he newly betrothed to *Francis* of *Valois* Dolphin of *France*, and Duke of *Angolesme*; King *Henry* (whose care for preservation of the common quiet, and good of his Countrey, by forrain alliances, was ever wholly in him and awake) thought it a faire occasion for him to match his younger Daughter the Lady *Marie*. The *French* King to have the advise of *Iames* the fourth King of *Scots*, in the bestowing the said Madame *Claudia* his eldest Daughter, had before sent *Bernard Steward* Lord *D'Aubigmie*, and the President of *Tholouze*, Ambassadors for that purpose; who finally in effect received this answere: * *That the said King Iames thought it best that his eldest daughter should bee married within his owne Realme of France; for if shee were married unto any forraine Prince, it might give colour to claime title to the said Realme afterward. And if hee did marry her at home, rather to him the saide Francis, whom hee had appointed to succeed then any other.* Which resolution was very acceptable to King *Lewis*, because it jumped with his owne purpose, and it was followed accordingly. King *Henry* therefore hearing that King *Charles* might be obtained, so pursued the point * by the prudent managing of *Richard Fox* (now Bishop of *Winchester*) his Ambassador, that King *Charles* his Ambassadours comming out of *Flaunders*, where hee was educated, and meeting him at *Calis*, the affaire was opened, disputed, concluded, and the Lady *Mary*, then about ten yeares of age, (as King *Charles* himselfe) was by solemne contract assured to him for wife.

The King falleth sicke.

Polyd. Virg.

King Henry tooke to affect his daughter Mary to Charles King of Spaine. The French King favoured a match with the King of Scots.

* *Fiet Reg.*

* *Polyd. Virg.*

The Lady Mary promised to King Charles.

(72) Now therefore his Sonne *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, being heire of the Crowne, and married; his eldest daughter, the Lady *Margaret*, Queene of *Scotland*; the Lady *Mary* his youngest, provided for so highly (though in the end it came to nothing) all likelihood

* An. Dn. 1508. *An. Reg.* 24.

King Henry the 7. dies.

likelihood of perill by competitors, or busie Factionists, buried in the Tower, by the imprisonment of *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*; his people tractable and calme; his coffers full, and the state of things ripe for a successour: Death (the executioner of the Almighties sentence,) was ready to discharge him of the prison of his flesh. Before he departed, * *well disposed persons tendering the health of his soule, did both in Sermons, and otherwise, informe him of the exclamations against Informers*; Wherefore hee of his blessed disposition, granted to all men generall pardons, certaine onely excepted. In his life time hee founded the goodly Hospitall of the *Savoy*, built sixe religious Houses for *Franciscan Friers*, three of them for *Observants*, and the other three for *Conventuals*. Of his building also was *Richmond*-Pallace, and that most beautifull peece, the Chappell at *Westminster*, the one the place of his death, and the other of his buriall: which formes of more curious and exquisite building, he and Bishop *Foxe*, first (as is reported) learned in *France*, and thence brought with them into *England*. He died about the age of fifty two yeares, upon the two and twentieth of * *April*, having raigned twentie three yeares and eight moneths. A right noble, wise, victorious, and renowned King, and one whose pietie would have beene farre more eminent then all his other vertues, if from the beginning the malignant quality of the times would have permitted him to live in quiet. He specially honoured the remembrance of that Saint-like Man, *Henry* the sixt, the founder of his Family, and Prophetical fore-teller of that fortune which now he died feised of, whom also he laboured to have * Canonized for a *Saint*, but that Pope *Iulius* held that honour at too high a rate. It is reckoned by some Writers * of that age among his principall glories, that three Popes, *Alexander* the sixth, *Pius* the third, and *Iulius* the second, did in their severall times, with authoritie and consent of the Cardinals, elect and choose him for *chiefe defensor of Christs Church*, before all other Christian Princes. In his last Will and Testament, after the disposition of his Soule and Body, he devised and willed *Restitution should be made of all such monyes as had unjustly beene levied by his Officers*. A most pious and truely Christian care, whereby also appeareth, that he hoped the wrongs done under him were not so enormous nor innumerable, but that they might fall within the possibilitie of redresse. The description of his whole man, is had in the beginning of his life, and the course thereof described in his Actions. There remaine of his wisedome many effects, and those as his fame, likely to continue for ever.

* Sir Fr. B. M. S. Joh. Stow. Ann. The yeare of his age, and raigne.

A Saint lost for want of pay.

* *Cambden in Surrey.* See more *supra* in Edward 4. fol. 879. & Ro.

* *Add.* to Polyd. King Henry failed Defensor of Christs Church by three Popes.

His Wife.

(71) *Elizabeth*, the first Childe Legitimate, and eldest Daughter of *King Edward the Fourth*, was at the age of nineteene, upon the eighteenth of Ianuary, and yeare of Christ Iesus 1485. married unto King *Henry the seventh*, whereby was united the long-contending Families of *Lancaster* and *Torke*, and the Roses *Red* and *White* joyned into one, to the great joy of the English Subjects. Shee was crowned at *Westminster* upon the five and twentieth of November, the third of her Husbands Raigne, and of Grace 1487. Shee was his Wife eighteene yeares, and twentie foure dayes, and died in Child-bed in the Tower of *London*, the eleventh of February, even the day of her owne Nativitie, the eighteenth of her Husbands raigne, and yeare of our Salvation, 1503. and is buried at *Westminster* in the most magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and gilt, where shee with her Husband lyeth entombed.

His Issue.

(72) *Arthur*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry* the Seventh, and of Queene *Elizabeth* his wife, was borne at *Winchester* the twentieth day of September, the yeare of Grace, one thousand foure hundred eighty five, and the second of his Fathers raigne. In whose fifth yeare he was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, and Earle of *Chester*; and at the age of fifteene yeares, one moneth and twenty five dayes, upon the fourteenth of November, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and one, espoused the Lady *Katherine*, daughter to *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, shee being then about eighteene yeares of age, in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul, London:* and presently sent into *Wales*, the better to governe that principality by his owne Presence, enjoyed his marriage bed onely foure moneths and nineteene dayes, departing this life at *Ludlow* the second of April, the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and two, of his Fathers raigne seventeene, and of his owne age fifteene yeares, five moneths, and thirteene dayes. His body, with all due funerall solemnities, was buried in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Maries* in *Worcester*, where, in the South-side of the Quire hee remaineth entombed in Touch, or Iette, without any remembrance of him by picture.

(73) *Henry*, the second sonne of King *Henry* the seventh, and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne at *Greenewich* in the County of *Kent*, the two and twentieth of Iune, in the yeare of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninety and one, being the seaventh of his Fathers raigne. In his Infancy hee was created Duke of *Torke*, and Marshall of *England*, and so trained up in his youth to literature, as hee was rightly accounted the best learned Prince in *Europe*, and, by the death of his Brother, succeeded his Father in all his Dominions; whose Raigne and Acts are prefently to be related.

(74) *Emund*, the third sonne of King *Henry*, and of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the yeare of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninety five, and in his young yeares was created Duke of *Sommerset*, which Title hee no long time enjoyed, being taken away by death at *Bishops-Hatfield*, before hee attained fully to five yeares of age, the yeare of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and five, and fifteenth of his Fathers Raigne, his Body lyeth enterred at Saint *Peters* in *Westminster*.

(75) *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of King *Henry*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne the nine and twentieth day of November, the yeare of Christ 1489. and fifth of her fathers raigne: she at the age of foureteene was married unto *Iames* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and three, unto whom shee bare *Iames* the fifth, *Arthur* and *Alexander*, and a Daughter: which last three, dyed all of them young; and, after the death of King *Iames* being slaine at *Flodden*-field in fight against the *English*,) shee was re-married unto *Archibald Douglas* Earle of *Anguisse*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and foureteene, unto whom shee bare *Margaret*, afterward espoused unto *Matthew* Earle of *Lennox*, Father by her of the Lord *Henry*, who dyed at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the upper end of the Chancell in the Parish-Church of *Stepney* neere *London*, upon whose Grave is engraven in Brasse, as followeth:

Heere lyeth Henry Steward, Lord Darle, of the age of three quarters of a yeere, late Sonne and Heire of Matthew Steward Earle of Lennox and Lady Margaret his Wife, which Henry deceased the XXVIII. day of November, in the yeare of our Lord God 1545. Whose Soule Iesus pardon.

Her second Sonne was *Henry* Lord *Dernley* a Noble Prince; and reputed for person one of the goodliest

Gentlemen of *Europe*, who married *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, the royall Parents of the moſt royall Monarch *Iames* the firſt, King of great *Britaine*, and of the *Britaine World*. And her third Sonne was *Charles* Earle of *Lennox*, father unto Lady *Arbella*.

(76) *Elizabeth*, the ſecond Daughter of King *Henry* and Lady *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne the ſecond day of *Iuly*, one thouſand foure hundred ninety two, and died the foureteenth of *September*, and yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie five, and is interred at *Weſtminſter*.

(77) *Mary*, the third bloſſome of the Imperiall Roſe-tree of *England*, was firſt wife to *Lewis* King of *France*, who lived not long after, and died without iſſue by her. Her ſecond Husband was that Martiall and pompous Gentleman *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolke*.

(78) *Katherine*, fourth Daughter of this ſeventh *Henry*, and of *Elizabeth* his Queene, was borne upon Candlemas-day, in the yeare of our Lord one thouſand five hundred and three, and in the eighteenth yeare of her Fathers raigne, who was called unto a farre better Kingdome within a ſhort while after.

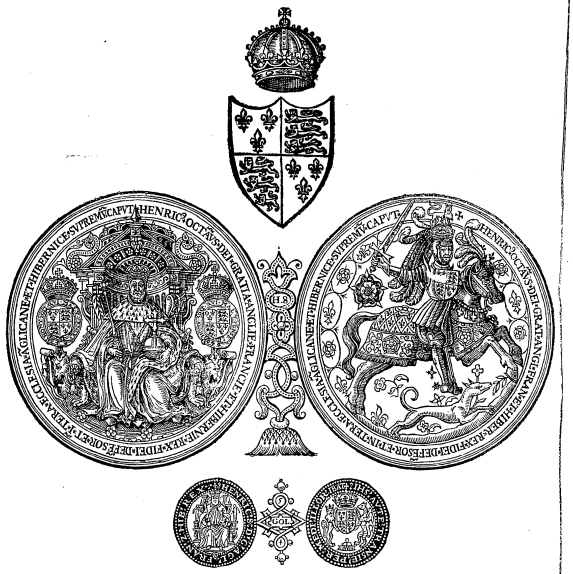
HENRIE

Henr. VIII.

HENRIE THE EIGHT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

THE FIFTIE-EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 58.



CHAPTER XXI.

An. Dom. 1509.

HEnrich and Wiſe King (*Henry* the ſeventh) gone (as is ſaid) the way of all fleſh, his Sonne bearing the ſame name, a moſt magnanimous and heroicall Prince, ſucceeded in his Throne over all his Dominions, as the onely true heire unto the Crowne, by both the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke*. His birth was at *Greenwich*, in the yeare of Grace, 1491. the twentieth two of Iune: and in his youth ſo trained up in literature, that he was accounted the moſt learned Prince of all Chriſtendome, indued with parts moſt befitting a King, both in lineaments of body, and liberalitie of minde, beſide his ripe knowledge in politicke affaires, and was made the more agreeable to the affections, of men, by the conſideration of his flouriſhing age, as having not attained unto nineteene at his fathers death. In his infancy hee was created Duke of *Yorke*; at twelve yeares (his Brother deceaſed) Prince of *Wales*, and at eighteene became ſole Monarch of the Land, when at *Weſtminſter* upon Sunday the twenty fift of Iune, even the feſtivall of Saint *Iohn Baptiſt*, and yeare of Chriſt Ieſus, 1509. he with his beauteous Queene *Katherine* received their Crownes at the hands of *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, no Prince giving better hopes unto juſtice, or ſeeking the wealth of his ſubjects more then himſelfe.

King Henry his birth place. Polydor.

The moſt learned King of Criſtendome.

King Henry and Queene Katherine crowned. Edm. Hall.

(2) His Counſellors hee choſe of the graveſt

Divines, and the wiſeſt Nobilitie, with whom he not onely often ſate, to the great encreaſe of his politicke experience; but would alſo yeeld his authoritie to their grave and ſarre in-ſeeing wiſedomes: Of whom the plaints of Petitioners were ſo movingly regarded, that Proclamations went forth, with promiſe of reſtitution, to them that had beene wronged by *Dudley* or *Empſon*, two perſons that had abuſed the authority of K. *Henry* his Father, by enriching their owne coffers, with the utter undoing of many better ſubjects. Theſe men, King *Henry* the ſeventh had made his Inſtruments for the finding out of offenders in his penall Statutes, themſelves being learned in the Lawes, and apt inough to execute their Commiſſions to the full: for, by their daily informations and recovering of fines, they digged and brought a ſilver Mine into the Kings Exchequer, ſome veines whereof by the way, ranne alſo into their owne coffers, to the great vexation of all, and utter undoing of many; whereat the Noblemen grudged, the Gentility repined, the Commons lamented, and all of them felt the teeth of theſe ravening Wolves: But, the Father-King departed, and his Sonne ſet on his Throne; the complaints of the oppreſſed ſo oppreſſed the King and his Councell, that *Dudley* and *Empſon* were ſent priſoners to the Tower, and both of them by a Parliament attainted of Treaſon.

(3) *Edmund Dudley* by deſcent was a Gentleman, and by profeſſion a Lawyer, having both wit and words at will; had he not abuſed both, to his owne deſtruction. *Richard Empſon* his inferiour by birth, was the ſonne of a poore Sieve-maker, but yet had hee ſtepped before him to the degree of a Knight: Theſe night-ſprung Muſhrumps that ſucked the earths fatneſſe, from farre better plants then themſelves, ſaw not the many hands ready to plucke them up by the rootes, when the ſeaſon ſhould ſerve to cleare the Land of ſuch weeds: for albeit they had their diſcharge under the Kings owne hand to doe what they did, and their ſervice knowne Crowne-ſervice, a matter impugnable, yet no ſooner were they left to ſtand upon their owne baſis, but that they felt the weight of their done wrongs too importable for them any longer to beare; for ſo importune were all degrees againſt them, that *Dudley* forthwith in *Guild-hall London* was arraigned and condemned to dye: and King *Henry* in progreſſe, (through the cry of the people) could take no pleaſure, till he had ſent for *Empſon* into *Northampton-ſhire*, where among them he was arraigned, and received ſentence of death, which was ſo deſired and followed, as to ſatisfie his Subjects, the King ſent a ſpeciall writ for their executions, which with great joy of all was performed upon Tower-hill, by taking from them their heads; when they left their riches to be ſpent by others, and their names to remaine upon Record for the Caterpillers of thoſe times: whoſe like, if any ſuch live, ſhall leave their hatefull remembrance to the like ſtaines of reproachfull infamy, how pleaſing ſoever the promotion ſo gotten in their owne eyes ſhall ſeeme, or the employments in their ſelfe-conceits accounted profitable to the State.

(4) This juſtice of King *Henry* wanne him great praiſe of his people, and his charitie extended towards *London*, when that Citie was ſore diſtreſſed with famine, by ſending fixe hundred quarters of corne, great love; ſo that never any King entred his raigne with better hopes then himſelfe. That his perſon was tall, is not to be doubted, though not like unto *Sauls*, as ſome have alledged, whoſe report is, that at the ſiege of *Bulloigne*, hee was higher by the head then any in his Campe, and every joynt proportionable to ſo royall a ſtature: but that he was ſtrong, his many Iuſts and Tilts, and fights at *Tourney*, (moſt dangerouſly performed) was manifeſted upon them that under-went his heavy hand: for at Tilt he bare downe a man at Armes both horſe and all, and threw Sir *William Kingſton* a Knight of great ſtrength to the ground at Barriers; with Battell-axe he combated againſt one *Giot* a Germane, very ſtrong and tall, and lent him better blowes then he could againe repay.

(5) His glory thus mounted the Trophie of fame, and young *Henry* the onely morning-ſtarre in this Weſterne Orbe; Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, fearing the further incroach of the French, who then had entred into ſome part of *Italy*, thought this Prince the ſtrongeſt pillar whereunto to truſt, and the fitteſt Card to trumpe the French King, well knowing the Title that the Engliſh Kings had unto *France*, and the readineſſe of his Subjects to forward that way: whereupon writing his letters unto King *Henry*, complained againſt *Lewis* the French King, and twelfth of that name, who neither (as he alledged) *eſteeming of God, good fame, nor conſcience, detained the revenewes of the Clergie, ſupported the Cardinall William to aſpire the Papacy, ayded in the ſiege of Bonen Alfonſo of Ferrara, and the Bentevoly, both traitors to the Papall Sea, where he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire, to uſurpe all Italy, beſought him for the pittie of our Saviour, and by the vertue of his famous anceſtors*, (for I uſe the words of the Popes Briefe) *that never forſooke the Church of God in diſtreſſe, and by the ſtraight obedience, the ſtrongeſt bond, to enter into the holy league, they having elected him againſt Lewis*, Caput fœderis Italici.

(6) And indeed to ſpeake as it was, *Lewis* much emulated King *Henries* greatneſſe, fearing that fortune would give him occaſions to make his claime by Sword unto the Kingdome of *France*; which the ſooner he did by this holy fathers inſtigations, and by his Herauld *Clarentius* roughly demanded, the Dutchies of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Anjou*, and *Mayne*, and with them alſo the Crowne that King *Lewis* ware. The Scottiſh King likewiſe, in caſe of *Andrew Barton* ſlaine in his Piracies (as the Engliſh alledged) by the Admirall of *England*, accounted the truce-broken, and fought the revenge upon the Borders adjoyning. Againſt theſe two Nations young *Henry* at once prepared, and happily obtained faire victories againſt both: but the ſucceſſe of the one, (though not following preciſely the time) we meane to relate before we enter diſcourſe of the other.

(7) The enterpriſe great which King *Henry* meant to undergoe, he thought it good wiſedome to joyne amitie with *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine*, and many other Princes, holding alſo correſpondency with Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, that buſie Pontificall Prelate of *Rome*: then propounding his promiſes in Parliament, ſent over certaine Nobles before him into *France*, and afterward followed them himſelfe, pitching downe his Tents before the Towne of *Terwin*, where he raiſed his royall Standard of the Red-dragon, and begirt the Citie with a ſtrait ſiege.

(8) To this place *Maximilian* the Emperour repaired, and to the great honour of *Henry* entred into his pay, wearing the Croſſe of Saint *George*, with a roſe (the Kings badge) as his faithfull Souldier, and received wages by day for every of his, according to their degree: the French ſeeing the Towne in diſtreſſe, fought the reliefe with victuals, and men, but were ſo encountred by the King and his company, as that many of their chiefeſt Captaines were taken, and ſixe of their Standards wonne, the reſt for ſafeguard of life ſo poſted away, that this conflict was called the Battell of Spurres.

(9) Then was the battery brought ſo neere their wals, that many breaches were therein made, and the Towne by compoſition yeelded unto the King; whereupon the Earle of *Shrewsbury* was ſent to ſee all things ſafe, who ſtucke upon the higheſt Turret the Banner of Saint *George*, and tooke the oath of allegiance of all the French Citizens, to acknowledge King *Henry* their ſupreame Lord: This done, the King as a Conquerour entreth *Terwin*, ſent thence the ir

King Henries great ſtrength.

The Popes Letters unto King Henry.

King Henry demandeth France.

John Leſly Biſhop of Roſſe.

An. Dom. 1510.

King Henry maketh league with many Princes.

King Henry entreth France.

An. Reg. 1. *Edw. Hall.*

Sabidum con. The Emperour ſerveth King Henry.

Anglorum prælia.

Fœdus Iulii.

Battell of Spurs. An. Dom. 1513. *Auguſt.* 24.

Terwin woon and the Citizens ſweare unto Henry.

their Ordnance, diſmounted the Turrets, caſt downe the walls, filled up the ditches, and fired the Towne, excepting onely the Cathedrall Church and Biſhops Pallace.

(10) Then was the ſiege removed unto *Tournay*: about which Citie King *Henry* commanded divers Trenches to bee caſt, and placed his Ordnance to ſuch advantage, that none might enter in, or come out of the ſame. Into this Towne a great number of the French from the Countries adjoyning had lately fled, relying much upon the ſtrength and ſafetie of the place, which indeed had ever beene accounted ſo invincible, that this ſentence was engraved over one of the gates. *Iannes ton me à perdeu ton pucellage, Thou haſt never loſt thy maiden-head*: Notwithſtanding, it was yeelded up unto *Henry* with ten thouſand pounds ſterling for the Citizens redemption, who to the number of foureſcore thouſand, then tooke their oathes to become his true Subjects, and foure of their principall bare up the Canopie, under which the King in triumph-wiſe entred, having borne before him his Sword, Axe, Speare, and other abiliments of warre, every Citizen holding a ſtaffe-Torch for his light. The ſafe keeping of this Citie the King committed to Sir *Edward Poynings*, Knight of the Order of the Garter, whom he there made his Lieutenant, and ordained *Thomas Wolſey* his Almoner the Biſhop of *Tournay*. The yeare now ſpent, and ſeaſon unfit for the Field, a ſurceaſe from warre was determined untill the next ſpring; wereupon all were ſhipped for *England*, with full payment, and praiſe, but *Terwin* and *Tournay* ſtucke heavily upon the French mens hearts.

(11) King *Lewis* thus endammaged in his owne Dominions, thought it beſt policie to pay like for like, to which end at the firſt attempts againſt *Terwin* hee ſolicited *Iames* the fourth of that name, King of *Scotland* (though brother by marriage unto King *Henry* of *England*) to diſturbe the Peace of his Subjects, that ſo hee might bee drawne out of *France*; which *Iames* for his part put preſently in practiſe: for writing his Letters to *Henry* in the French Kings behalfe, charged him with breach of Truce, both in the caſe of his Scots ſlaine at the Sea, as alſo againſt his Confederates the Duke of *Gelder*, and King of *France*, againſt which laſt hee deſired him to deſiſt, otherwiſe he ſhould be forced to revenge the *Frenches* wrongs upon his *Engliſh*: and to give Letters of Mart to recover the loſſes of his Subjects.

(12) King *Henry* a Prince of a Majeſticall ſpirit, moſt highly offended at theſe his Brothers requeſts, and threats, was ſo farre over-gone with fury and rage, that *Lions* King at Armes the bringer, was thereby ſomewhat daunted at his preſent anſwer, which he deſired might be ſent in writing, refuſing to carry in words his reply to his Soveraine. This *Heralds* wiſe and weightie requeſt was forthwith granted, and Letters framed to King *Iames* demands, anſwering thoſe imputations with roigh and round words, which notwithſtanding he never read or ſaw, being ſlaine in the battell of *Flodden*, before that *Lions* could come to deliver the ſame.

(13) For *Iames* King of Scots preparing for war, had in the meane while entred the borders, and with his Ordnance battered and wonne the Caſtell of *Norham*; making ſtill forward upon the Engliſh. Againſt whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* made the Kings Lieutenant of the North at his going into *France*, aſſembled an Army of twentie ſixe thouſand ſtrong, unto whom came his Sonne the Lord Admirall of *England*, with a great ſupply of good Souldiers well appointed for warre. The Earle from *Newcaſtell* came unto the water of *Till*, and pitched his battell beſides a little Towne called *Brankeſton*, under *Flodden* hill, a mountaine lying in the North of *Northumberland*, betwixt the Rivers *Till* and *Tweed*, where upon a riſing banke, the Scottiſh hoaſt had taken the advantage of the ground: unto King *Iames*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* ſent *Rouge-Croſſe* a Purſevant at Armes, with proffer of battell to be done upon Friday the ninth of *September*, if ſo it pleaſed his Highneſſe, who withall carried this meſſage from the Lord Admirall, that he was come in perſon to juſtifie his act againſt *Andrew Barton*, and would abide the laſt drop of his bloud in the Vant-gard of the Field.

(14) King *Iames* moſt readily accepted the offer, and by his Herald *Hay* ſent the Earle word, that if he were as then in *Edenbrough*, yet would he moſt gladly come to fulfill his deſire; and withall ſent his Letters for the juſt occaſions given him to invade *England* as he did. The day approached, and the Scots keeping the higher ground, the Earle marched upward along the River, and by two Bridges paſſed over with his hoaſt, making ſtill forward, as though he meant either to have taken into *Scotland*, or elſe to circumvent King *Iames* his returne, which he perceiving, haſted downe the hill, putting from him his horſe, raiſed his royall Standard, and as a moſt valiant Chiefetaine encouraged his Souldiers to the fight.

(15) The Scottiſh Ordnance diſcharged from above, over-ſhot the Engliſh with very ſmall damage, and the ground of no difficult aſcent, gave them the eaſier acceſſe, ſo that Sir *Edmund Howard*, who led a wing to the Vant-gard (whereof his Brother the Admirall was Captaine) got almoſt to the height; againſt whom the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile*, with their Battels of Speares on foot ſo violently encountred, that they beat downe and brake the wing of the Engliſh, wherein many were ſlaine, and the Horſemen diſbanded, and put to flight; but preſently recalled, joyned themſelves againe to the great battell, which by this time had attained to the toppe of the hill. King *Iames* that ſaw this firſt brunt performed, made full account that the day was his owne, ſuppoſing verily the Engliſh had fled, and therefore moſt valiantly he advanced forward, not ſtaying for the rereward to ſecond his battell, and encountring the Earles Battalion, a bloudy fight was performed, with the loſſe and life of many a man: but ſtrength neere ſpent, and the Scottiſh ſomewhat diſioyned, through force of a great ſhowre of Arrowes falling among them; Sir *Edward Stanley* having three bands reſerved for the like purpoſe, with a freſh on-ſet invaded the open ſides of the enemy, whoſe force was ſo violent, that the Scots no longer were able to ſtand, but tooke downe the hill unto flight, which the Earles of *Lenox* and *Argile* perceiving, did their beſt to ſtay them, and fighting moſt valiantly, themſelves were ſlaine in the ſame place.

(16) King *Iames* then perceiving the wings of his Battell diſtreſſed and gone, and that the enemy began to encloſe him about; with a ſtout reſolution incouraged his men, willing them to regard the perſon of their King, their owne honour, their valiant Anceſtors, and now this preſent employments; that their bloud might be bought deare to the Engliſh, and the Scottiſh valours recorded for ever in the volumes of Fame for this their one daies worke: and thereupon ruſhing among the thickeſt began a moſt eager and bloudy battell, & piercing through with a ſtrong hand went ſo far, that he had almoſt overthrowne the Earles Standard: thus buſied in doubtfull chance, the Lord *Howard* and *Edward Stanley* having diſcomfited the enemy in either wing, returned in the face of the maine battell, and the Lord *Dacres* with his Horſe-men came upon their backes, ſo that the Scottiſh were forced to fight in a round compaſſe, but being over-laid, the Kings Standard was ſtrucken downe, and himſelfe moſt valiantly fighting ſlaine in the middeſt of his enemies: with whom died three Biſhops, whereof one was *Alexander* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes* the Kings baſe ſonne, two Abbots, twelve Earles, and ſeventeene Lords, Knights,

Edw. Hall. Tournay beſieged by King Henry.

The ſtrength of *Tournay.*

An. Dom. 1513. *Octob.* 2. King Henry in triumph entred *Tournay.*

John Leſly.

King James of Scotland incited by the French King. *Edw Hall. Holliſh.* See the contents of this Letter in *John Leſly* Biſhop of Roſſe, dated at Edenbrough the twentie fixt of July in *An. Dom.* 1513.

Lyon terrified at King Howies inſolencie.

See the contents of this Letter in Hollinſhed, dated from the Camp at the ſiege of Terwin the 12. of Auguſt *A.D.* 1513.

James King of Scotland enters England.

Thomas Earle of Surrey, King Henries Lieutenant maketh towards the Scots.

Lord Howard proffereth battell unto King James.

King James accepteth of battell.

John Leſly.

The fight begun.

Paulus Iovius.

The Scots at the firſt encounter beat the Engliſh backe.

The battels joyne.

The Scots put to flight.

The valiant courage of King James.

James King of Scots ſlaine with 12. Earles, and 15. Lords.

Knights,

Edw. Hall. Henry a goodly man of ſhape and ſtature.

Hollinſh. pag. 791.

Iohn Stow.

Dudley. Empſon.

A Treeler in Northampton-ſhire.

Edmund Dudley condemned.

Iohn Stow Annals.

King Henries juſtice and charitie commended.

Hollinſh.

Knights and Gentlemen a great number, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners, saith *Paulus Iovius*.

(17) The next day, when the Scouts had found the field cleared of enemies, and the English busied to bury their dead: the body of King *James* was found slaine among the rest, having received many bloudy wounds, and most of them deadly: for his sides were stucke thicke with sharpe arrowes, his necke cut into the middest, and his left hand in two places almost cut quite off. These wounds notwithstanding, he was descryed, and knowne by the Lord *Dacres*, and others to be the King: and thereupon his body bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in Lead, was solemnely brought unto the Monastery of *Shine* in *Surrey*, where no doubt it was honourably entered: but at the dissolution of that House, in the daies of King *Edward* the sixt, it was (as almost all other Monuments were) disturbed of rest, and throwne into a waste roome among old Timber, Stone, and Lead, which *John Stow*, the Relater saith, himselfe so saw: and further declareth (let him be the Author) that the servants of *Launcelot Young* Glasier to the late Queene, being at *Shine* in new glasing the windowes, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest: but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balmes, gave it to their Master, who opening the Lead, found therein the Head of a man retaining favour, though the moysture were cleane dried up, whose haire both of Head and Beard was red, which after he had well viewed, and a while kept, he caused to be buried in S. *Michaels* at Woodstreet *London*, the Church of the Parish wherein himselfe dwelled.

King *James* body embalmed and buried at *Shine*.

John Stow Surveyor of *London* in Cripple-gate Ward.

(18) Notwithstanding this faire tale of *John Stow*, *Iohn Lesly* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that *it was held for certaine, the body thus found, was the body of the Laird* Bonchard *then slaine in the battell: and that King* Iames *was seene alive the same night at* Kelso, *whence he passed unto* Ierusalem, *and there spent the rest of his daies in holy contemplation: but howsoever it is* (saith he) *he never was seene any more in* Scotland, *no more then* Charles *Duke of* Burgundy *was in his Country after the Battell of* Nanze: *howbeit his people held a vaine opinion that he escaped, and would againe shortly returne.* This battell was fought upon the ninth of September, the yeare 1513. and is commonly called the battell of *Floddon*, or *Fladdon* field: whence with victory, the Earle-Generall departed with the embalmed body of King *Iames*, whom he presented unto Queene *Katherine*, who with the Gauntlet of the slaine King sent the newes of the victory unto her Lord King *Henry*, then lying in his siege before the Towne *Terwin*.

John Stow. Iohn. Lesly. Polyd. Virgil.

Edward Hall.

(19) But as these his proceedings went prosperously forward, and his fame daily spread in further parts, so the *Flemmings* (who hitherto had held side with his foes) began to fall off suddenly, upon the occasion as followeth. It had beene concluded betwixt King *Henry* the seventh, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, that *Charles*, his eldest sonne should marry *Mary* the younger daughter of the English King, with a Princely Dowry agreed upon, but she being young, and not ten yeares of age, and the *Castilian* unable to give assurance of her pension assigned, that match went not forward during the life of her Father, howbeit King *Henry* her brother regarding greatly her honour, provided for the marriage, and signified so much to the Counsell of *Flanders*: who dallied him off with many excuses, and lastly sent him word they could not receive her that yeare.

The *Flemmings* fall off from King *Henry*.

Hollinsh. p. 830.

An. Dom. 1514.

(20) This therefore gave *Lewis* King of *France* occasion to hammer at a Peace, and making Pope *Leo* his, they both together put it in practise; the readier was *Henry* to listen thereunto, both for the love he bore to his sister, and for the great regard he held of the Apostolike See, whence *Iulius* the second, and this Popes Predecessor had lately sent him a Cappe of Maintenance and Sword, and by decree of Councell given him the Title *Christianissimo*; which were received with great thankes, and solemnities. The French Kings desire was to marry the said Lady *Mary*, whose dowry he assigned to be thirtie two thousand Crownes by yeare, during her naturall life, covenanting further to pay unto King *Henry* her brother the sum of one hundred thousand Crownes annually for five yeares continuance.

Great favours betwixt the Pope and King *Henry*.

Iu. Caesar. Lat.

A marriage concluded betwixt King *Lewis* and Lady *Mary*.

(21) Peace thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* with an honourable Company was shipped at *Dover*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, being her chiefe Conductors: whose fleet had not passed two leagues at Seas, but that a sudden tempest arose, and so violently raised the waves, as their Ships were severed each from others, some into *Flaunders*, some into *Callis*, and hers with great difficultie strucke in at *Bulloigne*, where by Boates her traine was landed, and her selfe borne to the shore in the armes of a Knight. Thence with thirtie six Ladies, all their Palfreis trapped in crimson Velvet, embroidered with gold, her selfe all in Cloth of silver, her Horses and Chariots in Tissue-cloth of Gold and Crimson Velvet, set with Goldsmiths worke, more like an Angel then a humane Creature, met with King *Lewis* at *Abuile*, and there the ninth of October the marriage was solemnized; where the French so gazed at their new Queenes beautie, as they could not cast their eyes from her attractive rayes, nor the infirme King bee satisfied with any other object whilest she was in presence; for (so saith *Guicchardine*) *he gave himselfe over too much to behold her most excellent beautie, not considering her young yeares, being not yet eighteene, with the unequalitie of his owne expired, nor the constitution of his weake decayed body.* For having beene sicke before this his marriage, and not well recovered of his lingring disease, (though he set the fairest shew outward) lived with this his faire Queene only eightie two daies, and then by his death left her to choose another Husband, to her best liking, which she shortly did in her second match.

Lady *Mary* landed at *Bulloigne*.

Stidanus Comment. lib. 6.

Wolsey sent to the Emperour.

(22) For, thus left a stranger in the French Court, and desirous to turne againe into *England*; King *Henry* her brother, sent *Charles Brandon* the new made Duke of *Suffolke*, to conduct the young Queene out of *France*. The Duke of agallant, and goodly presence, so courted his charge, and carried himselfe in the eye of her melting affections, as his love entred deepely into her tender heart: which thing indeed King *Henry* perceived before, for which cause, as was thought, he raised him to the grace of a Duke; howsoever the Gemme thus got, and too precious to be lost, he made her his owne, by celebration of marriage before he past *Callis*, and thence sent to intreat his Soveraignes consent, who seeing it was bootlesse to undoe what was done, with a light touch of reproofe allowed their nuptials. But her dowry kept backe by the *French*, and other grievances complained of, caused no little troubles betweene the two Realmes, as shall be related in place convenient. In the meane while, let it not seeme over-tedious if we (somewhat extravigant and briefly runne over the rising and height of *Thomas Wolsey*, that great Statesman and Pontificall Priest, seeing that many dependances of Story had their events in the Acts of this man, who with the King together went as King, if not before him in managing the State.

Lady *Mary* married unto King *Lewis*.

Guicchard.

Wolsey a Privy Counsellour.

(23) His birth was at *Ipswich* in the Countie of *Suffolke*, his Parents poore, but of an honest report, and himselfe a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit. His education in youth was at *Oxford* in *Maudlin Colledge*, and his first preferment from the Lord *Marquesse Dorset*, who bestowed upon him a Benefice in his gift, in regard that he was Tutor unto his Sonnes; which Sir *Amias Paulet* so crost him in, that hee tyed *Wolsey* by the feete in the Stockes, though afterward hee put this his Act among other his deeds, whereof he had just cause to repent: for the Schoolemaster no sooner was mounted into the Chancellor-

Erasm. Ep.

Thomas Wolsy his rising.

The great Insolencie in receiving of the Cardinals Hat.

Marquesse *Dorset* preferred.

Wolsey made L. Chancellour of *England*.

Chancellorship of *England*, but that he laid his command upon *Paulet*, and retained him as prisoner in the Middle-Temple the space of six yeares. But in the meane time Marquesse *Dorset* dying, left *Wolseys* pillar of hope altogether unpolished, and the base thereof it selfe unsetled upon any firme ground: so that *Wolsey* now fought his fortune in *France*; who coming to *Calis*, became servant to Sir *Iohn Naphant* the Treasurer of that Towne, where he carried himselfe with so great discretion, as shortly his Master preferred him to King *Henry* the seventh.

Wolsey interteined in the North.

(24) This Scholler having thus cast Anchor at Court, the haven of hope, was more then double diligent in the Kings eye, and very serviceable also both to Doctor *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Secretary*, *and Lord Privie Seale*, as also to Sir *Thomas Lovell Master of the Wards*, *and Constable of the Tower*: but most of all unto Fortune, that now fitted occasion to make her selfe famous in this poore Butchers sonne. For King *Henry* the seventh having urgent businesse with *Maximilian* the Emperour, sent this his Chaplaine unto him in Post; who posted againe, before he was thought to be gone, and withall concluded some points forgot in his directions, to the high content of his Soveraigne Lord the King: for the which he bestowed upon him the Deanry of *Lincolne*, the worthiest promotion under the degree of a Bishop: then was he made the Kings Almoner, and presently following, one of the Privy Councell; wherein his advise was so wise, and his perswasions so weighty, that he was continually imployed to be their expositor to the King, alwayes carrying a most speciall regard, to preferre his Majesties will howsoever it went; so that his mouth was the onely Organ that ever sounded his pleasure, and freedome from troubles of all State affaires.

Wolsey made Bishop of *Tourney*, *London*, and *Yorke*.

(25) But warres having beene commenced betwixt *England* and *France*, and *Tournay* lost from the obedience of *Lewis*, King *Henry* gave his Almoner the Bishopricke thereof, and changed his Deanry of *Lincolne* into the Bishopricke of the same Dioceese, and not long after set also the Miter of *Yorke* upon *Wolseyes* Wise-head: whereby he became (as it were) three Bishops at once, and now being *Primas Angliæ*, carried himselfe accordingly, by erecting his Crosse in the Kings Court, albeit it were within the Iurisdiction of *Canterbury*, which seemed unsufferable; for the dignitie of the Church held then much by Precedency of place, and the giving way to inferiours, was accounted the infringing of all religious liberties; Wherfore *William* Archbishop of *Canterbury* found himselfe sore agrieved to have the Crosse of *Yorke* (which owed him obedience) advanced with his, and that in his presence, for which he greatly checked the presumption of this proud Prelate.

Queene *Mary* falleth in love with Charles Duke of *Suffolke*.

Suffolke begunne betwixt the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*.

Rich. Grafton.

(26) But *Wolsey* not wanting wherewithall to mate him, by the instigations of the Kings, both of *England* and *France*; obtained to be made Priest, Cardinall, and *Legatus de Latere*, unto whom Pope *Leo* sent a Cardinals Hat, with Bulls of authoritie in that behalfe; yet were these high Presents brought in no better a case, then in a meane budget, which seemeth somewhat disgracefull in the new Cardinals eye; wherefore he commanded a stay to be made of the bringers approach; and for the greater honour to this honourable present, arrayed him in most costly silkes, beseeming so great an Ambassador, who advancing forward, he caused to be encountred by a number of gallant Gentlemen, and a great assembly of Prelates, upon *Blacke-heath*, by whom he was conducted with much honour through the City of *London*, and his Present delivered at *Westminster*, attended by many mytred Bishops and Abbots, with a rich shew of Copes, as if it had beene a Kings Coronation.

Wolsey made Cardinall.

(27) Thus got before *Canterbury* by his power Legative, to weare now his Hat without controule of an equall, he obtained the Purse with the broad Seale of *England*, which Archbishop *Warham* had enjoyed long before the death of King *Henry* the seventh, and was made Lord Chancellour in his roome; so that besides the Purse and Mace of that honourable Office, he had two Crosses and two Pillars borne ever before him by the tallest Priests that were to be found in the Realme. To the better maintenance of his chargeable estate, the King bestowed on him the Bishopricke of *Winchester*, and in *Commendam* the Abbey of Saint *Albanes*, and with them he held in Farme the Bishoprickes of *Bathe*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, enjoyed by strangers incumbents, not residing in the Realme, so that now seeming a monster with seven heads, and each of them crowned with the Miter of a Bishop; let us thus leave him dandled in Dame Fortunes lap, till surfeited with dalliance shee cast him from thence.

John Stow.
1. *Tournay.*
2. *Lincolne.*
3. *Yorke.*
4. *Winchester.*
5. *Bathe.*
6. *Worcester.*
7. *Hereford.*

(28) But the state of *Londons* Tradesmen prospered under his greatnesse nothing so well, for such was the concourse of strangers, and so much were they borne with, by the superiours, that they abused the English openly in the markets, kept from a Citizen his owne wife, with his plate, yea, and past with a small pennance for killing an English-man. These first were complained of in a Sermon at Saint *Maries* Spittle, and after wards assaulted, and much hurt done to their substance and houses, for which riotous offence *John Lincolne* the onely instigator was hanged; and foure hundred men, boyes, and eleven women led in ropes along the City in their shirts, and halters about the neckes, to the Kings Hall at *Westminster*, where his Majesty sitting under a cloth of estate, pardoned the offences, to the great rejoycing of the *Londoners*.

An. Dom. 1517. 1ll May-day.

The English abused by strangers.

Rich. Grafton.

(29) But the losse of *Tournay* sticking sore upon the stomacke of the French King, hee sought to redeeme it againe with money, and to that end sent his Ambassadors into *England*, where it was concluded, that the City should be delivered unto *Francis Valois* then King of *France*, paying for the same unto *Henry* five hundred thousand Crownes in twelve yeares continuance, that is to say, fifty thousand Crownes a yeare; that the Duke of *Albany* should be recalled out of *Scotland*, and that the *Dolphin* should marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* young daughter, which marriage if to it hapned not to take effect at the yeeres of consent, then *Tournay* should be re-delivered to the English; neither was this forgotten, that the Cardinall should receive a thousand Markes yearely for the revenewes of the said Bishopricke, and upon these Covenants were hostages for further assurance delivered.

An. Dom. 1519.

Tournay delivered upon competition.

Articles of agreement betwixt King *Henry* and K. *Lewis*.

(30) But peace much affected among Christian Princes, and daily increased of most potent Estates, was very much feared would worke alteration in the authority, abuse, and great riches of the Clergy, if Kings might have leasure to looke into their owne charges at home. To busie their heads therefore from all suspition or jealousies, Pope *Leo* the tenth devised the meanes, by a preparation intended for the Holy lands warres; a subject in shew very religious, how soever the former successes had prooved it not pleasing to God, when to recover the City once holy, and to build up that which Christ by prophesie had cast downe, as much Christian bloud was spilt to raze those ruinous wals, as there was morter laid to fasten the stones of their first building.

The Pope an enemy to Christian peace.

(31) To this end therefore three Legates were sent from the holy See of *Rome*, one into *France*, another into *Germany*, and Cardinall *Campius* into *England*, with whom was joyned *Wolsey* in Commission, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow-Cardinall, sent store of red cloth unto *Callis*, to make them meet followers of so great a Lord; and *Campius* landed at *Dover*, *Wolsey* caused the Townes thorow which he should passe, to receive him with procession: and so being brought by the Gentility of *Kent* unto *Blacke-heath*, neere unto *Greenewich*, was there met and received by the Duke of *Norfolke*, many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a

The warres for *Jerusalem* unpleasing to God. *Luk. 19.*

Cardinall *Campius* came Legate into *England*.

The honourable receiving of Cardinall *Campius*.

Tent

Tent of Cloth of Gold he shifted himselfe into his Cardinall Roabes, which was edged about with most rich Ermine, and thence rode to *London*, in more pompe and estate then *Christ* did to *Ierusalem* when *Hosanna* was sung.

Matth.21.9.

(32) Eight Mules he had laden with necessaries belonging, but those made no shew in proud *Wolseys* eyes, therefore twelve more he sent him to furnish his Pageants through the streets of *London*; these either wanton, or ashamed to be wondred at, played the skittish Iades indeed: For in Cheape-side, as this Triumph forth-passed, these Beasts by breaking their Collers, and escaping their leaders, cast their Carriages and Coffers upon the cold ground; whose lids flying open, layd most of their riches to the sight of the people. For, from some of them fell olde Breeches, Bootes, and broken shooes; from others, torne stockings, tattered ragges, old Iron and horse-shooes; and for fainting by the way, therein was bestowed, and now cast abroad, broken meat, marow-bones, rosted egges, and crusts of bread, y wisse worth the keeping: this Shipwracke made upon the Shelves of Cheape-side, no need it was to bid the Muliters to bestirre them, who like good thrifty Marriners saved from spoyle as much as they could, and trussing up their trinkets, laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the Cardinall, who (good man) was jogging on afore with his Crosses, Pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, unto *Pauls* Church, where he was met with many mitred Bishops, and attended upon to *Bathe* place, where we will leave him, and returne to the place where wee left.

The Cardinals rich treasures threwd in Cheap-side.

(33) The unity agreed upon betwixt *England* and *France*, a meeting was motioned for the two Kings, and to that end great preparation made a∫well of the one, as of the other. But in the heat of this busines∫e, King *Henry* had word that *Charles*, his Quenes Nephew, and new-made Emperour, would visit him in *England*, which accordingly hee did, accompanied with the Queene of *Arragon*, and a most Royall Traine, and was as royally entertained by King *Henry*: the cau∫e of his comming was to hinder the peace concluded with *France*, for although this Emperour was young, and but newly e∫tabli∫hed; yet was hee wi∫e, and well-fore saw the hurt that this amity with *France* would bring him, and therefore came in person of purpo∫e to di∫∫wade the Kings minde, and to ∫tay his entrance with the *French* if he could, but finding *Henry* ſo forward in thoſe proceeds, he baited his hookes with golden gifts to the Cardinall, that might doe all with the King, and wanne him wholly to his devotion.

Charles the Emperour commeth into *England*.

Iohn Stow.

(34) King *Henry* paſſing the Seas unto *Callis*, met with King *Francis* at a place newly built for that purpo∫e, betwixt the Townes of *Guiſnes*, and *Arde*: where to∂e∫cribe the Iu∫ts, Banquets, and maskes were to fill up (with *Hall*, *Grafton* and *Holinſhead*) whole ſides of exceſſive great coſt. At *Callis* alſo the ſame time the Emperour, with his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſſe of *Savoy* landed, whither King *Henry* and his Queene repaired, to the no little grudge of the *French* King, though he kept it to himſelfe, and conſented unto the ancient league tripartite betwixt theſe three Monarchs, which done, the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

Polyd. Virgil. in his 25. Booke.

Hall. fol. 15.

Edw. Hall.

(35) Diſpleaſures ſhortly ariſing betwixt the Emperour and the French King, King *Henry* aſſaied to bring them to peace, but that failing, fell himſelf from the *French*, imputing the fault unto *Francis*, for ſuborning the *Scots* againſt him, and King *Francis* againe laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accuſing him of diſſimulation, abhorred practiſes, and what not? but whereſoever lay the deſect, the Duke of *Albany* was ſent into *Scotland*; the French followed a Spaniſh ſhip, fraught with the goods of Engliſh Merchants unto *Margate*, and tooke her even in the Kings ſtreames, in both which King *Francis* excuſing himſelfe with ignorance, alleadged, no breach of truce broken by him.

An. Dom. 1521. *An. Reg.* 13. Variance betwixt *England* and *France*.

Iohn Stow.

Rich. Grafton.

(36) Then was it thought beſt by the Cardinals advice to repay like with like, and therefore counſelled his King to reare *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* againſt *France*, and to perſwade him to invade the very heart thereof, incouraging him with ſufficient pay, and making him his Champion-generall of the Field; whileſt the Emperour likewiſe held him play againſt *Millan*. And to that end was ſent in way of loane to the Emperour a great ſum of money, and forraigne Princes ſollicited to take Armes againſt *France*, for effecting which, King *Henry* ſent his Ambaſſadours to the States of *Venice* and *Swiſſers*, with theſe inſtructions as followeth.

Taken out of the Cardinals owne Letters, dated 1. Nouemb. 15. cen. 1521.

Duke *Burbon* made King *Henries* Captaine Generall.

(37) That whereas in a treaty of peace it was concluded betwixt the *Emperour*, King *Henry*, and *Francis* the French King, that if any Controverſies ſhould ariſe betwixt any two, the Prince not invading ſhould give aide and aſſiſtance againſt the invader: but now the Emperour being invaded by the French Kings Captaines in the Realme of *Navarre*, and in his owne Countrey by *Robert de la Marck*, and others by his procurement, and our King (ſaid they) being often called upon by the Emperour, hath often entreated the French King to ſurceaſe, but hath nothing obtained, beſides faire words and detraction of promiſes. Complaining likewiſe that in the intercourſe of theſe buſineſſes, the French King, contrary to his Oath, had ſent the Duke of *Albany* into *Scotland* (in contempt of King *Henry*) and to the great danger of the young Kings death or depoſition, he being the next in bloud to ſucceed, and to the diſhonour of the Queene-Mother, had cauſed a ſeparation betwixt her and her lawfull Husband the Earle of *Angus*. That the French King had detained the paiment compounded for the delivery of *Tournay*; and kept backe the dowry of his Siſter *Queene Dowager of France*, that he had entertained the rebellious Subjects of King *Henry*, and ſpoyled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Neither was unremembred the danger that the *Venetians* ſtood in, if the Realmes of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, the Seigniories of *Ieanes*, and *Millane* were loſt from the Empire. Theſe therefore ſeemed faire projects unto King *Henry* for him to warre againſt *France*, and to that end a generall Muſter by Commiſſion was taken of all able men from ſixteene yeares and upward, of every *Hamlet*, *Village*, *Burrough*, *City*, *Hundred*, and *Shire*, throughout *England*, which ſeemed to many another Domeſday-Booke: and yet was there neither peace nor warre againſt *France*.

Inſtructions of King *Henry* directed in *Anno* 1524. *Polyd. Virg. Secretary.*

The Engliſh Embaſſages to forraigne States.

The wrongs done by the *French* unto the Engliſh.

Iohn Losp.

The Queene Dowry unpaid.

An. Dom. 1522. A generall muſter. *Iohn Stow.*

(38) In this great and hatty preparation, *Charles* the Emperour, as he paſſed toward *Spaine*, landed at *Dover*, where King *Henry* met him, and in great eſtate brought him to *London*; which was ſo prepared with Ornaments and Pageants, as if it had beene the Kings Coronation, and in the *Blacke-Friers* the Emperour was lodged, in a moſt Princely Pallace, new built by the King; then was he feaſted at *Windſore*, where he ſate in his ſtate, in his Mantle and Gartar, and by receiving the Sacrament theſe two potents Monarches tooke their corporall Oaths to obſerve the Covenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperour *Charles* agreed to ſtay for, and to take to wife the young Princeſſe Lady *Mary*, King *Henries* then onely daughter; and in ſuch golden bands of love, *Charles* and *Henry*, ſeemed to be linked, as in *London* this ſentence was ſet up in the *Guild-hall* over the doore of the Counſell-Chamber, where it ſtill remaineth.

Charles the Emperour commeth a gaine into *England*.

Hall. fol. in the 28. Henry 8.

The Emperor affianceth Lady *Mary*.

Carolus, Henricus, ſirvant, defenſor uterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Eccleſiæ.

(39) Why the Titles Defender of the Church and Faith, were attributed unto theſe two Princes, is no marvell; for *Charles* choſen Emperour, was ſcarſly confirmed, but to purchaſe the Popes favour, he directed forth a ſolemne Writ of Out-lawry againſt *Martin Luther*, who then had given a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King *Henry* likewiſe was renowned

Iohn Elliſt. in Com.

King Henry wrote againſt Martin Luther.

renowned in *Rome*, for writing a Booke againſt the ſaid *Luther*: under-propping the tottering or down-caſt countenance of the Popes pardons; which *Luther* ſhrewdly had ſhaken; the Pope therefore to ſhew himſelfe a kinde father unto thoſe his ſonnes, gave them theſe Titles; which in truth were none other, then the ſame which they ſware unto, when the Crownes of their Empires were firſt ſet upon their heads. But with what acceptance his Holineſſe received King *Henries* booke, his owne Oration ſolemnely made at the delivery thereof unto M. *John Clarke* the preſenter, and Kings Ambaſſador, in his Conſiſtory, and in the preſence of his Cardinals, ſufficiently doth ſhew, the tranſlation whereof we have inſerted as we finde it in the Originall it ſelfe.

The Popes Oration at the delivery of King Henries Booke. *Ex Original.*

"We doe receive this booke with all alacrity: it is "indeed ſuch as there could not be any thing ſent us, "and our venerable Brethren, more acceptable then it "is. For the King himſelfe, a moſt mighty, moſt pru-"dent, and moſt truely Chriſtian Prince, wee know "not whether we may more praiſe or admire, being "the firſt that by war, with happy ſucceſſe, hath ſub-"dued the enemies of the Church of Chriſt, that "ſeeke to rend Chriſts coat, and at laſt overcomming "the enemies, hath reſtored peace to the Church of "God, and to this holy See. But now againſt ſo foule "a Monſter, both to underſtand, to be able, and wil-"ling to write this booke, he hath ſhewed himſelfe "no more admirable to the whole world for his ele-"gant ſtyle, then for his wit. We humbly give thanks "to our Creator, for giving ſuch a Prince to defend "his Church, and this holy See, deſiring the ſame "God to grant to this his King a happy life, and all "his deſires, and after this life in his heavenly King-"dome, to keep for him an everlaſting Crowne. And "we ſo farre as we are able to entreat of God, will "never be wanting to the ſaid moſt wiſe King in the "faculties granted to us of God.

(40) To manifeſt which his readineſſe, himſelfe among his Cardinals decreed an augmentation unto King *Henries* royall Style, to be annexed unto his others; cofirming the ſame by his Bull, which that it periſh not by the devouring teeth of Time, wee have here publiſhed from the originall Parchment, and Leaden ſeale it ſelfe, as followeth.

(41) Leo *Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, &c.* Leo *Biſhop, ſervant of the ſervants of God; To our moſt dearely beloved Sonne in Chriſt*, Henry *King* of England, *Defender of the Faith, health and Apoſtolicall Benediction. We by divine permiſſion, the chiefe overſeer for the government of the univerſall Church, though inſufficient for ſo great a worke, doe powre forth the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholike faith, without which no man can attaine to ſalvation, may receive continuall increaſe, and that thoſe good lawes and conſtitutions decreed by the wiſedome and learning of ſuch as are in authority, eſpecially the faithfull in Chriſt, for reſtraining the attempts of all that labour to oppreſſe the ſame, or by wicked lyes and fictions ſeeke to pervert and obſcure it, may proſper with perpetuall increaſe, doe beſtow our paines and utmoſt endeavour in our office and Miniſtery. And like as the Romane Biſhops our predeceſſors, were woont to ſhew eſpecial favour to Catholike Princes (according as the quality of matters and times required) eſpecially to them that in troubleſome times, when the madneſſe and perfidious dealing of Schiſmatikes and heretikes moſt of all abound, did abide conſtant and unmoveable, not onely in ſoundneſſe of faith and pure devotion to the holy Romane Church, but alſo as the moſt legitimate ſonnes and valiant Champions of the ſame, oppoſed themſelves both with mind and body againſt the furious madneſſe of Schiſmatikes and heretikes: ſo likewiſe alſo doe we deſire to extoll your Majeſty with worthy and immortall praiſes, for your high and immortall deſerts and labours towards us, and this holy See, wherein by Gods permiſſion wee ſit, to grant unto it thoſe things for which it ought to watch, and drive away the Wolves from the Lords flocke, and to cut off*

with the materiall ſword rotten members, which infect the myſticall body of Chriſt, and to confirme the hearts of the faithfull in ſoundneſſe of beliefe. Now, where of late our beloved ſonne John Clarke *your Majeſties Orator with us, being in our Conſiſtory before our venerable Brethren of the holy Romane Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the ſame, exhibited a Booke unto us to be examined and allowed of us, which Booke your Majeſties ſelfe (who doth all things with diligence, and nothing amiſſe) enflamed with charity and zeale to the Catholike faith, and with ardent devotion toward us, and this holy See, hath compoſed, as a moſt worthy and ſoveraigne Antidote againſt the errors of divers heretikes, often condemned by this holy See, and of late ſtirred up and brought in by* Martin Luther: *And your ſaid Orator hath alſo largely declared unto us, that your Majeſty is ready, and purpoſeth, like as you have confuted the notorious errors of the ſaid* Martin, *by true reaſon and invincible authorities of ſacred Scripture, and ancient Fathers, ſo you will puniſh to the uttermoſt of your power, all thoſe of your whole Kingdome, that ſhall preſume to follow, or defend them: and we have diligently and exactly peruſed and viewed the admirable doctrine of your ſaid Booke, watered with the dewe of heavenly grace, and doe heartily thanke Almighty God, from whom every good and perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchſafed to inſpire your Noble mind, inclined to every good thing, and to endue you with ſo great grace from heaven, as to write thoſe things, wherby you are able to defend his holy faith, againſt ſuch a new Innouator of damned errors; and alſo incite by your example all other Chriſtian Kings and Princes, to be willing to favour and further with all their beſt aydes the Orthodoxall faith, and Evangelicall truth, whenſoever it be brought into danger or doubt. And wee thinke it alſo meete, that they who have undertaken ſuch godly labours for the defence of the faith of Chriſt, ſhould have all praiſe and honour of us; and wee are deſirous, that not only the things themſelves which your Majeſtie hath written, being both of moſt ſound doctrine, and no leſſe eloquence, ſhould be extolled and magnified with condigne commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our authority; but alſo that your Majeſty ſhould bee graced with ſuch an honour, and ſuch a Title, as that both for our time, and ever hereafter, all men might perceive how gratefull and acceptable this gift of your Majeſties hath beene unto us, eſpecially offered unto us now at this time. Wee, who be the true ſucceſſors of* Peter, *whom Chriſt at his aſcenſion into heaven left his Vicar on earth, and to whom he committed the care of his flocke: We, I ſay, who ſit in this holy ſeate, from which all dignities and titles doe flow, upon mature deliberation had with our ſaid Brethren about theſe things, have by the generall agreement and conſent of them decreed, to beſtow upon your Majeſty this Title, namely,* THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And accordingly by theſe preſents doe inſtile you with ſuch a title, commanding all faithfull Chriſtians that they name your Majeſtie with this Title, and when they write to you, that after the word* KING, *they adjoyne* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *And truely, wee diligently conſidering and weighing your ſingular merits, were not able to bethinke us of a name more worthy and convenient for your Majeſtie, then the excellency and dignity of this Title, which ſo often as you ſhall heare and reade, ſo often you may call to minde this your ſingular vertue and great deſert; nor may you by this Title puffe up your ſelfe in pride, but according to your wonted prudence become more humble, and bee more valiant and conſtant in the faith of Chriſt, and in devotion to this holy See, by which you have beene exalted, rejoycing in the Lord the giver of all good things, leaving this as a perpetuall and immortall monument of your glory to your children, ſhewing them the way unto the like, that if they ſhall deſire to be graced alſo with ſuch a Title, they muſt labour to doe ſuch workes, and to follow*

the excellent steps of your Majestie, whom, accordingly as you have well deserved of us, and this said See, together with your wife, and all your Children that shall be borne of you, or of them, we blesse with our Benediction, with a large and liberall hand, in the name of HIM, from whom the power of granting this blessing is given unto us, praying and beseeching that Almighty One, who saith, By me Kings raigne, and Princes rule, and in whose hands are the hearts of Kings, *that hee will confirme your Majesty in your holy purpose, and encrease your devotion, and by your worthy endeavours for the sacred faith, so to illustrate your renowme, and make you glorious through all the world, that this our Testimony which wee have given of you, adorning you with so excellent a Title, may never be judged by any to be false or vaine. Lastly, we desire God, that after this life ended, he would make you partakers of his eternall glory. Given at* Rome *at Saint* Peters, *in the yeare of the Incarnation of our Lord God,* 1521. *the fift Ides of October, the ninth yeare of our Papacie.*

Thus subscribed.

Ego Leo *X. Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus Sanctiſ.*
With twenty five other Cardinals and Bishops, under-writing their severall names with their owne hands.

(42) But from these Priestly and Papall gratulations, let us returne to leade our Story unto temporall Princes affaires. How the Emperour *Charles* had beene entertained in King *Henries* Court, wee have said, and now ready to depart with many rich gifts, hee repaired to *Southampton*, where hee tooke his Ships for *Spaine*, whose conductor through the narrow Seas was *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, who having wafted him unto *Biscay*, with a gallant crew of Gentlemen, made thence saile into *France*, and in *Britaine* besieged and wonne the strong Towne *Morleis*, and with the Garrison Souldiers of the Marches dayly bickered with the heart burning French, and dayly went away with the better, but new stirres arreared by the Scots, the Lord Admirall was recalled, and came to the Court, where he declared to his Highnesse what hee had done in *Britaine*.

The Emperour departeth *England*.

The Lord Admirall winneth *Morleis*.

(43) King *Henries* businesse thus on foot in *France*, hee thought to pursue it with all the advantage hee could, and first to finde the Scots play, who were ever fast friends to the French, he sent the Lords *Rosse* and *Dacres* to secure the North-borders, appoynting for his Lieutenant in those parts the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and sent the Lord Admirall of *England* againe into *France*, who divided his Army into three Battalions; the *first* whereof, was led by *Robert Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*; the *Middle*, the Earle conducted himselfe, with the assistance of his Brother Lord *Edmund Howard*; and the *Rereward* was governed by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, both of them Knights of the Order, the Colonell of the horse was Sir *Edward Guilford*.

The Earle of Shrewsbury Lieutenant of the North, Lord Admirall sent againe into *France*.

(44) These in September entred into the French Pale, and made toward the Castle of *Heding*, unto whom joyned the *Burgundians*, sent from the Lady *Margaret* then Regent of *Flanders*, under whose colours served many Spaniards; *Surrey* thus set forward, burned all things where hee came, demolishing the Castles and Townes of *Sellios*, *Brumbridge*, *Senekerk*, *Botingham*, *Manstier*, *Nerbins*, *Daverne*, *Culumberge* and *Fringes* the Towne and Churches fortified of *Boards*, *Vaus*, and *Saint Mary de Bois*: but laying his siege against *Heding*, was forced for want of battering peeces, to breake up againe, and depart: In whose returne he burnt the Townes and Castles of *Dorlens* and *Darrier*, and comming to *Calis*, set saile for *England* with a wonderfull great Booty.

Hollinſh. pag. 875.

The *Engliſh* make great ſpoyles in *France*.

(45) In this while the Duke of *Albanie* being made Governour of *Scotland*, with an Army of fourescore thousand drew unto the Borders, whence he sent into *France* for sixe thousand *Almains*, which were promised, and dayly expected though in vaine, for none came at all. The Earle of *Shrewsbury* with eight and twenty thousand strong, drew likewise towards the Borders, but the Scots lying still, without further invasion, an abstinence from warre was betwixt them concluded, which how the English kept, the sequell well shewed; for the King ordaining *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the whole *Marches*, hee either refrained to impeach his honour by breach of truce, or else loath to be disquieted of his soft rest, made meanes to the King, to be discharged of the office, which was forthwith bestowed (and thankefully accepted) upon *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey*, lately returned out of *France*, who delivered the charge of the East and Middle-Marches unto the Lord Marquesse *Dorset*, and the West unto the Lord *Dacres*, who presently made a roade into *Scotland*, and returned with booty.

Polyd. Virgil. The Duke of Albany commeth to the Borders.

A Generall of Warre.

The hard usage of the Scots.

(46) *France* and *Scotland* thus assailed at once, a Parliament was assembled at *Blacke-Fryers* in *London*, wherein Cardinall *Wolsey* moved, and with much adoe obtained, the halfe of the yearely revenewes of all spirituall livings, to be payd for five yeares continuance, and the tenth part of all temporall substance to maintaine this great charge of the King, for the exact collection whereof the Cardinall was so forward, as he moved, and would have had every man sworne for his wealth, had not the Citizens of *London* utterly refused it, which when the King heard of, he was highly displeased with *Wolsey*, and said, that ere long he would looke to things himselfe without any Substitute.

Warke Castle besieged by the Scots.

Thomas Lord Admirall made Lord Lieutenant of the North.

(47) Among other great esteeme of this magnanimous Monarch, it was not the least that the Emperour in person had twice come into *England* to visite him, and even at this time, *Christian* King of *Denmarke* with his Queene, unto whom Queene *Katherine* was Aunt, landed at *Dover*, and was honourably brought unto *London*, where they were royally feasted, and after two and twenty dayes intertainement, receiving great gifts of the King and Queene, they returned to *Flanders*, where he remained as a banished man out of his owne Countrey.

Bishop Leigh.

A great Subsidy granted.

(48) King *Henry* purposing his further pursuits, sent a great Army into *France*, under the leading of the Duke of *Suffolke Charles Brandon*, attended upon by the Lords *Montacute*, *Herbert*, *Ferrers*, *Marney*, *Sands*, *Barkley* and *Powis*, nineteene Knights, six hundred demi-Lances, two hundred Archers horsed, three thousand more of them on foot, five thousand Bill-men, and seaventeene hundred Garrison Souldiers, with one thousand five hundred labourers and Pioners. These departing *Calis*, first besieged, and wanne *Bell-Castell*, and then entring *Picardy*, there joyned unto him three thousand foot, and five hundred horse of Almans and Spaniards; with these hee assailed, and tooke the Castle of *Bounegard*, wherein hee put Garrison, wanne *Braye*, *Roie*, *Libome*, *Montdedier* and *Boghan*: but the winter come on, and the weather extreame in wets and frosts, besides other wants ever following the Winters Warriers, the Duke was enforced to breake up the Campe; and from *Calis* came safely to the Court, where, unto King *Henry* hee vvas very vvelcome, but much more unto the French Queene his Wife.

The Succeſſe Nobility expoſtulateth with the Regent.

Polyd. Virgil.

(49) The Scottish (as vve have said) keeping the Borders, and the English making inroades, where the places were vveakest, the stirres betvvixt them began dayly to increase. In so much as the Duke of *Albany* sent a *Herauld* unto the Earle of *Surrey*, the Kings Lieutenant of the North, to offer him Battell, promising on his honour if hee tooke him prisoner, his ransome should be easie, and his person courteously dealt vvith; vvho returned as rough an answvere, as the offer was kinde, saying, *he would abide Battell if he durst give it, and if the Duke were taken either by him or his, he would strike off his head and send it for a present to his Master the King of England.* So netled was the Earle against the French, that had raised *Albany* thus against *England*, and King *Henry* (as Bishop *Lesly* reporteth) tooke from the Scots in habiting *England* all their goods, sending them into their Countrey on foote, with white Crosses sewed upon their uppermost Garments, by which they were knowne and suffered to passe. The Scots upon the Earles answere were wounderfully enraged, and seeking the revenge, some of them passed over the water, and hotly besieged the Castle of *Warke*, which the Englishmen as valiantly defended, and in their resistance slew almost three hundred of their French Souldiers, the Scots retyring againe to their Campe,

More losse by warre, then gotten by victory.

The King and Queene of Denmarke come into England. *Edw. Hall. fol. 112.*

(50) The Regent not able to digest the Earles pill, commanded his Army to march forward into the English Marches, wherewith the common Souldiers much rejoyced, but the wiser of the Nobility urged this in their Counsell, that having displayed in warlike manner, their Banners upon the Verge of the Borders, and defended their Countrey from the spoile, they saw no great reason further to proceed, no necessity or cause moving, besides the quarrell of the French: and thereupon repayring to the Regent, they demanded why they should proceed further, alleadging that at his commandement (yea and that willingly) they had so farre passed, for the defence of their Countrey, which was sufficient without further invasion of the others, the time so Inconvenient in the nonage of their young King, and the action so dangerous, wherein all the Peeres of *Scotland* were assembled, to attend and suffer the doubtfull issue of warre, which ever is uncertaine, and more losse in one battell many times suffered, then gaine can be gotten in many: whereof too too lamentable experience (said they) wee have had by King *Iames*, that by peace and life, brought *Scotland* to her best, but by his warre and death almost to the worst, therefore would wee know (said the Nobility) whether this your intent stands with the weale of the King and us, or else is profecuted in the cause of your selfe, and the French?

The Duke of Albanies answere.

(51) The Duke making some pause, lastly replyed, and said; "This question would have beene "demanded ere now: for well you know, that from "*Scotland* I beare my name, honour and lineage, "have passed the Seas from the noble Realme of "*France* for the love of my Countrey, to set you in "amity which were at dissention, by whose division "your Realme lay prostrate to destruction and Con"queſt, for whose ayde you see I have procured the "French to joyne with you against the English. A"gaine, when these warres were determined by Par"liament, you made me your Captaine, authorizing "me to invade *England* with Banner displayed, then "was no question or demand of the cause; neither "have I entred the quarrell without your agree"ment; and therefore may I justifie my present do"ings, and yet to me it seemeth there is cause sufficient, with fire, sword and bloud to enter *England*, "if wee be not too forgetfull, and will submit our "selves to dishonour and reproach: for we all know "that the Realme of *Scotland* is ours by inheri"tance, and that portion of the world allowed to "our Nation to enjoy; how can we warre better, "then to maintaine our naturall inheritance, against "which the *English* give daily attempts, with man"slaughter, murthers, thefts and spoyles; have we not "then (thinke you) just cause to make warre? The de"fence of a kingdome, is the office of a King, the ho"nour of the Noble, the service of the Souldier, and "the duty of a naturall Subject. But be it as you "will, yet having so puissant an army to avoide our "owne reproach, and encouragement of the Ene"mie, let us campe here still on the Borders till we "see what the Englishmen intend.

The Duke of Suffolke sent into France.

Places woone by the Duke of Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke returneth into England.

(52) But *Margaret* Queene of *Scots* solliciting her brother for a peace, these stirres brake up for a time, as those in *France* did shortly after, by the working wit of Cardinall *Wolsey*, who in the State affaires was ever one, which made him the more emulated, and the grievances of the Commons ever cast upon him; in so much that it was commonly spoken hee was the causer of the heavy imposition granted to maintaine the Kings warres, which was so importable to the poorer sort of Subjects, as the payment thereof was utterly denyed to the appoynted Collectors, with weepings, curſings, and great acclantsions; yea, and almost grew to an open Rebellion: for *Kent* denied it to the Lord *Cobham*: *Essex* refused to commune with the Commiſſioners: *Huntingtonshire* resisted, and would not heare them: *London* would be taxt by none but by their Aldermen: and *Suffolke* rose up in Armes, making *Poverty* their Captaine. Of these stirres when King *Henry* heard, hee had great indignation, blaming the Counsellors, and wrote his Letters unto every County, that no such demands should be payd: and the Cardinal to curry favour with the Commons gave it forth forsooth, that at his intercession the Offenders were pardoned, and the money remitted.

Margaret Queene of Scotland worketh a peace.

Cardinall *Wolsey* hated of the Commons, as in his owne Letters he confeſſed. *Ex Orig. lit. S.*

The Subsidie denyed to be paid.

Ex Wilkinſons Dom. Relation Britannic.

(53) And now more to shew his owne power, then any great cause; hee beganne to alienate the heart of King *Henry* against his Nephew the Emperour, and caused him to with-hold pay from the Duke of *Burbon* his late made Generall: which was the cause of the French Kings Captivity. For *Burbon* imcamped within the Towne of *Pauia*, and besieged by the French in most warlike manner, was for want of his said pay so desperate of life, that he attempted a most dangerous escape. In the dead of the night he set a part of his company to assaile the enemy on that side of the Towne which was least strong, himselfe issuing secretly out of a Posterne on the contrary side. The watch but slender, and the Souldiers asleepe, a great terror arose, in which the besiegers turned their Ordonance to the place of the cry, when as suddenly *Burbon* was at their backes, and winning their Ordonance, discharged them against their owners, slew their Souldiers, cut downe their Tents, and by the Vice-roye of *Naples* was the French King taken prisoner in the field.

An. Dom. 1552. King *Henry* falleth from the Emperour.

Guicciard.

Burbons desperate attempt.

The King of *France* taken prisoner.

(54) This fortunate succesſe made these *Almaines* more bolde, who presently with the Imperiall Ensignes marched towards *Florence*, and thence to *Rome*, unto whose walls in one day they gave three assaults, in the last whereof *Charles* Duke of *Burbon* their Generall was slaine; notwithstanding the City was taken and sacked; Pope *Clement* in the meane while, to make all sure as he thought, thundred out his Curses, and with Bell, Booke, and Candle, committed those *Lutherans* to Hell; who nevertheleſſe broke down that windy Bulwarke, and with great slaughter forced him with twenty three Cardinals, into the Castle of Saint *Angello*, where they kept them besieged from the sixt of May, unto the tenth of December: in which time, in mockage of the Pope, the Souldiers to make solace did often apparell one in Pontificall attire, who sometime should blesse them, and sometime accurse them, and riding on Horse-backe with a Whore set behinde him, should so passe the streets, that the Pope & Cardinals might see him. These contumelies and Papall Captivities were grievously taken by many Christian Princes, insomuch that *Cæsar* in *Spaine* forbad all Enterludes to be playde, and Pageants prepared for joy of the birth of his Sonne Prince *Philip*, to be pulled downe. In *France* by the Court of Parliament the Duke of *Burbon* was condemned of Treason, his name and memoriall accursed, his Armes puld downe, and his Lands and goods confiscated; neither would King *Henrie* of *England* answere the Emperours Letters, wherein he excused himselfe from having any hand in the action.

Pope *Clement* and his Cardinals imprisoned.

Sleidan. com. l. 6

Charles the Emperour his forces gaine all the Pope possessions.

Troubles in *Ireland*.

(55) Whileſt theſe things were in working at *Rome*, aroſe great troubles in *Ireland*, the *Kerns* caſting off all obedience, and killing the Kings ſubjects where they found them: againſt whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdome, made forth his power, and followed them himſelfe with ſuch danger of life, that the viſor of his Helmet was ſhot off, as hee purſued the enemy through the deſert woods: but theſe Rebels cut off by his high valour, and warres proclaimed at one time againſt *Scotland* and *France*, the Lord Lieutenant was recalled into *England*; and *Piers Butler* Earle of *Oſorie* made Deputy of *Ireland* in his ſtead; betwixt whom, and *Girald Fitz-Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, whoſe ſiſter hee had married, aroſe no little ſtrife and debate, which grew to that height as King *Henry* ſent Commiſſioners to trie and examine the differences, which was ſo cleared on *Kildares* behalfe, that *Oſorie* was diſcharged of his Office, and the Lord *Fitz-Girald* ſworne Deputy in his place; whereat Cardinal *Wolſey* (whoſe hand chiefly ſteered all ſtate affaires, a deadly enemy to the Earle of *Kildare*) was highly offended, and to undermine the foundations of this his new Government, gave eare unto *Oſorie*, who accuſed the new Deputy of many miſdemeanours, among which theſe were the principall; that he winked at *Deſmonds* eſcape, whom he ſhould have attached by order from the King: that he grew over-familiar with the native Iriſh; and that he put to death the Kings beſt Subjects: for theſe the Lord Deputy was commaunded into *England*, in whoſe abſence *Oſorie*, his enemy, was againe choſen Lord Deputy by the Kings Councell, but himſelfe none of the wiſeſt for politike Government, was altogether therein ruled by his Wife, and ſhe made it no courteſie to abuſe her Husbands honour againſt her naturall brother *Kildare*, who now in *England* muſt anſwere his demeanour before the Lords of the Councell, and to their Table was he brought, where the Cardinall, Lord Chancellor, made his faults nothing leſſe, and thus addreſſed himſelfe againſt the Earle of *Kildare*.

Holin. ſo. 953. 84.

Diſſention betwixt the Lord Deputies of Ireland.

Kildare accuſed to the Cardinall.

The Cardinals ſpeech at the Councell Table againſt *Kildare*.

" (56) I wot well (my Lord) that I am not the
" meereſt at this boord to charge you with theſe
" treaſons, becauſe it hath pleaſed ſome of your
" Pew-fellowes to report, that I am a profeſſed ene-
" my to all Nobility, and namely to the *Giraldines*:
" but ſeeing every ſhrewd boy can ſay as much when
" he is controuled, and theſe points ſo weighty, that
" they ſhould not be diſſembled of us; and ſo appa-
" rant that they cannot be denied of you: I muſt
" have leave (notwithſtanding your ſtale ſlander) to
" bee the mouth of theſe honourable Lords at this
" preſent, and to trumpe your treaſons in your way,
" howſoever you take me. Firſt you remember, how
" the lewd Earle of *Deſmond* your kinſeman (who
" paſſeth not whom he ſerveth, might he change his
" Maſter) ſent his Confederates with Letters of cre-
" dence unto *Francis* the *French* King: and having
" but cold comfort there, went to *Charles* the Em-
" perour, proffering the helpe of *Munſter*, and *Co-*
" *naught*, towards the Conqueſt of *Ireland*, if either
" of them would helpe to win it from our King. How
" many Letters, what precepts, what meſſages, what
" threats, have beene ſent you to apprehend him,
" and yet not done? Why ſo? Forſooth I could not
" catch him? Nay, nay Earle, forſooth you would
" not watch him: If hee be juſtly ſuſpected, why
" are you partiall in ſo great a charge? If not, why
" are you fearefull to have him tryed? Yea, for it
" will be ſworne and depoſed to your face, that for
" feare of meeting him, you have winked wilfully,
" ſhunned his ſight, altered your courſe, warned
" your friends, ſtopped both eares and eies, againſt
" his deteſtors, and whenſoever you rooke upon you
" to hunt him out, then was he ſure afore-hand to be
" out of your walke. Surely, this jugling and falſe
" play, little became either an honeſt man, called to
" ſuch honour, or a Nobleman put in ſo great truſt:
" had you loſt but a Cow or a Horſe of your owne,
" two hundred of your retainers would have come
" at your Whiſtle to reſcue the prey from the utter-
" moſt edge of *Viſter*: all the Iriſh in *Ireland* muſt
" have given you the way. But in purſuing ſo need-
" full a matter as this was; merciſull God, how
" nice, how dangerous, how wayward have you
" beene? One while he is from home, and another
" while he keepeth home, ſometimes fled, ſometimes
" in the Borders, where you dare not venture. Y-
" wiſſe, my Lord, there be ſhrewd bugges in the bor-
" ders, for the Earle of *Kildare* to feare; the Earle,
" nay the King of *Kildare*: for when you are diſpo-
" ſed, you raigne more like, then rule in the Land:
" where you are pleaſed, the Iriſh foe ſtandeth for a
" juſt Subject: hearts and hands, lives and lands
" are all at your courteſie: who fawneth not thereon,
" cannot reſt within your ſmell, and your ſmell ſo
" rancke, that you track them out at pleaſure. Whileſt
the Cardinall was ſpeaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour, and at laſt brake out, and interrupted him thus.

Kildare interrupteth the Cardinals tale.

" (57) My Lord Chancellor, I beſeech you par-
" don me, I am ſhort-witted, and you I perceive in-
" tend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe
" my purgation will be loſt for lack of carriage: I have
" no Schoole-trickes, nor art of memory: except you
" heare me while I remember your words, your ſe-
" cond proceſſe will hammer out the former. The
Lords aſſociate, who for the moſt part tenderly loved *Kildare*, and knew the Cardinal his manner of taunts ſo ready, being inured therewith many yeares toge-
ther, humbly beſought his grace to charge him di-
rectly with particulars, and to dwell in ſome one matter untill it were examined throughly.

The Lords intercede for *Kildare*.

" (58) That granted: It is good reaſon (quoth the
" Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this
" boord: but my Lord, thoſe mouthes that put theſe
" things into your mouth, are very wide mouthes:
" ſuch indeed as have gaped long for my wracke:
" and now at length for want of better ſtuffe, are
" faine to fill their mouthes with ſmoake: what my
" Coſen *Deſmond* hath compaſſed, as I know not, ſo
" I beſhrew his naked heart for holding out ſo long.
" If he can be taken by mine Agents, that preſently
" waite for him, then have mine adverſaries bewrai-
" ed their malice, and this heape of heinous words
" ſhall reſemble a ſcarre-Crow, or a man of ſtraw
" that ſeemeth at a bluſh to carry ſome proportion,
" but when it is felt and peized, diſcovereth a vanity
" ſerving onely to feare Crowes: and I verily truſt
" your Honours ſhall ſee the proofe by the thing it
" ſelfe, within theſe few daies. But goe to: ſuppoſe he
" never be had? What is *Kildare* to blame for it
" more then my good Brother of *Oſorie*, who, not-
" withſtanding his high promiſes, having alſo the
" Kings power, is yet content to bring him in at lea-
" ſure? Cannot the Earle of *Deſmond* ſhift, but I
" muſt be of Councell? Cannot he hide him except
" I winke? If he be cloſe, am I his mate? If he be frien-
" ded, am I a traitor? This is a doubty kinde of accu-
" ſation which they urge againſt me, wherein they
" are gravelled and mired at my firſt denial. You
" would not ſee him (ſay they): who made them ſo
" familiar with mine eie-ſight? Or, when was the
" Earle within my view? Or, who ſtood by when
" I let him ſlip? Or, where are the tokens of my
" wilfull hudwinke? But you ſent him word to
" beware of you: who was the meſſenger? Where
" are the Letters? Convince my negatives, ſee how
" looſe this idle geare hangeth together. *Deſmond* is
" not taken: well, you are in fault: why? Becauſe you
" are: who proveth it? No body: What Conje-
" ctures? So it ſeemeth: To whom? To your ene-
" mies. Who told it them? They will ſweare it.
" What other ground? None: Will they ſweare it my
" Lord? why then of like they know it, either they
" have mine hand to ſhew, or can bring forth the
" meſſenger, or were preſent at a Conference, or privy
" to

In what caſe ſtood the Noblemen of *Ireland* with Ketch.

He anſweareth the Cardinals objection.

" to *Deſmond*, or ſome body bewrayed it to them, or
" they themſelves were my Carriers or Vicegerents
" therein: which of theſe parts will they chuſe for I
" know them too well: To reckon my ſelfe convict
" by their bare words, or headleſſe ſayings, or fran-
" ticke oathes, were but meere mockerie. My letters
" were ſoone read, were any ſuch writing extant, my
" ſervants and friends are ready to be ſifted: of my
" Cozen of *Deſmond* they may lie loudly, ſince no
" man here can well contrary them. Touching my
" ſelfe I never noted in them much wit, or ſo faſt
" faith, that I would have gaged on their ſilence the
" life of a good Hound, much leſſe mine owne: I
" doubt not, may it pleaſe your Honours to oppoſe
" them, how they came to the knowledge of thoſe
" matters which they are ſo ready to depoſe; but you
" ſhall finde their tongues chained to another mans
" trencher, and as it were Knights of the Poſt, subor-
" ned to ſay, ſweare, and ſtare the uttermoſt they can,
" as thoſe that paſſe not what they ſay, nor with
" what face they ſay it, ſo they ſay no truth: but
" on the other ſide, it grieveth mee, that your good
" Grace, whom I take to be wiſe and ſharpe, and
" who of your bleſſed diſpoſition wiſheth mee well,
" ſhould be ſo farre gone in crediting theſe corrupt
" Informers, that abuſe the ignorance of your ſtate
" and Countrey to my perill. Little know you (my
" Lord) how neceſſary it is, not onely for the Go-
" vernour, but alſo for every Nobleman in *Ireland*,
" to hamper the uncivill neighbours at diſcretion,
" wherein if they waited for proceſſe of law, and had
" not thoſe lives and lands you ſpeak of within their
" reach, they might hap to loſe their owne lives and
" lands without law. You heare of a caſe, as it were
" in a dreame, and feele not the ſmart that vexeth us.
" In *England* there is not a meane Subject that dare
" extend his hand to fillip a Peere of the Realme: In
" *Ireland*, except the Lord have cunning to his
" ſtrength, and ſtrength to ſave his Crowne, and
" ſufficient authority to take theeves & varlets when
" they ſtirre, he ſhall find them ſwarme ſo faſt that it
" will be too late to call for Juſtice. If you will have
" our ſervice take effect, you muſt not tye us al-
" wayes to thoſe judiciall proceedings, wherewith
" your Realme (thanked be God) is invred. Touching
" my Kingdome, I know not what your Lordſhip
" ſhould meane thereby; If your Grace imagine that
" a Kingdome conſiſteth in ſerving God, in obeying
" the Prince, in governing with love the Common-
" wealth, in ſupporting ſubjects, in ſuppreſſing rebels,
" in executing Juſtice, in brideling blinde affecti-
" ons, I would be willing to be inveſted with ſo ver-
" tuous and royall a name: but if therefore you terme
" me a King, in that you are perſwaded that I repine
" at the government of my Soveraigne, or winke at
" malefactors, or oppreſſe civill livers: I utterly diſ-
" claime that odious tearme, marvelling greatly that
" one of your Graces profound wiſedome, would
" ſeeme to appropriate ſo ſacred a name to ſo wicked
" a thing: but howſoever it be (my Lord) I would
" you and I had changed Kingdomes, but for one
" moneth, I would truſt to gather up more crummes
" in that ſpace, then twice the revenews of my poore
" Earledome: but you are well and warme, and ſo
" hold you, and upbraid not me with ſuch an odious
" terme. I ſlumber in a hard Cabine, when you
" ſleepe in a ſoft bed of Downe: I ſerve under the
" Kings Cope of heaven, when you are ſerved under
" a Canopie: I drinke water out of my skull, when
" you drinke wine out of golden Cups: my Courſer
" is trained to the field, when your lennet is
" taught to amble: when you are graced and belor-
" ded, and crooched, and kneeled unto, then finde I
" ſmall grace with our *Iriſh* borderers, except I cut
" them off by the knees.

At theſe girds the Lord Chancellor much fretted, and finding *Kildare* to be no Babe, deferred the hearing of his cauſe, till more proofes were produced from *Ireland*; then in a great fume he aroſe from the Counſell board, and committed the Earle unto priſon, againſt the minds of moſt at the Table, who knew well, that this his accuſation was more of hatred borne by the Cardinall; then any occaſion given by the accuſed late Deputy. Whereupon *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke* ſtept to the King, and craved that *Kildare* might be his priſoner, offering to be bound in goods and body for his forth-comming, whom he obtained, though with no great liking of the Lord Chancellor, who daily entertained new plaints againſt him, till at laſt he preſſed him fore with letters ſent to *Oneale*, and *Oconor*, to encourage their rebellions againſt *Oſorie* the Lord Deputie; which letters were brought them by his own daughter and their ſiſters, the Lady *Alice Fitz-Girald*, wife to the Baron of *Slane*.

Kildare committed to priſon.

Kildare accuſed for ſuborning of Traitors.

(59) This preſumption being vehement, the King ſuſpitious, the Cardinall eager, and his friends faint, *Kildare* was ſent to the Tower, where he committed himſelfe to God, and expected daily his death, but with ſuch couragious reſolution, as hee being in play with the Lieutenant at ſlide-groat, when the Mandate was brought for his execution on the next Morning, and ſeeing the Lieutenant ſtrucke into a ſudden ſadneſſe; by Saint *Bride*, Lieutenant (quoth the Earle) there is ſome madde game in that ſcrowle; but fall how it will, this throw is for a huddle: and when the worſt was told him, now I pray thee (quoth he) doe no more but learne aſſuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his Highneſſe bee witting thereto or no; the Lieutenant loving his priſoner well, repayred to the King, and ſhewed him the Cardinals warrant, who then controuled the fawcineſſe of the Prieſt (for thoſe were his termes) and gave the Lieutenant his Signet for a counter-maund, whereat the Cardinal ſtormed, but *Kildare* delivered from his eminent death, and not long after from his impriſonment alſo, was ſent into *Ireland*, where, at his entrance into *Dublin*, he was met with a ſolemne proceſſion, and ſo brought into the Citie; ſo well beloved was this Earle abroad, and at home.

Kildare comitted to the Tower.

Kildares Noble courage.

Holinſhead, Hall. ſol. 2nd.

Kildare recalled into *Dublin* with proceſſion.

(60) But the *French* Kings fortunes were nothing ſo good, who was ſtraitly impriſoned at *Madrill* in *Spaine*, and great ſuite was made for his deliverance, which notwithſtanding would not be heard. The Queene-Mother, then Regent of *France*, wife of herſelfe, and forwarded by others, ſaw no better meanes to free her ſonne the King, then to enter amity with *England*, which to accompliſh, the ſolicited King *Henry*; working upon the occaſions then miniſtred, which was ſome unkindneſſe growne betwixt the *Engliſh* King, and the Emperour, the one of them more ſtrange by the greatneſſe of his fortunes, and the other in jelouſie of leſſening renowne. The ſparks of which Cinders were ſtirred to flame, by *Wolſey*, that ever was in the care of the King: alleadging his potency, ſo much eſteemed of all Chriſtian Princes (a found very tunable in King *Henries* wide eare) would be leſſe regarded by the Emperors late victory; who now began to carry himſelfe with another reſpect, & never after that victory gotten ſubſcribed his Letters to King *Henry*, according to his accuſtomed manner, *Your Sonne and Cozen*; but to the draught of his Secretaries, inſixed his hand with the word *Charles*, and no more.

The *French* King impriſoned at *Madrill* in *Spaine*. *Guichard.*

Queene-mother diſſwadeth King *Henry*.

Diſlikes betwixt the Emperour and King *Henry*.

(61) Theſe diſlikes and other intercourſes of State, drew *Henry* ſhortly to a peace with *France*. In the exemplification of which League the *Venetians*, and other Princes were left to their choyſe, whereof himſelfe notwithſtanding vvould be ſtyled the Protector. And to his Leaguer Ambaſſadours ſent theſe inſtructions to move the States to conſider the Emperours aſpired greatneſſe, vvho novv comanded the Kingdomes of *Naples*, and *Sicilie*, the Dutchie of *Millan*, the Seigniorie of *Iean*, the County of *Aſt*, and other poſſeſſions in *Italie*, the vvhole Countrey of *Germanie*, being the greateſt part of Chriſtendome, already either totally in his poſſeſ-

Peace betwixt England and France.

Signed with his owne hand in Anno 1526.

The great Dominions of the Emperour.

possession, or facily might be at his command, having likewise the lower parts thereof, as the Countries of *Artoys*, *Flanders*, *Zeland*, *Holland*, *Brabant*, *Henault*, and others; from the which also a direct passage lay unto the Dutchie of *Burgoine*, *Averne*, and *Burbon*, besides the Realmes of *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Granad*, *Galice*, *Asturia*, *Perpynyon*, *Rusſillon*, and other parts of *Spaine*; whereupon hee with some other Princes complained, and sought the *French* Kings deliverance, which when it was gotten, King *Francis* acknowledged *Henry* next under God to bee the onely meanes: * but was so slacke in performance of Covenants, that when the Emperour sent to have them accomplished, hee with unprincely termes returned the answere, with challenge of combate, which when the Emperour had accepted, hee shrunke backe, and made meanes of a league.

* Sleidan. com. lib. 9.

(62) But howsoever the unconstancy of our King *Henry* hath beene blanched forth, for not holding himselfe in his leagues and covenants of amity with other Princes; yet the cause being so as some have observed, there were occasions given as well as opportunity taken: for *Charles* the Emperour, contrary to covenant, received *Grancetor* a trayterous Rebell, condemned by Parliament, whom hee refused to deliver, though the King made earnest suit for the man. Moreover, by his Ambassadors in a Treaty of perpetuall peace, holden at *Windsor*-Castle, the nineteenth of *Iune*, and fourteenth of King *Henries* raigne; it was concluded that *Charles* the Emperour should contract the young Princes the Lady *Mary*, and take her to his Wife, when shee came to able yeares, which (as *Holinshead* saith) himselfe sought, at his being in *England*, promising to remaine unmarried, till that Princesse had past her Minority, and againe before the battell of *Pavia*, (the now growne unto sixe yeares of age) sent his Ambassadors to have her stiled Empresse, and to be made Governesse of the *Low-Countries*; all this notwithstanding after that victory against the *French* King, he began to re-call, and to make small account of that match, pretending the desire of his Subjects to have an heire of his body, which for long time he could not by Lady *Mary*; but rather as the *English* judged, the cause was the money received in loane from King *Henry*, whereby (as hee thought) the greatest part of her portion was already paide; and the Emperours wants being great, * *Isabel* the sister of *Portugall* was much affected: with whom plenty of gold was expected, and great liberality offered by the Emperials in desire to have an Empresse of their owne Nation.

Acts and Mon. pag. 1238. Occasions of King Henries displeasure.

An. Dom. 1522.

Holinshe in Ann. 12. H. 8.

Mary stiled Empresse.

The Emperors excuse for not taking Lady Mary to wife.

* The daughter of Emanuel, and sister to John, both of them Kings of Portugall.

(63) Besides, against this marriage with *Mary*, his Counsell of *Spaine* also excepted, alleadging her to be begot of his brothers wife, whereby her legitimation might be called in question, as also the issue of her body, which they in their wisdom thought meet to prevent; these (no doubt) were the causes that the negotiation of these two Potentates grew daily more desperate. And for his falling off from the *French* King, These occasions may well be alleadged.

Acts and Mon. pag. 1192.

Lady Maries legitimation called in question.

(64) That whereas it had beene covenanted at the marriage of Lady *Mary* unto King *Lewis* departed this life, one hundred thousand Crownes should be paid to King *Henry*, and thirty two thousand Crownes yearely for her Dowry, during terme of life; both which notwithstanding were retained and kept backe unpaide. 2 That the said *French* King had listned unto Cardinall *Poole*, who was sent to him from the Pope to stirre warres against *England*. 3 That contrary to his Covenant hee had entred alliance with the House of *Medicis*, and had married his daughter *Magdalen* unto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, then an hostile enemie unto King *Henry*. 4 That he had made suit to match his second sonne *Henry* Duke of *Orleance*, with Lady *Mary* the onely then heire apparant of *England*, which when it came to conclusion, was put in suspence by *Anthonie Veſcie*, one of his *French* Commissioners, who then made doubt whether the maeriage of her mother being wife to the Kings owne brother, could be dispensed with, or the children begot in this second bed, legitimate, or by law allowed to succeed in the throne.

Acts and Mon. pag. 1239.

Objection of the French for Lady Maries legitimation.

(65) These considerations no doubt drew the King to be unconstant to them that were unconstant in themselves, and the question of Lady *Maries* legitimation served such doubts in his melting conscience, as never after could be made solide: whereof Doctor *Longland*, his Confessor, is said to be the first man which told the King that his marriage was unlawfull, unto whose opinion other great Clerkes did likewise consent; whereupon a rumour ran that the King would be divorced from the Queene, and the occasion thereof altogether cast vpon the Cardinall of *Yorke*, in displeasure taken against the Emperour, unto whom hee had beene suiter for the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*; whereof failing, hee revenged his spleene upon his innocent Aunt Queene *Katherine*, in moving the King to cast her off, and to become Suiter unto the Dutchesse of *Alenzon*, sister unto the *French* King; these Rumors King *Henry* himselfe forbad; but with no better syccesse then was the report of Queene *Annes* death, the wife of the Vsurper; both events following before the mouthes of these Relaters could be stopped; unto which lamentable accident my penne must now enter.

King Henry put in doubt of his marriage.

John Stow.

Cardinall displeased with the Emperour.

Pole de Vnit. Eccles. John Stow.

Tho. More.

(66) King *Henry* overcome by the aduise of his Councell (lest so great a Dowry assigned should indammage *England*, if Lady *Katherine* of *Spaine* married elsewhere) presently upon the death of his father, and not fully forty dayes after hee had begun his raigne (by the dispensation of Pope *Iulius* the second,) tooke her to Wife, she having beene wedded, and bedded with Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as we have said.

King Henrie marriage called in question.

(67) This match was made by King *Henry* the seaventh, and *Ferdinando* of *Spaine* their Parents, Prince *Henry* having then attained but to ten yeares of age, and when he came to fourteene, proscribed against it, as by a deede under his owne hand, I have heare inserted, the tenour hereof faithfully translated of of Latine, is thus as followeth:

Prince Henry disclaimeth his contract.

In the Name of God, Amen. In the presence of you Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord *Richard* by the Grace of God, and See Apostolicke, Bishop of *Winchester*. I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* doe say, affirme, and by these Writings declare; that although in the time of my Minority, and when I was under yeares of marriage, I absolutely contracted Matrimony with the most vertuous Lady *Katherine*, daughter of the King of *Spaine*, and although also the said Contract by reason of my being under age, doth now appeare of it selfe insufficient, weake, and of no force, vigour, or efficacie: yet forasmuch as that now I come to perfect yeares, and that thereby the said Contract may peradventure be thought and seeme by silent consent, mutuall abode in one house, by giving and receiving gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatsoever, to be apparently sufficient, and confirmed: Therefore I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, doe here protest, and make knowne to all men that I intend not to approve, ratifie, or confirme in any sort this pretended contract by any thing that I have said, or shall say, have done, or shall doe: but doe at this present renounce the same, freely, and of mine owne accord, unconstrained either by force, fraud, entreaty, or any way else, and I deny it, and wholly purpose and intend quite to relinquish this pretended contract of Matrimony by the best wayes and meanes that by Law more fully, effectually, and sufficiently I may, or shall be able to doe: and expressly doe disavow the same, according as by these presents I doe disclaime it, and disavow it; and I protest that I nei-

The King re-lieth the Queenes bed.

I neither will nor intend to consent unto the said Contract, or unto the said Lady *Katherine* as my espousall or wife, by any word, deed, act, or gesture to be spoken, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomsoever, whensoever, or howsoever for the time to come. In witnesse whereof I desire, require, entreat, and adjure you all to give testimony hereunto.

By me Henry *Prince of* Wales.

The above-written protestation was reade and made by the aforesaid Noble Prince Lord Henry, in the presence of the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ the Lord Richard, *by divine permission, Bishop of Winchester sitting judiciously in his Court; and I the Notary underwritten, at that time present, the writer of his Acts in this behalfe appointed, and in the presence of the undernamed witnesses, in the yeare of our Lord God* 1505, *the eighth Indiction of the most holy See, of our Father and Lord in Christ, by divine providence Pope Iulius the second, in his second yeere, and* 27 *of the moneth of Iune, in which day the said worthy Prince was of perfect yeares of marriage, as then he did there affirme, in a certaine outward Court within the royall Palace of Richmond, situate in the Westpart of the said Palace: Concerning all and singular which things, the aforesaid most noble Prince instantly required and entreated mee the aforesaid Notarie to frame an instrument, and likewise the witnesses underwritten, to give testimony. In Iustification of all and singular the premisses, the aforesaid Noble Prince hath superscribed his name, and the witnesses, as aforesaid entreated and required, have subscribed their names with their owne hand.*

Miles Daubeney.

So it is as above said, which I *John Read* doe witnesse by my hand and Seale.

C. Sommerset.

Thomas Rowthale.

Nicholas West.

Harry Mainy.

The second protestation when hee came to yeares of marriage.

Notwithstanding this prescription foure yeares after, and the first of his raigne, hee tooke the said Lady *Katherine* to wife; and without all exception enjoyed her nuptial society the space almost of twenty yeares; in which time thee had borne him two sonnes, both of them in their infancy taken away by death, and one daughter, Lady *Mary*, growne now unto tenne yeares of age. But the scruple of Conscience increasing more tender in the Kings breast, he first refused the Queenes bed; and then moving the doubt unto his owne Divines, sent for the opinions of the most Vniversities in *Europe*, as to *Paris*, *Orleance*, *Bononie*, *Burges*, *Anjou*, *Padua*, *Tholouze*, *Vincentia*, *Pavia*, *Foro*, *Iuly*, and others, which howsoever they then stood for the Pope, and allowing (by his Predecessors dispensation, whose doing could not erre) the Matrimony lawfull, yet these Academickes concluded against it, and signified the contrary under most of their common Seales, as the relation of the Kings Agent imployed upon the same purpose for that of *Padua* doth import, which writing under his owne hand I have seene, and here will insert his words, as followeth:

Ex Manuscr.

Pleaseth it your Highnesse to be advertised; that as this day I obtained the Common Seale of the Vniversity of Padua in substantiall and good forme; for all the Doctors were assembled upon Sunday, and the case was amongst them solemnely and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning. And thereupon they concluded with your Highnesse, and desired a Notary to set his signe and hand unto an instrument by Leonicus and Nicencus devised, in Corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testifie that this instrument was their deed, devise, act, and conclusion. And more credence to be given to the said instrument they caused the Chancellor of the Poteſtate hereto to set his hand and seale for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I send unto your Highnesse by this Bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be advertised that the Generall of the Black Friers hath given commandement that no Blacke-Frier dispute the Popes power: Notwithstanding Prior Thom. Omnibonus procureth daily new superscriptions, and will doe till the briefe of contrary commandement shall come unto his hands. My fidelity bindeth me to advertise your Highnesse that all Lutherans be utterly against your Highnesse in this cause, and hath letted as much with their wretched poore malice, without reason or authority, as they could and might, aswell here as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small company of them: I doubt not but all Christian Vniversities if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highnesse. And to obtaine their assent as well through Italy, France, Almaine, Austrich, Hungary, and Scotland, I thinke it marvellous expedient for the preferment of this your most honourable and high cause.

The Lutherans against King Henries divorce.

At Venice the first of Iuly at night, Anno 30.

And in another Letter, dated from *Venice* the xiii. of Iuly, the said Agent thus writeth. *I have procured unto your Highnesse, as appeareth by the Originals being in my hand alone, the Subscriptions of above an hundred Divines, beside the conclusion* Collegij Theologorum Pacannot, *under their common Seale, whereof I have sent your Highnesse a Copy, &c.*

Now as touching their determinations, these are the Abstractives taken out of larger discourses, whereof you may reade, if you please, more in *Holinshead*.

The Decree of the Lawyers in the Vniversity of *Paris*.

We the Deane and Colledge of the Vniversity of Paris, after many disputations and reasons, made upon both sides, turning and searching of Bookes, both by the law of God, the Popes law, and the Civill law; we say, that the Pope hath no power to dispence in this case of Matrimonie. Yeoven under the Seale of their faculty, at Saint Iohn Lateranenſe in Paris, May 2. 1530.

The judgement of the Divines in the Vniversity of *Paris*.

The Dean and the faculty of holy Divinity in the Vniversity of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall came, wisheth safety in Christ; For the question proposed, we come together in the Church of Saint Martin, and there, for the same cause, had a solemne Masse of the Holy Ghost, and upon our oathes determine, that the foresaid Marriage with the brothers wife departing without children is so forbid by the Lawes of God and Nature, that the Pope hath no power to dispence with such Marriages, whether they be contract or to be contracted, to which this our assertion we have caused the Seale of our faculty, with our Notaries signe to be put to this present writing. Dated in our Generall Congregation, Iuly 2. *Anno.* 1530.

The Determination of the Civilians of the Vniversity of *Anjou*.

After wee the Doctors and Rector had discussed and examined many places, as well of the Law of God, as of mans Law, upon sufficient deliberation taken, wee define and determine, that neither by the Law of God, nor of Nature, it is permitted for any Christian man, no not with the authority of the See Apostolicke, or with any dispensation granted by the Pope, to marry the wife that his brother hath left. In witnesse whereof we have commanded the Scribe of our Vniversity to signe this present publique instrument with the great Seale of our said Vniversity.

Enacted

Enacted in the Church of Saint Peter in Anjou. May 7. Anno 1530.

The Determination of the Vniversity of *Burges*.

Wee the Deane and faculitie of Divinitie, in the Vniversitie of Burges, *after the example of Saint Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles, begin with prayer to the quieting of the conscience, to whom this our writing shall come; The Question mooved, is whether the brother taking the wife of his dead brother, the marriage consummated, and perfect, bee a thing lawfull or no. Wee by much labour and turning of Bookes, every one of us apart by himselfe, free from corruption, the better to obey the truth, find it forbidden by the Leviticall Law, which is Gods, and that such marriage is an abhominable discovering of his brothers shame, which cannot be allowed by the authority of any man: which our determination wee have caused to bee signed with the Seale of our faculitie, the tenth day of Iune, and yeare of our Lord* 1530.

The opinion of the Divines in the Vniversity of *Bonony*.

All wee Doctors of Divinitie in this Vniversitie, unto whom this Question was propounded, whether it was forbidden onely by the Ordinance of the Church, or else by the Law of God, that a man might not marry the left wife of his brother departed without children, and having examined the matter every one of us alone, lastly came altogether, and as it were line by line, and rule by rule, brought foorth the reasons for the contrary part, with those of the most Reverend Father Cardinall Cajetane, yea, and of the dispensation for raising up seed to his brother, spoken of in Deuteronomie; thus we determine, give judgement, and say, and confidently doe hold and witnesse that such marriage is horrible, accursed, and to bee cryed out upon, and utterly abhominable, not onely for a Christian man, but for an Infidell, unfaithfull, or Heathen: and that it is prohibited under grievous paines and punishments by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man, and that the Pope, though he may doe much, unto whom Christ gave the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, hath no power to a dispensation to any man to contract such marriage: In witnesse whereof wee confirme this our judgement, both under whereof wee confirme this our judgement, both under the Seale of our Vniversitie, as also with the Seale of our Colledge of Doctors of Divinitie, and have subscribed it in the Cathedall Church of Bonony, *this tenth of Iune, the yeare of our Lord* 1530.

The Determination of the Vniversity of *Padua*.

Seeing that certaine great Orators and Ambassadours did humbly require of us, that wee would vouchsafe to search out with all diligence this Question following, Whether to marry the wife of our brother departed without children, is forbidden onely by the Law of the Church, or by the Law of God also: and if forbid by both the Lawes, whether the Pope may dispence with any man for such Matrimony or no? which Question we have discussed, and as farre as wee can, have made it cleare, both private every man by himselfe, and after altogether openly, wee say, judge, decree, witnesse, and for truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage: yea, and that it is abhorred and cursed of every Christian man, and to bee abhominate as a grievous sinne, and that it is clearely forbidden, under cruell penalty, by the Lawes of nature, of God, and of man, and that the Pope, unto whom the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven are committed by Christ the Sonne of God, hath no power to dispence, by the right of Law, for any cause, suggestion, or excuse, that any such Matrimoney should be contracted. In witnesse whereof we have made this writing, and have authorized it, with the accustomed Seale of our Vniversity: dated at Padua *in the Church of the Heremites of Saint Augustine, the first of Iuly, and yeare of our Lord* 1530.

The Determination of the Vniversity of *Tholouze*.

It was treated in our Vniversity of Tholouze: whether it were lawfull for a brother to marry her which had beene wife to his brother now departed, and without children: as also, whether the Pope, which hath the cure of Christs flocke, allowing it by his dispensation it be lawfull: to resolve which, the best Doctors of Divinitie, and the Lawes, did sweare that they would obey the sacred Counsels, and would follow the holy Decrees of the Fathers, and falling to conclusion stucke fast upon this point, that it is lawfull for no man, neither by the Law of God, nor by the Law of Nature, to take her to wife that his brother hath left; neither can the Pope dispence with this Law of God: as touching the Commandement in Deuteronomie, that the brother should marry his wife to raise up seede unto him, that his name should not perish among the Tribes of Israel, we answere that that Law was but a shadow and figure of things to come, which vanished away as soone as the substance of the Gospel appeared. Thus have wee given our sentence, which we have signed with our Authenticall Seale of this Vniversitie. Teeven at Tholouze, the Calends, or first day of October, the yeare of our Lord 1530.

These and many more were read by the Lord Chancellour unto the Lower House of Parliament that they might report in their Countries, the Kings just cause of divorce: And with what Key *Henrie* opened the golden shut of the Popes Consistory for his free accesse, therein to enroll his owne Banes, to his best liking, I cannot say, but thus I finde it confirmed by a Bull of Pope *Clement* the seaventh, dated three yeares before these published Determinations in these words:

Bulla Clementis Sept. Concessa Henrico Octavo de secundis nupcijs contrahendis constante nulliate primarum.

Clement Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God to our dearely beloved Sonne in Christ, Henry King of England, Defender of the Faith, health, and Apostolicall Benediction.

You caused not long since to bee signified unto us, that you, and our beloved daughter in Christ, Katherine, the late Widdow of your brother Arthur, (not being ignorant how nearely you were otherwise joyned together in the first degree of affinity) have made a contract of Matrimonie by words otherwise lawfull, having at that present obtained no dispensation, at least-wise Canonicall or of any force for the same. That you have confirmed it with carnall knowledge one of another, and have thereby brought forth a Childe, incurring the censure of Excommunication. Moreover, that (in regard your Majestie may not remaine in such kinde of Matrimonie without great offence to GOD, and that you might not continue longer in this sinne and censure of Excommunication) your Majestie doth desire Absolution from such censure of Excommunication at the hands of some sufficient Ecclesiasticall Iudge. Furthermore, that your Majestie doth desire to have this Matrimonie pronounced infirme and of none effect: And that it might bee lawfull for you, (notwithstanding any Canon to the contrary) to make contract with any other woman whatsoever. That upon the pronouncing of the nullity touching this marriage, you might obtaine a dispensation lawfully to bee joyned in Matrimonie, therein freely to remaine and beget a lawfull heire by any other woman whatsoever, yea though such fhee bee who hath otherwise made contract with any other man, so fhee have not confirmed it with carnall knowledge: though fhee bee otherwise nearely allied unto you, either by the second or a more remote

The Original remaineth in the Library of Sir Robert Knight Iun.

* de publica honestitia iustitiæ expedimentum sanctissimi.

remote degree of consanguinity, or the first degree of affinity, or joyned to you by any lawfull or unlawfull lying together: provided fhee bee not the relict of your said Brother, though fhee be annexed to you in kindred spirituall, or legall, yea though it be an hinderance to the right of publique honesty. Wherefore in the behalfe of your part (who affirme that it is to bee seene in ancient Records of your Kingdome, many great grievous warres to have beene raised, Christian peace and concord disquieted through the meanes of wicked men stirred up with their owne detested lust, and desire of dominion, but pretending that those, which have beene begotten in lawfull marriages of your Ancestors and Progenitors Kings of England were illigitimate, by reason of some fayned impediment of consanguinity or affinity, and consequently were not capable of the Kingdomes succession, and that there hath followed miserable destructions of Princes, Nobles, and People,) an humble supplication was made unto us, that wee would have a care of the tranquility and peace of your Kingdome and Subjects, and that wee would (out of our Apostolicall benignity) daigne to resist so great evils, and otherwise in the foresaid danger administer some seasonable remedies. Wee therefore which are ready always (under God) to entertaine, and favourably to grant the honest petitions of all Kings, at least minding the safety of Soules (but more especially your Majesties, for its manifold immeasurable benefits towards us and this holy Seat, wherein by the divine providence of God) wee now sit, not ceasing daily, as well with might and sword, as with penne and learning to free it from the wicked attempts of pestilent men, which adventure partly by force and wicked boldnesse, partly with perverse doctrine utterly to subvert it. Wee, by the forsaid causes, and some others best knowne to our selves, being mooved to such like supplications, by vertue of our Apostolicall authority, out of our certaine knowledge of the matter had by us, and fulnesse of our Apostolicall power, doe by the tenour of these presents, grant you a dispensation, that if it shall so fall out that the contract with the foresaid Katherine shall bee contrarily pronounced voyde, and of none effect, and that you shall be lawfully freed from all interest in her, that then you may lawfully make contract of matrimony with any other woman, and flee with you, provided fhee bee not to this end enforced by you, yea though such fhee be whom hath otherwise contracted her selfe to another man, so fhee hath not confirmed it with carnall knowledge: though that fhee bee otherwise nearely allyed unto you, either by the second or a more remote degree of consanguinity, bee in the first degree of affinity, or joyned to you by any lawfull or unlawfull lying together, provided fhee bee not the relict of your said brother as before, though fhee bee annexed to you in kindred spirituall or legall, yea and bee an hinderance even to the right of publique honesty. And that you may lawfully remaine in this contract, though it were made betwixt you and the said woman, either publiquely or privately, and perfected by carnall knowledge one of the other. Further, wee decree that the issue (perhaps already conceived, or what hereafter may bee conceived) shall bee legitimate, notwithstanding all prohibitions of, divine Lawes and other constitutions or ordinations whatsoever published to the contrary, which wee (as farre as our Apostolicall authority may stretch it selfe) in this case specially and expresly extenuate, they elsewhere standing in full force as before. Distinctly forbidding in the name of holy obedience charging expresely under the pronouncing of Gods holy judgement, the punishment of a Reprobate, and the rest whatsoever ecclesiasticall censures and punishments, which I heere pronounce, and promulgate in these writings, that no man hereafter shall either openly or privately, by Law or otherwise presume, or any way attempt to alleadge, propound, or object any impediment of a pre-contract which was not compleately confirmed, or of consanguinity in the second or farther degree, of affinity in the first degree as before, of kindred spirituall or legall, of hinderance to their honest report as before, against your issue, which by Gods blessing you shall enjoy by any Matrimony whatsoever to bee contracted through

the vertue of these presents: or to defame them in words or deeds: Bee it not therefore lawfull for any man to infringe, or by any rash attempt, whatsoever withstand the tenor of our dispensation, decree, derogation, inhibition and charge, which if any one attempt, know hee that hee incurres the wrath of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Dated in our City Vrbin, Anno Incarnationis Do. 1527. 16. Kal. Ian. Pontificatus nostri 50.

Thus have vve seene the determinations of divers Accademies in Christendome, and likevvise of Pope *Clement* himselfe, confirmed by his Bull: the first, condemning the retention of that unlavvfull bed: and the other, admitting any other into his bosome, his Brothers relict onely excepted. So that the vvrongs done by King *Henry* unto Queene *Katherine* in that divorce, are nothing so capitall, as her favourers alledge them, at least-wise if we hold Pope *Clement* for an honest man; or his Cardinall *Wolsey* a fure pillar to be leaned upon, who was a prime actor in the said devorce. To forward which, he went Ambassador into *France*, laden with Crownes, as *Guicciardin.* *Richard Turpin.* *G. Caven.* and with surpassing pompe, as *London* beheld, when with twelve hundred Horse hee passed the Bridge for *Amiens*, there to negociate of this and other businesses with *Francis* the French King.

Stefan comment. lib. 9.

Guicciardin. *Richard Turpin.* *G. Caven.*

An. Dom. 1528.

But the rumours in *England* still spreading of the good Queenes divorce, about a yeare after, King *Henry* to satisfie all, sent for his Nobles, his Councellors, Iudges, and many wise Commoners, unto whom he made a most pithy Oration, shewing them with what "care he had ruled almost twenty yeares with honor "and victory, which (as hee said) would shortly be "clouded, if he should dye and leave them a litigious "Heire, examples he shewed of the wofull experience "of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, in whose dissentions the "Realme was like to have beene utterly destroyed: "and although (saith hee) we have a daughter, to the "great comfort of her mother & me, yet it is told us "by great Clerks, our marriage is not lawfull, but that "she stands in case of illegitimation; and we both, are "said to live in abominable Adultery: thinke you (my "Lords) that these words doe not touch my very "Soule, the perill whereof we venture, as you do also "your Inheritance? for wch cause I have asked counsell of the greatest Clerks in Christendom, & have "likewise heard the opinion of mine owne. But as "touching the Queene, if it be judged by the Law of "God that she is my lawfull Wife, there shall be no "thing more acceptable unto me, whose noble conditions, I assure you, (besides her great Parentage) is "most gentle, loving, and obedient, whereof I have "had a true experience almost these twenty yeares: "and were I to choose a wife (if the marriage might "stand with Gods Law) my choice should be of her, "before any other woman in the world, and if it shall "otherwise be proved, I shall not onely be most forrowfull for parting with so loving a companion, "but much more have occasion to lament my chance "and life in so foule a sinne; these then are the sores "that torments my mind, for the saving of my soule, "and for which cause I have here assembled you, that "you may declare to our loving subjects this our true "meaning, and to stay (if it may be) the rumours of "unstayed reports. And this being said, he let them to depart, each man bewraying in countenance the affection of his mind, some pittying the King to see him so perplexed, some, favouring the Queene, forrowed her case, and some sighed deeply at this strange speech and sudden alteration.

Edward Hall.

The Kings Oration to his Nobility.

The Kings complaint.

(68) But the *Cardinall of Yorke* returned out of *France*, and now fearefull to wade too farre alone in these troubled waters, desired the assistance of the learned in the Realme, and thereto got the Kings license, which with his Legantine authority, commanded many learned men, both Divines and Lawyers, from *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, with the presence of many Bishops besides. These assembled at *London*, were shewed the Instruments and Seales of many forraine Vniversities, all of them disabling the marriage, and

The commendation of Queene Katherine.

George Cavend. Learned men assembled to decide the Kings marriage.

holding the dispensation (allowing it) unlawfull: but becaufe that ſtring could not be touched without ſound of reproach to the Pope, as alſo to cleare the K. from calumnious reports; it was thought fitteſt to ſend the ſaid inſtruments to *Rome*, whereunto theſe ſo appointed ſet their own ſeales, with an humble requeſt to his holineſſe, that an indifferent judge might be ſent them, to determine this great and ſtrange cauſe of the King; wch was ſo followed by his Ambaſſadors in the Popes Court, that *Laurence Campius*, a Cardinall of great credit and wiſdome, from their Conſiſtory was ſent into *England*, unto whom, wiſe *Wolſey* Cardinall of *Yorke* was joyned in Commiſſion, with power to erect a Court, to heare the cauſe pleaded, and to give ſentence definitive as they found the equity of law.

The teſtimonies of many Univerſities ſent unto *Rome* *John Stow, pag. 911.*

Cardinall *Campius* commeth into *England.*

(69) To that end therefore a place was ordained at the Blacke Fryers in *London*, and the King with the Queen removed themſelves unto his palace of *Bridewell* neere adjoyning, whence ere long they were ſummoned by Proceſſe perſonally to appeare in Court, which accordingly they did, having ſeverall ſeats ordained under clothes of eſtate, mounted ſomewhat higher then the two Cardinals, the Preſidents, under whoſe feete fate the Scribes and other Officers; the Court being framed Conſiſtory-wiſe, was furniſhed with Biſhops, Doctors, Lawyers, and learned Counſellors, in moſt ſolemne wiſe: the Doctors for the King, were *Simpſon* and *Bell*, and his Proctors *Peter* and *Tregonell*: for the Queene were *Fiſher*, *Standiſh*, and *Ridley*, a very little man, but a great Divine, the Court thus ſet, and Commiſſion read, the Cryer called the King, by the name of King *Henry* to come into the Court, who forthwith anſwered and ſaid, here. Then was the Queene called by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court, who made no anſwer at all, but preſently roſe up, and going about the Court to the King, fell downe on her knees, before his feete, and in the hearing of the people, ſpake thus in effect.

The King and Queene ſummoned to appeare perſonally in the Court at *Blacke Fryers.*

Queene Katherines ſpeech to the King.

"Sir, I deſire you to take ſome pitty upon me, and "doe me Juſtice and Right: I am a poore Woman, a "ſtranger borne out of your Dominions, having here "no indifferent Councel, and leſſe aſſurance of friend-"ſhip. Alas, wherein have I offended, or what cauſe "of diſpleaſure have I given, that you intend thus to "put mee away? I take God to my Iudge, I have "beene to you a true and humble Wife, ever confor-"mable to your will and pleaſure, never gaine-ſaying "any thing wherein you tooke delight, without all "grudge or diſcontented countenance; I have loved "all them that loved you, howſoever their affections "have beene to mee-ward; I have borne you Chil-"dren, and beene your Wife now this twenty yeares; "of my Virginity and marriage-bed, I make God "and your owne conſcience the Iudge, and if it other-"wiſe be prooved, I am content to be put from you "with ſhame. The King your Father in his time for "wiſdome was knowne to be a ſecond *Salomon*, and "*Ferdinando* of *Spaine* my Father, accounted the "wiſeſt among their Kings; could they in this match "be ſo farre over-ſeene, or are there now wiſer and "more learned men, then at that time were? ſurely, "it ſeemeth wonderfull to mee that my marriage af-"ter twenty yeares ſhould be thus called in queſtion "with new invention againſt me, who never intended "but honeſty. Alas, Sir I ſee I am wronged, having "no Councell to ſpeake for me, but ſuch as are your "Subjects, and cannot be indifferent upon my part. "Therefore I moſt humbly beſeech you, even in "Charity to ſtay this courſe, untill I may have adviſe "and counſell from *Spaine*; if not, your Graces plea-"ſure be done. And therewithall riſing, and making lowly obeyſance to the King, departed thence, leaning upon the Arme of her receiver, each man expecting ſhee had returned to her ſeat, when as ſhee tooke directly out of the place; which being perceived, the Cryer againe called her by the name of Queene *Katherine* to come into the Court; Madam, quoth her guide, you are againe called; On, on, ſaid ſhee, it maketh no matter, this is no indifferent Court for me, therefore goe forward.

Queene Katherine departed the Court.

(70) The King perceiving that ſhe was departed, preſently ſpake thus unto the aſſembly. "I wil (quoth "he) in her abſence declare before you all, that ſhee "hath beene to me a moſt true, obedient, and com-"fortable Wife, endued with all vertuous qualities "and conditions, according to her birth; and in low-"lineſſe equals any of baſer eſtate. With that Cardinall *Wolſey* made unto the King an humble requeſt, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to declare before that honourable audience, whether he had beene the cauſer of this his intended divorce, wherewith hee was charged in the opinions of the people.

The King re-ports of his Queene.

"My Lord Cardinall, quoth the King, I can well "excuſe you in this, and rather affirme that you have "beene againſt me, in attempting it thus farre: but the "chiefeſt motive for this matter, was the ſcruple of "conſcience, conceived upon certaine words ſpoken "by the Biſhop of *Bayon*, the French Ambaſſadour "ſent from the King to concludea marriage betwixt "Prince *Henry* his ſecond ſonne, Duke of *Orleance*, "and our onely Daughter Lady *Mary*, which Bi-"ſhop made doubt, and deſired reſpite to be ſatisfied "for the legitimation of our ſaid Daughter, in reſpect "of our marriage with this Woman, being my owne "Brothers Wife, which preſently engendred ſuch "ſcruples and doubts in me, that my conſcience hath "beene continually vexed, leſt by continuing in that "ſinne after knowledge, I draw Gods indignation "againſt me, which I feare we have already done in "that he hath ſent us no Iſſue-Male, and them that "were begot in this Nuptial-bed, no ſooner came into "the World, but were taken againe thence, and hope-"leſſe now of more iſſue by her, it behooveth me to "conſider the ſtate of this Realme, & the danger that "may follow for lacke of a lawful Prince to ſucceed. "This burden too weighty for my weake conſcience "(not in any diſlike of the Queenes age, or perſon, "with whom I deſire onely to continue, if our marri-"age may ſtand with the law of God) I have in this "place aſſembled you our grave Prelates, and learned "Divines, to determine of, & will (God willing) ſub-"mit my ſelfe to your judgements. My doubts in "this caſe I mooved in confeſſion to you my Lord of "*Lincolne*, and ghoſtly Father, whereof your ſelfe be-"ing ſomewhat troubled, ſaid you would aske coun-"ſell of you all my Lords. Then of you, my Lord of "*Canterbury* being Metropolitane, I got license to "put the matter in queſtion, to which grant you all "put your Seales, as here in this Court the ſame is to "be ſeene. True it is, ſaid the Lord of *Canterbury*, and I doubt not but that all my brethren here preſent will acknowledge the ſame. Not ſo my Lord, ſaid the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, you never had my hand to that Inſtrument, nor never ſhall. Indeed, ſaid *Canterbury*, you did it not your ſelfe, but admitted me to ſub-ſcribe your name, and allowed me your Seale; under your correction, ſaid *Rocheſter*, that is not ſo; Well, well, (quoth the King) you are but one man, againſt whom at this time we will not diſpute, and ſo roſe up, and the Court adjourned untill another day. Which was upon the next following, twentieth of May, the two Cardinals being ſet, the Lawyers were ready upon either parts. Againſt the lawfulneſſe of the marriage, was alledged the other, formerly ſolemnized with Prince *Arthur*, the Kings elder brother, and the Nuptiall knowledge of Lady *Katherines* body, which was vehemently proſecuted by the Kings learned Councell, by many reaſons and likelihoods of truth: one was, that Prince *Henry* had beene deferred from creation and title of Prince of *Wales*, the ſpace of ſixe moneths after *Arthurs* deceaſe, as doubtfull whether Lady *Katherine* had beene by him conceived with child; for which cauſe, as was alledged, the ſaid Lady had procured a ſecond Bull from the Pope, with this tolleration, *Vel forſan cognitam, and peradventure carnally knowne:* which Bull was onely purchaſed to diſpence with this marriage. That ſhee

The King re-ceiveth the Cardinall.

Ex Mſ. S. by the Kings Agent.

The Emperour ſought to re-vert the ſen-tence of *Paulus.*

The two Car-dinals per-wade the Queene.

King Henrie confeſſeth all.

Wolſeys ſpeech to the Queen.

The Queenes anſwer.

The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* main-tayneth the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

The ſecond Sit-ting of the Court in Blacke Fryers.

Fox Mar. Mſ. 1190.

Holinſh. pag. 950.

Reaſons to di-prove the mar-riage.

Edward Hall.

ſhe was carnally knowne, was urged the report of his Chamberlaine, upon certaine words ſpoken by Prince *Arthur* the firſt Morning that he roſe from her bed.

Greateſt preſumptions that Qu. *Katherine* had beene carnally knowne by Prince *Arthur.*

(71) The Negatives denied all the preſumptions, eſpecially this laſt, as to farre unbeſeeming that reverend aſſembly and honourable Court. But by theſe Authenticall records which M. *Fox* had in his cuſtody, the matter is paſt all contradiction for her carnall knowledge, where it is affirmed that the Ambaſſadors of *Ferdinando*, being in *England* to ſee the ſame marriage conſummated, returned their knowledge of their mutuall conjunction, as that nothing was left unperformed of any nuptiall right; and they being of yeares able to explete the act, he above fifteene, and ſhe above ſeventeene; laid both in one bed almoſt five moneths together, doe aſſure us the certaintie of that, which they made their greateſt doubt, unleſſe the Popes diſpenſation was a Core to the cauſe. But that ſhe was carnally knowne, the Vniverſitie of *Padua* had concluded in their ſentence, whom the Emperours Ambaſſadours earneſtly ſollicited, either to retract their ſaid Grant, or to give forth a new Sentence upon the caſe that the Queene was not *carnaliter cognita ab illuſtriſſimo Principe Arthuro*, or to determine that this Matrimony was not *dirimendum*, which in no wiſe they could obtaine, though they offered very largely to have it done. Thus from day to day the pleas proceeded, but nothing concluded touching the divorce; whereupon the King ſent the two Cardinals to perſwade with the Queene to put the whole matter onely to himſelfe; which would be farre better, and more honourable for her, then to ſtand to the tryall of Law.

(72) Theſe Legates accordingly repaired to *Bridewell*, and in the preſence ſtaied for the Queene, who preſently from among her maids at work came forth unto them, having a skeine of white thread about her necke; at whoſe ſight ſhe ſaid, Alacke my Lords, I am very ſorry to make you attend upon me; What is your will? If it pleaſe your Grace, (quoth Cardinall *Wolſey*) to goe into your privy-Chamber, we will deliver the cauſe of our comming: My Lord (quoth ſhe) this place is moſt fit, I pray you therefore declare here your minds. With that he began his ſpeech in Latine, which ſhe preſently interrupted, ſaying, that ſhe underſtood the Engliſh very well.

(73) Madam (quoth the Cardinall) we are come "in good will, to know your Graces minde, in this "great matter of your marriage, and to give you our "adviſe with the beſt ſervice we can. My Lords (ſaid "ſhe) I thanke you, but for anſwere of my reſolution, "I cannot ſo ſuddenly make, the cauſe is great, and "toucheth me very neere; I am here a ſtranger, a poore "woman, lacking wit, not able to anſwer ſuch noble "and wiſe Perſonages as ye be, I have need of coun-"ſell, and they be in *Spaine*; for thinke you, my "Lords, that any Engliſh ſubjects, will be for mee a-"gainſt the King? forſooth I know they will not, I "pray your Lordſhips be good unto mee, a forrainer "and deſtiture of friends, and aſſiſt mee with your "Counſels, which I will be glad to heare. And there-upon taking them by the hands, led them into her Chamber, where they ſtayed ſomewhat long; which done, they departed, and made relation of her anſwer unto the King. Who nothing pleaſed at the anſwer ſhe made them, ſent againe certaine Lords unto her, to ſhew her the determinations of thoſe Chriſtian Vniverſities, who had preſcribed the marriage unlawfull, and to wiſh her to remit the matter for the quieting of the Kings conſcience unto foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lords: Vnto whom ſhee anſwered, ſaying, "The King my Father which concluded my "marriage, I am ſure was not ſo ignorant, but he asked "counſell of Clerkes and well-learned men, before he "married me the ſecond time: for if he had had any "doubt in my marriage, he would not have disbur-"ſed ſo great a treaſure as he did, and then all the "Doctors agreed my marriage to be good; inſomuch "that the Pope himſelfe, which knew beſt what was "to be done, did both diſpence and ratifie the ſecond "marriage, againſt whoſe doings I marvaile that any "perſon will ſpeake or write. But as touching the "determinations of the Vniverſities, I am a woman, "and lacke wit and learning to anſwer to them, but "to God I commit the judgement of that, whether "they have done juſtly or partially: for this I am "ſure, that neither the Kings Father, nor my Father "would have condiſcended to our marriage, if it had "beene declared to be unlawfull; and where you "ſay, I ſhould put the cauſe to eight perſons of this "Realme for quieteneſſe of the Kings conſcience; I "pray God ſend his Grace a quiet conſcience: and "this ſhall be your anſwer, that I ſay I am his law-"full wife, and to him lawfully married, and by the "order of the holy Church, I was to him eſpouſed "as his true Wife, (although I was ſo unworthy) and "in that point I will abide, till the Court of *Rome*, "which was privy to the beginning, have made "thereof a determination and finall end.

Wolſeys ſpeech to the Queene.

The Queenes anſwer.

(74) The King then hopeleſſe of his Queenes conſent, haſted his Lawyers to forward their divorce, which daily they did, and the Conſiſtory at *Blacke-Friers* daily frequented, all points in Law were opened to the full, ſo that nothing now remained but the ſentence of the Iudges: for which a ſolemne day was aſſigned, when the King in perſon came to heare it himſelfe. His ſeat taken, and the Court ſet, after a cry for ſilence, the proceedings were openly read, and all doubts cleared, the learned Counſell at Bar called for Iudgement, whereunto *Campius*, the Popes ſtout Champion, upon his ſtiffe gouty legges flood up, all men expecting the ſentence of Divorce, but the Cardinall now not to learne what he had formerly determined, ſaid flatly, "I will not give judgement in this "matter, too high for us, conſidering the eſtates of "the Perſons, and the doubtfulneſſe of the occaſions "alledged, untill I have made a full relation to the "Popes Holineſſe of all our proceedings, whoſe "counſell and commandement in this caſe I will ob-"ſerve and follow, under whoſe authoritie we ſit and "are Commiſſioners, therefore I will adjourne the "Court for this time, according to the order of the "Court of *Rome*, from whence our ſemblable juriſ-"diction is derived. Which, how it diſpleaſed the King, the Sequell will ſhew, and how then taken, the words of the Duke of *Suffolke* did well declare, who ſtepping forth, with a ſterne countenance uſed "theſe words; It was never merry in *England* ſince "we have had any Cardinals among us.

King Henry proſecuteth his divorce.

Cardinall *Campius* referreth the cauſe of Divorce to the judgement of the Pope.

The ſaying of the Duke of *Suffolke.*

The Iudgement thus ſtaid, the King ſent his Secretary *Stephen Gardiner* to *Rome*, to follow that Court, whither Queene *Katherine* had made her appeale: and Cardinall *Campius* admitted to depart, went away in no ſuch eſtate as was held fit for a Man of his place, but rather as one ſuſpected to carry with him more then his owne, had all his Chests ſearched at *Calis*, even to the Cloke-bags and Males. The cauſe of this ſtay (ſaith *Sleidan*) was, that the *French* King, an entire friend unto *Rome*, had no better ſucceſſe in *Naples*, againſt the Emperour, whom the Pope durſt not diſpleaſe, the Lady *Katherine* being his Aunt, for whom the Emperour was ſo earneſt, as in her behalfe hee laboured *Millan* and many other places, that their learned men ſhould not determine againſt the ſaid Queene. But whatſoever the cauſe was, that *Campius* denied his ſentence for the Divorce, certaine it is, that Cardinall *Wolſey* fell likewiſe in great diſpleaſure of the King, though he ſought to excuſe himſelfe with vvant of ſufficient authoritie: but novv his Sun having paſſed the Meridian of his greatneſſe, began by degrees againe to decline, till laſtly it fet under the cloud of his fatall eclipſe.

The Cardinals Chefts ſear-ched.

Sleidan. Com. Lib. 9.

The cauſe why *Campius* ſtayed ſentence.

(75) Formerly vve have ſpoken of the riſing of this man, vvho novv being ſvvolne ſo big by the blaſts of promotion, as the bladder not able to containe more greatneſſe, ſuddenly burſt, and vented forth the vvind of all former favours. Vaine-glorious he vvas, in ſtate, in diet, and in rich furniture for houſe, and in prodigall intertainements, more like to a Prince then a

Wolſeys greatneſſe.

Prelate, attended with so many officers & servants, as is almost incredible, were not his Check-roll yet to be seene. At his Masse he was served by Dukes, and Earles, who took the assay of his wine on their knees, and held him his Basen at the Lavatory. And being Ambassadour unto the Emperour at *Brussels*, was there waited upon by many Noble-men of *England*, and served at Table by his servitors upon their knees, to the great admiration of the *Germaines* which beheld it: and indeed so much over-topped the Pompe of a spirituall function, as hee seemed to the more humble, to be mad for joy; and him doth *Campian* judge, rather to be a Bastard of some Prince, then the sonne of a Butchers so moulded for the one, and so far mounting from the other: exceedingly wife he was, and very well spoken, but full of revenge, and vicious of body, thrall to affection, and lulled asleepe with flattery, insatiable to get, but princely in bestowing, loftie to his enemies, and not easily reconciled, which hastened his fall, when he first began to slip. Queene *Katherine* in her cause, did grievously accuse him; the Councell for their parts did article against him; the Law found him in a premunire unto the King; and Sir *Thomas Moore* in the high Court of Parliament, inveighed bitterly against him.

Hollinsh. p. 848.

Ex Paralip. Abbat. Wigorn.

Edm Campian.

Edw. Hall.

Complaints against *Wolsey.*

(76) The first step of his discent was his dislike of the Kings affection unto *Anne Bullen*, a Gentlewoman nothing favourable to his Pontificall pompe, nor no great follower of the Rite of those times, which moved the Cardinall (the *Pope* having assumed the sentence of *Queene Katherines* cause unto himselfe) to write unto his Holinesse to deferre the judement of Divorce, till he had wrought the Kings minde in another mould. This was not done so secretly, but that it came to the Kings eare, and lastly cost the proud Cardinal his life. For the broad seale first taken from him, and his other Bishopricks elsewhere bestowed, his House and furniture seized upon, and himselfe removed into the North, at *Cawood*-castle seven miles from *Yorke*, was suddenly arrested (for arrogant words importing a desire of revengement, saith *Sleidan*) by the Earle of *Northumberland*, whence he was conveied toward *London* by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in wch journey at *Leicester Abbey* he ended his life, whose death himselfe had hastened by taking an over-much quantity of a confection to breake winde from off his stomacke, and in that Church was there enterred.

Wolseys declination.

Sleidans Com. lib 9.

(77) The grudges against this Cardinall were many and great, not onely for the especiall favour he stood in with the King, and great stroake he bare at Counsell-Boord, (both which commonly breed emulation unto the man so estated) but for his intollerable pillings, who to patch up his pride in the raising of his new Colledges, erected at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, by the License of *Pope Clement* 7. suppressed fortie Monasteries of good fame, and bountifull Hospitalitie, converting all their goods and moveables into his owne Coffers; which were so stuffed with treasure, that twelve Barrels full of Gold and Silver were laid aside, to serve the *Pope* in his warres. As also, that he emptied the Land of twelve-score thousand pound, enforced by him from the King. All which he converted to relieve, and ransome the *Pope* then in Prison, to the great impoverishing of his Majesties Cofers. That his owne revenewes by his faculties, licenses, and other legantine exactions did equalize the Kings yearely Revenewes, and lastly his pride so intollerable, as no lesse then twvelve hundred Horse for his retinue, fourescore Wagons for his carriage, and threescore Mules for sumpter-Horses attended him into *France*. But *sic transit gloria mundi*, for the highest sloud is subject to an ebbe.

John Stowes Annal. Rot. 6.

Novemb. 18. Edw. Hall.

The causes of grudge against the Cardinall.

Master Fox in Acts and Monuments. Forty Monasteries suppressed by Cardinall *Wolsey.*

Edw. Hall.

(78) But whilest the matter of the Kings marriage hung thus in suspence the space of twvo yeares, and other Ambassadors intended to be sent unto *Rome*: it chanced Doctor *Cranmer*, Doctor *Stephens*, and Doctor *Fox* to meet at *Waltham* at one Table, vvhere the tvvo latter, great Agents for the King, fell in discourse of his cause, by rearmes and strength of the Civill-Lavv. Well, said Doctor *Cranmer*, if I might be heard, I thinke much better it might be tried by Gods Law: whereby the King should be furer setled in the cause of his Conscience, then thus to be posted off with delayes from yeare to yeare. This speech *Doctor Fox* made knowne to his Majesty, which founded very tunably in his eare, then was *Cranmar* sent for, conferred with by the King, and commanded to write his minde in the matter, but with this caution prefixed, not to respect the persons but the cause; who to him commended the vertuous perfections of his Queene, with whom above all others he most desired to continue, if their marriage could be made warrantable by Gods Lawes: to which end he commended the care of Bookes, and of his other Provisions unto the Earle of *Wiltshire* at *Durham* Place. The Doctor thus set on worke, when he least looked to be so imployed, proved by Scriptures, Generall Councels, Ancient Writers, besides the presents, and his owne opinion, *That the Bishop of Rome had no authoritie to dispence with the word of God, nor the Scriptures.*

Doctor *Cranmer* first sets to the King.

(79) The treatise thus finished, he presented it to the King, which when he had well read, and weighed the substance therein contained; Will you (quoth he) Master Doctor, abide by what you have writ? That will I by Gods grace said *Cranmar*, even before the Pope himself, if your Majesty wil so assigne it; Marry, quoth the King to him shall you go. Whereupon *Thomas Bullen Earle of Wiltshire*, *Doctor Stokesley*, *Elect of London*, *Doctor Lee the Kings Almoner*, the Doctors *Crane*, *Bennet*, and *Cranmar*, were sent to the Pope then at *Bononie* in *Italy*. The day approached for audience of their Ambassage, and the high Prelate set upon his Throne of Estate, the Doctor prepared to make his Oration in defence of what he had writ, when on the sudden he was interrupted by an unmannerly spaniell of the Earles, who seeing the Pope put forth his foot to be kist, caught in his teeth the Pontificals great Toe, so that these Ambassadors disdaining to kisse where the dogge had taken an assay, let the Pope draw backe his foot, and so lost that especiall favour offered unto them. The Proposition then made, that no man, *jure divino*, could or ought to marry his Brothers Wife, and that the Bishop of *Rome* by no meanes could dispence to the contrary, was replied unto, that it should be answered at more leasure, when his Holinesse returned to *Rome*; in the meane while, to grace *Cranmar* the more, he gratified him with the office of the Penitenciarishipp, and so dismissed the Ambassadors: who all, saving *Cranmar*, returned to *England*; but he tooke his way towards the Emperour, (to whom the cause somewhat appertained) being then at *Vienna* in his expedition against the Turke, unto whose learned men he offered disputation, and in private conference so satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most respected for learning in the Emperours Court; as he held the Proposition most true. Whereupon, others learned, were discouraged to dispute, and suffered *Cranmar* to depart without any further proceedings.

Ambassadors sent unto the Pope.

Fox Acts and Monuments, page 1036.

Answere to the propositions put off.

Cornelius Agrip pa excuseth to the proposition.

(80) The matter thus manifested in most parts of *Christendome*, this *Gordians* knot was lastly unloosed by King *Henry* himselfe, who now besides this his marriage began to call in question, what authority the *Pope* had in his dominions, which being afterwards debated in Parliament, an Act passed against his usurped *Hierarchy*, & all persons forbidden to appeale, or to make any payments unto *Rome*. The Kings marriage with Lady *Katherine*, was by the same Parliament dissolved, and his separation from her, made by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to stand good, and effectuall by Law, and that Queene *Katherine* from thenceforth should be called *Princesse Dowager*, which doings she tooke so to heart, as she procured the *Popes* curse against King *Henry* and his Realme, which curse was set up at *Dunkirke* in *Flanders*, for that the bringer thereof durst come no neerer. And the *Pope* in revenge of himselfe, being set in his Consistory accompanied with his *Cardinals*, proceeded to the Censure of these great Princes marriage, which he then adjudged to stand most firme and Canonicall, and

The Pope restauration forbid by Parliament. *Ex Paul. 14. 15. 8.*

King *Henries* marriage dissolved by Parliament. *Fox Martyrol. Katherine Dowager.*

Hollinsh. p. 856.

Pope *Clement* 7. adjudgeth the marriage lawfull.

The thundrings of Pope *Clem. 7.*

Sleid com. lib 9.

The discent of *Anne Bullen.*

Cranmars collections against the Pope.

Sir *Godfrey Bullen* L. Mayor of *London*, An. 1457.

Sanders in Schism. Angl.

Anne Bullens religion.

Sleid com. lib. 9.

Anne Bullen created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*. An. Dom. 1532. *Octob. 11.*

King *Henry* complaineth of the dull Pope.

King *Henry* allowed the Pope 60000. Angels monthly.

Joh. Stowes pag. 596. An. Dom. 1533. *Nov. 14.*

Upon S. Erkenwolds day, saith *Hollinshead* and *Grafton*, King *Henry* married *Anne Bullen.*

* The Pope.

and enjoyned K. *Henry* to hold matrimoniall societie with the said *Katherine* his lawfull wife and Queene, and in that estate to account and maintaine her as it became a King and loving Husband to doe, and if he refused to accomplish these premisses, then to bee compelled thereunto, and never after to be heard in any Court, as touching the invalidity of the said marriage, and to pay the expences of the said traverse, as he the holy Father should limit and thinke meet. This was done a yeare after that the King had married Queene *Anne*, and bare date from *Rome*, the 23. of March and yeare of *Christ* 1534. When afterwards King *Henry* set his affection upon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, a Phenix indeed in his Princely eye, and another *Hester* for *Englands* salvation, both in her selfe and royall Bud succeeding, as the Heavens and World doe witnesse to this day. Shee was the daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Viscount *Rochford*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*. This Earle *Thomas* her father was the sonne of Sir *William Bullen*, whose wife was Lady *Margaret*, the second daughter and Coheire of *Thomas Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and the said Sir *William* was the sonne of Sir *Godfrey Bullen* Lord Mayor of *London*, who lyeth buried in Saint *Laurence* Church in the Iewry, pictured in his winding sheet upon a plate of Brasse, and about his Grave-stone upon a border of Brasse in many places these words are written, *Now thus*, *Now thus*, *Now thus*, whose Charitie was extended upon the poore Housholders of that city, to distributing among them a thousand pounds. His Lady was *Anne*, eldest daughter and Coheire unto *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Hasting*, and his discent out of the Houſe of the *Bullens*, an ancient Family in the County of *Norfolke*; accursed therefore be the pen, that slanderously bringeth this Rose from a defiled Bed, whose *Serpents* mouth to uphold his God the Pope, hath spewed out his poyson of untruths, and made his tongue a sharpe sword against the Lords anointed; let him therefore receive his portion with the Serpent of deceit, and his reward with Sathan the father of Lies.

(81) This Ladies religion was different from all Papall indulgences, imbracing the Gospel that then began in our vulgar language to be read, for which cause faith *Sleiden*, she was accounted a *Lutheran*, cause enough to be envied at, by the Bishops of that time.

(82) Her, the King invested Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke* with Mantle and Coronet, both in regard of her Nobility, and many vertues (for so run the words of her Patent) which done, he tooke the Seas for *France*, accompanied with such a traine of his Nobles, as the like had not beene seene, and among many Ladies *Anne Bullen* was one, where he complained to the French King of the great wrongs offered him by the dull Pope, as he called him, who would have Kings in person to attend his leasure at *Rome*, and contrary to their Kingly dignities, to expose themselves and affaires at his will there, to bondage and great danger; and therefore he earnestly requested that the Pope might be summoned to a Councell, to answer the many abuses that he had offered unto most of the Princes in Christendome, and unto himselfe not the least; who for his part had allowed him threescore thousand Angels monthly, to maintaine an Army for his deliverance out of the Castle of *Angell*; where the Emperials under the Prince of *Orenge* kept him. Which his businesse being ended in *France*, and the King againe returned into *England*, hee presently (though privily) married the said Lady *Marchioneſſe* in his Closet at *Whitehall*, in the presence of many; the Lady *Anne Savage* bearing her Traine, and Doctor *Lee* doing the rites of their conjunction, who was afterwards confecrated Bishop of *Chester*, *Coventree*, and *Lichfield*, and President of *Wales*.

(83) The Romanists much fearing that *Babell* would downe, if Queene *Anne* might be heard against wicked * *Haman*, fought to under-prop the foundations thereof, with certaine devises of their owne; and that the same might passe without note of suspition, they laid their forgery even upon Heaven it selfe; whose pretended Oracle *Elizabeth Barton* (commonly called, the *holy made of Kent*) was made to be; and the pillers of this godlesse Fabricke were *Edward Backing*, a Monke by profession, and Doctor of Divinity, *Richard Masters*, Parson of *Aldington*, the Towne wherein she dwelt, *Richard Deering* a Monke, *Hugh Rich* a Fryer, *John Adestone*, and *Thomas Abell*, Priests, put to their helping hands, and *Henry Gould* Bachelour of Divinity, with *John Fisher* the Reverend Father of *Rochester*, imployed their paines to daube these downe-falling walles, with their untempered Morter. The Scribes that set their pens for her Miracles, were *Edward Thwaites* Gentleman, and *Thomas Lawrence* Regester, besides *Hawkherst* a Monke who writa Letter that was forged to be sent her from Heaven; and *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gould*, were the men which dispersed her Miracles abroad to the world. This holy maide *Elizabeth* made a Votarisse in *Canterbury*, was taught by *Backing* her ghostly Father, and suspected Paramour, to counterfeit many fained trances, and in the same to utter many vertuous words for the rebuke of sin, under which, more freely she was heard against *Luthers* Doctrine, and the Scriptures translation, then desired of many: neither so only, but that she gave forth from God, and his Saints, by sundry suggestive Revelations, that if the King proceeded in his divorce, and second marriage, hee should not raigne in his Realme one moneth after, nor rest in Gods favour the space of an houre. But the truth discovered by Gods true Ministers, this Oracle gave place as all other such did, when Christ by his death stopped their lying mouthes: for her selfe and * seven of her Disciples were executed for Treason at Tiborne, and the other sixe put to their fines and imprisonment. With the like counterfeit revelations and fained predictions this Generation of Hypocrites had brought *Edward* Lord *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham* unto his unhappy end, when as by the working of *Iohn de la Court*, his owne Confessor, together with *Nicholas Hopkins*, a Monke of the *Carthusian* Order, in the Priory of *Henton* in *Somersetshire*, who by his visions from heaven forsooth, hearkned him for the Crowne; but before his owne Coronet could aspire to that top, hee worthily lost both head and all upon Tower-hill for his treason, *Anno Dom.* 1521. Vnto such sinnes the world was then subject, and into such conceits their repured holinesse had brought them, not onely among the simple and unlettered, but even with them that seemed to bee learned indeed; for by certaine predictions fore-shewing a great deluge, Prior *Bolton* of Saint *Bartholomewes* in *London*, was so fearefull, that he built him a house upon the height of *Harrow*-hill, storing it with provisions necessary, to keepe himselfe from drowning, in *Anno Dom.* 1524.

Elizabeth Barton false Oracle of the Nunnes of Kent. The authors of this false Prophesie.

Read Statut. 21. *Ann.* 25. of King Henry 8.

The counterfeitings of *Elizabeth Barton.*

Edward Hall. John Stow. Hollinsh.

Cranmar. Cromwell. Latimer.

* *Elizab. Barton. Edw. Backing. Rich Deering. Richard Risby. Rich. Masters. Henry Gould. Two Monks.*

John Stow.

Edward Duke of Buckingham beheaded. *Holl. 50.*

(84) But the Popes Holinesse fearing the event of the game, if every man might set & cast at his crowne, thought it high time to lay hand on his own stake, and to keepe what was left, lest all would bee gone; to which end hee sollicited many Christian Princes to stand on his part, and among them sent his Breefe unto *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland*, desiring his assistance against King *Henry* of *England*, whom in his Consistory hee had pronounced to bean Hereticke, a Schismaticke, a manifest Adulterer, a publike murtherer, a committer of Sacriledge, a Rebell, and convict of *Lasæ Majestatis*, for that he had risen against him who was his Lord. And therefore he had justly deprived him of his said Kingdome, and would dispose the same to him and other Princes, so as they would assist to recover the same: a very good provision, and very well fore-seene; for notwithstanding their boisterous blasts from *Rome*, the King kept his Crown and was rather feared of the Popes best Abetters, then did feare any potent power that the world could afford, whose thoughts were now busied for the Coronation of his Queene.

The vain fears of Peter *Bolton.*

The Pope incited *Iames* the fift King of *Scotland* against King *Henry* of *England*, for cause.

Hollinsh. Edw.

(85) For Queene *Anne* conceived, and perceived with-Child, her royall Coronation was forthwith prepared,

Queene *Anne* crowned.

Lady Elizabeths birth.

An. Dom. 1533.

prepared, which with all royall obseruances upon the first of *Iune*, being *Whitsunday*, was performed; and the seuenth of *September* following, she bare into the world that excellent Princesse, which afterwards proued the mirrour of the World, euen Lady ELIZABETH, our late and most famous Queene.

(86) True it is, that the zealous conversation of this godly Queene gaue great encouragements unto many, more publikely with boldnesse to professe the Gospell; so that the Ministers formerly fled in case of Religion, returned againe into *England*, where the new Testament (translated by *Tyndall*) was read, but with such dislikes to the Bishops, that they got it to bee burnt. Notwithstanding, to tickle the Kings eare, they preached against the Popes supremacy, and took the Oath for the King themselves; abolished his authority by Act of Parliament, and suppressed many Monasteries; leaving their revenewes to the Kings will; faire introductions indeed for what they intended, as the sequell of the sixe Articles by them procured, doth manifestly shew: and those purposely made against the maintainers of the Gospel, wherof Queene *Anne* was the chiefe; who first was most favourable to those learned Divines, that laid mans falvation upon the Rocke Christ; next in procuring a tolleration from the King for them, whose doctrine did daily undermine the Papall foundation: and lastly, she by no meanes would consent to marry the King, untill a lawfull divorce was had for his separation from Lady *Katherine*, his brother *Arthurs* wife, which thing this pope greatly withstood: these were causes sufficient to move his Holinesse to bend his brow, & by his Instruments in Court to cut off this principall moover, who foreflowing no time, took the Bal before his rebound.

Stat. Earl He. 28. cap. 10.

Queene *Anne* a great lover of the Gospell.

An. Dom. 1536. Ianuary 29.

(87) For the Queene delivered of a dead child, and the Kings affection wandring elsewhere, gave them occasion to worke on that Subject, which God in his wisdome would have done; lest his deliverance from the bondage of darkenesse should be attributed to any fleshly arme; or that she who then sate in the throne of the worlds full felicity, should fixe her senses on so fickle a Center, who having had experience what it was to be a Prince, must henceforth practise the patience of a poore prisoner; which in the third yeare of her marriage, and fecond of May, to act the wofull Scene of her Tragedy, she came upon the Stage; being sent to the Tower of *London*, and charged with high Treason against the King: at whose first entrance thee fell on her knees before *Thomas Audley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, her bringers, desiring God so to helpe her as she was guiltlesse of those things whereof shee was accused, beseeching those Lords to be Petitioners unto his Majesty in her behalfe, who lamenting her case, left her Prisoner with Sir *William Kingston* Constable of the place.

Queene *Anne* delivered of a dead Child.

Queene *Anne* sent to the Tower.

(88) I will in no wise excuse her guilt, having had judgement and death by law, though others, and that upon just occasions before mee have done, but will speake from them what they have said; and namely one, that wrote thereof unto a worthy and reverent person; in whose defence his words are these: *It seemeth very plaine, that the crimes supposed against this Christian Queene Anne, were matters contrived by the devise of the Pope, and his instruments, her enemies. None of them all that were accused in the same Treason, confessing the act even unto death, but have left direct Testimonies in writing to the contrary; one meane Groome excepted, namely* Marke Smeton; *made confession upon some promise of life belike, but had his head cut off before he was aware, or had time to recall what he had said.* The like did *Cromwell* the Secretary signifie to the King, after the prisoners had beene throughly examined in the Tower by the Councell, who wrote thus in his letter on the same day; *Many things have beene objected, but nothing confessed, onely some circumstances have beene acknowledged by* Marke. And so doth *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his Letter of comfort unto the King, who fore lamented that such a star was falne, if her guilt could be proved, & willed his Highnesse to stand in defence of the Gospell, as shee had done, without any report of confessing or acknowledging any such Acts as were objected, which as *Sleiden* writeth, *were Adultery, and incest, but unjustly* (saith he) *as it is supposed and prooved since: With her were executed certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Privy Chamber, namely*, Norris, Weston, Brewton, *and one* Markes, *which contrary to his conscience (as it is reported) for hope of preferment subscribed to a Bill, whereby hee condemned both himselfe, and all the rest.*

Mich. Sands. The defence of Queene *Anne.*

Cromwells Letter to the King under his owne hand.

Archbishop *Cranmers* Letter to the King.

(89) For upon the seventh of May, her brother *George Bullen*, Lord *Rochford*, for his supposed offence with these foure before named, were al of them beheaded upon the Tower hill, but none of them confessing the action. I have heard it reported that *Rochford* the Queenes brother comming to her bed side to solicite a suite, leaned thereupon to whisper her in the eare, which the Spials gave forth that he did so, to kisse the Queene, howsoever, they are dead, and the Queene must dye, who two dayes before had beene arraigned in the Tower, the Duke of *Norfolke* being her Iudge; to her inditement she answered so effectually, that she seemed to cleare all matters laid to her charge; yet was she found guilty, and upon the nineteenth day of May was brought to a Scaffold erected on the Greene within the said tower, where, in the presence of many Noblemen, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffes, and some principall Commoners, shee is said to have spoken these words in their presence.

Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton*, and *Markes*, beheaded.

May 19.

Queene *Anne* condemned and beheaded.

The extemple of Queene *Annes* penancy.

"(90) Good Christian people, I am come hither to "dye, for according to the Law, and by the Law, I am "judged to death, and therefore I will speake nothing "against it; I come hither to accuse no man, nor to "speake any thing of that whereof I am accused and "condemned; as for mine owne offences God know- "eth them, & unto God I remit them, beseeching him "to have mercy upon my foule, and if any person will "meddle in my cause, I desire them to judge the best; "and so I take my leave of the world, and of you all, "and heartily doe beseech you to pray for me; and I "beseech Iesus save my Soveraigne and Master the "King, the most godliest, noblest, and gentlest Prince, "that is, long to raigne over you. These words she "uttered with a smilling countenance, which done, she "kneeled downe, and with a fervent Spirit said, to "Iesus Christ I commend my foule, Lord Iesus re- "ceive my soule: and repeating those words very often, suddainly the stroke of the sword sealed the debt that she owed unto death; whose head and body was buried in the quier of the Chappell in the Tower.

Peters Grou. Queene *Annes* speech at her death.

The rising of *Cromwell.*

(91) Now that her death was rather sought for, then any wise deserved, doth witnesse the sword, whose edge was not wiped from the bloud of her death, before the marriage-bed of the King was prepared for another wife, which was Lady *Iane Seimer*, in vertues her equall; who upon the next day following being the 20. of May, was married unto the King, and succeeded this unfortunate Lady in place of his Queene.

King many married shortly after Queene *Annes* death.

S. Pridesuide, now Christ-Church.

Iohn Stow.

(92) And albeit Queene *Anne* in her life time had sinned, as *David*; or by frailty fell, as who sinneth not: yet that it should bee so licentious and unnaturall, the quiet of her conscience at her death, did well witnesse the contrary, and her innocency so much more apparant, as her Christian modesty, in excusing her Soveraigne, and yeelding obedience to the law, howsoever *Poole* and *Paulus Iovius*, from their Cardinals spleenes, have filled their pennes to blot her faire name, whose death notwithstanding was so grievously taken among the German Protestant Princes, who were minded to have made King *Henry* the head of their league, that thereupon they utterly brake off, and refused him, onely for the cause and death of this most Christian Queene, whose Religion and vertues daily shewed forth the fruits of her life, both in preferring the best men of gifts unto the best Benefices, and also retaining for her Chapleins them of good fame, whose godly exhortations shee did not onely follow, but would will them freely to tell her what they saw in her amisse. So mercifull she was to the poore, that shee spent almost her whole revenew for

Queene *Anne* thought to dye guiltlesse.

Stat. in An. 31. Hen. 8 cap. 13.

The Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandements in the English tongue Commaunded by *Lincolne-shire.*

Fox. Act. pag. 1234.

Grafton pag. 1217.

Latimer to the Bishoppricke of *worcester.* D. *Shaxton* to the Bishoppricke of *Salisbury.*

* King *Henries* Letter dated at *Windsor* 8. of *Octob.* and 27. of his raigne.

The godly life of Queene *Anne.*

Hall and Stow.

Iames 2. 8.

Out of the relation of a Nobleman.

for their reliefe, and in nine moneths space distributed among them to the value of fifteen thousand pounds, intending likewise to bestow a great stocke into the foure quarters of the Realme, to set poore Artificers on worke. Now if the tree be knowne by the fruits, as truely it is, then these were her lights that shined before men, and the workes that shewed the fruits of her faith, farre from such sinnes, as the sway of those times charged her with.

(93) And by the working of the same faith, her penancy was seene, in her sorrowes conceived, and thirsting reconciliation unto them whom she had any wise offended, as by this worthy example is apparant; when the day before she suffered death, being attended upon with sixe Ladies in the Tower, she took the Lady *Kingston* into her Presence Chamber, and there locking the dore upon them, willed her to sit down in the Chaire of Estate: whereunto she answered, that it was her duty to stand, and not to sit at all in her presence, much lesse upon the seat and state of her, her Queene. Ah Madam, quoth she, that title is gone, I am a condemned person, and by law have no estate left me in this life; but for clearing of my conscience, I pray you sit downe; well, said the Lady *Kingstone*, I have often plaide the foole in my youth, and to fulfill your command, I will doe it once more in mine age, and thereupon sate downe under the cloath of Estate; which no sooner was done, but that the Queene most humbly fell upon her knees before her, & with teares, holding up her hands, charged her in the presence of God and his Angels, as she would answer her before them, when all should appeare in judgement, that she should so fall downe before the Lady *Maries* Grace, her daughter in Law; and in her name in like manner, aske her forgivenes for the wrongs she had done her, for till that was accomplished (she said) her conscience could not be quiet: what her offence was to herward, we know not, but may be supposed not to be capitall, the Queenes case wayed, the time considered, and her enemies none of the meanest, onely this I observe, that as she cleared her conscience of the lesser crimes, so undoubtedly would shee have done of the greater, if any had beene committed, and so as her self instantly desired, I commit her case to be charitably spoken of, and leave her and them unto the Lord.

(94) But as one pillar for the Gospels defence was falne by the death of Queene *Anne*, so another was raised, by raising *Cromwell* from the base of his birth, no better indeed then a Blacke-smiths sonne, who serving great *Wolsey* in the office of his Solicitor, was employed by him for the suppreffion of forty Monasteries, to the erection of his Colledges at * *Oxford* & *Ipswich*; by which he mounted those steps of estate, which (but not kept) him in the high chaire of his authority; first by K. *Henry* he was made Master of his Iewelhouse, then Baron of *Okeham* in *Rutlandshire*, then Knight of the Garter, ere long was created Earle of *Essex*, then was he made Lord great Chamberlaine, & lastly ordained the Kings Vicar Generall; and thus farre fortune brought him from the Forge for a fall.

(95) For K. *Henry* unstayed in religious resolution (the Supremacy settled where he would have it, & the revenews of all Monasteries given him by Parliament) sought no further to reforme the Churches abuses, but onely gave way that the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and Commandements might be read in English, which *Cromwell* procured to be enacted by Parliament. The Commons then misliking that their mumblings must downe, & the Monks soretroubled to mingle English in their Masses, the *Lincolneshire* men began a Commotion, under the conduct of D. *Mackarell* a Monke, who named himself Captaine *Cobler*, & his followers were growne well neere unto twenty thousand. Against these, the King in person prepared, sending forth his command unto severall Counties, to charge them with a taxation of furnished Souldiers to meet him at *Amphell*, as by * one we have seene signed with the stampe of his hand, and sent unto the Bishop of *Exceter* for foure hundred able men, whereof sixscore to be Archers, which great preparation being knowne to the Rebels, they sent to his Majesty these Articles, subscribed with many of their hands, the tenour whereof out of the Originall it self was, as followeth.

To the King our Soveraigne Lord.

The aggreevances of the Commons of *Lincolnshire.*

Pleaseth it your Highnesse to be advertised, that your poore Comminaltie, true and faithfull Subjects, in your County of *Lincolne*, at this present time assembled, findeth our selves grieved in these Articles hereafter following.

Suppression of Monasteries.

First, for the suppressiō of so many religious houses, as be at this instant time suppressed. Whereby the service of God is not onely minished, but also the poorealty of your Realme beunrelieved, and many persons be put from their livings, and left at large, which we thinke is a great hindrance to the Common-wealth.

Act of Vse.

The second Article is, that we humbly beseech your Grace, that the Act of uses may be repealed, because we thinke that by the said Act we be clearely restrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our Willes, concerning our landsas well for the paiment of our debts, for doing of your Grace service, as for helping and relieving of our children, which we have had by the sufferance of your lawes by a long continuance, which we thinke is great hurt and discommoditie to the Common-wealth.

Taxe of quindecim.

The third Article is, that where your Grace hath a taxe, or quindecim, granted unto you by Act of Parliament, payable the next yeare: which is, and ever hath beene leveable of schepe and catall: And the schepe and catall of your Subjects within this said Shire, are now at this instant utterly decayed & gone. Whereby yff your Grace will take the said taxe, Your said Subjects should be constrained to pay iiij. d. for a beast, and xij. d. for xx. schepe: And that would be an importunate charge to theym, considered the poverty that they be in already, and the losse which they have sustained these two yeares by-past.

Counsellors disliked.

The fowrt Article is, that we your true and faithfull Subjects, thynkes that your Grace takes of your Councell, and very nygh about you, such Persones as be of lawe birth, and finale reputation, which have procured the premysses, most especiall for their singler lucre and advantage: the which we suspect to be the Lord *Cromwell*, and Sir *Richard Rich* Chanceller of the augmentations.

Tenths of spirituall liviings.

The fift Article is, your Grace to have the xth. and firft fruites of every spirituall promotion, of the value of xx.l. and above. And of all other under the said value which doe not keepe residence and hospitalitie of their said Benefices.

Dislike of Bishops.

The sixt Article is, that we your true Subjects finde them grieved, that there be divers Bishops of *Ingland*, of your Grace late promotion, that have subverted the faith of Crist, as wee thinke, which is the Archbyshop of *Canterbury*, the Bishoppe of *Rochester*, the Byshop of *Salisbury*, the Byshop of Saint *Davyes*, and the Byshop of *Develyn*. And in especiall as wee thinke the beginning of all the troble of this Realme, and the gret exactions that hath beene taken of your poore Communaltie, have risen by the occasion of the Bishop of *Lincolne*: by whose Officers, and by other of the Lord *Cromwels* servants, a great rumor and noyse is risen, and the commune voce is, that such Iowellys, Plate, and other anornaments of our Parish Churches, which wee occupy in the service and honour of God, should be taken from us, and spoiled in like maner and facion, as the housys of Religion hath bene. For a reformation of all and syngler the forefaid abuses. We your poore and trewe Subjects humble requirys your Grace and Majestie, that it might please your Highnesse to call unto you the Nobility of this your Realme, to see such Order and direction concerning all and singler the premisses, as may stand with honour and seveerity of your Grace, the vvelthe and prosperitie of your Realme, and the contentation of us your poore Subjects, and other the vvhole Communaltie of this your Realme.

Thom. Cranmer. Iohn Lyster.

Iohn Longland.

Whereby

Whereby we shall not onely accept your Grace to be the Head and Soveraigne of us your Subjects, but also accept and take your Grace to be Supreme head of the Church of *Ingland*, which we doe knowledge your Grace trewe inheritance and right.

Also your said trewe and faithfull subjects, with the hole assent of all your Communaltie of the said Shire, most humbly beseechith your gracious Majesty, to perdon this poore bearer in doing this his message to your Highnesse, who is your trewe and faithfull subject, and hath taken this message upon him for the fervent love that he hath to your Grace most for the fervent love that he hath to your Grace most in especiall, and for the staying of your Cominaltie ever sens this ruffull began, hath bene as glad with all his diligence to stay the commune people for the effusion of bloud, as be all his powre he might. The King with good words pacified these Commons, who laying aside weapons, imbraced their pardons.

Commons quest for the rest.

Commotions in Yorkshire.

(96) But this cloud scarfly overblowne, another more dangerous arose in the North, which threatned soarer stormes by the Skies over-cast: for 40000. Rustickes affembled in *Yorkshire*, furnished with Horse, Armour, Artillery, and Abilements for warre, threatned to set the stay of Estate upon the props of their giddy inventions. Their pretence was Religion, and defence of holy Church, their Banners painted with the five wounds of our Lord, the Challice, the Cake, and other like inventions of *Rome*, and upon their sleeves was writ the name of the Lord: and so forward and fervent were they in their proceedings, that this their attempt must be termed the *holy Pilgrimage*. Neither were the Rurall onely guiltie in this rebellion, but others of greater place and degree were associates, namely, *Edward* Lord Archbishop of *York*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, though both of them constrained by the Rebels as the said Archbishop testified under his owne hand: but voluntary and most forward were the Clergy of those parts, the Lord *Lumley*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *William Percies*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, and Sir *Robert Nevill*, all of them Knights, *John Lacy*, *Richard Beamond*, and *Robert Bowes* Esquiers; the Bayliffes of *Snaythe*, of *Leeds*, *Kellam*, and of *Beverly*. And for Captaine Generall, was *Robert Aske* a meane Gentleman, and one *Rudstone* his associate in the Field. Other Commanders they had out of the common sort, as *James Diamond* Generall of the Foot, and a poore Fisher-man, styled by himselfe and others, the Earle of *Povertie*. What authoritie these bare among these rude multitude may partly be perceived by their Mandates, and Commissions, sent forth in their names, and subscribed with their owne hands, as from the Originals of of some of them is here to be seene.

Holy Pilgrimage.

Ex. M.S. in Sir Robert Cotons Library.

The Captaine of the Commotions Letters.

Lords, Knights, Masters, Kinsmen, and Friends, we perceive that ye be informed that this Assemble our Pilgrimage, which we by the favour and mercy of Almighty God intendyth to proceed in, is because the King our Soveraine Lord hath had much impocessions of us, we doubt not but yee doe knowne and remember that to our powers we have beene alwaies as ready in paiments and services to his Highnesse as any his subjects: and further to acertaine you of the cause of our said assemble and pilgrimage is this, That for somuch that such simple and evill-disposed persons being of the Kings Councell, hath not only incensed his Grace with many things which be contrary to the Faith of God, honour of the Kings Majestie, and the Commonwealth of this Realme: and thereby hath destroyed, and yet utterly intendeth to destroy the Church of England, *and the Ministers of the same, as ye know so well as we: but also the said Councell hath robbed and spoiled, and further intendyth utterly to rob and spoile the whole body of the Kings Realme, and that as well all you, as us, if God of his infinite mercie had not caused such as hath taken, and hereafter shall take this pilgrimage upon them to proceed in the same: and whether all these things be true or not, we put it to your conscience. And if ye thinke it be true, and fight against us, which intendeth the Comen-wealth of this Realme, and nothing else, we trust yee shall have small speed: For this pilgrimage we have taken hyt for the preservation of Cryste Church of this Realme of* England, *the King our Soveraigne Lord, the Nobility, Barony and Comens of the same, and to the intent to make petition to the Kings Highnesse for reformation of that which is amisse within this his Realme. And for punishment of Heretickes and Subverters of Lawes; and neither for mony, malice, nor displeasure to any person, but such as be not worthy to remain weere the King our Soveraine Lords person. And further we know if ye should obtaine, as we truste yn God ye shall nat, then ye put both us and you, your heires and ours in bondage for ever; and further ye are sure of the interdiction of Cryste curse, and we cleare, and out of the same: And if we overcome you, ye shall be in our wylls; wherefore for a conclusion, if you will not comen with us for a reformation of the Premisses, we certifie you by this our writing, that we will feyght and dye, both against you, and all those that shall be about-wards to stop us in the said pilgrimage. And God shall shew his Grace and mercy therein: And then ye shall be judged hereafter to be shedars of some of Cryslyn bloud, and destroyers of your owyn Cryslen. From* Robert Aske, *chiefe Captaine of the Comynalty assembled in pilgrimage, for the Barony and Comynalty of the same.*

By me *Robert Aske* yn the name of all the Comynalty and Barony.

Ex M.S.

Of such terrour and haughtie spirit was this Captaine *Aske*, that when *Lancaster* an Herald at Armes, was sent to declare the Kings message in *Pomfret* Castle (which the Rebels had got by surrender from the Lord *Darcy*) he so blustred out his answers, that the daunted man excusing himselfe to be but a messenger, fell before him on his knees; till the Archbishop of *Yorke* tooke him up, saying, it was not beseeming the Coat he wore, to prostrate to any, but only to his Soveraigne. Read likewise if you please this strange Mandate from some mean man among them; the false suggestion that they possessed the ignorant with, and the Oath wherunto these holy Pilgrims were sworn, as I find them recorded by themselves in these very words.

The audacious dealings of the Rebels.

To the Commyns of *Hawkeside* Parish, Bayliffes, or Constables, with all the Hamlets of the same.

Welbeloved we greet you well, and whereas our brother Poverty, *and our brother* Rogers, *goith forward, is openly for the aid & assistance of your faith, and holy Church, and for the reformation of such Abbeys and Monasteries, now dissolved and suppressed without any just cause. Wherefore gudde brethers, For as much as our said brederyn hath send to us for aide and helpe, we doe not onely effectually desire you, but also under the paine of deadly sinne wee command you, & every of you, to be at the stoke Greene beside* Hawkside-*Kirke, the Saturday next, being the xxviij. day of October by xj. of the clokke, in your best array: as you will make answer before the heigh Iudge at the dreadfull day of Dome, and in the paine of pulling downe your Houses, and leasing of your gudds, and your bodies to bee at the Capteyns will: For at the place afore said, then and there, yee and wee shall take further direction concerning our faith, so furre decayed, And for good and laudable Customes of the Country, And such naughtie inventions and strange Articles now accepted and admitted, so that our said brother be subdued, they are like to goe furthwards to utter undoing of the Commyn-welth.*

The Earle of Shrewsbury maketh against the Rebels.

Slanderous or truethes against the King.

(97) And the more to draw forward the rude multitude, which were forward enough of themselves, they set forth in writing these slanderous untruths against the King.

1 The *first* is, that no Infant shall receive the blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, bot onlesse an trybett to be payd to the King.

2 The *second* is, that no man under xxl. Lands shall eyte no brede made of Wheat, ner Capon, Chekyn, Gois, ner Pigge, bott onlesse to pay a trybett to the King.

3 The *third* is, that for every ploghe-land the King will have entrybett, with other diverse extreme urgent causes, and hertely fare ye well.

Thomas Duke of Norfolke, Lord Lieutenant of the North.

The

The oath of the Pilgrims.

The Oath of the holy Pilgrimes.

Ye shall nat enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commyn-welthe, but only for the love that you clo bere unto Almighty Godde, his faith, & to holy Churche militant, the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of the Kings person, his issew, to the purifying of Nobilitie, and to expulse all vilayne blode, and evill Councellers against the Commyn-welthe, from his Grace and the privie Counsell of the same, and that ye shall nat enter into our said Pilgramege, for no particular profite to your self, nor to do no displeasure to no privey person, but by Councell for the Commyn-welthe, ner slee, ner murder for no envye, but in youre hertis put away all feare and dread, and take afore you the Crosse of Cristе, and in your herts his faith, the restitution of the Churche, the suppresion of these Heretyks, and their opynyons, by all the holle contents of this Booke.

And for the observation of this Oath, heare another command of the Commissioners, as we finde it recorded.

To the Bayliffes and Communes of the Towne of *Skarboro.*

Welbelovyd, we Francys Bygod Knighte, and John Halom yoman, in the name of all the Cómunes, commande & charde you, that ye assemble your selves together mediately upon recepete hereof, and so take thys othe wychys we here send unto yow, and then after in all haste possible to assist and hayde theis over brethren, wome we sende to you to keepe, & make sure the Castell, Towne, and Port of Skarboro, that no man enter into the same Castel, that belongys unto Rafe Evers the yonger knyghte, nor any outher whiches did not take full parte with the Communes, at over first and last assemblynge, in whoys name, authority, or attorney, soever they come, unlesse they have licence of all the Communes, in like manner, ye shall truely keepe all sichys ordinance, and shippe to the use of the Communes, wythe wyches we charde you at our late being here, and thys not to faile, upon paine of yower lyves, ye shall refer credence unto thys messengeres, thus in hast: Fare ye well, from Settrynton this Mondaye Sancte Mawris daye.

Francis Bygott Knight, in the name, and by commandement of all the Communes.

Against these rout of Rebels *George* Earle of *Shrewesbury* mustred his men, not staying for the Kings commission, wch made him much suspected, he meant to have sided with the Pilgrims himselfe. To cleare wch aspersions, he made this short (but loyal) Oration unto his followers, before he entred further into the field.

"How soever these Rebels colour their pretences for "the Weale-publike, and would draw in others to "participate with them; yet certaine it is, that Trai-"tors they be, and traiterously doe prosecute what "they wickedly begun. Follow them who list in this "lawlesse enterprize; But I for mine own part meane "not to staine my bloud and Ancestors by joyning "my means wth such a fort of Raskals, but will rather "live & die in defence of the Crown; yea, if it stood "but upon a stake. Therfore those that will take my "part in these businesses, let them follow me; and if "any here amongst you be otherwise minded, let "him depart; but looke for no more favour then the "Hatchet and Halter will afford him. And then in "the sight of them all he caused his Chaplain to ad-"minister him an oath of his loyalty unto the King.

It was likewise reported that the Earle of *Darby* was set forward towards them, whom the Pilgrimes well hoped would have sided with them, as by their Mandate sent to the Brethren appeares, where is forbid that none of them should aide him, unlesse he tooke the oath: which he never meant to

that might incur to the Crowne by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

Also, to have the Abbeys that be suppressed to be restoryd to their Lands, Howsys, and Goods.

Also, to have the Tents and first fruits clearely discharged, onles the Clergy will of their selfys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crowne.

Also, to have the Freres obsevvans restoryd to their houses againe.

An vnchristible and vnchristian motio.

Also, to have the Heretiks Bishoppys, and temporall men of their seete, to have condigne ponysment by fire, or such other; or ells to trie their quarrell with us and our partakers in battell.

Also, to have the Lord Crumwell, the Lord Chancceller, and Sir Rye. Rych Knight to have condigne ponysment, as subverters of the gud lawes of the Realme; and onetemers of the sclese sect of this false heretykes first inventer and brengers of them.

Also, that the Landys in Westmorland, Comberland, Kendale, Dentsyd, Furnes, and the Abbeis landys in Yorke, Worsaidshire, Kerbyshire, Neverdale, mayne be Tenant Right, and the lord to have at every change two yeres rent, in the name of a agar summe, and no more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Commens under their seales; and this to be done by act of Parlement.

Also, the hand-gunnys and Crosse-boys, with the penalty of the same to be repelled, onles hyt be in the Kings Forrests and Parkes to kyllers of Deere.

Also, that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Leyton, may have condigne punyment for their extortions in time of visitation, in brybes, of some religyous houses, x. l. xx. l. and for other summes, besyde horsys, vowsens, leases, under covent seallys, by them taken, and other abhominable acts by them committed and done.

Also, to see reformation for the election of Knights of shire, and the Burgys, and for the use among the Lords in the Perlament after the ancient custome.

Also, the Statute for inclosing Intackes to be put in execution, that all Intacks, inclosys syth Anno quarto Henrici septimi *be pullyd downe exceeding Forests, and Parkys to be dystrud of their quition, and tax now granted by Parlament.*

Also, to have the Parlyament in a convenient place as Nottingham or Yorke, & the same to be so moved shortly.

Also, that it may be enacted by authority of Parliament, that all recognisans, statutys, penalyes newly forfeyted during the tyme of the Commission may be pardoned and discharged, as well against the King as stranger.

Also, the privilege of the Right of the Church to bee confirmed by act of Parlament, and Pryests not to suffer onles they be degraded; a man to be saved by his Booke; Sanctuary to save a man in all causes in extreme need, and the Church to save a man for forty dayes; and further according to the lawes as they were used in the beginning of the Kingys dayes.

Also, the libertyes of the Church to have their old customes, as the County-Palatine of Durham, Beverley, Repon, S. Peter of Yorke, and such other by act of Parliament.

Also, to have the Statute that no man shall declare his will on his land to be repelled.

Also, the Statute of treason for Wurdys, made sith Anno xxi. of our Soveraign that now is, to be in likewise repelled.

Also, that the common Law may have place as well as was used in the beginning of your gracious raign, and that all Injunctions be clearely denied, and not granted, unlesse the matter be heard in the Chancery, & there determined.

Also, that no man upon sub pœna, *or Privy Seale from Trent Northward, appeare but at Tourke, or by Atturney, unlesse it be directed upon pene of allegance, or for like matter concerning the King.*

Also, a remedy against Exchequor for fining of false Offices, and extortions in taking of Fees, for that which is not held of the King, and against the promoters thereof.

These were the instructions given to their Commissioners to be conserred upon; all wch as it should seeme, were drawn into foure Articles or heads, as by the minute of the Kings answere thereunto doth appeare. Which originall wholly penned by King *Henries* owne hand, I have here inserted word for word, to shew his learned care both for Church and Common-wealth: the originall it selfe remaineth in the Liberary of the worthy Sir *Robert Cotton* Knight Baneret, the storer of all learned Antiquities.

Answare to the demands of the Rebellys in Yorkeshire.

2 H. Hen. 8. December.

The first Artic.

First, as touching the maynrenance off the fayth, the termys be soo generall that hard they be to be answard. But yf they meane the fayth off Chryst, to which all Christen men be most oblygyd, we declare and protest our selfe to be he that alwayes do, & have myndyd to dy and lyve in the puryte off the same, & declare that no man can or dare sett hys fote by ours in provyng off the contrary: marvelyng not a lytyll that Ignorant pepole wyll goo abowght, or take upon them to instructe us (which sume thyng have bene noted to be lerned) what the ryght fayth shold be. Or that they wold be so ingrate & unnaturall to us theyre moft ryghtfull King, with owght any our desart, upon falle reports and surmysys to suspecte us off the same, and gyffe rather credence to forgyd light talys, then to the approved traght by us thys xxviii yers usyd, and by our deds approved.

The second Article.

To the seconde, wch tochythe the maynrenance off the chyrche, & lybertes off the same, thys is so genera aproposycion that withowgt distinctions no man wth trawght can answare it nother. For first, the Chyrche whiche they mene must be knowne. Secondly, whether they lawfull or unlawfull lybertes whych they require, I mene both by Gods law, and laws off the Realm. And thes know I dowght not but they shal be answarde, according to Gods Law, equite and Justice.

The third Article.

The thirde tochyth three things, the laws, the Cõmune-welthe, the directors off the lawes under us. Tochyng the laws, we expresly dare testyfy that blind men denying no colers, nor yet being Judgges, it shall be duly provie that there were never in any of our predisessours dayes so many holsome commodius and benyfficiall acts made for the Commen-welthe, and yet I mene syns theyre tyme that wolde fayne have thanke withowght desert. For our Lord forbedde (seyng we have bene this xxviii. yere your King) that both wee and our Counsell shuld have lost so muche tyme, as not to know now better then whē we came first to our raigne, what were the Commenwelthe, & what the self-conceit were not, & thought the owtherquedance of sume may chance wil nott let them to knowledge it so; yet I trust and dowght nott but the most part of our lovyng Subjects (specially thos which be not seducyd by falle report, do bothe thynke it, accept it, & fynde it so.) Now tochyng to the Commune-welthe, what King hath kept yow all hys subjects so longe, in welthe & peace so long, without owght takyng or doyng wrong, whon to the other so indifferently mynyster justice to all bothe hye & low; Soo defendyd you all frome owght ward enemyes, so fortyfyed the fronters off the Realme, to his no lityll and in a manner inestimable cargs, and all for your welthes & surtes. What king hath gyffen among you mo generall or frear pardons. What Kyng hath be lother to punyshe his subjects, or shewde more marcy amoft them? These thyngs beyng so trew, as no trew man can deny them, it is an unnaturall and unkynd demenour of you our Subjects to beleve or deme the contrary of it, by hous report soo ever it should be. As tochyng the begynning of our Rayne, wher ye say fo meny Nobyllmen were Counselers, hoo were the Counselers I well remember, and yet off the Temporalte I notte non but two wordy callyng Nobyll, the won Tresourer of *Tngland*, & the other hye Stuward off our others, as the* Lord *Marney* & *Darcy*, but sars wel-borne Gentylmen, & vet off no grett lands, till they were promotyd by me, & soo made knyghts and Lords, the rest wer Lawyers and Prestes, save two Bishopys, whyche wer *Canterbyry* and *Wyncheſter*. Yf these then be the grett Nobyllmen ye specke off, and ye semed then to be content withall, why then nowe be ye not muche better coment with us, whyche have now so meny Nobills in dedd, bothe of byrth

* Let not this Relatiō wrong these Noblemen, I follow the Record not impeaching their blisse nor Nobility, howsoever the present cause displeased the King.

byrth and condyssion. For first off the temporalyte in our preve Consell, we have the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Markes of *Exceter*, the Lorde *Steward* (where he may come) the Erle off *Oxford*, the Erle off *Sussex*, the Lord *Sandes* our Chamberlayn, the Lord Admyrall Tresourer off our House, Sir *Willyam Paulet* Controler off our House: And off spirituall the B. off *Hereford*, *Chychester*, and *Wynchester*. Now loke how fare ye be abused to recõne that then there wer more Nobyll men in our previe Consell, than now. But yet though I nowe do declare the truche, to pull yow fro the blyndenes that you wer leddin, yet we ensure we wolde ye knoo, that it appartayneth nothing to any off oure subjects to poynte us our Consel, ne we wolde take it soo at your hands. Wherfore hensefourth remember better the dutys off subjects to your king and Soverayne, and meddle not off that whych ye have nothyng to do in. And in case it be but a false and untrue report (as we verely thynk it is) then it were as mette, and standyth as well with justice, that they shulde have the self-same punishment whyche wrongfully hath objectyd thys to them that they shulde have had, if they deservyd it. And won thyng amonst others makyth me thynk that this slander shuld be untrw, by cause it procedyth frome that place whyche is bothe so fer distant frome wher they inhabite, & also frome thos peple whyche never hard them preche, nor yet knowght any part off theyre cõversation: We fore we exorte ye our Commons to be no more so lyght off credit, nother off ill thynges spoken off your kyng & Soverayn, nor yet off any off his Prelats or Consellers; but to thynke that your Kyng having soo long raynyd over you, hath as good discression to electe and cheuse his Consellers, as thes hoo ever they be that hath put thys in your hedds.

Here in this fynall poynt whyche ye our Cõmons off *Yorkshire* do desyre it, and also in the mator off the hole we verely thynke, that the rest off our hole Cõmones (wheroff ye be in maner bue an handfull) wyll gretely disdayn, & nott bere that ye take uppon ye, to set order bothe to them & us your bothe Soverayne, & that (thowght ye be rebelles) you wolde make thē as berers and part takers off your mysclieffe, wyllyng them to take pardō for insurrection, whyche verely I thynke, & dowght nott they never myndyd, but like trw subjects to the contrary, hathe bothe with hart & dede bene redy att our call to defende bothe vs & thē selfe. And now for our part, as to your demandes, we let you wyt, that pardon of such thyngs as ye demand liett wonly in the wyl & pleasure off the Prince: But it semyth by your leaude Proclamations, & save condutes, that there be amongst you who take upon them bothe the Kings, and Consellers parts, whyche nother yet by us, nor by consent off the Realme, hath bene admytted to any suche rome. What arrogansy then is in thos wretches (being also of none experiens) to presume to raise ye outr subjects with owght Commission or auctorye, ye, and agaynst us, under a clokyd colur off your welthe, & in our name: And as the succes wyll declare (we benyng no more mersiful then ye hytherto do desarve) to yours other confusions. Wherfore we lett you wytt, ye our subjects off *Yorkeshire*, that were it not that our pryncely hart can nott recõne thys your shamfull insurrection & unnaturall rebellyon to be done off malice, or rancore, but rather by a lyghtnesse gyffen in a maner by a naghty nature to a Communalte, & a wonderus sodeyne surreption off Gentylmē, we must nedes have exeecuted another maner of punishment then (ye humbelyng knowlegyng your faults, and submyttyng your selfes to our marcy) we intend to doo. And to the intente that ye shal al know, that our Pryncely hart rather inbraseth (off his awne dispoficion) pite & compassiō off his offending subjects, then wyll to be revenged off theyre naghte deddes, we are contented, yff we may see and parfave in you all a forofulnes for your offensys, and will henceforth to do nere soo, nor to beleve soo leaude & nawghty tales or reports off your most kynd & lovyng Prynce, & hys Consell, to grant unto you all our Letter Pattens off pardon for this rebellion; so that ye wil deliver unto us shuche off the ryngleders and provokers off you to thys rebellion, as we shall affyne to you & poynt. Now note the benyngnyte off your Prince. Now note how easily ye maye have pardone bothe Gentylmen, and other, yff ye list. Now note, how effusion off blude maye be exchuyd. Now note what thys lytyll wyle off your rebellyon hath hynderyd your selfes and Contre. Now lerne by a lytyll lake to exchew a worse. Now lerne by thys smalle warnyng to kepe yow trw men. Thus I as your hed, praye for you my members, that God may light yow with hys grace to knowlege, and declare your selfes our trw subjects hensforth; and to gyff more credence to thes our benyng perswasions, then to the parvarse instigations of malicius disposed parsons.

Fynys.

The effect that the Kings reply wrought, is manifest by his free pardons sent unto the offenders, by Proclamation divulged by his messenger at Armes, and his Trumpet throughout the North parts, the tenour whereof from the Originall is, as followeth.

King Henries free pardon by Proclamation.

All bee yt, that yowe the Kings Subjects and Commons dwelling & inhabiting in the Shires of York, Cumberland, Westmerland, Northumberland, the Bishoprickes of Durham, the City of Yorke, and the shire of the same, the Towne of Kyngeston upon Hull, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the Shire of the same, and in other Shires, Townes, Dalis, Places privileged, the Fraunchises and Liberties within the limits of the said Shires, Cities, and Townes, or any of them, or being reputed or taken for any part, parcell or number of any of them, and such other the Kings said Subjects, inhabited in the Towne of Lancaster, or elswhere by North, in the Shire of Lancaster, have now of late attempted and committed manifest and open rebellion, against his most royall Magestly, whereby was like to have ensewde the utter renwn and destruction of thes hole Cuntreis, to the grete comforte and avancement of your auncient enemies the Scots, which as his Heines is credably informed, doe with a great Redines wache upon the same, and to the high displeasure of God, who streitly commandeth you to obay your Soveraign Lord and King, in all things, and not with violence to resist his will, or commandement, for any cause what soever it be: Nevertheles the Kings royall Majestie, perceyving as well by the Articles of their partners sent to his Heines: As also dewly enformed by credible reports, that their said offences proceeded of ignorance, and by occasion of sundrie false tails, never minded or intended by his Heines, or any of his Councell, but most craftily contrived, and most spitefully set abroade amonges you, by certaine malitious and sedicious persons; and thereupon his Highnes inclined to extend his most gratious mercy and pitty towards you, having chefe charge of you under God, both of your sowles & bodies, and desiring rather the preservation of the same, and our reconciliation, by his meriefull meyns than by the order and rigour of Justice to punish you according to your demerys, of his inestimable goodnesse, benignity, mercy, and pety, and at your most humble petitions and submissions made unto his Highnes hee is content and plaised to gife and grant, and by his present Proclamation doth gyve & grant unto you all, and to all & every your confederates where soever they dwell, of estate, degree, or what condition soever you, or they be, or by what name, or names soever they, or you be, or may be called, his generall & free pardon, for all maner of treasons, rebellions, insurrections, misprisions of treasons, murders, robberies, felons, and of all accessaries of the same, & of every of them, unlawfull assembles, unlawfull conventicles, unlawfull speaking of words, confederacies, riats, rowts: And all other trespasses, offencies, and contempts, done and committed by you, or any of you against the Kings Majestie, his Crowne or dignity royal, within, and from the time of the beginning of the saide Rebellion whensoever it was, unto the present day of proclaiming of this Proclamation, and of all paines, judgements, and executions of death, & all other penalties, forfeitures, fynes, and forfeitures of Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or Cattels, by any of your forfeitures incurred by reason of the premises, or any of them, which Fines,

Forfeitures, Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goodes and Cattels, the Kinges said Highnes of his speciall grace, and mere motion by these presents, giveth to such of you, as have or should have forfeited, or lost the same, by occasion of the premisses, or any of them: And also his Highnes is pleased, and contented, that you, & every of you, from time to time, shall, and may have upon your sewtes to be made hereafter in his Chauncery, his said most gracious and free pardon under his great Seale concerning the premisses, without any further Bill or Warrant to be obtained for the same, & without paying any thing for the great Seale therof: And that you, and every of you, from time to time, may freely and liberally sewe for his said pardon, when and as often as it shall like you, without any trouble, vexation or impeachment for the premisses, or any of them, by his heires, or by any of his Officiaries, Ministers, or Subjects by any manner of meanes or in any manner of wise. Provided alwayes, that you and every of you in token of a perfect declaration & knowledge, that you do heartily lament and be sorrie for the said offencies, shall make your humbly submission of his Highnes, in the presence of his right trustie and right intirely beloved Cosens and Councellairs: the Duke of Norfolcke, and the Earle of Shrewsbury his Lieutenants Generall, or any of them, or to their Deputy or Deputies of them, or any of them, or such other person, or persons as the Kings Highnes shall appoint for the same: Furthermore, the Kings most Royall Majestie, streitely chargeth and commandeth, that you, and every of you, shall from henceforth, like true and faithfull Subjects use your selves, in Gods peace, and his, according to the duties of allegeance, and that you shall in no wise hereafter, attempt to make, or procure, any such rebellion, intent, unlawfull Assemblies, Riots, Rowts, and Conspirations, nor at the Commandement, nor by the authority of any person, of what estate, or degree, or for what cause soever it be, shall arise in any forcible manner, and array, unlesse it be at the speciall commandement of the Kings Highnes, or his Lieutenant, sufficiently auctorised for the same. In witnes whereof the Kings most Royall Majestie, hath caused this his Proclamation to be made Patent, and sealed with his great Seale at Richemonte the IX. day of December in the XXVIII. yeare of his Reigne 1536.

Pexfall.

Notwithstanding this generall pardon & merciful dealings of the King, a new insurrection was raised in the North, wherein many of the former were now again Actors, as by name, *Robert Aske*, whom the King had not onely pardoned, but also highly rewarded, the Lord *Dacres*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Francis Bygod*, *Palmer*, *Percy*, *Hamilton*, *Tempest*, and *Lumley*, all of them put to death, as they well deserved.

Hollinsh. f. 944. *Aske* executed.

(99) In which Commotions those men whose profession was onely the Booke and their Beades, mistaking Christs meaning, who bad his Disciples *to sell their coate, and to buy a sword*, came armed among the Rebels into the Field, and with them were taken as Traitors against the Crowne: for which offence many of them suffered death: namely, *John Paslew*, Abbot of *Whaley* in *Lincolneshire*, *John Castegate*, and *William Haydocke*, Monks of the same House, *Robert Hobs*, Abbot of *Woborne* in *Bedfordshire*, *Adam Sudbury*, Abbot of *Gervaux*, with *Assbeed* a Monke of that house; the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancashire*, and the Prior of the same place, *William Wold*, Prior of *Birlington*, the Parson of *Pudington*, five Priests of *Lincolnshire*, and with them their Chiefetaine, Captaine *Cobler*, and *John Allen* Priest.

Luke 22.36. Spirituall men Commotioners. Monkes hanged for Rebellion.

(100) These stirres thus quieted, and the Statesmen at leasure to prevent the like, a Comission came forth to purge the Churches of Idols; and to suppresse the Monasteries, to the Kings use, granted unto him by Parliament: the one of them the only working cause, through the gain that was got by ignorant devotion, and gadding on pilgrimage, and the other, the Nest & very receptacle of all traiterous attempters, against the peace of the Land, and supremacy of the Crown. The abuse of the first was solemnly shewed at *Pauls Crosse* in *London*, upon Sunday the twenty-foure of *February*, by Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, where the Roode of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called the *Roode of Grace* (made with divers vices to bow downe, and to lift up it selfe, to shake, and to stir both Head, hands, and feet, to rowle the eyes, moove the lips, and to bend the browes,) was then broken and pulled in peices. So likewise the Images of our *Lady of Walsingham* and *Ipswich*, set and besprinkled with Iewels, & Gemmes, with divers others, both of *England* and *Wales*, were brought to *London*, and burnt at *Chelsy* before the Lord *Crumwell*. Then the Axes of the hewers began to cast downe the walles of all Monasteries, whose number (as *Camden* doth account them) were six hundred forty five, besides foure score and ten Colledges, them of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* not accounted: Of Hospitals one hundred and ten, and of Chaunteries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seaventy foure, all of them almost were then borne downe with the sudden deluge of those tepestuous times, whilst the world stood amazed, King *Henry* proceeded, & the Clergy-men groaned under their own destructions: Among these the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* was defaced, which did abound with more the Princely riches, whose meanest part was pure gold, garnished with many precious stones, as *Erasmus* that saw it, hath written, whereof the chiefest was a rich Gemme of *France*, offered by King *Lewis*, who asked & obtained (you may be sure, he buying it so dear) that no passenger betwixt *Dover* and *Whitesand*, should perish by shipwracke, his bones by *Stephen Langton* had beene laid in a golden Shrine, his name canonized, & the day of his death made annually holy, such concourse of Pilgrims, such pressing to touch him, and such creeping and kneeling to his Tombe, that the prints of their devotion, in the Marble stones, remaines to this day; every pillar resounding the miracles of this reputed Martyr, and the Church it selfe dedicated to Christ, forced to give place to the name of Saint *Thomas*. The Timberwork of this Shrine was covered with plates of gold, damasked & embossed with wires of gold, garnished with broches, images, angels, precious stones, & great Orient Pearles: all these defaced, filled two Chests, & were for price of an unestimable value. But in steed of these *Dagons*, the Bible in *English* was commanded to be read in all Churches, and Register Bookes of Weddings, Christenings, and Burials in every of them to be kept.

The Roode of Grace broken at Pauls Cros. *Lamb. Peram. Boxley.*

Our Lady of *walsingham*, and other Images burnt.

Camb. Brit. 695. Monasteries in England. 90 Colledges. 110. Religious Hospitals. 2374 Chantries and free Chappels.

Henry Stephens, his Apologie for Herodotus. cap. 22. fol. 183.

(101) The yerely revenues of these, as they were valued by the Cõmissioners, at their subversiõs, amounted to an unestimable summe, as appeareth by the Originall Booke it selfe, presented to the King, whereof more shall be spoken in the end of this Chapter, and yet most of them rated at *Robin-hoods* pennyworths, what their rents were, a libell scattered abroad, and read to the King, by demonstration did prove, wherein was accounted, that unto the five Orders of Friers, (every housholder paying them five pence the Quarter) the summe of forty three thousand three hundred thirty three pound, six shillings & eight pence sterling, was paid them by yeare, besides therenewes of their owne lands, which was not a little; so that not without cause many entred into a Monasticall life, rather to live at full, and without cares of this world, then to feed the flock of *Christ*, or to win them, & not theirs, after the example of the Apostle. For the Testament of *Christ*, was unto most of these, as a book sealed with seven seales, and their mouthes unmuzled they did devoure, but not tread out the corn, so that the Sun by their doctrine seemed to be darkened, as with smoake, and themselves to be the *Locusts* that over-spred the superficies of the Earth, whose faces were like men, pretending humanity, their haire like women in shew of modesty, their Crownes of counterfeited gold, signifying their usurped authority, their teeth like Lions shewing their Tyranny, their force like Horses prepared for battell, their habergions of Iron betokening their strength, the sound of their wings, the thundring out of their mandates like to the rumbling of Chariots in warre, their Tayles (the false prophets) having stings like unto Scorpions,

Rot. Philips. in Lamb. Peram.

The first and opinion of S. Bridgets Shrine.

Joh. Stow.

The grandeur of Popish Shrine.

The great revenues of the Monasteries.

Supplication of Beggers.

The greater revenues of the Friers.

Scorpions, and their King the bad *Abaddon*, even the Angell of the Bottomles pit. All those allusions most aptly fitting these Cloystered Friers, who now grown to the height of their sinnes, their skirts were discovered, that their shame might appeare, being the onely men then laid open to the world. For besides the idle ignorance and voluptuous excesse of these Cloystered votaries, their monasticall sensualities afforded a shamefull discovery of wicked adulteries & filthy *Sodomites*: whose sins, as they then stayned the world to their Cels overthrown, so let their remembrance stain that religion wch debars the bed of lawfull marriage, and dispenseth with such crying, & too monstrous sins. A Catalogue of whose names (if the Inke staine not the Paper wherein they stand) shall stand a Record of their filthy shame, as long as Inke is to be read upon Paper. Take them then from his testimony that tooke them out of an *English* Book, containing an Inventory (or Catalogue) of the villanies discovered in the Visitations of Monasteries, Covents Collegiate Churches, and other Religious Houses in *England*, by command, of King *Henry* the eight; wherein the whoredomes, adulteries, incests, and filthy Sodomies of the Monkes, Friers, and Priests, both names and surnames are written, as followeth.

Iere. 29.16.

In *Battell Abbey.*	*John Abbot.*	*Thomas Crambrooke.*	Sodomites.
	Richard Salchurst.	*Thomas Bayll.*	
	Thomas Cuthbert.	*John Hansfield.*	
	William Marsh.	*John Iherom.*	
	John Hasling.	*Clement Grigge.*	
	Gregory Champion.	*Richard Tovey.*	
	Clement Westfield.	*John Austine.*	
	John Crosse.		
In *Canterbury.*	*Richard Gormersham.*	*John Ambrose.*	Sodomites.
	William Liechfield.	*Thomas Farleg.*	
	John Goldingston.	*Thomas Morton.*	
	Nicholas Clement.	*Christopher Iames.*	
	William Cawston.	kept 3 maried whors	

In Saint *Augustine*, { *Thomas Barbara* a whoremonger and a Sodomite.

In *Chichester*, { *John Champion*, both of them unnatu-rall Sodomites. *Roger Barham.*

In Cathedrall Church { *John Hill* had no lesse then thirteene whores.

In *Windsor* Castle.	*Nicholas Whyden* had	4
	George Whitethorn kept	5
	Nicholas Spoter kept	5
	Robert Hunne had	5
	Robert Damyon kept	6

whores.

In *Shulbred* Monastery.	*George Walden* Prior of *Shulbred* had	7
	John Standney had at his command	7
	Nicholas Duke to supply his venery	5

whores.

In *Bristow*. { *William*, Abbot of *Bristow*, kept had 4 whores.

In *Mayden-beadly*. { *Richard*, Prior of *Mayden-beadly*, kept 5 whores.

In *Bath* Monastery. { *Richard Lincombe* had 7 whores, and was also a Sodomite.

In *Abingdon* Monast. { *Thomas*, Abbot of *Abingdon* kept 3 whores, and had two children by his owne sister.

In *Bermondsey* Abbey. { *John White* Prior, or rather Bull of *Bermondsey* had twenty whores.

But saith mine Author, the Catalogue of such whoremasters, & adulterers is too long to record: for those Cloystred Monkes, & Friers, from 600 Covents (almost) scrawling about the land by auricular confessiõ got into the bosomes of simple sinning wõmen, & defloured the beds of many better men. And the wanton Nunnes likewise dallying with them in the darke, brought forth the fruits of darknesse, as was found in finding many Infants bones in many of their Cells. Whose wickednesse (as the *Ammonites*) being now full, the Maule of Gods Iustice beate downe the walls of their shelters, and the sword of his wrath so cut the cords of their strength asunder, as that Idoll of *Rome* hath had his crowne crushed, and his authority shortned in all the Christian world ever since.

(102) Against these and their doctrine in former times (besides many others in other forrein parts) two in the dayes of King *Henry* the fourth, the first *English* King that put any to death for the doctrine of *Rome*; (omitting *Sir Iohn Oldcastle* and others, that died for the Gospels defence, in the dayes of K. *Henry* the fift) foure in the raigne of innocent *Henry* the sixt. One in the dayes of King *Edward the fourth*, and ten in the time of K. *Hen. the seventh*, sealed the doctrine against the papall religion with their bloud, all of them being martyred before that *Martin Luther* wrote. And in the raigne of this King 26 suffered the fire, before the flames thereof could be quenched, which a while was done by the meanes of good Queene *Anne*, till afterwards they mounted higher, when the sixe Articles there made: but because this Ecclesiasticall Text is handled elsewhere, and seemeth unsociable to our begun Subject, we will referre the Reader for these matters unto the industrious paines of that worthy and ever-venerable man Mr. *Fox*, taken in his Acts and Monuments of Ecclesiasticall History.

Many suffered death for the Gospell before that *Martin Luther* wrote.

Queene *Anne Bulen* a favourer of the Gospell, stayed the rage against the Professors.

(103) The Monasteries thus dissolved, and the revenewes therof converted to reporall uses, K. *Henry* ran in great obloquie of many forraine Potentates, but most especially of the Pope; who with Card. *Poole* instigated divers Princes in Christendome to invade *England*, thus fallen from his faith: Yea, and homeborn Subjects disliking the course for Papisticall subversion, by secret working sought to deprive K. *Henry* and to raise up *Reynold Poole* unto the Regall dignity, as by their inditements appeareth. The persons convicted, were L. *Henry Courtney* Marquesse of *Excester*, & Earle of *Devonshire*, the son of L. *Katherine* the seventh daughter of K. *Edward* the 4. *Henry Poole* Lord *Montacute*, with Sr. *Geffrey* his brother, and Sr. *Edward Nevill* brother to the L. of *Abergavenny*. These *Pooles* were the sons of L. *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, the only daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*: and of these *Reynold Poole* once Deane of *Excester*, and now Cardinall at *Rome*, was accounted the onely man.

King Henries doings displeased many Christian Princes, *Sleid. com.* l. 10.

(104) And this forefaid Lord Marquesse had formerly been in such favour with K. *Henry*, that at his going into *France* he ordained him his heire apparant, though at his returne, upon grave deliberation, he saw it better policy to plucke him downe then was used in setting him up, left in acting his part upon that infective stage, he put the land to as much trouble as the arreared D. *Richard* of *Yorke* had done, after hee was ordained heire-apparant, which Title produced the Tragedy of his raiser K. *Henry* the fixt, and now having him, and his Abettors upon the advantage, the better to secure his owne Estate, he caused the heads of this L. Marquesse, with the L. *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevill* to be cut off upon Tower-hill.

Camb. Brit. Lord Marquesse and others beheaded. An. Dom. 1539. *Iannar. 9.*

(105) The King then a Widower, since the death of Q. *Iane*, who departed this life two yeares before, meant to maintain what he had done, maugre all opposites: wch the better to effect, by the Councell of Lord *Crommel*, he fought and obtained the alliance of the Princes of *Germany*, and heard the motion for marriage with the Lady *Anne*, sister to *Williams* Duke of *Cleve*, whose other sister *Frederick* D. of *Saxony* had espoused, a great favorer of the Gospell, and maintainer of *Mart. Luther* the zealous Preacher & professor thereof. But whether *Frederick* for the death of *Anne Bullen*, or that he would have his wives sister bestowed nearer at home (which thing he pretended) a great hinderer hee was of that match. But the L. sent into *England*, and married unto K. *Henry*, seemed nothing pleasing in his eye; which *Stephen Gardner* then Bishop of *Winchester* perceiving, thought it a fit subject for him to worke upon, against the L. *Crommell* the maker of the match, he therefore instigated lealousies daily into the Kings care, first exasperating the hatred of the Princes of *Germany* to him-wards, and especially of D. *Frederick* his compulsive brother in Law,

Iob. Sleidan.

King Henry married *Anne of Cleve.* Ian. 6. An. 1539.

Fox. Mart. 1290.

Idols and Monasteries suppressed by Parliament.

An. Dom. 1538.

the Emperour, *French* King, the *Scots*, and the Pope, all seeking at once to raise their powers against *England*. The civill tumults lately passed, and new commotions greatly to be feared, he letted not to remember, and all to nip the Spring of the new-spreading Gospell, whereby this wise Politician in the end got fixe such Articles against it, as the Consistory of Hell could devise no worse. Whose cruelties were such, that not long after, and in the daies of this King, some of those Acts of Parliaments were againe repealed; and some of them qualified, as roo sharpe and searching into the bloud of the Kings best Subjects.

The fixe Articles devised.

32. H.8. cap 10. 35. H 8. cap. 5.

(106) The fruit of these bloud-thirsty Instigators, the Lord *Cromwell*, and Lady *Anne* of *Cleve* soone tasted of, he by imprisonment and death, and she by disgrace and divorce; having been his wife from *January* to *June*, in all which time the King refrained the mutuall knowledge of her body, for the dislike hee had of her person, even at the first sight, as himselfe called to witnesse the Lord *Cromwell* then prisoner in the Tower, for whose report he wrote a Letter with his owne hand; and she good Lady (no other cause alleaged) was divorced by Parliament, when also it was enacted, that she should no longer be stiled Queene. The Lord *Cromwell* was charged by the Lord *Rich*, and Sir *George Throgmorton*, with speaking of certaine generall words, not excepting therein the Kings person, which nevertheless were thought too sleight, & insufficient to take away his life, that his enemies feared to put it to the triall of his Peeres, lest he should be acquitted by them, as the Lord *Dacres* of the North not many yeares before had beene; wherefore there was a Bill drawne to attaint him of heresie, and Treason, in generall words, rather then in particular prooses, which when hee was dead, passed in both Houses of Parliament with the Kings assent.

In a letter written by himselfe. *Ex M.S.* Anno 32. H.8. cap. 25. Queene *Anne* divorced by Parliament.

(107) Howbeit *Sanders*, that seldome speakes wel of the Gospels professors, will have him to die for the breach of a Law made himselfe, which was, that one appeached of Treason should not come in the Kings presence, till he had tried himselfe not guilty; but besides that, we find no such Act by him made: his indictement doth not charge him with treason, but with setting at liberty certain persons committed for misprision of treason and heresie; for favouring and maintaining the translation of heretical books into *English*; for bearing out *Barnes*, and other heretical Preachers; that himselfe was an hereticke, and had spoken words, great words for the upholding of his said Religion, which were, *That the King should not change it if he would*: for these things he was attainted by Parliament of high Treason, and that grounded either upon a Statute made in the five and twentie of *Edward* the third, or else by the explanation of that Act which refereth the exposition of Treasons to the Parliament, and so no way did *Cromwell* devise or make any law of treason, which himselfe first fell into, as that partiall *Romanist* hath said.

Cromwell after his death attainted by Parliament. *Ex M.S.*

D. *Sanders.*

(108) But most sure it is, that the Kings affection, altogether guided by the faireſt object, found no other point in the Compasse to fixe his variable eye, besides that only, wch to his seeming was touched by the Loadstone of nature, and the same to be the Lady *Katherine Howard* daughter to *Edward* the brother of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*; against whom *Cromwell* standing in the defence of Queene *Anne*, and using words of dislike in the Lady *Katherine*, distasteful unto the King, was thereupon apprehended (his enemy so working) and upon the 28. of *July* suffered death with the stroke of the Axe upon Tower-hill, with whom was beheaded the Lord *Hungerford* of *Heitesbury*, neither so Christianly suffering, nor so quietly dying for his offence committed against nature.

No such things as *Sanders* supposeth against *Cromwell*.

No act by *Cromwell* to cause his owne death.

Cromwell dislike of the Lady *Katherine* the cause of his death.

An. Dom. 1540.

Buggery.

(109) The sword thus unsheathed upon the necks of the Nobility; strucke off the head of *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, daughter & heir unto *George* Duke of *Clarence*, & mother unto *Reynold Poole* Cardinal, being neither arraigned nor tryed, but condemned by Parliament as *Cromwell* had beene. And the Lord *Leonard Gray* in this presnt yeare lost his head for treason, the twenty eight of *June*. And the next day following, *Thomas Fines*, Lord *Dacres* of the South, dyed at Tyborne for killing a private man in a fray. Neither was it put up, untill that the heads of Queene *Katherine Howard*, and the Lady *Jane Rochford* were stricken off, the one for adultery, the other for concealement, as was alleadged; the parties offending were *Francis Dereham*, and *Thomas Culpepper*, *Dereham* before she was Queene, and *Culpepper* after; who both were executed at Tyburne the 10 of December, and the 12 of February following. Mistresse *Katherine Howard* (for so in the Act of her Attainture she is called) who had beenstiled and received Queen for the space of six moneths, and foure dayes, with the Lady *Jane* then widdow, & late wife unto *George Bullen*, L. *Rochford*, were both of them brought unto a Scaffold, raised upon the hill within the Tower, where they in lamentable passions suffered death.

Lord *Dacres* hanged.

Stat. in 33. of H.8. cap. 21.

Anne Askew her Story.

In. ad. Cent. 8. fol. 689.

Since the 8. of August proceeding.

Queene Katherine and the Lady *Jane Rochford* beheaded.

Sum. 1. 26.

(110) Howsoever those times afforded such Queenes to the Kings bed, or himselfe unfortunate in making his choise: yet many of no mean judgement have rather accused King *Henry* for his changing and variable affections, then thinke them guilty in the breach of Matrimony. Of *Anne* we have seene what hath been said, and of this Queene let us heare what shee professed after her condemnation to Doctor *White* Bishop of *Winchester*, her last Confessor, and by him delivered to a noble yong Lord of her name, and neere alliance: Her words were these: *As to the act (my reverend Lord) for which I stand condemned, God and his holy Angels I take to witnesse upon my soules salvation, that I die guiltlesse, never having so abused my Soveraignes bed: what other sins, and follies of youth I have committed, I will not excuse; but am assured that for them God hath brought this punishment upon me, and will in his mercy remit them, for which I pray you pray with me, unto his Sonne, and my Saviour Christ.*

Three converſions by *N.D.* pag. 497.

Anne accused by no rule of Christianity.

(111) As these then in case of Treasons either acted or intended, ended their lives; so others in case of conscience (though diverſly affected) came to their deaths, and that by force of the Statutes enacted under this King; whereof one was the abolishing of the Pope, and the oath of Supremacy, the refusers of either made offenders in ſtare of high Treason; and the other in case of religion, when the sixt Articles enacted by Parliament, were made heresie and death to such as held or raught the contrary; which Articles were thus concluded in both the houses of Parliament with consent of the King.

Anne Askew and *Anna* compared. 1 Sam. 1. 13.

The Countes, Newgate, and the Tower.

Anne Askew burned in Smithfield.

Stat. H.8. cap. 10. The oathof Supremacy enacted.

1 That after the words of consecration spoken by the Priest, the reall and naturall body, and bloud of Christ, as he was conceived and crucified, was in the Sacrament, and no other substance consisting, in the forme of bread and wine, besides the substance of Christ, God, and man.

** Persons* as some suppose. Three converſions, pag. 493.

Stat. H.8. 11. The fixe bloody Articles enacted.

2 That the Communion in both kindes was not necessary unto salvation, the flesh onely in forme of bread sufficient for the Laity.

3 That Priests after they have received orders might not marry by the law of God.

4 That the vowes of chastity either in man or woman, ought by Gods Law to be observed, and by which they are exempted from other liberties of Christian people.

5 That private Masses were necessary for the people, and agreeable to the Law of God.

6 That auricular Confession was expedient to be retained, and continued in the Church of God.

Ste *Acts* and *Mon.*

Queene Katherines bite laid for.

Ibid. con. p. 494.

Saunders three converſions.

These Statutes (I say) as well the one as the other, brought many to their ends, wch otherwise were very good Subjects, & worthy instruments in the common weale: for offending in the first, there dyed Bishop *Fisher*, and Sir *Thomas More*, besides many Abbors, Priors, and Friers, and among them, in *Smithfield* the Welsh roode set Frier *Forrest* on fire, according to the prophesie very rife in their mouthes, *That this holy roode should set a whole Forrest on fire.* For the ether, suffered in flames, may godly Christians, whereof *Robert Barnes* a Reverend Doctor and worthy Minister

The Lord Chancellour left his commission.

John Fisher. Sir *Thomas More* beheaded.

Minister of Christ, the first reducer (as Mr. *Fox* reporteth) of the Vniversity of *Cambridge* from rudenes and barbarousnes, unto good literature and learning, was with the first: And *Anne Askew*, a Gentlewoman of an incomparable dexterity one of the last, who, above the weakenesse of her Sexe most valiantly stood against the violence of the time.

The Queene feeth the sentence of her death.

(112) Her birth was worshipfull, and education accordingly; bestowed in marriage, unto *John Kyme* a Gentleman in *Lincolneshire*, and commended by *Bale* for her rare wit, and elegant beauty; which her parts the penfill of *N. D.* with his un-even hand, (ever over-hard to shadow the truth,) hath slanderously blurred, and measured those graces in her, by his own loose affections, and those wanton Votaries, which in the height of sinne had changed the naturall use of women against nature.

Queene Katherine sirnamed the King, who falleth in conference with her about religion.

This young beiser (saith he) *abiding no yoake, a coy dame, and of very evill fame, left the company of Master Kyme, to gad up and downe a Gospelling, and Gossipping where she might, and ought not, but especially in London, and neere the Court, now she being faire, and but twenty five yeares old at her death, doth easily shew what may be suspected of her life, and the mysticall speeches and demands of the Kings Councell touching her departure from her husband, were grounded upon somewhat, especially in that shee called her selfe Anne Askew, alias Kyme.* Thus farre this scandalizing man hath accuited this holy *Anne*, by the outward appearance of her youth and beauty: as holy *Anna*, by *Eli*, was accused of drunkennesse when her heart was most fervent, in supplications to her God; and his partiall pen, made the Fan to sift the Wheat of her holy conversation to find out some Chaffe, whereof none is free, nor is she to be condemned upon the imagerie of his suspicious head (who undoubtedly would have told all if any thing could have beene found) whereas she in the vigour of beauty and weakenesse of her Sexe, resisted the gaine-layers of the truth with her deareſt bloud: testifying from the Prisons her faith and constancy, and from the Racke preached Christ, whereon most unhumanely and againſt kinde, she was twice tormented; and lastly, sealed her testimony in *Smithfield*, through the flames of fire: being borne to the place of her death in a Chaire, her bones so disjoynted by the Racke that she could not goe.

Act. and Mon. Queene Katherines wife an Inverce.

(113) The irreverend * *N. D.* whose affection to Christs Gospell and loyalty to the *English* Crowne hath sufficiently shewed it selfe, to make her no Martyr, and that her life did demerit the Racke, saith that the *King* himselfe commanded that torture to be inflicted, for infecting with her erroneous doctrine, his Court, his Neeces, *Suffolkes* Daughters, and his Queene. Whereas the truth tels us, that the Lieutenant refusing to racke her the second time, was threatned by *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor (who did it himselfe) to be complained of to the King, who immediately tooke Boate, and told the whole Tragedy; whereof King *Henry* seemed to be sore offended, for using a Woman with such inhumane tortures. But such favours had the Popes Chickens under the shroud of the Church, and wing of this Monarch, that they feared not to follow the appeale of death, even upon her that slept in his owne bosome, which was Queene *Katherine Parre*, espoused unto him some three yeares before, and *whom* (as this States intelligencer doth confesse) *he meant to have burned had he longer lived. For the truth is (saith hee) that the Kings sicknesse and death shortly ensuing was the chiefe cause of her escape; and the error of the Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, who let fall out of his bosome the Kings hand and Commission for carrying her to the Tower, gave occasion (the paper found and brought her) to goe and humble her selfe to the King; the principall occasion against her, was Heretical Bookes, found in her closet, both brought and sent her by Anne Askew, whereof the witnesses were the Lady Herbert, Lady Iane, Lady Tyrwit, and others.* Indeed it is true that by Gods providence such papers were let fall out of the Lord *Chancellors* bosome, containing certain articles against her, with a warrant to commit her to the Tower, whereunto the Kings hand was subscribed: which being found, was presently brought unto the Queene, whereof the unexpected contents so deepely touched her tender heart, that forthwith shee fell into great feares, laments, and a most heavy melancholy, and was in such danger of death, that the King came to visit her, having not gone forth of his Chamber of many daies before; whereat she so rejoyced, as she began to amend: and to acknowledge her like love and dury, the next night following, repayred to the Kings Bed-chamber, accompanied onely with the Lady *Herbert* her sister, and the Lady *Iane* the Kings neece, carrying the Candle before her, of whose presence the King seemed to be most desirous; and presently falling in talke of Religion, began to debate some questiion thereof with the Queene, demanding to have her resolutions therein; but she knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, and the soreneſſe of his legge to encreaſe his choller, made him answere, *that she was a woman, accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majesty wise and judicious, of whom she must learne, as of her Lord and Head, for so God hath appointed you (said she) the Supreame Head of us all, of whom next unto him I will ever learne. Not so, by Saint Mary, said the King, you are become a Doctor Kate to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often heretofore we have seene. Indeed (said she) if your Majesty have so conceived, I have beene mistaken in my meaning, who have ever held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her Lord. And whereas I have heretofore held talke with your highnesse touching Religion, it was to learne of your Majesty some excellent point which my selfe stood in doubt of: and sometimes to the end that you might with lesse griefe passe over this painfull time of your infirmity, wherein if by my over-much boldnesse I have failed in the latter, yet have I not done in the former, to my no small benefit and comfort. And is it even so sweet heart?* (quoth the King,) *why then, are we friends*, and so kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But the day drawne on for her apprehension, and the King disposed take the ayre, sent for the Queene to walke in the garden, himselfe accompanied onely with two Gentlemen, and she with the three forefaid Ladies. When as suddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the guard, came into the garden, with purpose to have apprehended and carried the Queene to the Tower; whose malepert approach the King greatly misliked, and sternely beholding him, stept a side, saluting him with the names of knave, foole, and beast, bidding avaunt out of presence. The Queene seeing the King chafed, but knew not the cause, indeavoured by all meanes to pacifie his Majestie, and intreated for the Lord Chancellour, whose fault as she thought and alledged was rather through misimprision then will, and therefore, said she, I will become an humble suiter for him unto your Highnesse. *Ah poore Soule* (quoth the King) *thou little knowest Kate how evill he deserveth this grace at thy hands: of my word* (sweet heart) *he hath beene towards thee a very knave.* But in following this tract of bloud, flowed from the fountaine of the fixe Articles, we have stepped over some other occurrences that happened somewhat before this time, unto which with thy patience, good Reader, we will returne againe.

The Lord Chancellors purpose to apprehend the Queene.

Hen. 8 assumeth the name of *King of Ireland.* An act. confirmed by Parl. 35. *Hen. 8. John Lisley.*

(114) King *Henry* by order of Parliament having assumed the Stile and Title of *King of Ireland*, with the submission of most of the *Irish* Nobility, *James* his Nephew, King of *Scotland*, tooke it not well, for that, as *Lisley* saith, a great part of *Ireland*, especially in the North, had beene in possession of the Scottishmen for many hundred of yeares before. These discontents conceived, King *Henry* well perceived; and because he would have no ill-will so neere him, that had so many enviers abroad, he sent unto King *James* that it would please him to repaire unto the City of *Yorke*, where he would meete him, to conferre for the wealth of both the Realmes, unto which at first he granted, but upon better advise, unaccomplished, his Counsellors moving the dangers; and his Clergy the feares; lest their Religion

The Kings of *England* and *Scotland* appoint to meete at *Yorke*.

An. Dom. 1542.

An expedition into Scotland.

The Scottish Noblemen refuse to invade England.

The Lord Warden of the West-borders yeelds to the Kings perswasions.

* William Stafford hath Stow.

The mistaking of the Scots.

Oliver Sinclere the Kings Lieutenant Generall.

The Scottish Nobility,in disdaine of their Generall, loft the field. John Leslie.

Solom-mosse.

Grafton faith foure and twenty.

The death of King James of Scotland.

A marriage intended betwixt Prince Edward and the young Queene of Scotland.

Religion ſhould be changed to the offence of his confederates the *Pope*,the *Emperour*,and the *French King*.

(115) The unkindneſſe growing from this ſmall ſparke, was preſently kindled into great flames, for Commiſſioners being ſent from both Kings, to view the limits of either Kingdome, they fell at ods about a ſmall peece of ground,and from that tooke occaſion of emulations, and warres: to proſecute which, King *Henry* prepared an army, and ſent them into *Scotland* under the conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, accompanied with the Earles of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus*, and *Rutland*. Theſe, paſſing the *Engliſh* Marches, did much hurt in the kingdome of *Scotland*. To withſtand whom, King *Iames* gathered a power of five and thirty thouſand ſtrong,and at *Fallow* moore,meant to have bidden the Duke battell, which (as that Writer related) was not then minded to doe, but made againe into *England*, and paſſing the water *Tweed*, ſuſtained great loſſe by the couragious purſuit of the L. *Hunly*. King *Iames* upon a luſty courage,meaning to repaire the *Scots* loſſes with the Engliſh ſpoyles,was very forward to follow the Duke into their borders,but the Scottiſh Nobility wiſely waying the danger of war,by no meanes would either aſſent to aſſiſt him out of his owne kingdome, affirming it honour ſufficient, to have forced the Engliſh backe with no little loſſe.

(116) King *Iames* diſcontented at his Nobles denials,made towards the borders himſelfe, where,moving the *Lord Maxewell Lord Warden* of the *Weſt* Borders, with many other men of ſpeciall favour and account, to invade *England*, they gave their conſents. Theſe, paſſing the River *Eske*, did ſome ſmall damage upon the *Weſterne Borderers*, whereof *Thomas* Baſtard *Dacres*, and * *Iacke of Muſgrave*, as *Holinſhead* cals them, ſent word to *Thomas Wharton*, *Lord Warden* for the *King* upon the *Weſt-Marches*: But the Scots coming forward, they were forced to prepare for fight before the Lord *Wharton* could come, and out of their ſmall company left a ſtand upon the ſide of a hill.

(117) The *Scots* advanced forward with no little hope, were preſently danred with the ſight of theſe men, and verily thought that the Lord *Wharton* had aſſembled his Charge, or that the Duke of *Norfolke*, with a great army was come to their reſcue; whereupon they began to conſult what was beſt to be done; and demanding who was deputed Lieutenant by the King, *Oliver Sinclere*, of no great parts, nor honourable parentage, being lifted up upon the ſhoulders of two ſouldiers, ſhewed forth the *Kings* Commiſſion, wherein himſelfe was appointed their Generall, and whereat how ſoever it was written or read, the Lords tooke no little diſdaine that ſo many more worthy, honourable, and approved Captaines of the Field, ſhould be lead by this his Minion, but no Servant of *Mars*. In whoſe contempt,and for the indiſcretion of their *King*, they ſuffered themſelves to be taken Priſoners,and willingly loſt the day.

(118) This victory was won upon the twenty fourth of *November*, at a place beyond *Carliel*, called *Solemmoſſe*, where were taken Priſoners the Earles of *Caſſils* and *Glencarne*,the Lords *Maxwel*, *Flemming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Grey*, *Sir Oliver Sinclere*,and others,to the number of one& twenty men of account, who were conveied to *London*, and committed to the Tower. For griefe of which loſſe,and ſuſpition of his Nobility, King *Iames* fell into a melancholy Paſſion, which the birth of his new-borne *Princeſſe* rather increaſed, then gave him any comfort, ſo as he deceaſed the foureteenth dayof *December* following,fore-ſhewing(ſaith *Leſly*)great troubles to follow in *Scotland*.

(119) Newes brought neere at one inſtant, of the death of *King Iames*, and birth of the Princeſſe his Daughter, *King Henrie* intended to doe that by the match of a marriage, which long had beene aſſayed by the Sword of *Mars*: all things ſo conforting as it did,he having one onely ſonne,then above five yeares of age, and *Scotland* no heire beſide this new-borne daughter; their yeares ſuiting a conſent for marriage, the whole Iland offering both the ioynter and dowry,and that which moſt moved their chiefe Nobility in his owne hands, to be moulded for this deſigne, as if heaven it ſelfe had bid the banes.

(120) Thoſe Priſoners therefore which had remained in the Tower onely two daies, upon the twenty-one of December,he ſent for to *Weſtminſter*,the Earls and Lords all ſuited in gownes of blacked damaske,furred with Cunny,where, after ſome words of friendly reproſe, they were beſtowed among the Engliſh Nobility, who uſed them according to their eſtates: and the third day,in *Chriſtmas*, were invited to the Court at *Greenewich*,where they went before the *King* to his Chappell, were royally feaſted, and the motion then made for the eſtabliſhing of peace,by the conjunction of the two Princes, whereunto the *Scottiſh* were as willing as the Engliſh, and proffered all forward aſſiſtance to have it accompliſhed. So that theſe Nobles were delivered without other ranſome, and richly rewarded at their departure from Court.

(121) Theſe returned into *Scotland*,declared what they had done, and ſo effectually followed the buſineſſe, that in a Parliament aſſembled of the three Eſtates,the marriage was confirmed, and a peace proclaimed to continue betwixt the two realmes the ſpace of ten yeares, which agreements were ſent into *England* by honourable Ambaſſadours, and there interchangeably ſealed betwixt theſe Potent Eſtates. But Cardinall *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, fearing leaſt *Scotland* would change the Church Orders, as *England* had done (the *Bible* already read in their owne language, and the Popes uſurped power called in Queſtion, as then it began to be, by the fervent preaching of Frier *Gutlam*, to the great liking of moſt of the Lords) made ſome exceptions againſt the Earle *Arraine* the new-choſen Governour, being neereſt in bloud to the young Queene. And the French *King* not liking this union with *England*,fought by all meanes to breake the ſame match: to effect which, he ſent the Earle of *Lennox* to perſwade with the Governor,with great proffers and promiſes of aſſiſtance, but finding him faithful unto *King Henry*,preſently made faction for the French, wherein he drew the Queene-Mother, the Earles *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Montroſſe*, *Menteith*, and many more Peeres, the Cardinall amongſt them ever the chiefe.

(122) Earle *Lennox* thus growne into credit with the Queen-Mother,and made ſtrong by her adherents that favoured the French,preſently claimed to be Governor of *Scotland*,being the ſecond perſon of degree in the Realme,and withall to have the cuſtody of the young Queene,who with her mother were forthwith taken from *Linlithqw* under the charge of the Governour *Arraine*, and brought unto *Striveling*, ſtrongly guarded with the continuall preſence of the Lords, *Levinſton*, *Erskwin*, *Flemming*, and *Ruthwen*, leaſt Queene *Mary* ſhould be conveyed into *England* unto *King Henrie*. Theſe violent courſes, cauſed great Emulations among the Scottiſh Nobility, each of them ſiding as their affections were ſetled, but laſtly agree to ſet the Crowne on their young Queenes head: and prepared for the ſolemnity, whereunto all the Lords came, (excepting thoſe that ſtood for *England*,) and by them the Governour with much adoe was drawne to be preſent at the Coronation: but that accompliſhed, and the State affaires conſulted upon, it was agreed that the French *Kings* ſuite ſhould be favoured,and that the Earle *Arraine* ſhould be Governour ſtill, whereat Earle *Lennox* conceived ſuch diſpleaſure, as he became wholly for *King Henrie*, and joyned himſelfe with the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, and *Caſſils*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Summerwell*, *Gray*, and others, that ſtood with the *Engliſh* for the match with Prince *Edward*.

(123) King *Henrie* then hearing what was done, and intended; ſent preſently into *Scotland*, to demand the Cuſtody of the young Queene, and that certaine Scottiſh Noble-men might be appoynted to guard her in *England*, untill ſhe came to yeares of conſent, according to Covenants formerly concluded; which no

The Scottiſh priſoners honourably entertained.

The Scottiſh priſoners ſolicite their Ranſome. John Liſle.

Their waiting of Prince Edward and Q. Mary at their diſtreſſe Nativities.

Cardinall Beton againſt the marriage with England.

The Scots King ſtumbles on his Lands.

The Queene and Queene-mother conveyed to Striveling.

Queene Mary of Scotland crowned.

The Earle of Lennox falleth from the Queenes mother.

King Henry demandeth the young Princeſſe Queene.

An Army ſent into Scotland.

John Leſlie, The Pope, and French King ſend aide into Scotland.

Matth Earle of Lennox marrieth Lady Margaret.

Earle Lennox proclaimed an enemy to the State.

The Engliſh enter Scotland.

An. Dom. 1544.

Defiance ſent into France.

Joh. Stow.

Boloigne beſieged.

John Sleidan Comment.

Boloigne won.

Rich Grafton.

John Serres.

The French invade the Ile of Wight, and the coaſts of Suſſex.

A Roade made into Scotland.

Lord Sure ſlaine.

An. Dom. 1546.

A great loſſe of Engliſh in France.

John Serres.

John Sleidan. Com. lib. 7.

Peace concluded betwixt England and France.

Hoſtilities ſtaid. Chatillon raiſeth a Fort-neare unto Bolloigne.

King Henrie commands againſt his owne writing.

no wayes would be granted, and thereupon he prepared an army thitherward, under the conduct of Lord *Edward Seimor* Earle of *Hertford*,Lieutenant-General by Land, accompanied with the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and a Fleeteof two hundred ſaile by Sea, whereof Sir *Iohn Dudley*, *Vicount Liſle*, was Admirall.

(124) To the ayde of the Scots, the Popes Holineſſe was very forward, who ſent them the *Patriarch* of *Venice* as his Legate, and Orator, to perſwade their Reſolutions; with whom the French King ſent *Monſieur la Broche*, and *Monſieur Menager*, to lead them to fight,and fifty thouſand Crownes of the Sunne,to ſuſtaine the Charge; with munition worth ten thouſand Crownes more. It ſeemeth by *Leſly* that part of this ſilver fell into the Earle *Lennox* his hand,and that therewith he made head againſt the Governor,but not able to match him,ſent unto King *Henry* for aide,with proffer of his ſervice againſt the French ſide,which ſo well was accepted of *Henry*, as he made him his Nephew,by giving the Lady *Margaret* his ſiſters daughter to be his Wife.

(125) The Engliſh thus ſeconded with this unlooked-for alliance, Cardinall *Beton* thought good to bind all to the Governour,who with the authority of the Queene *Dowager*, proclaymed *Lennox* an Enemy to the State. But in the meane-while the *Admirall* of *England* was entred the *Frith*, and at New-Haven landed his men, where joyning his, to the Land-Service,they all together marched thence toward *Lieth*, himſelfe leading the Vaward, *Shrewsbury* the Rereward, and the Lord Lieutenant the maine Battell. Theſe comming to *Lieth*, ſpoyled the Towne, and thence to *Edenbrough*,burnt the City,and waſted the Country for ſeaven miles about; this done, they ſet fire upon *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, and then the whole Army returned unto *Barwicke*.

(126) Whilſt things thus paſſed in *Scotland*, and the maine purpoſe reſting in ſuſpence, King *Henry* well knew where the greateſt rub did lie in his way, which was the French King, the chiefeſt Abettor of the *Scots*, whom he ever upheld,to hold him tacke at home, leſt otherwiſe he ſhould tugge with *France* for his owne right. And therefore having joyned with the Emperor againſt the French,ſent his Herald, *Garter*, King at Armes, to demand certaine covenants, which if he refuſed, to proclaime defiance unto open warres, but he not ſuffered to doe his meſſage to the King, returned, and *Henry* prepared an expedition into *France*,wherein he imployed the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, and *Surrey*, the Lords, *Ruſſell*, *Grey*, *Fervers*, *Mountjoy*, and *Sainct-Iohn*,beſides many other ſerviceable Knights, and Sir *Iohn Dudley* appointed high Admirall for the Seas. Of theſe ſome joyned with the Emperials, and ſhewed their value in the ſiege of *Mastreil*.

(127) The Duke of *Suffolke* in the meane while ſtrucke downe his Standards on the Eaſt ſide of *Boloigne*, and with many ſharpe skirmiſhes, entred the baſe-Towne,which ſiege King *Henry* himſelfe in perſon ſeconded, who having paſſed the Seas from *England*, upon the ſixe and twentieth of Iuly, encamped before *Bolloigne* on the Eaſt-ſide, whence his Canons ſo rent the Wals and Bulwarke,as their mounted tops lay upon the Ground, and his great morter-peeces were diſcharged with ſo skilfull a compaſſe,that their bullets falling downe-right, beat all buildings downe upon the Enemies heads. Whereby (ſaith *Sleidane*) *in ſhort time he got that, which neither his Father, nor the Kings in former times could never win.* For thereupon the Towne was ſurrendred and cleared of the French ſouldiers,women,and children.

(128) The King like a Conquerour with his ſword borne before him entred the Gate,where the Duke of *Suffolke* preſented him with the keyes of the Towne, the Trumpets ſtil ſounding,and nothing wanting that might applaud his fame. The town thuswon,the *Engliſh* meant ſtill to keepe; for the ſtrengthening whereof, the King commanded the faire Church of S. *Maries* to be taken downe,and in the ſame place,a mount to be raiſed for the planting of Ordnance, to annoy any ſiege. But being thus buſied in *Bolloignes* affaires, the Emperour, without his knowledge or conſent came to a peace with the French King, whereat King *Henry* was ſore diſpleaſed,and the ſooner left *France*, leaving Sir *Iohn Dudley Lord Liſle*, his deputy in *Bolloigne*,and landed at *Dover* the firſt day of *October*, to his great honour,and joy of his Subjects.

(129) The French King chafed with this late and great loſſe,fought to try fortune in further attempts, and that not onely for the recovery of *Bolloigne*, (which with twenty-thouſand well appointed he alſayed) but alſo in aſſayling the *Engliſh* dominions, as the *Ile of Wight*, and thoſe parts of *Suſſex* that lay upon the Seas,though with loſſe of many Captaines and thouſands of Souldiers,that never returned to tell him what intertainement they had; as likewiſe in ſending ayde unto *Scotland*, where *Monſieur Mungumry* of the Order of *France*, with 5000. ſtrong, entred to maintaine the breach betwixt them and King *Henry*, which was ſo followed on both parts, as the *Engliſh* making a Roade towards *Gedworth*, got praiſe for their valour, but reproach for thier ſpoyles, and the *Scots* renowne for killing the Lord *Eure*, Lord *Warden* of the *Eaſt-Marches*, with many other Captaines in defence of their Countrey.

(130) Hereupon an Army of twelve thouſand ſtrong was ſent into *Scotland*, whereof the Earle of *Hertford* was Generall: with theſe hee forraged the Borders before him, and burnt many Townes in the Middle-Marches, with *Kelſey* and *Coldingham*-Abbey,the *French* not haſty to ſtay the incurſion,lay ſtil, and let them (unfought with) depart for *England*.

(131) But the warres removed againe into *France*, the *Reingrave* with a great power came to victuall a Fort built neere unto *Bolloigne*; to impeach which, the Earle of *Surrey*, then Lieutenant of the Towne, made forth,but was diſcomfited in the enterprize,and Sir *Edward Poynings*, Captaine of a Band, ſlaine,with fifteene other Captaines, beſides many Officers and common Souldiers. Theſe Princes wars in theſa violent proceedings,became very feareful leſt they would grow to the common hurt of Chriſtendome, and therefore many other Potentates, whereof the Emperour was firſt, ſollicited theſe Kings unto a peace, which the ſooner was heard and imbraced, for that they were both of them olde,and King *Henry* diſeaſed in body. Commiſſioners therefore appointed,certaine articles were agreed upon: the firſt thereof was, that the French King ſhould pay unto King *Henry*, eight hundred-thouſand Crownes in eight yeares ſpace, and then to re-enter upon *Bolloigne*, but in the meantime it to remaine under the *Engliſh*; to accompliſh which peace, *Mounſieur Danehalt*, high Admirall of *France*, was ſent into *England*; and Sir *Thomas Cheynie*, Lord *Warden* of the Cinque Ports,to be the Kings Agent at the Font, for the Baptiſme of the *Dolphins* new-borne Daughter.

(132) Notwithſtanding theſe complements, the ſight of *Bolloigne* was a great fore in the *French*-mens eyes, inſomuch that *Monſieur Chatillon*, Captaine of *Mountplaiſier*, began to make a new *Baſtilion* neere unto the Towne, even in the very mouth of the River,which the Lord *Grey of Wilton* perceiving, certified the King, what inconvenience would happen if that were made ſtrong, and the ſame diſcuſſed at the Councell-Table, it paſſed with one voyce that the Peace with *France* was not to be infringed, notwithſtanding this French attempt: to which end a prohibition was drawne, (whereunto King *Henry* alſo ſet his hand,) that no let ſhould be made againſt *Chatillon* in his Fort. Howbeit the King commaunded Sir *Thomas Palmer* (imployed in this buſineſſe) to bid the Lord *Grey* to impeach the new worke, and to ſtat ſo much as was raiſed thereof unto the Earth. This Commiſſion read, with the report of Commaund to the Contrary, the Counſell of State, thought it moſt meete to follow their inſtructions in writing, leaſt the words might either be miſ-delivered or miſtaken. But the Lord *Grey*, cauſing the meſſengers words to be writ, and ſubſcribed with all their hands that

The Lord Grey flanneth Chatillons Fort.

that were present at the report, suddainely and unlooked for, came to the Fort, and in foure houres space cast downe, what had beene in raising three moneths before, which when the King heard off, he asked his Councellors what they thought of this, that *Chatillon-garden* was cast downe: amongst whom one of them answered, *the doer thereof was worthy to loose his head*; I had rather (said the King) loose a dozen of such heads as thine is, then his that had done the deed, and immediately sent the Lord *Grey* his pardon, with many great thankes.

An. Dom. 1547. King Henry fifteenth.

(133) But now the date of his time almost run, and he preparing towards the way of all flesh, the great and faire Church of the *Gray-Fryers* London, lately suppressed by himselfe, he caused againe to be opened, and to be made a Parish-Church, giving the revenewes thereof unto the City of *London* towards the reliefe of their poore, whereunto he gave 500. Markes yerely of Lands for ever to maintaine Gods divine service, and the said Churches reparations, within whose wals we find this often written, *This is Christs Church founded by King* Henry *the eight*.

Iob. Stow in Survey *London*.

Dated the 30. of *December*, and 38. of his raigne.

(134) And his sicknesse increasing to the great danger of life, he prepared himselfe to make his Will, wherein how soever titles had beene unabled in Parliaments, he ordained his three children to succeed each after others, for want of other Issue. One thousand markes he commanded to be given to the poore, and to twelve poore Knights at *Windsore* each of them 12. pence a day for ever, every yeare a long Gowne of white cloth, the Garter imbroydered upon the breast, wherein was placed the Crosse of *Saint George*, and a Mantle of red-Cloth to be worne thereupon, ordaining for his Executors in the minority of Prince *Edward*, these here-under named.

1 *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
2 *Thomas Wriothesley*, Lord Chancellor.
3 *William Paulet, Lord Saint-Iohn*, Great master of the Houshold, Knight of the Order.
4 *Iohn Russell*, Lord Privy-Seale.
5 *Edward Seimor, Earle of Hertford*, Lord great Chamberlaine.
6 *Iohn Dudley, Viscount Lisle*, Lord high Admiral.
7 *Cuthert Tunstall, B.* of *Durham*.
8 *Anthonie Browne*, Knight, Mr. of the Horse.
9 *William Paget*, Knight of the Order.
10 *Edmund Mountacute*, Chiefe-Iustice of the Common-pleas.
11 *Thomas Bromley*, Lord Chiefe-Iustice.
12 *Anthony Deny*, Knight.
13 *Edward North*, Knight.
14 *Edward Wotton*, Knight.
15 Doctor *Wotton*, Deane of *Canterbury*.

And for their ayde and assistance in Counsell, he appointed these following.

1 *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.
2 *William Parre*, Earle of *Essex*.
3 *Thomas Cheney*, Knight, Treasurer of the Houshold.
4 *Iohn Gage*, Knight, Controller of the houshold.
5 *Anthony Wingefield*, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine.
6 *William Peter*, Knight, principall Secretary.
7 *Richard Rich*, Knight.
8 *Iohn Baker*, Knight.
9 *Ralph Sadler*, Knight.
10 *Thomas Seimer*, Knight.
11 *Richard Southwell*, Knight.
12 *Edmund Pecham*, Knight.

King Henries death.

And in great penitency for his sinnes, dyed upon Thursday the twenty eight day of Ianuary, in the yeare of *Christ Iesus* 1546. when he had raigned thirty seaven yeare, nine moneths, and five dayes, and had lived fifty five yeres, five moneths, and five daies, whose body with great solemnity was buried at *Windsore*, under a most costly and stately Tombe, begun in Copper and guilt, but never finished, in the inclosures of whose Grates is curiously cast this Inscription. HENRICVS OCTAVVS REX ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, DOMINVS HIBERNIAE, FIDEI DEFENSOR: With what cost and state this his monument was intended, is manifested by a Manuscript taken from the true modell thereof, which I received from that industrious Harald Master *Nicholas Charles Lancaster*, and for the great magnificence is worthy here to be inserted.

The manner of the Tombe to be made for the Kings Grace at Windsore.

First, the Pavement whereupon the Tombe shall stand, shall be of Orientall stone: That is to say, of *Alabaster, Porphiry, Serpentines*, and other stones of divers colours, as in the patterne is shewed.

Item, upon the same Pavement shall be two great steps under all the worke, of like Orientall stones.

Item, the Basement of the Pillars shall be of white marble, with Angels holding between them Crowns, or Garlands guilt, as more plainely sheweth in the Patterne.

Item, above the said Basement and Angels, shall be all the old Testament, that is to say, xiiij. Images in the xiiij. Casements of the same two Pillars of the Prophets, and all the Pillars which shall be *xvi.* shall be of stones *Serpentine, Porphiry*, and *Alabaster*, and other fine Orientall stones, of such colours as is shewed in the patterne, and the foot of every pillar, and also the head shall be of Brasse. And every Prophet shall have an Angell sit at his foot, with Scripture of the name of his Prophet, and above over the head of the same shall be the story of his Prophet: in every of which story shall be at least *viij.* or *xi.* figures.

Item, above all the same pillars shall be another Basement of white marble, with a partition being made of such fine Orientall stones as the pillars be, wherein shall be written such Scripture as please you.

Item, above the same Basement shall be the story of the new Testament, that is to wit, with the Images of the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the foure Doctors of the Church, and every Image shall have sitting at his foote a little childe, with a Scripture of the name of his Image, and a little Basket full of red and white Roses, which they shall shew to take in their hands, and cast them downe off the Tombe, and over the Pavement, and the Roses that they shall cast over the Tombe, shall be enamelled and guilt, and the Roses that they cast over the Pavements shall be of fine Orientall stones of white, and red.

Item, behinde all the same Images of the new Testament round about, shall be made in brasse, and guilt all the life of *Iesus Christ* from the nativity to his ascention, and it shall be so clearely and perfectly made, that the Mystery of *Christs* life to his ascention shall plainely appeare.

Item, above the said new Testament and Images thereof, and above the said life of *Christ*, shall be a Quire of *xx.* Angels standing upon a Basement of white Marble, with great Candlesticks in their hands having lights in them shewing to honor and reverence the same Tombe.

Item, all these foresaid figures, stories, and ornaments shall bee made to garnish and ornate the two pillars of the Church betweene which the Tombe shall be set.

Item, betweene the said two great pillars of the Church thus garnished, shall be a Basement of white Marble of the height of the Basement of the pillars, and therein the Epitaph of the King and Queene, with letters of gold, of such Scriptures as ye devise.

Item, upon the same Basement shall be made two Tombes of blacke-Touch, that is to say, on either side one, and upon the said Tombes of blacke-Touch shall be made the Image of the King and Queene on both sides, not as dead, but as persons sleeping, because to shew that famous Princes leaving behinde them great fame, their names never doe die, and shall lie in royall Apparels after the antique manner.

Item, over the right hand, over both the sides of the same Tombe shall be an Angell which shall hold

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the Kings Armes, with a great Candlesticke, having as it were light on it as a Lampe, and in like manner shall be an other Angell holding the Queenes Armes on the left hand with a like Candlesticke.

Item, on the right hand and left hand on both the sides over the said Images of the King and Queene, shall be two Angels, shewing to the people the bodies of the King and Queene, holding above their Heads veiles of God, and the Crownes of the King and Queene on their hands.

Item, betweene the said two Tombes of blacke Touch, and the said Angel over the King and Queene, shall stand an high Basement like a Sepulchre, and on the sides whereof shall be made the story of *S. George*, and over the height of the Basement shall be made an Image of the King on Horse-backe, lively in Armor like a King, after the antique manner, shewing in countenance and looking on the said two Images lying on the said Tombes.

Item, on the right hand and left hand of the said two Tombes shall be foure Pillers of the foresaid Orientall stones, that is to say, on either side two Pillers, and upon every Piller shall be a like Basement of white Marble with partitions for Scriptures as shall be above the other Pillers. And on the same foure Basements of the said Pillers shall be made foure Images, two of *Saint Iohn Baptist*, and two of *St. George*, with foure little Children by them, casting roses, as is aforesaid.

Item, over the said Image of the King on horseback shall be made an Arch-triumphall, of white Marble wrought within, and about it, and upon the same arch, in manner of a Casement of white Marble, garnished with like Orientall Stones of divers colours, as the patterne sheweth, and on the two sides of the said Casement shall be made and set of brasse guilt, the story of the life of Saint *Iohn Baptist*, and one height of the said Casement shall be made five steps, every one more then other downeward, of like Orientall stones, as the said Pillers shall shew.

Item, on the foure corners of the said Casement shall be made the Images of the foure Cardinall vertues, having such Candlesticks in their hands as is above said.

Item, on the top of the higheſt step of the said five steps, on the one side, shall be an Image of the Father, having in his left hand the Soule of the King, and blessing with his right hand, with two Angels holding abroad the Mantle of the Father on either side.

Item, in like wise shall be made, on the other side, the said image of the Father, having the soule of the Queene in his left hand, blessing with his right hand with like Angels.

The height of the same worke from the Father unto the Pavement shall be *xxviij.* foot.

Item, the breadth and largeneſſe of the said worke shall be *xv.* foot, and the Pillers of the Church in greatneſſe, *v.* foote: and so the largeneſſe of the said worke, from the uttermost part of the two great Pillars shall be *xx.* foote.

Item, every of the Images of the *xiiij.* Prophets, shall containe every Image *V.* foot in length, and the Angels shall containe two foot and a halfe in length.

Item, every of the *xx.* Pillers shall containe in length *X.* foote.

Item, every of the Images of the Apostles, Evangelists, and Doctors shall containe in length *V.* foote and the Angels as is aboveſaid.

Item, in likewise every of the *xx.* Angels of the quire shall containe in length two foot and a halfe, and in likewise the Images of the Children two foot and a halfe.

Item, the foure Images of *St. Iohn Baptist* and Saint *George*, and all the figures of the Father and Angels on the *V.* steps shall be *V.* foot.

Item, the foure Images of the King and the Queene shall be of the stature of a man and woman, and the foure Angels by the of the stature of a man every one.

Item, the Image of the King on Horse-backe with his Horse shalbe of the whole stature of a goodly man and large Horse.

Item, there shall be a *Cxxxiiij.* figures, *Xliij.* Stories, and all of Brasse guilt, as in the patterne appeareth.

(135) But, *Sic transit gloria mundi*; For how soever this Kings fame was thus intended, yet that great worke never came to perfection; but standeth as a Monument, how Kings, as other mortals are but dust and ashes, when the breath of life in them is dissolved, as the wiſeſt of Kings hath left upon record in *Eccleſiaſtes* the ninth. This magnificent Monarch was of presence Majesticall, and of Personage more then ordinarily tall, faire of Complexion and corpulent of body, very wife, and very well learned, of a sudden and ready speech, in youth very prodigall, and in his age very liberall, pleasant, and affable, but not to be dallied with, bold in attempting, and ever thirstie of potent glory: an expert Souldier, and favouring such as were active or serviceable, according to the then usuall saying, *King Henry loves a man*: and indeed somewhat too well the delights with women, as by his many wives here ensuing may well appeare.

His Wives.

(136) *Katherine* the first wife to King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Ferdinando* the sixt King of *Spaine*, and widdow-dowager of Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as hath bin said: she was married unto this King the third of Iune: and first of his Raigne, the yeere of Salvation 1509. being solemnely crowned with him upon the twenty-fourth day of the same, and was his wife above twenty yeares, and then divorced from him by the sentence of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; lived three yeares after by the name of *Katherine Dowager*. She deceased at *Kimbalton* in the County of *Huntington* the eight of Ianuary, and yeare of Christ 1535. and lyeth interred on the North-side of the quire in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow*, under a hearse of Blacke Saye, having a white Crosse in the middeſt. An. Dom. 1533.

(137) *Anne*, the second wife of King *Henry*, was the second daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Earle of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*. She was solemnely at *Windsor* created Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*, the first of September, and twenty foure of his Raigne, having one thousand pound given her by yeare, to maintaine her eſtate. She was married unto King *Henry* in his Closet at *White-Hall*, upon the twenty-fifth day of *Ianuary*, and yeare of *christ Iesus* 1533. being the foure and twentieth of his raigne, and was crowned with all due obſervances at *Weſtminſter* upon *Whitſunday* the first of *Iune*, where the Crowne of Saint *Edward* was set upon her head, the Scepter of Gold delivered into her right hand, and the Ivory-rod, with the Dove, into her left. She was his wife three yeares, three moneths, and twenty five daies, when being cut off by the sword the nineteenth of *May*, her body was buried in the *Quire* of the Chappell in the Tower, leaving her accused fame to be censured as affections beſt pleased the uncharitable minded, and her bed to be posseſt of a vertuous Lady. An. Dom. 1532.

(138) *Iane*, the third wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of *Iohn Seimer* Knight, and sister to Lord *Edward Seimer*, Earle of *Hertford*, and Duke of *Somerſet*. She was married unto him the twentieth of *May*, even the next day after the beheading of *Queene Anne*, and the twenty eight of his Raigne. She was his wife one yeare, five moneths, and twenty foure dayes, and died in Child-bed the foureteenth of *October*, to the great griefe of the King, who not onely removed from the place, but kept himselfe private, and wore the Garment of mourning even in the Feſtivall time of Chriſtmas; her body was solemnely conveied to *Windsore* the eight of November following, where she was interred in the middeſt of the Quire of the Church within the Caſtle. An. Dom. 1536.

(139) *Anne*, the fourth wife of King *Henry*, and sister to *William* Duke of *Cleve*, was married unto him the sixth of Ianuary, in the thirty one yeare of his Raigne, the yeare of Grace 1540. she was his Wife An. Dom. 1540.

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fixe moneths, after which time certaine Lords of the upper House of Parliament came into the nether, and alledged cause for which that marriage was unlawful, whereupon she was divorced, and by Statute enacted, that she should no more be taken for Queene, but should be called the *Lady Anne of Cleve*. She remained in *England* long after the Kings death, though small mention is made of her by any of our Writers, onely we finde that she accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London* at the solemnizing of Queene *Maries* Coronation.

(140) *Katherine*, the fifth Wife of King *Henrie* the eight, was the daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece unto *Thomas Howard* his brother, Duke of *Norfolke*: She was married unto him the eight of *Auguſt*, and yeare of Grace 1540. being the thirtie two of his Raigne, at *Hampton-Court*, and continued his Queene the ſpace of one yeare, ſixe moneths, and foure dayes, when for her unchaſt life, ſhe was attainted by Parliament, and for the ſame beheaded within the Tower of *London* the twelfth of February, and her body buried in the Chauncell of the Chappell by Queene *Anne Bullen*.

(141) *Katherine*, the ſixth and laſt wife of King *Henry*, was the daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and ſiſter to Lord *William Parre* Marqueſſe of *Northampton*: She was firſt married to *John Nevill*, *Lord Latimer*, and after his deceaſe, upon the twelfth of July married unto the King at *Hampton-Court*, the yeare of Salvation 1543. and thirty five of his raigne: She was his wife three yeares, ſixe moneths, and five dayes, and ſurviving him, was againe married unto *Thomas Seimer* Lord Admirall of *England*, unto whom ſhe bare a daughter, but died in the ſame Childbed, the yeare of Grace 1548.

His Iſſue.

(142) *Henrie*, the firſt ſonne of King *Henrie* by Queene *Katherine* his firſt Wife, was borne at *Richmond* in *Surrey*, upon the firſt of *Ianuary*, and the firſt of his fathers raigne, whoſe Godfathers at the Font were the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury Will. Warham*, and the Earle of *Surrey*: his Godmother Lady *Katherine*, Counteſſe of *Devonſhire*, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. This Prince lived not fully two moneths, but died in the ſame place wherein he was born, upon the two and twentieth of February, and his body with all due obſequies buried in *Weſtminſter*.

(143) A Son not named was borne unto King *Henry* by Lady *Katherine*, his firſt Queene, in the moneth of November, and the ſixth yeare of his raigne, who lived not long, and therfore no further mention of him can be made: the deaths of theſe Princes King *Henry* tooke as a puniſhment from God, for ſo he alledged it in the publike Court held in Blacke-Friers *London*, they being begot on his owne brothers wife.

(144) *Marie*, the third childe and firſt daughter of King *Henrie* by *Queene Katherine* his firſt wife, was borne at *Greenewich* in *Kent*, the eighteenth of February, in the yeare of Chriſts humanity 1518. and the eighth of his Raigne. She was, by the direction of her mother, brought up in her Child-hood by the Counteſſe of *Salisbury* her neere kinſwoman, for that as ſome thought, the *Queene* wiſhed a marriage betwixt ſome of her ſonnes and the Princeſſe, to ſtrengthen her Title by that alliance into *Torke*, if the King ſhould die without iſſue Male. In her young yeares ſhe was ſued to be married with the Emperor, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleance* in *France*, but all theſe fayling, and ſhee ſucceeding her Brother King *Edward* in the Crowne, at the age of thirtie ſixe yeares, marched with *Philip* King of *Spaine*, to the great diſlike of many, and ſmall content to her ſelfe, he being imployed for the moſt part beyond the Seas, for griefe whereof, and the loſſe of *Callis*, ſhe laſtly fell into a burning feaver that coſt her her life.

(145) *Elizabeth*, the ſecond Daughter of King *Henry*, and firſt Childe by Queene *Anne* his ſecond Wife, was borne at *Greenwich*, upon Sunday the ſeventh of September, the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus 1533. and twentie five of her Fathers Raigne, who with due ſolemnities was baptized the Wedneſday following, Archbiſhop *Cranmar*, the old Dutcheſſe of *Norfolke*, and the old Marchioneſſe of *Dorſet* being the witneſſes at the Font, and the Marchioneſſe of *Exceſter* at the confirmation: Shee ſucceeded her ſiſter Queene *Mary* in the Monarchy of *England*, and was for wiſedome, vertue, piety, and juſtice, not onely the Mirrour of her Sexe, but a patterne for Government to all the Princes in Chriſtendome: whoſe name I may not mention without all dutiful remembrance, and whoſe memory unto me is moſt deare, amongſt the many thouſands that received extraordinary favours at her gracious and moſt liberall hand.

(146) Another man-childe Queene *Anne* bare unto King *Henry*, though without life, upon the nine and twentieth of Ianuary, and twenty ſeven of his raigne, to the no little griefe of the mother, and ſome diſlike of the King, as the ſequell of her accuſation and death did ſhortly confirme.

(147) *Edward*, the laſt child of King *Henry*, and firſt of Queen *Iane*, his third wife, was borne at *Hampton*-Court, the twelfth of October, the yeare of Grace 1537. and twenty nine of the Kings Raigne, being cut out of his mothers wombe as is conſtantly affirmed, like as *Iulius Cæſar* is ſaid to have beene: his Godfathers at the Font, was *Thomas Cranmar* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolke*, his ſiſter Lady *Mary* being Godmother, ſaith *Grafton*: Sixe dayes after his birth he was created Prince of *Wales*, and at the death of his Father, ſucceeded him in all his dominions, of whom more followeth hereafter.

His Naturall Iſſue.

(148) *Henry Fitz-Roy*, the naturall ſonne of King *Henry* the eight, was begotten of the Lady *Talboiſe*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, and borne in the Mannor of *Blackamoore* in *Eſſex*, about the tenth yeare of his Raigne; at the age of ſixe yeares he was created Earle of *Nottingham*, and in the five and twentieth of his Fathers raigne, upon the eighteenth of Iune, in the Kings Pallace of *Bridewell*, was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Sommerſet*, Lord Warden of the Eaſt, Weſt, and Middle-Marches againſt *Scotland*, and Lieutenant-Generall of all the parts of *England* Northward, he was a Prince very forward in Martiall Activities, of good literature and knowledge in the tongues, unto whom the learned Antiquary *Leland* dedicated a Booke; He married *Mary* daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marſhall and Lord high Treaſurer of *England*, with whom he lived not long, but dyed at *Saint Iames* by *Weſtminſter*, the two and twentieth of Iuly, in the yeare of Chriſt Ieſus 1536. and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolke*.

An. Dom. 1533.

John Stow.

An. Dom. 1519. *Stowes Annal.*

Thomas Stiffles Hiſt. Boud faith as Tiet-ford in Norfolke p. 1137.

Holliſh. p. 883.

THe tempeſtuous ſtormes in the Raigne of this King Henry the eight, and the violent deluge rayſed againſt the Church-ſtate of his times; have downe ſo many religious ſtrong foundations, and were the deſtruction of ſo many beautifull Monaſteries, as the onely relation of their numbers and names, would have much interrupted the narration of his Hiſtory. Wherefore to retaine their memorials, (though their walls are laid waſte) aſwell for the reverence we owe unto venerable Antiquity, as for the example of their Founders holy zeale, we have inſerted a Catalogue of their names, orders, and true valuations, as in the originall Booke thereof taken by Commiſſion, and given unto the King, we finde them ſet downe, though at their diſſolutions their values were favourably and farre under-rated. Some Founders, and times of foundations we want; the reſt, Table-wiſe, (to avoid prolixity) we have ſet downe in this preſent following Chapter.

A CATALOGVE OF THE RELIGIOVS HOVSES WITHIN THE REALME OF ENGLAND and VVales, with their Orders, Founders, Benefactors, and Values, moſt of them being ſuppreſſed by King *Henry* the eight. Together with ſuch other ſacred places, as either then were by him left ſtanding, or ſince have beene erected.

BARKE-SHIRE.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and Time.*	*Order.*	*Value.* £ s d ob q	
		King *Henry* the firſt, Qu. *Maude* and Q. *Adeliza* his wives. Benefactors.			
		William & *Richard* ſons to K. *H.* 1.	*Roger* B. of *Salop.* *Brientius.*		
		David K. of *Scots*	*Hugh Mortimer*		
		Ioceline Percy	*Warine Fitzgirald*		
Reading	Saint *Iacob*—M	*Reynold* Earle of *Cornwall*	*Wil. Humeremme*	First Nunnes, after Blacke Monks	2116 03 09 00 ½ Leland.
		Ella Counteſſe of *Saliſbury*	*Adam de Herting-ton*	*Ciniacenſes*	
		Reinuld Chancell'.	*Robert Achard*		
		Wil. E. of *Pembroke*	*Nicolas de la Ruge*		
			Roger Liſford.		
Abington	Saint *Mary*—M	{*Ciſſa* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons*, *circa* 720 {*K. Edgar* and K. *Etheldred* Benefactors}		Blacke Monks	2042 02 08 ob ½
Bromhall in Windſor forreſt	St. *Mary Mag.* N	*Edward* the blacke Prince, *temp.* K. *E.* 3.		Blacke Nunnes	
Biſtleham now Biſham	{*Chriſt Ieſus* & our *Lady* M	{*William Montacute* the firſt Earle of *Saliſbury*, A. 13. *E.* 3.		Canons	0327 04 06 00 0
Donnington	—F	Sir *Richard de Abberbury* Knight		*Ordinis Sanctæ Crucis*	0020 16 06 00 0
Donnington	—H	Sir *Richard de Abberbury* Knight			
Hamme	St. *Mary Mag.* N			Blacke Nunnes	
Hellenſtowe	Saint *Helene*—N	{*Cilla* ſiſter to *Cadwalla* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons* about 680.		Blacke Nunnes	Cambd.
Hurley	Saint *Mary*—M			{Blacke Monks *Weſtmonaſt.*	0134 10 08 ob 0
Murreſly	—P				0014 03 01 00 0
Poghley	—M	{The predeceſſors of the Abbeſſe of *Ambresbury*			0071 10 07 00 0
Shottesbroke	—C				0033 18 08 00 0
Wallingford	Saint *Trinity*—P	{*Edmund* ſonne of *Richard* King of the *Romans*, and E. of *Cornwall temp. E.* 1.		{Blacke Monks of Saint *Albans*	
Wallingford Caſ	—C	*Edward* the Blacke Prince, *temp.* K. *E.* 3.			
Wallingford	Saint *John*—H				0006 00 00 00 0
Windſor Caſtle	{S. *Mary* {S. *George* C	{King *Henry* the firſt King *Edward* the third King *Edward* the fourth inſtituted		5 Choriſters A warden 12 Prebendes 13 Vicors 4 Clarkes 6 Choriſters 3 Vicors 10 Clerkes 7 Choriſters	1602 02 01 ob 0 Leland.

The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſions of their Monaſteries, amounteth to {6368. 12. 8. o. o

BEDFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	*Dedication.*	*Founders, Benefactors, and Time.*	*Order.*	*Value.* £ s d ob q	
Bedford	—F	Lady *Margaret de Patteſhull*	{Fryers Minors, *alii* Grey Fryers	0005 00 00 00 0	
Bedford	Saint *John*—H			0021 00 08 00 0	
Bedford	Saint *Leonard* H			0016 06 08 00 ½	
Bigleſwade	S. *Trinity* in S. *Andrewes* Church C			0807 00 00 00 0	
Biſco neere Merg.	Saint *Trinity*—N	*Roger* Abbot of Saint *Albans*	Nunnes	0143 18 03 00 0	Leland.
Buſhemede *alias* Biſſemed	—P	{*Hugo de Bello Campo*, & *Roger* his brother *temp. W. C.* (Leland) L. *Latimer.*	Canons Auguſtines	0081 13 05 ob 0	Leland.
Caldewell	S. *John Baptiſt*—P	The Lord *Latimer*, *alis John de Biddyſley aliis Geffrey*, a religious man, and *Simon Berſtow*, 1152. 18. K. St. (Leland) *Simon Barker* Alderman of *Bedford.*	{Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0148 15 10 00 0	Leland.
Chickſand	Saint *Mary*—P	{*Pagane de Beauchamp*, & *Roiſe* his wife daughter of *Alberic de Vere*, *temp. W. R.* S.	Gilbertines, white Canons and Nuns	0230 03 04 ob 0	Leland.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Eaton. —	*Corpus Christi* C	—	—	0007 16 00 00 0
	Dunstable. —	Saint *Peter* — P	King *Henry* the first.	Blacke Canons Aug.	0402 14 07 ob 0
	Dunstable. —	— — F	—	Fryers Preachers. —	0004 18 04 00 0
	Fraternitas ibidem	— — F	—	—	0009 08 07 00 0
Leland.	Eleſtow *alias*, Heleſtow, now Elſtow.	Saint *Trinity* Saint *Mary* N Saint *Helene*.	*Iuditha* wife to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon, temp. Williams the Conquerour.*	Blacke Nunnes —	0325 02 01 ob q.
	Harwald, *alias* Harewood.	Saint *Peter* — P	*Samſon* furnamed *Fortis defort.* (Leland) *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter* and *Hertford*, Anno 6. *Ed.* 1.	Blacke Nunnes Aug.	0047 03 02 00 0
	Mergate. —	Saint *Giles* — N		Nunnes —	0325 01 01 ob 0
Leland.	Newenham. —	— — P	*Roiſe* the wife of *Paine de Beauchamp* (Leland) *Simon de Beauchampe* ſonne of *Roiſe, temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Aug.	0343 15 05 00 0
	Northyle. —	— — C	—	—	0061 05 08 ob 0
	Sanchingfield. *juxta* Whitſand	— — H	King *Henry* the ſecond.	Ciſtercians White Monkes	
Leland.	Wardon. —	Saint *Mary* — M	King *Henry* the firſt, and *Walter Eſſpec.* 1138. 4. *Steph.*	Ciſtercians White Monkes	0442 11 11 00 0
Cambd.	Woburne. —	Saint *Mary* — N	*Hugh* (*Cambden*) *Henry de Bolebec.* *alii Robert de vere*, E. of *Oxford* by the licence of King *Richard* the ſecond.	Ciſtercians White Monkes	0430 13 11 ob 0
			The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to		3054. 10. 3. 0. 0

BVCKINGHAM-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Ailesbury —	Saint *Francis* — F	*Edith* daughter of *Frewald* —	Fryers Minors *alias* Grey Fryers	0003 02 05 00 0
	Ankerwike —	— — N	*Gilbert* and *Richard Mounſichet* Knights,	Nunnes	0045 14 04 00 0
Leland.	Afheridge —	Saint *Auguſtine* C	*Edmond* Earle of *Cornewall* ſonne to *Richard*, King of the *Romans, temp. E.* 1.	*Boni viri* Heremita	0447 18 09 ob 0
	Bordeſley —	Saint *Mary* —	*Maud* the Empreſſe	Ciſtercians	
	Bradewell —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Manefelmus*	Blacke Monks	
	Burnham —	— — N	*Richard* K. of *Romans* E. of *Cornub. te. H.* 3.	Blacke Nunnes —	0091 05 11 ob 0
Leland.	Bittelſden —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Arnald de Boſco* Steward of the houſehold of *Rob.* E. of *Leiceſt.* 1127. 28. *H.* 1	Ciſtertians White Monks	0142 01 03 00 0
	Eaton —	— — C	King *Henry* the ſixt.	A Provoſt 8 Fellowes 60 Scholliers Choriſters	
Leland.	Ivingho —	Saint *Margaret* N	*Henry de Blois* Biſhop of *Winchester* *temp. H.* 2.	Nunnes —	0022 06 07 00 0
	Laveden —	Saint *Mary* — M	*John de Bedon*	White Canons —	0091 08 03 ob 0
	Luffeld —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*	White Canons	
	Medmenham *alis* Mendham	— — M	The Anceſtors of the Earle of *Suffolke* —	White Canons Ciſte.	0023 17 02 00 0
	Merlowe *parua* —	— — M	*Geffrey* Lord *Spenſer, temp. H.* 3.	Blacke Nunnes —	0037 16 11 00 0
	Myſſenden —	Saint *Mary* — M	— *D'Oile* — and *de Miſſenden*, Knights	Blacke Canons —	0285 15 09 00 0
	Newport paga-vell	Saint *Leonard* H	*John de Peyton* of Newport —	—	0006 06 08 00 0
Leland.	Nulley —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Walter Gifford* E. of *Buck.* 1112. 2. *H.* 1. *Ermingard* his wife a great benefact.	Blacke Canons —	0495 18 05 ob 0
	Peretrendune —	— — P	—	Blacke Canons	
	Raveneſton —	— — M	Domini Regis Progenitor	—	0066 13 04 00 0
	Sandewell —	— — M	The Anceſtors of *Tho. Stanley* of *Stafford*	—	0038 08 04 00 0
	Sneſſhall —	— — P	—	—	0024 00 00 00 0
	Stoke-pogeis	— — H	*Edward*, Baron *Haſtings* of *Longborrow. temp.* Majeſt.	Poore People	
	Tekeford —	Saint *Mary* — P	*Fulco Paganel, alii Domini Regis progenitor*	Blacke Monks —	0126 17 00 00 0
	Wicombe or high Wickham	— — H	—	Blacke Monks —	0007 15 03 ob 0
		Saint *Margarets* P	—	—	0022 06 07 00 0
			The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to		1979 1 9 ob 0

Peter-

Colledges	Founders	Students	A.D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Peter-House.	*Hugh Balſham*, firſt Subprior, then Prior, and laſtly Biſhop of *Ely*, began the foundation 1256. finiſhed it with indowments 1284. hee was the firſt man that gave, and it the firſt Colledge indowed with maintenance for learning in *Cambridge* Vniverſity. Hee inſtituted —	A Maſter 13 Fellowes 2 Schollers 8 Poore-Sch.	1284	*Robert Lirling* gave to this Foundation.	an houſe with the appurtenants	*Ed.* 2.	A Maſter 17 Fellow. 21 Scholle. and Bible Clarkes with officers and ſervants of the Foundation. 138
				Riberus de Aſleſham and *John de Flemingham* gave	an houſe with the appurtenants		
				Edw. L. North gave	6 Fellowſhips	*Q. M.*	
				Hen. Wilſhaw. B. of Divinity gave	3 Schollerſhips		
				John Whitgift A. B. *Cant.* gave	1 Schollerſhip	*Q. El.*	
				Andrew Perne Dean of *Ely* gave	1 Fellowſhip 3 Schollerſhips 1 Lib. Keeperſhip	*Q. El.*	
				The Lady *Mary Ramſey* of *London* gave 40. pounds yeerely to maintaine	2 Fellowſhips 4 Schollerſhips	*Q. El.*	
				The worthy Companies of *Clothworkers* and *Ironmongers* of the City of *London*, with other benefactors.			
Clare Hall.	*Elizabeth de Burgo* Counteſſe of *Clare*, daughter of *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*, ſiſter and Coheire of *Gilbert de Clare* laſt Earle of *Gloceſter*, and Widdow of *John de Burgo* Earle of *Vlſter* in *Ireland*, firſt foundreſſe. 22. *E.* 3. ſhee inſtituted —	A Maſter. 10 Fellowes 20 Schollers	1347	*Rich. Hadew*, Chancellor (and the Vniverſity then being) in the yeere 1326.	founded a houſe for ſtudents by the name of *Vniverſity Hall*, in the yeere 1326.	19 *E.* 2.	A Maſter 18 Fellows 36 Schollers with Officers and ſervants of the Foundation, and other Students. 140
				King *Edward* 3.	gave lands to the yeerly value of 40. pounds for ever	20. *E.* 3.	
				Since which time, by the conſent of *Rich. Badew* Chancellor, *Walter Thaxted* Maſt. of the ſame houſe, by whom it was much increaſed, and *Rich. Ling* then Chancellor. This Colledge was reſigned into the hands of *Elie*. Counteſſe of *Clare*, and united into her foundation, ſhee then (under licence from K. *Ed.* 3) altered the firſt name, and called it after her owne name *Clare Hall*.			
				Doct. *Leeds* late Maſter gave unto this *Hall*	20 Schollerſhips		
				Tho. Cecill now E. of *Exceſter*, and the Lady *Dorothe* his wife gave	108. pounds per annum		
				William Butler ſometimes Fellow and Preſident of this houſe, the famous Phyſitian gave	Plate, Bookes &c. above 500. pounds	*K. I.*	
				John Freeman Eſquier gave	2000. pounds.		
				Doctor *Scot* late M. Vicechancellor 1619 gave	in money, plate, & bookes, above 300. pounds	*K. I.*	
				with divers other benefactors			

Colledges	Founders	Students	A.D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Pembroke Hall. Stow.	*Mary de S. Paul* Countesse of *Pembroke* (daughter of *Guido de Chastillian* Earle of Saint *Paul* in *France*, and *Mary de Brytannia* his wife) after the death of *Adomarius de Valentia*, Earle of *Pembroke*, &c. Whose third wife shee was (but for one day as it is thought) betooke herselfe wholly to devotion, shee obtained licence of King *Edward* the third, (whose Cosin shee was) to found this Colledge by the name of *Aula de Valence Maria*, the twenty two of *Edward* the third, afterwards called *Pembroke Hall*, and to assigne them for their habitation a place in *Cambridge* of her owne inheritance, with three messuages which shee purchased, endowing the same with divers Patronages, Impropriations, Lands, Rents, Plate, Jewels, and other ornaments, and therein established.	A Master 6 Fellowes 2 Schollers	1347	Holy King *Henry* 6. — *Edward Story* Bishop of *Chester* — Sir *Will. Hussey* Knight — *Charles Booth* Bishop of *Hereford* — Sir *Roger Strange* — Doctor *Watter* gave — 7 Schollerships. *Jane* sometime wife of *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely* gave — 1 Schollership. Q.E. *John Langhton* Bishop of Saint *Davis* — *Edward* the third, (whose Cosin shee was) to found *Laurence Booth*, and *Thomas Scot* alias *Rotheram*, both Bishops of *Yorke* — *Rich. Fox* B. of *Winch.* — *Edmund Grindall* late A. B. *Canterbury* gave — 1 Fellowship 2 Schollerships, & a stiped annual to a greek Reader Q.El. *William Marshall* gave — 1 Schollership and 4. places for poore Schollers. *John Whitgift* A. B. C. *Lancelot Andrewes* B. of *Winchester*, with other benefactors. —	A Master. 18 Fell. *numero tanquam.* 33. Schollers of the house, wth Officers and servants of the foundation and other Students.	145
Corpus Christi. Stow.	The Colledge of *Corpus Christi*, and our blessed *Lady*, commonly called *Bennet* Colledge, was founded by the Alderman and Brethren of *Corpus Christi Guild*, and the Brethren of our Lady *Guild* in *Cambridge*, at the instance and motion of *Henry of Monmouth*, surnamed *Toreo Collo*, (sonne and Heire of *Henry* Earle of *Lancaster*, &c.) succeeding his Father in all his Honours and titles, and was the first *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, &c. Hee obtained in the twenty sixe of *Edward* the third, a licence of mortmaine for the said Alderman and Brethren, that upon a messuage to them belonging in *Cambridge* they might erect this Colledge. Amongst other things hee also appropriated unto this Colledge by the same licence, the perpetuall patronage of Saint *Bennets* Church standing before their gate: This Duke, being in the twenty eight of *Edward* the third, elected Alderman of the said *Guilds*, recognised the statutes of the Colledge: not by the Dukes seale, but by the seale of the Alderman of those *Guilds*.	A Master. — Schollers — Chaplaine and others.	1351	Lady *Elizabeth Brotherton* Dutchesse of *Norfolke* — gave a place called *Stone Hall*, towards the augmentation of the same — Sir *John Cambridge* Kn. — *Matthew Parker* A. B. *Cant.* gave — 2 Fellowships 2 Schollerships and much plate Q.E. S. *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper. — *Roger Mamors* late Earle of *Rutland* — Lord *Ross* of *Hamlake*, *Belvoir*, and *Trushut*, &c. — *Roger Mamors* his great Uncle *William Benedict* and *Leonard Causton* gave — 3 Schollerships and divers other Benefactors.	A Master. 12 Fell. 37 Schollers with Officers servants of the foundation and other Students.	145

Colledges	Founders	Students	An.Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Trinity Hall.	*Trinity Hall* was of old time an Hostell, or house of study, wherein Students lived at their owne charge. But having since beene much increased by the guifts of *Richard Ling* Chancellor of the Vniversity and Archibald of *Normech*, &c. and in the 28. of *Edward* the third, by *Robert Stratton*, *John Trunch*, &c. and since by *Walter Bakton*, *Peter Bittring*, and *Thomas Wassingham*, inlarging it with two Messuages the one called *Draxes entry*, with divers lands and possessions, given by the foresaid benefactors, was in the time of *Edward* the third, by *John Crawden* Pryor of *Ely* and his Covent procured for their Monkes to study in. But not long after *William Bateman* borne in the City of *Norwich*, Doctor of the Civill Lawes Archdeacon of *Norwich*, after the eighteenth Bishop of that See, in exchange for certaine Personages purchased this house, with the possessions belonging, and by the Kings licence built, thereon the Colledge, as now for the most part it standeth. In the worship of the Holy *Trinity*, indowing it with lands and possessions, and became founder thereof. He instituted.	A Master. 3 Fellowes 3 Schollers.	1353	Sundry benefactors at severall times added unto this Foundation — 8 Fellowships 5 Schollerships *Simon Dalling* Mast. — *Walter Huke* Master. — *Robert Goodnap.* — *John Mapsid.* — *Richard Nix* Bishop of *Norwich* — *Steph. Gardiner* Mast. Bishop of *Winchest.* — *Matthew Parker* Archbishop of *Cant.* — 4 Schollerships, *Gabriel Dun* — 2 Places for poore *Henry Harvy* Doct. — Schollers. Q.E. *Humphrey Busbey* — Doct. *Monse* — Mast. *Hare* — Doct. *Cowell* Master. — S. *George Newman* K. with other Benefactors.	A Master 12 Fellows 14 Schollers, with Officers and servants of the Foundation, and other Students, the whole number is,	61.
Gonvile and Keyes Colledge.	*Edmund de Gonvill*, Rector of *Terrington* & *Bastenworth* in *Norfolke*, at the instance of *Gualter de Manney* 12. *Ed.* 3. 1348. (one of the founders of the Garter) obtaining licence, laid the first Foundation of this Colledge, where the orchard of *Corpus Christi* Colledge is now standing. Dedicating the same unto the honour of the Annuntiation of the blessed Virgin *Mary*, named it *Gonvill Hall*. But being prevented by death in 1350. left by will a great sum of money in truft with *Will. Bateman* B. *Norf.* to endow the same with competent Possessions, who in 1353. removed to a place neere unto his owne *Hall*, where hee purchased divers Messuages and Tenements, on which he erected the same by the former name of *Gonvill Hall*.	A Master. 4 Fellowes 20 Schollers	1353	The Ladies *Pakenham* and *Scroope.* — *Elizabeth Cleere.* — Doctor *Baly.* — *Stephen Smith* — *William Willifis* — *William Sive* — *Thomas Atkins* — *Thomas Willowes* — *William Gale* — Doctor *Wendy* — *Peter Huet* — Doctor *Knight* — *John Whitacre* — *Humphrey Busby* — 1 Schollership *Richard Wilson* — 1 Schollership *Mat. Parker.* A.B.C. — 1 Schollership Q.E. *Robert Trapt*, and *Jone* his wife — 4 Schollerships Q.E. *Ieyce Francklond* gave unto this Colledge. — 6 Fellowships 12 Schollerships A Chaplaines place *William Cutting* — S. *William Paston* Kn. — Doctor *Harvy* — Doctor *Legg* — Doctor *Branthwaite* Master. — Doctor *Perse* late Fellow. — with other Benefactors.	A Master 25 Fellows 1 Conduct 65 Scholl. with officers and servants of the Foundation and other Students.	195
	Since which time *John Caius* Doct. of Physicke, Master of that house, a learned Antiquary, newly repairing it, obtaining leave of K. *Philip* and Qu. *Mary* to bee a Co-founder, named it *Gonvill* and *Caius* Colledge. He added	3 Fellowsh. 20 Scholl.	1557				

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Kings Colledge.	*Henry* 6. called *Henry* of *Windsor*, King of *England*, &c. began this royall foundation in honour of Saint *Nicholas*, but two yeeres following, in the 21. yeere of his raigne hee inlarged the same, in honour of our blessed *Lady Mary* the Virgin, and Saint *Nicholas*: wherein ſtandeth at this time one of the faireſt Chappels in the World, unto which hee had a purpoſe to have made conformable this his Colledge; but being prevented by his untimely death, left it onely begun, and the Chap. unfinished. To this Colledge, the Founder under his great Seale by Act of Parliament confirmed a Coat of Armes, placing in chiefe the Flower de Luce of *France*, and the Lyon of *England*, intimating the worke of a King. Thoſe Lands which the magnificent Founder had left unto this Colledge, were by King *Edward* 4. in his diſpleaſure withdrawne, reſtoring afterward a yeerely value, conſiſting of 500. markes.	A Maſter. 12 Scholl.	1441	King *Henry* 7. — Finiſhed the ſtone worke (in part) of the ſaid Chappel, containing in length 188. foot, in breadth 40.	H. 7.	A Provoſt. 70 Fellows and Scholers. 3 Chaplaines. A Maſter of the Choriſters. 6 Clerkes. 16 Choriſters. 16 Colledg Officers. 13 Servitors to the Senior Fellowes. 6 Poore Schollers of the foundation, with other Students. 144.
				King *Henry* 8. — Cauſed the ſame to be glazed, ſeated, paved with fine marble, and perfected.	H. 8.	
				Roger Goad Doctor of D. late Fellow and Provoſt.		
				Adam Robins.		
				Rich. Day, and Doctor *Cowell* late Fellowes.		
				Doctor *Smith* late Fellow and Provoſt.		
				William Henſon late Fellow.		
				With divers other Benefactors, in which Colledge at this preſent is now reſident.		
Stow.				*Andrew Ducket*, Rector of Saint *Botolphs* in *Cambridge*, ſomtimes principall of Saint *Bernards* Hoſtell, and the firſt Preſident of this Colledge, — was formerly a Fryer, and had gathered of divers perſons ſo much money as bought a peece of ground called *Goose Green* whereon the Colledg ſtandeth. Afterwards hee purchaſed, and gave unto this Colled. the ſame S. *Bern.* Hoſtell, and by his owne money, and helpe of others, bought certaine other tenements, & (as *Stow* ſaith) built the Colledg: hee gave much in lands and money, procuring gifts from divers great perſonages, &c.	H. 6.	One Preſident. 19 Fellowes. 23 Schollers. 8 Bible Clerkes. 3 Lecturers of Hebrew, Arithmeticke and Geometry, with officers and ſervants of the foundation with other Students. 130
Stow. Queen. Colledge.	*Margaret Andeſſevenſis*, Daughter of *Reyner*, Duke of *Anjou*, (titulary King of *Cicily*, *Naples*, and *Jeruſalem*) wife of K. *Henry* 6. at the interceſſion of Mr. *Andrew Ducket*, Rector of S. *Botolphs*, &c. obtained licence of the ſame King to build this Colledge, and purchaſed Lands of the yeerely value of 200. pound for the indowment thereof; dedicating the ſame to the honour of S. *Margaret* and S. *Bernard*; but ſhee dyed, and left it unperfected.	One Preſident. 4 Fellowes, or more.	1441.	*Geor.* Duke of *Clar.* *Cecily* Dutch. of *Tor.* *Rich.* Duke of *Gloce.* The Lady *Anne* his Wife. *Ed.* Earle of *Saliſb.* *Maud* Coun. of *Oxf.* And *Marmaduke Lomly* B. of *Lincolne*, ſometime Chancell. of the Vniverſity. gave 200. Books.	H. 6.	
	Afterwards Q. *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Edward* 4. obtained licence to finiſh the ſame, which ſhee accomplished in the ſixt of *Edward* 4.		1465.	The Ladies *Margery Roſſe*, *Jane Ingoldeſthorpe*, and *Jane Burrough.* — Lands to the yeerely value of 500. Markes.	H. 6. R. 3.	
				King *Rich.* 3. gave		
				D. *Thom. Smith* gave 2 Fellowſhips.		
				Sir *Thomas Smith*, Fell. of this Houſe, principall Secretary to Q. *Elizabeth.*	Q. E.	
				Hen. now E. of *Hun.*	K. I.	
				George Montaigne, B. *London*, with divers other noble and worthy Benefact.	K. I.	

Katherine

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Reſidents
Katherine Hall.	*Robert Woodlarke*, borne at *Wakerley* in the County of *Northumb.* Doctor of Divinity, third Provoſt in *Kings Coll.* in *Cambridge*, and Chancellor of the Vniverſity, founded this Colledge in Milneſtreet, knowne formerly by the name of Carmelite Fryers, of 4. Tenements which he purchaſed, dedicating the ſame to the honour of S. *Katherine* the Virgin, and Martyr. The foundation whereof K. *Edward* 4. confirmed to the ſaid *Robert Woodlarke* and his ſucceſſors by his Letters Patent for ever, for the indowment whereof, hee alſo obtained the ſame Kings Licence of Mortmaine, to purchaſe forty marks per annum: wherein hee eſtabliſhed at the firſt foundation,	A Maſter. 3 Fellowes.	1475	*Iſabell Canterbury*, Widdow. — *William Taylor.* — *Katherine Atyles.* — *Robert Sympton.* — *Hugh Pemberton.* — The Lady *Elizabeth Barnardiſton.* — *John Leach.* — *Richard Nealſon.* — *Robert Shorton* Doct. of Divinity, Maſter of S. *Johns Colledge.* — *Hugh Garret.* — *John Cheſter.* — Doctor *Greene.* — Doctor *Thimbleby* — Doctor *Middleton.* — *Roſamond Payne* widdow. — *John Cholmley.* — *John Duke.* — Sir *John Cleypole* Kn. — And many others Benefactors.		A Maſter. 6 Fellowes. 8 Schollers, with Officers, ſervants of the foundation, and other Students. 60.
Stow. Jeſus Colledge.	*Jeſus Colledge*, had beene in ancient time a Nunnery, (or Monaſtery) of religious women conſecrated to Sir *Radagund*, and richly endowed by ſundry Benefactors, whereof *Malcolme* 4. King of *Scots*, and the whole race of *Huntingtons*, with their Families were chiefe; but in time the edifices falling to decay, the goods and ornaments of the Church waſting, and Lands diminiſhing, became ſo poore and void of government, that two Nunnes remaining, (the one an Infant) were conſtrained through neceſſity to depart, and leave it deſolate. Whereupon *John Alcocke*, borne at *Beverley* in *Yorkeſhire*. D. of the Civill Lawes, Deane of Saint *Stephens* in *Weſtminſter*, Maſter of the Rolles, Biſhop of *Rochester*, after of *Worceſter*, laſtly, of *Ely*, and Lord Chancellor in *England*, a man very much approved for his many good Acts, and famous for building, procured licence of King *Henry* 7. in the 11. of his Raigne, to convert into a Colledge this ancient Nunnery, obtaining licence under the great Seale of *England*, that all the Lands belonging to that Cell, ſhould bee appropriated to his Colledg. dedicating the ſame to the honour of the holy Trinity, the bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, S. *John* the Evangeliſt, and the glorious Virgin *Radagund*. He therein eſtabliſhed.	A Maſter. 6 Fellowes. 6 Schollers.	1497	S. *Rob. Read* Knight, Lord Chiefe Juſtice of the Common Pleas. — *H. 7.* *John Andrewes.* — *H. 7.* Doctor *Elyſon.* — *H. 7.* Doctor *Keyſon.* — *H. 7.* Doctor *Fuller*, Maſter of the ſame Houſe. — *H. 7.* *Thomas Thirlby*, Biſhop of *Ely.* — *Richard Pigot.* — *Godfrey Foliambe.* — *William Marſhall.* — *Ioane Woods.* — *Thomas Sutton* of *Balſham* Eſquire. — And by other worthy Benefactors, it is ſo increaſed, as at this preſent there is in the ſame		A Maſter. 16 Fellowes. 22 Schollers beſides officers, Servants of the foundation, and other Students. 130

Chriſts

Colledges	Founders.	Students	An. Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Christs Colledge.	*Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond & Derby*, daughter and sole heire of *John Beauford* Duke of *Somerset*, Mother to King *Henry* 7. Widdow of *Edmund* of *Hadham*, Earle of *Richmond*, (halfe-brother to King *Henry* sixt) sonne of *Owen Tuder* of *Wales* Knight, and of Queene *Katherine* his wife, founded this Colledge in place where the Colledge of Gods House stood, begun by King *Henry* 6. in liew of that which had formerly beene built by *William Bingham*, Rector of Saint *John Zacharies* in *London*, which never coming to perfection, shee obtained licence of the King her sonne, in the 20. of his Raigne to finish it, dedicating the same to the honour of our Saviour Christ, which shee endowed with Lands and revenewes, for the maintenance of	*A Master.* 12 *Fellowes.* 47 *Schollers.* 6 *Servitors.*	1505	King *Edward* 6. gave 1 Fellowship. 3 Schollerships. Doctor *Tompson* and Doctor *Haward* Masters of the same. *John Hawford* *Richard Risley.* Doctor *Pattisson.* *Philip Rowlins.* Master *Jennings.* *Nicholas Colverwell.* *Thomas Langhton.* Master *Wentworth.* *John Collins.* *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury.* Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight. *Robert Isham.* *Richard Bunting.* *Anthony Watson* B. of *Chichester.* *Richard Carre.* With divers other worthy Benefactors.	*E. 6.* *Q. E.* especiall Benefa.	A Master. 14 Fellows. 55 Schollers, with Officers, servants of the foundation, and other Students.	206.
Saint Johns Colledge.	The same Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, &c. erected this Colledge upon the ruines of an ancient Hospitall of regular Canons, founded by *Negellus* second Bishop of *Ely*, and Treasurer to K. *Henry* 1. in 1134. afterwards translated to a Priory, in honour of S. *John* the Evangelist, in the Iury by *Hugh Balsham*, alias *Norwold*, the tenth Bishop of *Ely*, 1280. 9 *Edward* 1. which being come to ruine, and but two persons left; the said Countesse obtained licence of King *Henry* 8. her Nephew, 1. of *Henry* 8. to convert the same into a Colledge, by the ancient name of Saint *John* the Evangelist: but being prevented by death, shee left the perfecting thereof to her Executors, *Rich. Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Charles Somerset*, Lord *Herbert*, and others, who did most iustly performe the trust shee repofed in them, and therin established	*A Master.* 50 *Fellowes.* 50 *Schollers.*	1508	*John Morton* A.B.C. and Cardinall. The L. *Anno Rookesby* Doctor *Fell.* Doctor *Keyton.* *Hugh Ashton.* Doctor *Lupton.* Doctor *Thimbleby.* Doctor *Downham.* *John Constable.* *Robert Simpson.* *Robert Ducket.* *Thomas Lane.* *James Berresford.* *Rob. Holtirecholme.* *John Replingham.* Doctor *Linacre.* *John Baily.* *Katherine* Dutchesse of *Suffolke.* *Stephen Cardinall.* S. *Ambrose Cave* K. gave places for *William Cecill*, Lord *Burleigh* gave *Mildred*, Lady *Burleigh*, gave *Elizabeth* Countesse of *Shrewesbury.* *Francis Iermin*, gave S. *Henry Billingsley* Alderman of *London.* The Lady *Iermise.* *Mary* Countesse of *Shrewesbury.* *William L. Maynard* Barō of *Wicklow* &c. with divers others.	Readers and Chaplaines. Lands to the yly value of 30. l. 2 Schollerships bestowed much in sumptuous buildings, and gave great lads 1 Schollership. gave three Schollerships.	*Q. E.* *Q. E.* *Q. E.* *Q. E.* *Q. E* *Q. E*	A Master. 54 Fellowes 84 Schollers 9 Sizers, with officers Servants of the foundation, & other Students.	370

Colledges	Founders	Students	A. D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Maddalen Colledge	*Magdalen* Colledge was first an Hall inhabited by Monkes of divers Monasteries (and therefore heretofore called Monkes Colledge) sent hither from their Abbies to the Vniversity to studie *Edward Stafford*, last Duke of *Buckingham* &c. bestowed much cost in the repaire of it, and in 1519. 11. of *Hen.* 8 new built the Hall, whereupon for a time it was called, *Buckingham Colledge* but the Duke being shortly after attainted, the buildings were left unperfect, continuing a place for Monkes to study in, untill the generall suppression of Monasteries by King *Henry* the eight At length *Thomas Audeley*, sometimes an utter Barister of the Inner Temple, after Baron of *Walden*, & chancellor of *England*, having licence, founded there a new Colledge, in honor of S. *Mary Magdalen.* 34 *Hen.* 8. but being prevented by death, left it very unperfect, leaving of his foundation	One Master. 5 Fellowes 1 Scholler. 3 Servitors.	1542	King *Henry* the 8. Sir *Christopher Wray*, Lord Chiefe Iustice 1582 *John Spenlisse* of *Lincolne* *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Tho. Parkinson*, Rector of *Winclingham.* *Will. Roberts* of *Norfolke*, gave *John Hughes* *Tho. Sutton* of *Balsham*, Esquire And others who have been benefactors, and increased the same	*H. 8* finished the buildings, and added 3 Fellowships, and 6 Schollerships gave lands to the yeerely value of 40 l. gave 1 Schollership 3 Schollerships	*Q. E.* *Q. E.* *Q. E.* *Q. E.* *Q. E.*	A Master. 10 Fellowes. 20 Schollers. 1 Preacher. 3 Servitors. with Officers, Servants of the foundation, and other Students.	100
Trinity Colledge	*Trinity Colledge*, was founded by King *Henry* 8. in the 38 yeare of his raigne, besides divers Hostels situate in former time where now this Colledge standeth. He united unto his foundation these three Colledges First, *Kings Hall*, whereon it partly standeth, founded by King *Edward* 3. for a Master, and 32 Schollers, 2 *Michaels* Houses, founded by *Hervicus de Stanton*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, 1323. 17 *Edward* 2. 3 *Phiswicke* Hostell, an House of Schollers, founded by *Phiswicke* an Esquire Beadle All which 3 Colledges, the King united into one, and founded a most famous and worthy Colledge, by the name of the Holy and undivided Trinity, which hee endowed with 1640 l. *per annum*, for the maintenance of	A Master. 60 Fellowes. 40 Schollers. 20 poor Schol.	1546	King *Edward* 6. Th. faire Chappell of this Colledge was built in Q. *Maries* time, but not fully finished. Queene *Mary* enlarged the Colledge, and gave Lands to the yearely value of 318 pound to maintaine *Tho. Alein*, Rect. of the Church of *Stevenach*, gave lands to the yerely value of 75 l. for *Joh. Whitgift*, A.A. *Cant.* Doctor *Cosins* Doct. *Bil* & Do. *Beaumont* late Masters Sir *Ed. Stanhop* Knight, Doctor of Law *Isaac Barrow*, D. of *Ph.* *Francis Iermin* gave Landes to the yearely value of 7 l. 10 s. for *William Sidley* Knight, and Baronet. Sir *Tho. Lakes*, Knight. The La. *Anne Bromley* widdow This Coll. is lately for the most part all new built. Chiefly at the charges of M. *Tho. Nevil*, Do. of Divin. late Mast. Deane of *Cant.* Queene *Elizabeth* King *James* So that for beauty and magnificence, it may compare with any Colledge in Christendom.	*Q. M.* 20 Schollers A Master of Chorist. 10 Choristers. 4 Chaplaines 13 Poore Schollers 2 Subsizers. 2 Schollers 4 Poore Schollers. 3 Grammar Schollers One Scholler 2 Schollerships bestowed much in sumptuous buildings, and gave great lads 1 Schollership. who expended above the sum of 3000 l. in building the backe Court, which is now called, *Nevils* Court.	*Q. E.*	One Master. 60 Fellowes. 67 Schollers. 4 Conducts. 3 Publike Professors 37 poore Schollers. A Master of the Chorist. 6 Clerkes 10 Choristers. 0 Almesmen, with Officers Servants of the foundation, and other Students.	189

Colledges	Founders	Students	A. D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
Emanuel Colledge	Sir *Walter Mildmay* Knight, Chancellor and Treasurer of the Exchequer, Privie Counsellour to our late Soveraigne Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, in testimony of her love to learning, obtained licence of the said Queen, to erect this Colledge, for the maintenance of one Master, 30 Fellowes, & Schollers (*nomine plurium*) as the revenues should ever bee able to maintaine, in the place, where in times past, inhabited the blacke Fryers, otherwise called, Fryers Predicants, in the street (of them) called Preachers streete, and therein established	A Master. 3 Fellowes 4 Schollers	1584	Queene *Elizab.* gave out of the Exchequer *Henry Hastings*, Earle of *Huntington*, &c. Sir *Francis Hastings* his brother Doct. *Robert Termine* M. *Robert Taylor* Master *Skinner*, gave Master *Fuller* gave Other Benefactors The Schoolery, and Towne of *Bungy* in *Suffolke*, gave Sir *Francis Walsingham* Knight Sir *Hen. Killegrew* Sir *Wolfran Dixie* Sir *John Hart* Sir *Samuel Leonard* Sir *Thomas Skinner* Doctor *Neel* Doctor *Leeds* Doctor *Harvey* Doctor *Branthwait* Customer *Smith* Alderman *Radcliffe* The La. *Mary Dixy* with divers other benefactors	161.13.s.4.d. *per annũ* Q.E. 1 Fellowship Q.E. 1 Fellowship Q.E. 1 Fellowship Q.E. 1 Fellowship Q.E. 1 Fellowship Q.E. 30 Schollerships Q.E. Places for 10 poore Schollers Q.E.		A Master. 12 Fellowes. 50 Schollers. 10 poore Schollers, besides Officers, and Servants of the foundation, and other Students. 320
Sidney Sussex Colledge	*Francis* daughter of Sir *William Sidney* Knight, wife of *Thomas Radcliffe* Earle of *Sussex*, &c. founded this Colled. by the name of the Colledge of the Lady *Francis Sidney Sussex* in a place called the *Gray Fryers*, built by King *Edward* 1. For the building and perfecting whereof, shee gave by her last will and Testament 5000 pound, over and above all her goods unbequeathed, which her Executors *Henry Grey*, fift Earle of *Kent*, &c. and *John* Lord *Harington* of *Exon.* perfected, endowing the same with lands and revenues, for the maintenance of	A Master. 10 Fellowes 20 Schollers.	1598	*Hen. Gray*, 5 Earle of *Kent*, &c. Executor *John*, Lord *Harrington* of *Exon*, Execut. Sir *John Hart* Knight *Peter Blundell* *John Frestõn* *Leonard Smith* *Iames Mountague* Doctor of Divinity, late Master Bishop of *Wine*. &c. *John Harrington*, Esq The Lad. *Lucy* Countesse of *Bedford* The Lady *Anne Harington* *Ed.* Lord *Mountague de Boughton* Sir *William Wilmore*, and Sir *George Goring* Knights Doctor *Aldrich*, late Master Doctor *Fludd* *Robert Rhodes* With other Benefactors			One Master. 12 Fellowes. 28 Schollers, with Officers and Servants of the foundation, and other Students. 136

The Philosophy Schoole founded at the charges of the Vniversity, and other good Benefactors, since 1136.

The Divinity Schoole, begun by the Vniversity, finished by the Executors of Sir *William Thorpe*, Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, 1400.

The Shoole of Arts, made by the Vniversity of the ruines of the old Schoole.

The new Library, with the Gate-House, and Walkes on both sides, were built by *Thomas Rotheram*, Archbishop of *Yorke*, 1470. 11, E. 4. finished 1476.

The Totall number of Students of all degrees in this Vniversity, are 3050. besides divers young Schollers that are relieved therein, which have no names in any Colledge.

Cambridge

CAMBRIDE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value	
Cambrid ge	Saint *Mary* —F	K. *Edward* 1. and Sir *Guy de Mortimer* *Thomas de Hertford* a great benefact.	Carmelite Fryers		
Cambridge	S. *Francis* —F	King *Edward* the first	Friers minors *alias* Grey Fryers		
Cambridge	Saint *Augustine* F		Augustine Friers		
Cambridge	Saint *Dominic* -F		Dominican Fryers		
Cambridge	S. *Ragegund* —N		Blacke Nunnes		
Cambridge	—P		Canons		
Ely Cath. Church	Saint *Peter* S. *Etheldred* M	*Ethelbert* K. of *Kent*, first founder 607 by the advice of Saint *Augustine* *Ethelred* daughter of *Amcas* K of the *East-Angles*, widow of *Tambert* K of *Sussex*, after married to *Egfrid* K. of *Northumb.* being divorced from her husband came to *Ely*, & by the motion of *Wilfrid* A. B. Y. & the helpe of *Alnusse* her brother K. of *East-Angles*. an. 677. repaired the Monast. & brought in Nuns, which was after destroyed by *Ingar* and *Hubba* pagans 870 *Etheluold* B. *Winchester* purchased all the Isle of *Ely* of K. *Edgar*, repaired the Monastery, and appointed an Abbot and Monkes, 970. After, when as the yearly revenue of the house came to 1400 pounds, K. *H.* 1. at the earnest suite of *Richard* last Abbot, converted the Abbey into an Episcopall See, taking *Cambridgeshire* from the jurisdiction of *Linc*, and allotting it to this See, appointing *Hervey* B. *Bangor* first B. 1109. 10. *H.* 1. *Geffrey Ridell* B *Ely*, bestowed great cost in the building of the new work of his Cath. Church toward the West and upon the steeple, which he built almost to the Battlements, *temp. H.* 2 *Hugh Norwald* B *Ely*, built the Presbytery & a steeple of wood towards the Gallery at the West end of the Church, which worke hee finished *temp. Hen.* 3. in 17 yeares, with the charge of 5350. l. 18. s. 8 d. *John Hotham* B *Ely. s. E.* 2. reedified the steeple called the Lantern, a peece of works both for cost and workemanship singular, at the charges of 2406l. 16s. 11d. he finished the Presbytery, at the charges of 2034. l. 12. s. 8 d. ob. q. so that he spent upon the Church 4441. l. 9 s. 7 d. ob. q. *Simon Montacute* B. *Ely. temp. Edw.* 3. built the Chappel of our Lady on the Northside of our Church. *Joh. Wimbost* a Monk of *Ely* finished it *William Grey* of *Ely*, tem *H.* 6. repaired the West steeples *Nicholas West* B. *Ely*, tem. *H.* 8. built an elegant Chappell at the Southeast K. *H.* 8. in stead of the monks, placed	Blacke Monks	r. s. d. ob. q. 1301 8 2 0 0	Godwin
			A Deane - - Prebends a Grammar-Schoole for the maintenance of 24 Schollers		
Anglesey	Saint *John* S. *Ma. Mag* H —P	*Thomas* Bishop of *Ely*		25 5 3 ob ½	
		Richard de Clare	Canons Regular Augustines	149 18 6 ob 0	
Barnewell	S. *Andrew* Saint *Giles* P	Sir *Petine Peverell* Knight, Standard bearer to *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* in the Holy land, *temp. H.* 1. *Thomas Preebe*, *Thomas Picot* Benefactors	Blacke Canons	153 15 4 0 0	Leland.
Chotteris	S. *Mary* annexed to *Ely* by K. *Hen.* 1.	*Aisfrena* wife to *Alwin* Alderman of *England*, & founder of *Ramsey* Abbey, and *Ednothus* her brother Abbot of *Ramsey*. 971	Blacke Nunnes	112 3 6 0 ½	Leland
Denvy	Saint *Clare* —N	*Mary* daughter of *Guy de Chastillon* Earle of Saint *Paul*, widow of *Aimer de valence*, Earle of *Pembroke* 1341 Sir *Ph. Tilney* Knight Sir *Io. Inglethorpe* K. *John Browne* *Walter Codard* benef. *tem. R.* 2	Nunnes	218 0 1 ob 0	Leland
Saint *Edmund* Elleſly	Saint *Edmund* -P —N	King *Canutus*, *circa* 1026.	White Canons Nunnes	18 16 0 0 0	Leland.

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Feland.	Fordham	P	*Robert de Fordham*, and — — *Came* ſir Knight (Leland) *aliis Henry Deu* or *Deve*	Gilbertines	49 3 0 0 0
Leland.	Ikelington	N	*Ambery de Vere* Earle of *Oxford*	Nunnes Benedictines	80 1 10 ob 0
	Marmound	P		Canons	
	Mullicourt	P	Appropriated to *Ely* by King *Hen.*1.		
Leland	Swaftham	N	— — — *de Bolebec*	Blacke Nunnes	46 10 8 0 0
Leland	Bolebec		*Sybill* daughter of *Roger de Mountgomery* Earle of *Salop*, widow of *Roger Fitzhamon, temp. Hen.*1.	Knights Templars or Hoſpitaliers of S. *Joh.* of *Jeruſal.*	175 4 6 0 0
	Shengay	*Preceptoria*	Appropriated to *Ely* by King *Hen.*1.		
	Spinney	S. *Mary* P / S. *Croſſe* P			
	Swaneſay	P	*Alane de la Zouch*, brother to the Vicount of *Roham* in little *Britaine*, in the time of King *John*	Blacke Canons	
	Thorney	S. *Mary* M / S. *Botolph.* M	*Sexwolf* a devout man for Heremites King *Edgar* founded it a new for Biſhop of *Winchester* 969.	Monks Benedictine.	500 2 5 0 0
Leland.	Water-beche	Saint *Clare* N	*Dionisia de Monchenſey*, Lady of *Auſty*, in the time of *Ed.* the firſt *Mary de S. Paul* Counteſſe of *Pemb.* tranſlated it to *Denny* 1341 the 14. *Edward* the third	Nunnes Minorits of the order of Saint *Clare*	

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to: l. s. d. ob. q. 3032 10 1 ob 0

CARLIOL.

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Apelby in Weſtmorland		F	*Lord Veſcey*, Lord *Percy*, and Lord *Clifford*, A.D.1281.	White Friers	
Armethwait in Cumberland		N	King *William the Conquerour* an. regni 2.	Nunnes	0018 18 08 00 0
Carliol in Cumberland	Saint *Mary*	P	Domimi Regis Progenitor		0482 08 01 ob 0
Holme Coltreyn in Cumberland	Saint *Mary*	M	*David* King of *Scots*, and *Henry* Earle of *Huntington* his ſonne		0535 03 07 ob 0
Lavercoſt in Cumberland	S. *Mary Magdalene*	P	*Robert de Vaux* Lord of *Gilleſland*		0079 19 00 00 0
Sharpe in Weſtmorland		M	*Thomas* the ſonne of *Goſpatrick*, ſonne of *Ormes*		0166 10 06 ob 0

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to: l. s. d. ob. q. 1282. 19. 11. 0. ½

CHES-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactor, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Chester-Biſhop	S. *Joh. Eccl.* Cath. Church.		King *Henry* the eight	Secular Canons	
Chester	Saint *Mary*	F	*Thomas Stadham* Gent. A.D.1279. 8. *E.*1.	Carmelite Fryers	
Chester	S. *Francis*	F	King *John*	Franciſcan Fryers	
Chester	—	F		Dominican Fryers	
Chester	Saint *Mary*	M	The Kings Anceſtors	Blacke Canons	
Chester	*Beate Marie*	N		Nunnes	0099 26 02 00 0
Chester	Saint *John Baptiſt*, aliis	C H	The Kings Anceſtors		0013 07 10 00 0

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value
Chester	S. *Wereburg*	M	*Leofricus* E. of *Mercia* and *Leiceſter* for Nunnes, *circa* 1047. *Hugh Lupus*, the firſt of the *Norman* blood that was Earle of *Chester*, and *Ermentrude* his wife, brought in Monkes, A.D. 1094. 8. *W. R.*	Blacke Monks	0173 17 07 ob 0
Brickehead	Saint *James*	M	*Fundator Comitis Derbie Anteceſſor*	Blacke Canons	0102 16 12 00 0
Bunbury, *alias* Boniface Bury		C	*Sir Hugh Calveley* Knight, and the *Egertons*, A.D. 1388. 12. *R.* 2	Prieſts	
Combermere		M	*Will. de Malbedeng.* 11 34. 35. *H.* 1	White Monkes	0259 06 06 00 0 Leland.
Maclesfield		C	*Thomas Savage* firſt Biſhop of *Lond.* afterward Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, 1508 24. *H.* 7		
Norton	Saint *Mary*	N	*Will. Fitz-Nigell* a *Normans, temp. W. R.*	Nunnes	0258 11 08 00 0
Stanlaw			*John* (alias) *Roger Lacy*, Conſtable of *Cheſter*, but after, by reaſon of the inundation of waters, tranſlated to *Whalley*, A.D. 1. 73. 20. *H.* 2.	Monkes	
Valle Regalis		M	King *Edward* the firſt		0540 06 02 0 00 Leland.
Albre		P		Monkes	

The totall ſumme, &c. 1444 2 9. ob. 0.

CORNWALL.

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Saint *Anthony*	Saint *Anthony*	M		Blacke Monkes or the Angels	
Bodmin	Saint *Petrok*	M	King *Adelſtan*, 936. after a nobleman called *Algarus*, with helpe of *William Warewelle* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, 24. *H.* 1	Blacke Canons, after Grey Fryers	0289 11 11 00 0 Leland
Bonury	Saint *Petrocſi*	M	King *Athelſtan*	Blacke Canons	
Sante Cruce		P		Blacke Monkes	
Crantocke	—	C			0089 15 08 00 0
Glaſſoney	Saint *Thomas*	C	*Walter Brunescombe*, Biſhop of *Exceſter* A.D. 1288. 7. *E.* 1.		0105 10 06 00 0
Saint *Germane*	Saint *Cermane*		K. *Athelſtan* founded it for an Epiſcopal See. K. *Edward* the Confeſſor tranſlated the See to *Exceſter*. *Bartholmew* of *Exceſter*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, inſtituted Canons, *tem. H.* 8	Canons Regular Auguſtines	0243 08 00 00 0 Leland
Helſton	S. *John Bapt.*	P			0014 07 02 ob 0
Launſton	Saint *Stephen*	M	One of the Weſt-Saxon Kings. *William Warenſt*, Biſhop of *Exceſt.* inſtituted Canons, *tem. Will. Conq. Reynold* Earle of *Cornwall*, a Bener. A.D. 1150 15. *Stephen.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0392 11 02 00 ½ Leland.
S. *Mary de val.*	Saint *Mary*	M		Blacke Monkes of the Angels	
S. *Michael* of the mount	Saint *Michael*	M	*William*, Erle of *Moriton* and *Cornwall, temp. William Rufus*	Blacke Monkes of the Angels	
S. *Michael de magno monte*		M		Blacke Monks	
Silly Iland	Saint *Nicholas*	M		Blacke Monkes	
Saint *Siriac*	Saint *Siriac*	M		Blacke Monkes	
Talearne				Blacke Monkes of the Angels	
Trury	Saint *Dominic*	F		Dominican Fryers	
Tiwardreth	S. *Audrew*	P	Sir *Robert Fitzwilliams*, Knight *John Dynant*, who maried a coheire of *Fitzwilliams*, a Benefactor, and after ſolde the right of the patronage to King *Richard* the firſt.	Monkes Chiniaos	0151 16 01 00 0 Leland

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to: l. s. d. ob. q. 1387 0 6 ob q

CVMBERLAND.

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Dacre		M			
Armethwait		N	King *William* Conquerour, 1067. 2. *Regni.*	Nunnes	18 18 8 0 0
Carlile	S. *Mary Mag.*	P	*Walter*, a Norman Prieſt, *tE. Will. Ruf.* King *Henry* 1 a great Benefactor	Canons	482 8 1 0 0

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Godwin	Carlile —	Biſhopricke —	K. *Henry* 1. 1123. 34. *H.* 1. converted the ſaid Priory into a Biſhoprick, and made *Adelwald* his Conf. the firſt B.		
Leland.	Holme Cuttrevi-	S. *Mary* —M	*David* King of *Scots, circa* 1135. — *Hen.* E. *Nottingham* his ſon *Alane* ſon of *Waltheof* } benefact.	Monkes —	535 3 7 0 0
Leland	Grayſtoke —	—C	*Rafe* Baron of *Grayſtocke*, 1382, 7. *R.* 2.	— —	
	Lavercroft —	S. *Mary Mag.* —	*Rob. de Vaulx* Baron of *Gilleſland, tem. R.* 1.	— —	19 79 0 0 0
	Saint Bees —	—Cell	*Bega* a Noble woman of *Ireland*	— —	149 19 6 0 0
	Streneſhall —	—P	*Bega* a Noble woman of *Ireland*	— —	
	Wetherall a Cell to S. *Maries* Monaſtery in Yorke	— —Cel	—	— —	
				Summe totall, &c.	1266. 8. 10. 0 0.

DERBY-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
	Derby —	*Omnium Sanctorum Eccl. Collegiat.*	—	—	0038 14 00 00 0
	Iuxta Derby —	S. *Mary* in the medowes —M	—	—	0018 06 02 00 0
	Derby —	Saint *Mary* —P	—	Blacke Monkes —	
	Derby —	Saint *Iames* Cell	The Kings Anceſtors	Blacke Canons —	
	Derby —	Saint *Mary* —N	The Kings Anceſtors	Nunnes —	
	Derby —	—H	*Elizabeth* Counteſſe of *Shrewesbury tem. Reg. Eliz.*	8 poore men 4 poore women	
Leland	Bello-Capite —	Saint *Thomas* M	*Robert* ſon of *Rauulph* Baron of *Alfreton, tem. H.* 2. a Canon there	— —	157 10 2(Lel.)134
	Bred-ſhall or Briſtoll Park —	—M	Foundator Anceſtors *Ioannis Diricke alias Detbik* Armigeri	— —	0010 17 09 00 0
	Brend in the Peak	—M	Sir *Robert Dwin* Knight	— —	
	Cheſterfield —	S. *Mary* S. *Croſſe* —C	—	— —	0019 00 00 00 0
	Dela —	Saint *Mary* —M	*William Fitz. Raſe* anceſtor to Sir *Gervaſe Kingſton*	— —	0144 12 00 00 0
	Darley —	Saint *Mary*—M	*Hugh Dene* a Blackſmith of *Derby* —	Blacke Canons Aug.	0258 14 00 00 0
	Faverwell —	Saint *Mary* —N	—	Blacke Nunnes —	
	Grieſley —	Saint *George* —	*William de Grieſley* ſonne of *Negall de Greiſley, temp. H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0039 13 08 00 0
	Pollewerke —	Saint *Edith* —	—	Blacke Nunnes —	
	Rapingdon *alias* Repton	Saint *Mary* —M	*Ranulphe* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Andamare de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, founded firſt by one of the Kings of *Mercia*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0167 18 02 00 0
	Yevelay or Iuelay & Barrow	—P	—	—	
	Yeveley or Iveley and Barrow	Preceptoria —	—	Knights Templars or Hoſpitallers of S. *Ioh.* of *Ieruſal.*	0107 03 08 00 0
					0. 93 03 04 ob 0
				The totall ſumme, &c.	1055 12 11. ob 0

DEVON-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Times.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Leland.	Exceſter —	Saint *Iames* —M	—	Blacke Monkes —	
Leland.	Exceſter —	S. *Nicholas* —P a Cel to Battle Abbey	King *William* the Conquerour	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	1054 12 00 00 0
	Exceſter —	S. *Iohn Bapt.* P	*Gilbert* and *Ioh. Long* brothers, ſons of *Iohn Long*, Merchants of *Exceſter*	Franciſcan Fryers —	0120 12 09 00 0
	Exceſter —	Saint *Nicholas* H	*Iabel de Totnes* ſon of *Ailred, temp. H.* 1.	Cluniack Monkes —	0147 12 00 00 0
	Barnſtable	S. *Mary Mag.* P	—	Blacke Canons —	0129 15 03 00 ½
	Berleſten —	—P	*Amice*, wife of *Baldwin* Earl of *Deuonſhire, Au. Do.* 1275 4. King *E.* 1. *Iſabel* daughter & coheire of *Amice*, wife of *William de Fortibus* Earle of *Albemerd*, a benefactor	Ciſtercians —	0241 16 09 ob ½
	Buckland —	Saint *Mary* S. *Benedict.* —M	*Ethelward* ſonne of *William Pomeroy* —	Ciſtercian Monkes—	
	Buckfaſt —	Saint *Mary* —P	*Walter Clavell* firſt inſtituted Canons Regular *Maude*, wife of *Richard de Clare* Earle of *Glouceſter*, inſtituted Nunnes, *temp. H.* 1.	Nunnes Auguſtines	0202 15 02 00 0
Leland.	Canonleigh —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Almar* Earle of *Cornwall* —	Blacke Canons —	
	Clive —	S. *Mary Mag.* M	—	Nunnes —	0063 03 10 00 0
	Corneworty —	—N	*Thomas* Earle of *Deuonſhire* —	— —	
	Cowike —	Saint *Andrew* —P	—	— —	0140 14 05 00 0
	Crediton —	Saint *Croſſe* —C	—	Blacke Monkes —	
	Cuich —	Saint *Andrew* M	—	— —	
	Dunkiſwell —	—M	*William* Lord *Bruer* the younger —	White Monkes Ciſtercians	0298 11 10 00 0

Ford

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
		(King *Ethelred*, ſonne of King *Ethelwolfe*, firſt founder of the Monaſtery, an. 868. King *Athelſtan* enlarged it, an 912, and brought in Benedictine Monkes. King *Edward* the *Confeſſor* tranſlated the Monkes to *Weſtminſter*, and removed the Epiſcopall See from Credition to *Exceſter*. *Leofricus* the firſt Biſhop began the firſt foundation of the Cathedrall Church, *temp. Edw. Confeſſ.* *William Warewelt* the third Biſhop of Exon. began the foundation of the Quier, 1112, 13. *Hen.* 1. *William Bruer*, B. of Exon. of the privy Counſell to K. *H.* 3. created a Deane 24 Prebends *temp.* K. *H.* 3. *Peter Quivill* built the body of the Church to the Weſt end, 1284. 13. E. the firſt, and inſtituted a Sub-deane, and ſinging men, and gave Land and Livings to the Church. *John Grandiſon* B. of Exoi. enlarged the length of the Church by two Arches, and vaulted over all the roofe of the Church, Anno 1340. 15. *Ed.* 3. *Edmund Lacy*, began to build the Chapterhouſe, A.D 1450, 29. *H.* 6. *George Neuill*, B. Exon. finiſhed the Chapterhouſe, *temp. Hen.* 6. *Peter Courtney*, B. of Exon built the North Tower, and gave a goodly Bell, called *Peters* Bell The Deane and Chapter built the Cloiſters		
Exceſter —	Saint *Peter* Epiſcopall See.			
Ford —	Saint *Mary* —M	*Richard de Albere*, or *de Briono*, Baron of *Okehampton*, (Lelan.) *alias Adeliza*, daughter of *Baldwin* of *Okehampton*, An. D. 1140. 6. K. *Stephen*	Ciſtercian Monks —	0381 10 06 ob 0 Leland
Frethelſtoke —	Saint *Gregory* P	Sir *Robert Beauchamp* Knight —	Canons —	0127 03 04 00 ½ Leland
Hartland —	S. *Nectan* the Martyr —M	*William Bruer* firſt founder, *te. H.* 3. *Githa* Earle *Goodwins* wife *Richardus Pictavienſis*, Archdeacon *Galfredus de Dinan*, and *Oliver* his brother, benefactors	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0306 13. 02 00 ½ Godwin
Saint *Michael* de Mounte —	— —P	—	Blacke Monkes Malmſ.	
Molery —	Saint *Gregory* M	—	Blacke Monkes	
Newenham —	— —M	*Reginald Mohun*, Earle of *Dunſter*, 1246, 31. *H.* 3.	Bernardine Monkes	0231 14 04 00 0
Othery —	Saint *Mary* —C	*Iohn Grandiſon*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, *temp.* E. 3.	A Warden 8 Prebends 10 Vicars A Mr of Muſicke A Mr of Gramm. 2 Prieſts 8 Secundaries 8 Chorifters 2 Clerkes to carry Holy-water	0303 02 00 00 0 Leland.
Pilton a Cell to Malmeſo. Plimouth —	S *Mary* the Virgin P Saint *Francis* F	King *Athelſtan* —	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	0056 12 08 00 0
			Franciſcan Fryers —	
Pliupton —	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*	One of the *Weſt-Saxons* Kings. — *William Warewelt*, Biſh. of *Exceſter*, brought in Canons, *temp. Hen.* 1. *Baldwin de Redvers* E. of *Devon. te. Hen.* 3. a ſpeciall Benefactor	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	0912 12 08 ob ½ Leland.
Polleſtoo —	S. *Katherine* —N	*William Bruer* B. *Exceſter, temp. H.* 3.	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines	0170 02 03 00 ½
Sion —	—M	—	—	
Sorre —	—N	*William Bruer*, 1214, 16 *John* —	—	
Tauy ſtocke —	S. *Mary* S. *Burion* —M	*Ordolph*, ſonne of *Ordgare* Earle of *Devonſhire*, A.D 961. *Leofwin* Biſh p of *Worceſter*, a ſpeciall benefactor, *temp. Ed. Confeſ.* —	Blacke Monkes Benedictins	0902 05 07 00 ½ Leland
Torre —	Saint *Saviour* M	*William de Bruer, temp.* K. *H.* 3. —	White Canons	
Tottenes —	S. *Mary Aliens* P	*Roger Newmarke* (Leland) *alias Newemain* —	Premonſtratenſes Blacke onkes Benedictines	0396 00 11 00 0 0124 10 02 ob 0

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to — l. s. p. ob. q. 5394. 2. 6. 0. ½

DORSET-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
	Dorfet	S. *Francis*	F	The Anceſtors of Sir *John Childiock*, K.	Franciſcan Fryers		
				Inas King of the *Weſt-Saxons* divided the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter*, and gave the moity thereof to *Adelmus*, and appointed the See to be at *Sherburne* An. D. 704. *Suning*, another			
				See tranſlated to it by *Hermannus* B.			
				Ethelreds Regis after that by the ſaid *Hermannus* tranſlated to *Salisbury*,			
Leland	Sherburne	Saint *Mary*	M	left a retyring place to them, *temp. Gulielmi Conqueſtoris*, the Church where the Biſhops Seat was, became	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	0682 14 07 ob $\frac{1}{2}$	
				a Monaſtery founded by King *Ethelred circa* 870. *Robert Nevill* B. of *Sarisbury* a great Benefactor, *temp. H.6.*			
				Orking, Steward of the Houſhold			
Leland.	Abbottesbury	Saint *Peter*	M	to *Canutus* King of *Denmarke* and *England*, & *Tola* his wife, *circa* 1026.	Monks Benedictines.	0485 03 05 ob $\frac{1}{2}$	
				Benefactors.			
				Thomas de Leude, *Eleanor* his wife, *Humphrey Stafford* Knight, called with the ſilver hand, *John Matreuers* Knight, *John Cary* Knight, *Walter Clopton* Knight, *Thomas Straungeways* Knight.			
Leland.	Bindon	Saint *Mary*	M	*Maude de Arundell*, Counteſſe of *Sarisbury*, after married to Sir *William de Newburrow*	White Monkes Cittercians	0229 02 01 ob 0	
	Bridport		P			0006 00 00 00 0	
	Bridport	S. *John Bapt.*	H			0008 06 01 00 0	
	Cameſtrum	S. *Mary Mag.*	N		White Nunnes		
		Saint *Peter*	M	*Ailmer* Earle of *Cornwall*, *circa* 970 (Leland) *Auguſtine* the *Engliſh* Apoſtle (Camb.) *Agelwaldus* a rich man,			
Leland.	Cerne	S. *Adelwold*		*alias* King *Canutus*, a great benefact.	Blacke Monkes	0623 13 02 ob $\frac{1}{2}$	
Leland	Cranborne a Cel to Teukesbury		M	*Aelward* Earle of *Glocester*, A.D. 930. *Robert Fitzhammon*. E. of *Glocester*, appropriated it *Tenkesbury*			
	Saint *John Baptiſt*		M			0051 10 04 00 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	Kalendarum		D			0010 18 08 00 0	
	S. *Mary Magd.*		D			0021 11 03 00 0	
	S. *Mary alias le Gaunts*		H			0112 09 09 00 0	
	Saint *Dominic*		F		Dominican Fryers		
	Melcombe	S. *Mary*	M	King *Athelſton*, 896	Blacke Monks	0710 04 01 00 0	
	Midleton, *Alias*	S. *Saviour*		*Ethelward* Duke, a ſpeciall Benefact.			
	Milton						
	Shafton						
Leland	Shafsbury	S. *Edward* the Martyr	N	*Ethelbald* all ſucceſſively Kings of *Albrithe England*, and ſonnes of *Ethelbrede Ethelwolfe* King of *Engliſh* land (Leland) *Elfgiva* wife to *Edmund* King *Aelfrids* nephewes ſonne *Richard Poer*, B. of *Salisbury*, H. 3	Blacke Monkes Benedictines		
Leland	Tarent		Cell	Sir *Robert Root* K^t a ſpeciall benefact.	Virgins Votaries	0239 11 10 00 0	
	Warham	S. *Peter* S. *Adelwold*					
Leland.	Winburn Minſt.		N	*Cuthburga* ſiſter to *Inas* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and wife to the King of *Northumberland*, after her divorce from her husband, founded it for Nunnes, A.D. 720 *Edward* King of *England* brought in ſecular Canons, *Thomas Brembre* firſt Deane made it a Colledge for a --- *Margaret*, Counteſſe of *Richm.* mother to King *Henry* the 7, founded a Grammar Schoole Deane *Hornby* a great benefactor	Deane 4 Prebends 3 Vicars 4 Secundaries 5 Choriſters		
	Norton a Cell to Sherburne.		P	*Orgar* Earle of *Devonſhire*, tranſlated after to *Sherburne*, by *Roger* Biſhop there, *temp. H.1.*			

The ſumme totall of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to £ 4520 6 9 00 0

DVRHAM

DVRHAM DIOCESSE.

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
			Oſwald K. of *Northumberland* inſtituted a Biſhops See at *Lindisfarne*, 634. Biſhop *Aldwin* tranſlated the See to *Durham*, began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, and dyed. 1017.			
			Walter Biſhop of *Durham*, thruſting forth ſecular Clerkes, brought in Monkes, *temp. William Conq.*			
Durham	S. *Cuthbert* Cath. Church	M	*William de Kairlip*, B. began a new the foundation of the Cath. Church. *temp. William Conq.*	Blacke Monks	1615 14 10 ob 0	Godwin.
			Biſhop *Flambard*, for the moſt part finiſhed it, *temp. Will. Ruf:*			
			Biſhop *Pudſey* built the Galery at the Weſt end of the Church.			
			Biſhop *Fernham*, 1242. *temp. Hen.3.* vaulted over the roofe of the Church			
			B. *Skirlaw*, founded the Cloiſters *E.2.*			
			B. *Langley*, *temp. Hen.6.* finiſhed the Galery begun by B. *Fuelſey*.			
Durhã in Oxõia		C	*Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor*		115 4 4 00 0	
Cheſter in the ſtreet		C	*Anthony Beke* B. *Durham*, and Patriarch of *Ieruſalem*, *temp. Ed.1.*	A Deane 7 Prebends		Godwin.
Egleſton		M	*Canon* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmund*			
			Ralph de Melton a benefactor			
Finchcale		Cella	*Hugh Pudſey* B. *Durham*, *alias* Bro-ther to *Hugh Pudſey*		146 19 2 00 0	Godwin.
Allerton		H	*Hugh Pudſey* B. *Durham*, *temp. R.1.*			
Ankeland		C	*Anthony Beke* B. *Durham*, *temp. E.1.*			Godwin.
Gateſhead	S. *Edmund*					
Gretham		H	*Robert Stickell*, B. *Durham*, *temp. H.3.*		109 4 4 00 0	
Hartlepoole		M	*Hugh* a religious Woman		97 6 3 ob 0	
Iarrow *olim* Girwy		Cella	Abbat *Ceolfrid*, in the 16. yeere of K. *Egfride*, Anteceſſor Epiſcop. *Dunelm.*			
Keprey	Saint *Giles*	H	*Reynulfe Hambard*, B. *Durham*, *temp. H.1.*		40 7 8 00 0	
Lanchester		C	*Anthony Bec.* B. *Durham*, *temp. E.1.*	Deanes Prebends	167 2 11 00 0	Godwin.
Letham		Cella				
Monkes Were-mouth	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul*	M	*Benedictus Biſcop*	Monkes	53 15 10 00 0	
Neſſham		N	*Fundator Domini Dakers* Anteceſſor	Nunnes Benedictines	26 9 9 00 0	
Sherborne		H	*Hugh Pudſey* B. and E. of *Northumberland*, *temp. H.1.*		135 7 0 00 0	
Stanedrope		C	The Anceſtors of the L. *Nevill.*		126 5 10 00 0	
Stamford		Cella			36 17 0 00 0	
Warmouth		Cella			26 0 0 00 0	
				Summe totall, &c.	2696. 15. 0. 00. 0	

ESSEX.

Places.	Dedications.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Colcheſter	S. *John Baptiſt.*	M	*Eudo* Sewer to K. *Hen.1.* 1096. 10. *W. Ruf.*	Benedictine Monkes	8 1 8 00 0	
Colcheſter	Saint *Botulph*	P	*Eymeſius* a religious man	Canons Auguſtines	115 12 8 00 0	Leland.
Colcheſter	Saint *Croſſe*	F		Crouched Fryers	7 7 8 00 0	
Colcheſter	S. *Mary Magd.*	H	*Eudo* Sewer to King *Henry* the firſt	Leprous people		
Barking	S. *Mary* S. *Eadburg*	M	*Erkenwald* Biſhop of *London* 680.	Blacke Nunnes	1084 6 2 ob $\frac{1}{2}$	Leland.
Barking		H	The Anceſtors of *Sibel de Felten* Abbeſſe of *Barking*			
Bierdon		P			31 5 1 ob 0	
Bileigh	Saint *Mary*	M	*Robert Mantell* a Norman, *alias Robert de Morville*, after by *Harvey de Monte Meremojano*	Premonſtr.	196 6 5 00 0	
Blackamore	S. *Lawrence*	M	*Jordan de Samford*		85 4 7 00 0	
Brendwood	S. *Thomas* the Mar. Chapell		*Iſabell* Counteſſe of *Bedford*			
Chelmisford	Saint *Dominick*	F	*Malcolme* King of *Scots*	Dominican Fryers	9 6 5 00 0	
Chiche	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* Saint *Oſithe*	M	*Richard Beauvers*, B. of *Lond.* 1120. 20. *H.1.*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	758 5 8 00 0	
Coggeſhall	Saint *Mary*	M	King *Stephen*, Nephew to *William* the Conqueror, in the 7. of his raign, 1141.	Ciſtercian Monks *alias* Cluniackes	298 8 0 00 0	
Dunmowe	Saint *Mary*	N	*Ingaa* a Noble Lady, 1111. 12. *H.1.*	Blacke Nunnes	173 2 4 00 0	
Earles --- colne	Saint *Mary*	P	L. *Eitzwald* a ſpeciall benefactor *Alberius de Vere*	Blacke Monkes of Abbingdon	175 14 8 ob $\frac{1}{2}$	Leland.
Ging e-atteſton	Saint *Margaret*	P		Blacke Canons		
Halſtide		C	*Robert Bourchier*		23 16 5 ob 0	
Hatfield Peverell, a Cell to Saint Albans		P	S. *William Peverell* K. *temp. Will. Conf.* The daughter of *Ingelrius*, wife of Sir *William Peverell*	Blacke Monkes	83 19 7 00 0	Leland.
Hatfield *Regis*		P	*F. Aubery de Vere*, E. of *Oxford*, *temp. H.3.*	Blacke Monks Bened.	157 3 2 ob 0	Cambden.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Leland.	Heve-ningham Caſtle — N		*Aubree de Vere* and *Lucy* his wife, *alias Ish, Hawkwood* Kn. *Io. Newenton*, and *John Oliver* Eſquiers.	Nunnes	29 12 10 00 o
	Horkilegh a Cel to the ford, Com. Norff. — P		The Anceſtors of Sir *Roger Wentworth*		27 7 11 ob o
	Ilford — H				16 13 4 00 o
Godwin.	Leez — P		Sir *Ralph Gernon* Knight	Blacke Monkes Aug.	141 14 8 00 o
	Leſtingen — M		*Cedda* B. *Lond.* about 660.		
	Malden — S. *Mary* — F		*Richard de Gravesend*, B. of *Lond.* and *Rich. de Iſalham* Priest, A. 1292. 21. *E.* 1.	Carmelites, or White Fryers	26 0 8 00 o
	Mercy — S. *Helen.* P *Alien.*		*Roger Fitz-Ranulph*		
	Newporte — H				23 10 8 00 o
	Saint Oſithe — M		*Rich. Beauveis* B. of *Lond.* 1120. 20. *H.* 1.	Canons Regular	758 5 8 00 o
Leland.	Plercy — C		*Thomas* of *Woodſtocke* Duke of *Gloſter*, *temp. Ed.* 3.		139 3 10 00 o
	Pritwell a Cell to Lewis — P	Saint *Mary*	*Robert Swaine de Eſſex* and *Emme* his wife	Blacke Monks	194 14 3 ob o
	Stanesgate — P		The predeceſſors of the Prior of the *Lewis*	Blacke Monkes	43 8 6 00 o
	Sopwicke — P	Saint *Mary*		Blacke Monkes	
	Hatfield — P			Blacke Monks S. Alb.	
	Stradford Langthorne — M	Saint *Mary*	*William Mountfichet* Knight, After King *Richard* 2. *reg.* 20.	White Monkes	573 15 6 ob q
	Thoby — P		*Michael de Capra* Kni. The Anceſtors of *Ioh. Montony Fitzherbert Iernim.*		75 6 10 ob o
	Tiptree — M		The Anceſtors of *Anthony Darcy*		22 16 4 00 o
	Tilty — M	Saint *Mary*	*Maurice Engliſh* ſometimes Earle of *Eſſex*, *alias Maurice* the ſonne of *Gilbert*	White Monkes Ciſt.	177 9 4 00 o
	Tremhale, *alias* Trenchale — P				70 19 3 ob o
	Walden parva — M	Saint *Iames*	*Geffrey de Mandeville*, Earle of *Eſſex*, 1136. 2. *Steph.* *Humfrede de Bohum* Com. *Eſſex*, bene.	Blacke Monkes	406 15 11 00 o
Leland.	Waltham — M	Saint *Croſſe*	King *Harold* the laſt, *circa* 1038. — Benefactors. King *Edward Confeſſor* King *Henry* the ſecond *Simon de Brett* *Simon* his ſonne *Robert de Valoins* *Io.* ſonne to *Alwerd Doleverton* *Geffrey de Scales* *Iulian* daughter of *Geffrey de Sudecampes* *Sampſon* her ſonne *John* B. *Saliſbury* *John* B. *London.*	Blacke Can. Aug.	1079 12 1 00 o
				The totall ſumme, &c.	7013. 8. 6. 00. o

GLOVCESTER-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Godwin.	Gloucester — M	Saint *Peter* a Cath. Church	*Oſricke* King of *Northumberland* firſt founded a Nunnery *cer.* 700: *Aldred* A. *Torke*, & B. *Worceſt.* repaired it, 1060. King *Canutus* brought in Secular Canons, King *William Conq.* brought in Monkes, K. *Henry* the 8. made it an Epiſcopall Sea, inſtituted a Deane and ſixe Prebends	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	1550 4 5 ob o
	Iuxta Gloucester — P	Saint *Oſwald*	*Egeſſeda* daughter to King *Elfred* 910.	Blacke Canons *alias* Fryers Preachers	90 16 2 ob o
	Gloucester — H	S. *Bartholmew*			44 7 2 ob o
	Gloucester — H	S. *Bartholmew*			25 18 2 00 o
	Gloucester — F	Saint *Mary*	Queene *Eleanor*, wife to King *Edward* the firſt, Sir *John Gifford*, and Sir *Thomas Berkley* Knights, *Ed.* 1.	Carmelites or White Fryers	
	Gloucester — P		King *Athelſtan*	Blacke Can. Aug.	
	Barkley — N			Nunnes	
	Bromfield — P			Canons	78 19 4 00 o
Leland.	Cirencester — M	Saint *Mary*	One of the Saxon Kings King *Henry* the firſt repaired it *Rumbald* a Prieſt a great benefactor	Blacke Canons	1051 7 1 ob o
	Cirencester — H	Saint *John* S. *Lawrence*	An Abbot of Cirencester		
	Direherſt — M		King *Etheldred*, *circa* 870. King *Edw. Confeſ.* repaired it after the Daniſh ruines King *Edward* made it a Cel to Saint *Dennis* in *France*	Blacke Monkes	
	Flaxely in the Forreſt of Dea — M		*Roger* Earle of *Hereford*, *H.* 2.	Ciſtercians	112 3 1 00 o
	Hailes — M		*Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and King of *Romans*, 1246. 31. *H.* 3.	Ciſtercians	357 7 7 ob o
	Kingeſwood — M	Saint *Mary*	*Roger de Berkley* of *Dureſley* tranſlated the Monaſtery of Tedbury of *Kingeſwood*	Ciſtercians	254 5 10 00 o

Lanthony

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Lanthony neere Gloucester	Saint *Mary* — P	*Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, *temp.* K. *Stephen.*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines	748 19 11 ob o
	Lanthony *parva* in the Marches of Wales — P				111 0 5 00 o
	Minchinghāpton — N			Nunnes	
	Newetton — M			Blacke Monkes	
	Quinnington — H				137 7 1 ob q
	Stanley —	*Leonard* — M	*Geffrey Mandevill* Earle of *Eſſex*, K. *H.* 2. time, a benefactor		126 0 8 00 o
	Stow — H		*Almare* Earle of *Cornwall*		25 14 8 00 o
	Tedbury —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Reginald de Veterie*, tranſlated after to *Kingeſwood* by *Roger Berkley.*	Ciſtercians	— — — — — — Leland.
	Teuxbury —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Odo* and *Dodo* Earles of *Mercia*, firſt founded it at *Cranburne*, after removed by *Robert Fitzhamon* to *Teuxbury* An. D. 717. made firſt a Priory, after an Abbey. An. Dom. 1102. King *Hen.* 1. and *Robert* Conſull his baſe ſon eſpeciall benefactors	Benedictine Monkes	1598 1 3 00 o Leland.
	Westbury —	— C	For *Richard Drake* of *Torke*, and *Edmund* Earle of *Rutland*, K. *Ed.* gave them the Hoſpitall of S. *Lawrence* by *Briſtow* *William Camirges* Knight Citizen of *Briſtow*, a great benefactor	Deane Canons	232 14 0 00 o Godwin.
	Winchelcombe	Saint *Mary* — M	*Kenulph* King of *Mercia*, 789.	Blacke Monkes	756 11 9 00 o
				Summe totall, &c.	7301. 5. 10. ob. o

HAMP-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
			Lucius the firſt Chriſtian King, of *Britaine*, An. Dom. 189. *Kenelwalch* King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, repaired it. King *Egbert*, King *Alfred*, King *Edgar*, and St. *Edward*, benefactors		
Godwin.	Winchester Epiſcopall See	Saint *Peter* Saint *Swithin* — M	*William Wickham* B. *Wincheſt.* founded halfe the Cathedrall Church from the quier to the Weſt end, *temp. R.* 2. *Thomas Langton* B. *Wincheſt.* founded the Chap. of our Lady on the South ſide of the Church, *temp. H.* 7. Biſhop *Fox* vaulted the quier, Church and Presbytery, and glazed all the Windowes, *temp. H.* 3.	Benedictine Monkes	1507 17 2 00 q
	Winchester —	Saint *Mary* S. *Edburg.* — N	*Alfwida*, wife of King *Alfred* King *Edward* the firſt repaired it	Blacke Nunnes	179 7 2 00 o
	Winchester —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Peter* of *Wincheſter*, Parſon of Saint *Helens* in *Wincheſter*, An. Dom. 1278.	Carmelite Fryers	
	Winchester —	S. *Auguſtine* — F		Auguſtine Fryers	
	Winchester —	S. *Francis* — F	King *Henry* the third	Franciſcan Fryers	
	Winchester —	Saint *Dominicke* F	*Peter de la Rochis* B. *Wincheſt. temp.* K. *John.*	Dominican Fryers	
	Winchester —	S. *Elizabeth.* — F	*John de Pontiſſara* B. *Wincheſt. temp. Ed.* 1.		
Leland.				A Warden 10 Fellowes 70 Children 16 Chorliſters 3 Clarkes 1 Schoolemaſter 1 Vulher 10 Schollers ſtrangers.	112 17 4 ob o
	Iuxta Wincheſt.	Saint *Mary* — C	*William Wickham*, Biſhop of *Wincheſt.* 1393. 17. *Rich.* 1.		639 8 7 00 o
	Iuxta Wineheſt.	Saint *Croſſe* — H	*Henry de Blois* B. *Wincheſter*, Brother to King *Stephen*, 1132. 33. *H.* 1. *Henry Beauford* Card. B. *Winch.* gave lands to it, to the value of 158 l. 13 s. 4 d. *temp. H.* 6. And the Hoſpitall of S. *John de Federingbridge* was given unto it, the ancient cuſtome of this houſe by the firſt foundation was, to dine every day 100 poore, if ſo many came	A Maſter 2 Chaplaines 35 Poore men 3 Women — Chorliſters	184 4 2 00 o Leland. Godwin.
	Iuxta Southhampto, *Ie rely alias Lete loco*	S. *Edward* S. *Mary* — M	*Henry* the third, and *Peter de Rupibus*	Auguſtine Fryers	160 2 9 ob o
	Iuxta Southamp.	Saint *Dennis* — P	King *Richard* the firſt, 1189. 26. *Hen.* 2.	Blacke Canons	91 9 0 00 o
	Southampton —	Saint *Mary* — F	King *Henry* the ſeventh	Franciſcan Fryers	— — — —
	Southampton —	S. *Mary Magd.* H	Confirmed by Pope *Alex.* 1179. 26. *H.* 2.		16 16 2 ob o Stow.
	Apple-durwell in the Iſle of Wight — P		*Nicholas Spencer*, and *Margery* his Wife		
	Baddeſley —	Preceptoria		Knights Templers after Hoſpitalers of S. *John* of *Ieruſ.*	118 16 7 00 o

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Bello loco — M		King *John*	Cistercian Monkes	418 6 8 00 0
Bromere — S. *Trinity* S. *Mary* S. *Michael* P		*Baldwin* Earle of *Rivers* and *Devonshire*	Blacke Canons	200 5 1 ob 0
Chrikwynhams *sive* Chrift Church of Twynham — P		One of the *West-Saxon* Kings founded a Caſtle and a Collegiate Church. *Baldwine de Rivers* founded the Priory, *temp. William Ruſus.* *Ranulph Flambard* B. *Durham*, repaired it, *temp. Hen.* 1. *Richard de Rivers* Earle of *Devonſhire* a benefactor 1161. 8. *Hen.* 2. *Iſabell de Forſibus*, Counteſſe of *Devonſhire*, and *Albemarle* a great benefactor, *temp. Hen.* 3.	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	544 6 0 00 0
Caresbrocke in the Ile of Wight. — S. *Mary Magd.* P			Blacke Monkes	
Deretford in the Iſle of Wight. — S. *Elizabeth.* — P		King *Edward* the third		
Godſhill in the Ile of Wight — C		*John Worſley*	A Colledge, A Gram. Schoole	
Hamele — Saint *Andrew* P			Grey Monkes	
Hide — Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* S. *Grimbell* M		King *Alfride* firſt founder K. *Edward* ſenior his ſon finiſhed it, *cer.* 924. Repaired after by the Monks themſelves.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	865 1 6 ob 4/4
Mottisfount — Saint *Trinity* — P		*Ranulph Flambard* B. *Durham* *Richard de Rivers*, E. of *Devon.* *William de Bruere*	Blacke Canons or Auguſtines of Berton	167 15 8 ob 0
Portſmouth — C H		*Peter de la Roche* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *temp.* K. *John.*		33 19 5 00 0
Quarter in the Iſle of Wight — S. *Mary Mag.* M		*Baldwine de Rivers* E. of *Devonſh.* and *Richard de Rivers* his ſonne — 1132. 33. *H.* 1.	White Monkes Ciſtercians	184 1 10 00 0
Redford or Redbridge — M		One of the *West-Saxon* Kings		
Romſey — N		King *Edgar*, *circa* 968. Earle *Alwin* benefactors King *John*	Blacke Nuns Bened.	528 8 10 ob 0
Saleburne — P		*Peter de la Roche* B. *Wincheſt. tem.* K. *John.*	Canons Regular	
Southwyke — Saint *Mary* — P		King *Henry* the firſt *William Pontlarg*, *ſive Pont-le-arch*, and *William Davis*, *Normant*, *William de Ponteie* a benefactor	Canons Auguſtines	314 17 10 ob 0
Litchfield — Saint *Mary* — M		*Peter de la Roche*, B. *Winch. semp.* K. *John.*	Ciſtercian Monkes	280 19 10 ob 0
Whorwell — Saint *Croſſe* Saint *Peter* N		King *Edgar* *Alias Alfrith* wife to King *Edgar*	Nunnes Auguſtines	403 12 10 00 0
Weynteney — P		*Roger Colrith*, and *Thomas* his ſonne	Nunnes	59 1 0 00 0
	Saint *Elizabeth* C Saint *Croſſe* — H	*Henry Bloes*, brother to King *Stephen*		112 17 4 ob 0 / 84 4 2 00 0
			The totall ſumme, &c.	7218. 17. 5. 00. 0

Leland. Leland. Leland. Leland. Godwin. Leland. Leland. Leland.

HEREFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Hereford Epiſcopall See — S. *Mary* Epiſ. S. *Etheldreda* tut.		An Epiſcopall See was eſtabliſhed by *Milfrid* a petty King of that Country, at *Hereford*, 680. *Athelſtan* Biſhop of *Hereford*, began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, 1055. *Robert Lozing* Biſhop *Hereford*, began a new the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, after the faſhion of the Church of *Aix* in *Germany* 9. *William the Conqueror.* Biſhop *Reinelm*, *temp. Hen.* 1. was a great benefactor to the building, and founded the College of Prieſts *Giles Brinſe*, Biſhop of *Hereford* built one of the Steeples, *temp.* King *John.*	Secular Canons	
Hereford — Saint *Guthlake* F		*Henry de Pembrigge*	Franciſcan Friers	121 3 3 ob 0
Hereford — Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* P		*John de Pembrigge*	Canons Auguſtines	
Acornebury — S. *Katherine*, N			White Nunnes	705 7 5 ob 0
Barrone —			Blacke Monks	
Clifford — Saint *Mary* — P			Blacke Monkes	65 11. 11 00 0

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Dowre

Places.	Dedication	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Dowre — Saint *Mary* — M		*Robert* Baron of *Ewins*, *temp. H.* 1.	Ciſtercian Monkes	118 0 2 00 0
Flanesford — — M		*Richard Talbot*	Canons Regular	15 8 9 00 0
Kilpec — — P				
Ledbury — S. *Katherine* — H		*John* Biſhop *Hereford*		
Lemſter — Saint *James* — P		*Merewald* King of *Mercia*, *circa* 656. King *Henry* the firſt.	Blacke Monkes of Reading	22 5 0 00 0
Limbroke — — N			White Nunnes	23 17 8 00 0
Wigmore — Saint *James* — P		*Roger Mortimer*, 1247. 32. *Hen.* 3. *Alias Hugh Mortimer*, 1172. 19. *H.* 2.	Blacke Canons	83 10 2 00 0
Wormſly — — P				
			Summe totall, &c.	£525. 4. 5. 00. 0

Leland.

HERTFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Hertford a Cell to Saint *Albans* — — Cell		*Ralph* Lord *Limſey*	Blacke Monkes	86 14 8 00 0
Saint Albans — S. *Albans* Mart. M		A Church built to the honour of S. *Alban*, An. 316. 10. yeares after his paſſion. *Offa* King of *Mercia* founder of the Monaſtery, An. 795.	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines	2510 6 1 ob 4/4
Saint Albans — S. *Mary* enle pred H		An Abbot of Saint *Albans*		
Iuxta S. Albans — Saint *Iohan* — H		An Abbot of Saint *Albans*	Leprous people	
Belvero a Cell to S. Albans — S. *Mary* P S. *John Bap.* P			Blacke Monks	135 5 10 00 0
Barden — — P		— — — Biſhop of *London*	Blacke Can. Aug.	— — — — —
Beſco neere Flamſteed — Saint *Giles* — N		*Roger Tony* of *Flamſted*	Nunnes	46 16 1 ob 0
Burton Binham, in Com. Norff. a Cell to Saint Albans. — Saint *Mary* — P			Monkes	160 1 0 00 0
Cheſthunte — — N		Henry Rex *Anglia*, *Dominus Hiberniæ*, *Dux Norman. Aquitan. & Comes Auged.* confirmed *Sheſt. rebum Monialstotam terram Dom. ten. cum pertin. ſuis quæ Cunnicis de Cathele, quos amoveri fecimus. At Weſtm.* 11. *Aug.* [24. *Regni noſtri.*	Nunnes	27 6 8 00 0
Chille — — N			Blacke Nunnes	
Chiltree — — N			Blacke Nunnes	
Hatfield, Peverell in Com. Eſſex, a Cell to Saint Albans — Saint *Mary* — P		Daughter of *Ingebricke*, and wife to *Peverell* in K. *William the Conq.* time	Blacke Monkes Saint Albans	83 19 7 00 0
Hichin — Saint *Mary* — P		King *Edward* the ſecond *John Blomvill* *Adam Rouſe* Benefactors *John Cobham*	Carmelites, or White Fryers	4 9 4 00 0
Langley Regis — Saint *Dominicke* F		*Robert* ſonne of *Roger Helle* Baron	Preaching Fryers	150 14 8 00 0
Langley, *vide* Leiceſterſhire — — N		*Fundator Anteceſſor uxoris Franciſci* *Bigot Militis*, *& ejuſdem uxoris Sororis*	Nunnes	
Merſey — S. *Helen.* Alien P		*Roger Fitz. Ranulph*		
Mirdrill — Saint *Mary* — P			Blacke Canons	
Monketon in Dioc. Saint Davids, a Cell to Saint Albans — — P				113 2 6 ob 4/4
New-bigging *infra* villam de Huchyn — — P				15 1 11 00 0
Royſton, *alias* Cruce Robaſſa — S. *John Bap.* S. *Tho. Mar.* P		*Euſtach de Marc* Kn. Lord of Nucles *Radulph de Rancester* *Robert de Tiptoft* benefactors	Canons	106 3 1 00 0
Royſton — S. *John* H S. *James*				5 6 10 00 0
Roweney — A free Chappell or Hoſpitall				13 10 9 0 00
Sopwell *juxta* Saint Albans — Saint *Mary* — M		*Geffrey* Abbot of Saint *Albans*	Blacke Nunnes	68 8 0 00 0
Tkele — — C		*William Grey* B. *London*, *temp. H.* 6.	A Maſter Chaplaines	— — —
Tynmouth in Com. North. a Cel to S. Albans — — P		*Fundator Anteceſſor Ducis Norfolciæ*		511 4 1 ob 0
Ware — — F		— — Lord *Wake*	Fryers	
Wimondley — — P		*Richard Argenton*	Canons	37 10 6 ob 0
			The Summe totall,	£4076. 3. 10. 00. 0

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HVNTINGTON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Huntington	Saint *Mary* P	*Maude* the Empresse, Daughter of King *Henry* the first. *Eustachius Lovetot, temp.* K. *Stephen*	Blacke Canons Augustines	232 0 0 ob 0	
Huntington	S. *John Baptist.* H	*David*, Earle of *Huntington*, Lord of *Connington, temp. H.*2.		6 7 8 ob 0	
Hinching-broke	Saint *Mary* N	King *William Conqueror*, in place of *Eliesly*, by him suppressed.	Nunnes	19 9 2 ob 0	
Godwin. Coskot	N	*Kinneberge*, daughter of *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, wife of *Alfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, which was after destroyed by the Danes, 1010.			
Saint *Neot*, a Cell to *Becco* in *Normandy*	P	Earle *Alfrie*. *Rassia de Claro*, wife of *Richard* Earle *Clare*, re-edified it, 1113, 14. *H.*1.	Blacke Monks	256 1 3 ob 0	
Leland. Ramsey	Saint *Mary* S. *Benedict* M	Earle *Aylwine*, called *Hathe Kuning*, and Cosin to King *Edgar*. 969. Benefactors. *Walsene*, wife of *Alicin*. *Elfwoldus*, brother to *Alwin*. *Brithwold*, Alderman, *Leofsin*, Bishop of *Dorcester*. *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester*. *Livid*, a Widow.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	1983 15 03 00 ℔ (*Camb.* 7000 pound)	
Saltry	Saint *Mary* M	*Simon* 2. de St. *Liz.* Earle of *Huntington, temp. H.*1. The Kings of Scots. The Earles of *Huntingtom*. Benef.	Cistercian Monkes	199 11 8 00 0	Leland.
Stoneley	Saint *Mary* P	*William de Mandeville*, E. of *Essex*. Bigrame.	Blacke Canons Augustines	46 0 5 ob 0	
Leland. Saint *Ines*, a Cel to Ramsey	P	Earle *Adelmus*, in the raigne of King *Edmund Ironside*, 1017.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines		

The totall summe, &c. 2743. 5. 6. ob. ℔

KENT.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Godwin. Canterbury Archiepiscopall See	Saint *Trinity* P	Faithfull beleeving Romans. *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 600. consecrated by Saint *Augustine*. *Lanfranke* and *William Carboil* Arch. B. a new began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church. *Tho. Arundell*, Arch-B. built the West spire Steep. & furnisht it with 5. bels. *Eadwulfe* B. *Rochester*, and especiall Benefac. *Eardulfe*, Prior	Blacke Monks	2489 4 9 00 0	
Stow. Canterbury	Saint *Francis* F	King *Henry* the seventh.	Franciscan Friers		
Canterbury	Saint *John* H	*Lanfrancke* Arch. B. *Cant. temp. Will. Conq.*	Poore Priests	10 13 08 ob 0	
Iuxta Canterbury, Saint *Augustine*	Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* M	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, 602. King *Edward* the second, a benefact.	Benedictine Monkes	1412 4 7 ob ℔	
Iuxta Canterb.	Saint *Gregory* P	*Lanfranke* Arch. B. *Cant. temp. Will. Conq.*	Blacke Canons Augustines	166 4 5 ob 0	
Leland. *Iuxta* Canterb.	S. *Sepulchers* N	*William Calvile* Citizen of *Canterbury*.	Blacke Nunnes	38 19 7 ob 0	
Iuxta Canterb.	S. *Lawrence* H			31 7 10 00 0	
Canterbury, *extra Muros*.	Saint *Iames* H			32 11 1 ob ℔	
Aileford	Saint *Mary* F	*Richard*, L. *Grey*, of *Codnor*, 1240. 25. *H.*3.	Carmelites, or White Fryers		
Beigham	Saint *Mary* P	Sir *Robert de Thornham*, Knight, *alias* the Ancestors of *Thomas Sacvile*.	White Canons	152 19 4 ob 0	
Ashford	C	Sir *Robert Fogge*, Knight.	Priests		
Bilsington	Saint *Mary* P	*Ioh. Mannsel*, Treasurer of the Church of *Yorke*, and Provost of *Beverley* for King *Henry* the third, and *Eleanor* his Wife.	Blacke Canons	81 1 6 00 0	
Bradgate	C	*Robert de Bradgate*, *Tho. Iosceline* cleric. and *John* at a vies.			
Bradefoke	S. *Radegunde* M	*Hugh* the first Abbot.	White Canons Premonstratens.	142 8 09 00 0	
Leland. Boxley	S. *Mary*. M	*William de Ipres*, a Flemming, Earle of *Kent*, 1145. 11. *Stephen*. King *Richard* the first	Cistercian Monks brought from Clareval in Burgund.	218 19 10 00 0	
Godwin. Chetham	S. *Bartholmew* H	*Gundulfe*, B. *Rochester, temp. Will. Rufus*.		128 1 9 ob 0	
Cobham	C	*John Baron Cobham*.			
Leland. Combewell	Saint *Mary* Magdalen. M	*Robert de Thornham*, Knight.	Blacke Canons Augustines	80 17 5 00 ℔	

Dertford

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Dertford	N	King *Edward* the third, 1355. 30. *Ed.*3.	Nunnes	490 8 0 00 0	Leland.
Danuton	N		Blacke Nunnes		
Dover	Saint *Mary* S. *Martin* P	*Whitred* King of *Kent*, 613. King *Henry* the first reedified it.	Blacke Monks	232 1 5 ob 0	
Dover *Domus Dei*	H	King *Henry* the third	Knight Templers	159 18 6 ob ℔	
Eastbridge	H	King *Henry* the first gave for *William* his Father, *quicquid Robertus Drus dederat Ecclesiæ de Eſtebureh, & fratribus ibidem Regularibus.*	Canons Regular	23 18 9 ob ℔	
Elsfit	N	*Domneva*, a Noble woman of the Saxons, 590.	Nunnes		
Feversham	Saint *Saviour* M	King *Stephen* and *Maud* his Wife, A. Dom. 1147. 13. *Stephen*.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes	286 12 6 ob 0	
Folkestone	S. *Eanswide* N	*Eanswide*, daughter to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*. *William de Abrinca*, a Norman. *Rog. Segrave*, & *Iuliana* his wife? be- *John* Baron *Clinton* nef.	Blacke Nunnes	63 0 7 00 0	Leland.
Greenewich	Saint *Dominic* Alien F	King *Edward* the third, 1376. 51. *E.*3.	Fryers Minors		
Greenewich		*John Norbury* Knight, Benefactor	Observant Fryers		
Greenewich	C	King *Henry* the seventh	Queen *Elizabeths* poore people		
Harbaldowne	H	*William Lambard*			
Heyham	N	*Lanfranc.* Arch-B. *Cant. temp. W. C.*		109 7 2 00 0	
Horton, a Cell to Lewis	Saint *John Evangelist* P	*Alicia Ioh. Stratford*, A.B. *Can. tem. E.*3. *Robert de Vere*, Lord Chamberlaine of *England*	Blacke Nunnes		
Langdon	St. *Thomas* Martyr M	*Adelina*, daugh. of *Hugh de Monfort*. Sir *William Aberfield*, Knight	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes	111 16 7 ob 0	Leland.
Leedes	Saint *Nicholas* P	*Robert de Crevecuer*	White Canons Premonstrate.	56 6 9 00 0	Leland.
Lesnes upon Thames	S. *Auguſt.* alias S. *Tho.* Martyr P	*Richard de Lucy* Lord Chiefe Iustice of *England*, 1179. 26. *H.*2.	Blacke Canons Augustines	362 7 7 00 0	
Hithe	S. *Bartholmew* H	*Hamon*, B. of *Rochester, temp. E.*3.	Blacke Canons	186 9 0 00 0	
Lewsham	P Alien	Saint *Iohn Norbury*, Knight	10 Poore men		
Maidstone	*All-Saints* C	*Boniface* of *Savoy* Arch-B. *Cant. tem. H.*3.	Blacke Monks		Godwin.
Maidstone	C	*Wil. Courtney*, Arch-B. *Can.* 139. 19. *R.*2.		159 7 10 00 0	Cambden.
Masenden	H	*Hugh de Burgh* Knight.		139 7 6 00 0	Leland.
Malling	Saint *Mary* N	*Gundulph* B. *Rochester, temp. W. Rufus*.			
Minster in Tennet	N	*Domneva*, a Noble woman of the Saxons, 596. who had the Land of *Egbert*, third King of *Kent*.	Blacke Nunnes	245 10 2 ob 0	
Mottingden	Saint *Crosse* M	Sir *Robert de Rokesley* Knight.	Nunnes		Cambden.
Newenden	Saint *Mary* F	Sir *Tho. Alburger* Knight, 1241. 26. *H.*3.		60 13 0 ob 0	Leland.
Northgate	Saint *John* H		Carmelite Fryers	91 16 8 ob 0	
West Peckham	*Præceptoria*	*John Culpeper*, Iustice of the Common Pleas, 1408. 10. *H.*4.	Hospitalers of S. *John* of Ierusalem	63 6 8 00 0	
Reculver	M	*Basse*, an English Saxon			
Rochester Epiſcopall See	Saint *Andrew* M	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent*. 604. *Gundulph* B. of *Rochester*, a Norman, built a new the Cathedrall Church. A.D. 1080. *temp. W. Rufus*. *Earnulfus* B. *Rochester* a great Bene.	Blacke Canons Augustines	486 11 5 00 0	Godwin. Leland.
Rochester	S. *Bartholmew* H	King *Henry* the third confirmed it, and *Edward* the third diſcharged them of all Taxes, Tallages, &c.	Leprous people		
Rumney	P Alien				
Sandwich	S. *Mary*. F	*Henry Confield*, an Alman. 1272. 57. *H.*3.	Carmelite Fryers		
Sandwich	S. *Thomas* H	*Thomas Ralsy*, Clerke *William Swanne*, Clerke *John Goldard* *Richard Lang*			
Stroude	S. *Andrew* H	*Gilbert de Glanvile*, B. *Rochest. temp. H.*2.		52 19 10 ob 0	
Swingfield	*Præceptoria*			87 3 3 ob 0	
Shepey Minſter	Saint *Sexburg* N	*Sexburga*, wife to *Excombert*, King of *Kent*, or *East-Angles*. 710. *Will.* Arch-B. *Cant* a speciall Benefa.	Nunnes	129 7 10 ob 0	
Shepey	Saint *Mary* P	*William de la Poole*, Earle After Duke of *Suffolke, temp. H.*6.			
Tunbridge	Saint *Mary* P *Magdalen.*	*Richard de Clare*, Earle of *Glocester*	Blacke Canons	169 10 3 00 0	
Wingham	C	*John Peckham*, Arch-B. *Cant. temp. E.*1.	Canons	84 0 0 00 0	Leland.
Wye	C	*John Kemp*, Arch-B. *Cant. temp. H.*6.	Priests	93 2 0 ob 0	Godwin.
Westwood	P	*Richard Lucy*, Chiefe Iustice of *England, temp. H.*2. *Godfry Lucy* his sonne, Bishop of *Winchester*, a great benefactor.			Godwin.
	Saint *Mary* Saint *Swithin*	Sir *Iohn Segrave*			

The Summe totall, £8840. 18. 7. ob. ℔.

LANCA-

LANCA-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Lancaſter	Saint *Mary* — P	*John* Earle of *Mortaigne*, & confirmed by him when he was King of *England*	Monkes	
Lancaſter	A Cell —	*Roger* of *Poitiers*	Monkes Aliens	
Burſtough	— P		Canons	129 1 0 00 0
Calder	—	The Anceſtors of *Copeland*		
Carthmel	— P	*William Marſhall* the elder, Earle of *Pembroke* for K. *H.* 2. 1188, 35. *H.* 2.		113 19 7 00 0
Cokerſand	— M	*Ranulph* de *Meſchines*	Monkes Cluniacks	228 5 4 ob 0
Coniſhed	— P	The Anceſtors of *William Pemington*		124 2 1 00 0
Leland. Fourneſſe	Saint *Mary* — M	*Stephen* Earle of *Bullogne*, after King of *England*, 1127, 28. *H.* 1. tranſlated hither from *Tulke* in *Aumbernes*.	Ciſtercian Monkes	966 7 1 00 0
		Will. de Mowbray, a ſpeciall Benefact.		
Holland	— P	*Robert Holland*, and *Maud* his wife		61 3 4 00 0
		Alis the Anceſtors of the E. of *Derby*.		
Horneby a Cell to Croſſefden cō. Lei.	Cell —	The Anceſtors of the Lord of *Monteagle*.		
Iervaux	— M			
Cambden. Manchеſter	— C	*Thomas* Lord *Delaware*, after a Prieſt.	Prieſts	
		Aliis Greiſly, Anceſt. to the L. *Delaw.*		
Penwortham	— M			114 16 9 00 0
Leland. Whalley	— M	The Anceſtors of the *Lacies*, Earles of *Lincolne*, tranſlated hither from *Stanlow* in Cheſhire, 1206. 25. *E.* 1.	Ciſtercian Monkes	551 4 6 00 0
		The totall ſumme, &c.		2288. 19. 8. ob.

LEICESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
Godwin. Leiceſter	Epiſcopall See	*Ethelbald*, *alias Ethelred* King of *Mercia*, 737. *alias* 679.		
		Wilfrid, B. *Leiceſter*, 792.		
		Robert Boſſue, Earle of *Leiceſter*, 1143. 9. *Stephen*.		
		Benefactors.		
		K. *Henry* the fourth. *Ernald de Bois* 1.		
		Henry D. of *Lanceſt. Er. de Bois* 2, 3, 4.		
Leland. Leiceſter	Saint *Mary* — M	*Ranulph* E. of *Cheſter Ankitell Malory*, *William Avenell*. *Ralph Tarvile*.	Blacke Can. Aug.	1062 0 4 ob ½
		Simon Eſop A.B. *Can. Tho. Lathbury*.		
		Reginall Baſſet. *Tho. Ardington*.		
		Hugh de Arden. *Robert Colley*.		
		Margarete de Quincy. *Williams Aſton*.		
		Roger de Quincy		
Leland. Leiceſter	Saint *Mary* the Great — C	*Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter* — *tē. E.* 2.	A Deane	
		Henry D. of *Lancaſter* his ſon	12 Prebends	800 0 0 00 0
			— Choriſters.	
Leiceſter	S. *Mary* the Leſſe —	*Robert Boſſue*, Earle of *Leiceſter*, *ſom. H.* 2.	A Maſter	
			7 Fellowes	
			4 Chaplaines	
Leland. *Iuxta* Leiceſter Caſtle	Saint *Mary* — H	*Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter*, *Henry* D. of *Lancaſter* his ſon — *tē. E.* 2.	2 Clerkes	23 12 11 00 0
			50 Poore men	
			5 Poore women.	
Leland. Bredō, a Cell to S. Oſwald	Saint *Mary* P	*Rob. de Ferrers* E. of Nottingha. *tē. H.* 2	Canons Regular	25 8 1 00 0
Stow.	S. *Hardulfe*	*Will. de Ferrers* E. of Derby, a benef.		
Leland. Bradley — P		*Robert Bundy*.	Blacke Canons	20 15 7 00 0
		— — — L. *Strope*, Benefactor.	Auguſtines	
		— — — L. *Mowbrey* — *circa tē W. C.*	Firſt leprous, after	
Burton Lazers — H		A generall contribution	Canons ſecular	265 10 2 00 ½
Canwell — M		The Anceſtors of the Lord *Liſle*		25 10 3 00 0
Leland. Croxton — S. *John Evang.* M		Sir *Andrew Dutterell*, Knight.	White Canons	458 19 11 ob ½
		— — — *De Chaveney*, a benefact.	Premonſtratenſes.	
Caſtle Doningtō	S. *John Baptiſt* H			3 13 4 00 0
Cumbe	Saint *Mary* — M		Blacke Monkes	
Cale	— P		Blacke Canons	
Leland. {Dalby ſurles / Waldes}	A Commandary.	*Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*	Templars Knights after Hoſpitalers of S. *John* of Ieruſ.	231 7 10 00 0
Stow. Gerendon	— M	*Rob. Buſſue* E of Leiceſt. 1169, 15 *H.* 2. *Audomare de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke*, and *Mary* his wife. benef.	Ciſtercian Monkes	186 15 2 ob 0
Cambden. Gracedieu	Saint *Trinity* N	*Roſſia*, wife of *Bertram de Verdon*, *circa*, *temp. R.* 1.	Nunnes	101 8 2 ob 0
		Sir *Wil Waſtnies* Knight, a benefact.		
Hether	Commandary —	*Geffrey de Greſeley*.	Knights Templars after Hoſpitaliers of S. *John* of Ieruſ.	
Gerewerdon	Saint *Mary* — M		White Monkes	
Hinkley, belonging to the Houſe of *Lirain* Normandy	— P Alien	*Robert* Earle of Leiceſter. *Henry* E. of Lancaſt. *temp. E.* 1. benef.	Canons	

Kirkly

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
Kirkley Bellers	— P	*Roger de Bellere*, & *Avice* his wife, *tē. H.* 2.		
Launda	— M	*Richard Baſſet* of *Weldan*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	178 7 10 0 ½
Langley	Saint *Mary* — N	Sir *Will. Paunulfe* Kn. and *Burga* his wife.	Nunnes	510 16 5 b ½
Leiceſter new Bedehouſe	— H	*Thomas Wigſton* Merchant of the Staple, *temp. H.* 7.		34 6 2 0 0 Record
Litterworth	Saint *John* — H	*Nicolas de Verdon*, and *Roiſia* his wife		
Overton	Saint *Andrew* M	Sir *Robert Grimbald* Kn. *circa temp. E.* 3.	Blacke Canon Aug.	26 9 5 8 8
Novi operis.	— C			173 18 9 0 ½ Leland
		Asketine de Martivall, Archdeacon of *Lin. temp. H.* 3.	A Warden and	595 7 4 0 0 Leland
Noſeley	Saint *Mary* — C	Aliis *Roger de Martivall*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, *temp. E.* 2.	Prieſts.	
Kodeley	Commendary —		Templars, after Hoſpitalers of S. *John* of Ieruſal.	
Stane	— N		Blacke Nunnes	
Sapcote	— C	*Simon Baſſet*, Baron of *Sapcote*, *temp. H.* 3.	Warden & Prieſts	
Vvefcroft	— P	*Roger Quincy*, Earle of *Winton*		
Werewerdon	— M		Blacke Canons	101 3 10 b 0 Record
Leiceſter	Saint *Peſula* — H S. *Francis* — P		Franciſcan Fryers	8 0 0 0 0
		The totall ſumme, &c.		4833. 11. 9. b. 0

LINCOLNE-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
		K. *Williams Conq.* tranſlated over the See from Dorcheſter.		
		B. *Remigius* began the foundation of the Cathedrall Church, and added 21 Prebends, *temp. W. Conq.*		
		Robert Bluet, B. *Lincolne*, added 21 Prebends *temp. Will. Rufus*		
Lincolne Epiſcopall Sea	Saint *Mary* — M	*Alexander* B. *Linc.* repaired the church after the beginning thereof, and increaſed the number of the Prebends, *temp. H.* 1.	Secular Canons	1533 0 0 0 9 Godwin.
		Hugh, B. *Linc. temp. H.* 2. began againe the new foundation of the Cathedrall Church		
		John Sumwell Biſhop *Linc.* founded the Chappell of S. *Mary Magd. temp. E.* 3.		
		William Alnewick, B. *Linc.* made the porch, & the weſt windowes, *temp. H.* 6.		
Lincolne	Saint *Mary* — F	M. *Odo de Kilkenny*, a *Scot*, 1269.	Carmelite Fryers	
Lincolne	S. *Auguſtine* — F		Fryers Eremites	
Lincolne	S. *Francis* — F	*John Pickering* of *Stampwike*	Fryers Minors	
Iuxta Lincolne	S. *Katherine* — P	*Robert de Cheney* B. *Linc. temp. H.* 2.	Gilbertines	270 1 3 0 0
Alvingham	Saint *Mary* — P	*Anthony de Peke* B. *Durham*, and Patriarch of Ieruſalem, *temp. E.* 1.	White Canons, &	
		— — — *Darcy* Benefactor	Nuns Gilbertines	141 15 0 0 0
Balwap Aquilæ				124 2 0 0 0
Belvoir a Cell to S. Albans	Saint *Mary* — P	*Baptus de Belvoir*, *Alis Radulphus de Toneo*		
Berlinges	— M	*Radulphus de Hoya*	Blacke Monks of S. Albans	129 17 9 0 0 Leland
Biham	— M	*Will.* E. of *Albemarle*, 1147. 13. *Steph.* tranſlanted after to valle Dei Abbey	White Canons	307 16 6 0 0
Bolington	Saint *Mary* — M			
			White Canons & Nuns Gilbertines	107 7 9 0 8
Boſton	— M	Saint *Botolph* in the Saxons time		
Boſton	Saint *Mary* — F	Sir — — *de Orby* Knight, 1300. 29. *E.* 1.		
Boſton *iuxta* Mare	Saint *Mary* — P	*Thomas Morley* Knight	Carmelite Fryers	
		John Beam Eſquire		
		John Hagon		
		Thomas Hoke de Shinham		
		John Hird of *Boſton*		
Boſton	— 3 Fryers	— — — *de Tilney*		
Boſton	S. *Mary* — C			
Boſton	*Corpus Chriſti* — C			24 0 0 0 0
Boſton	Saint *Peter* — C			32 0 0 0 0
				10 13 4 0 0
Bradney	S. *Oſwald* — M	One of the Kings of *Mercia*		
		Remigius B. *Sinc. tē. W. Conq.*		
		Gilbert de Gant E. of *Linc.* & benef.		
		Will. his ſon 1115 16. *H.* 1.		
Boutme	— P	*Baldwine* ſonne of *Gilbert*	Benedictine Monkes	429 7 0 0 0
Briggerd	— P		Blacke Can. Auguſt.	
Cateley or Catlin	Saint *Mary* — M	*John Spaule* Eſquire		101 0 0 0 0
		Ethelbald King of *Mercia*, 716.		
		Abbot *Ingulfe* a *Norman* built the Fabricke a new		
Crowland	S. *Guthlacke* — M	Ie was finiſhed at the benevolence of the whole Land, given upon pardon of their ſinnes	Benedictine Monkes	1217 5 11 0 0
		Walter de Amondeville		
Eliſham	— P	Aliis *William Dive*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	83 17 10 0 0 Leland
Epworth in the Iſle of Axholme	A Conventuall houſe — M	*Tho. Mowbray* E. of *Nottingham*, *tem. R.* 2.	Carthuſians	290 14 7 0 0
Foſſe	— N		Nunnes	8 5 4 0 0

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Frifetun	— P	*Mauritius Alane*, Baron of *Burtō* Crown-	Blacke Monks	
	Glamford bridge *in parochia de Wrawby*	— H	*William Tirwhitt*		
Leland.	Goikwell	— N	*William de Alta ripa seu* Dawtrey	Nunnes	19 18 6 o o
	Deping	— M			
	Greenfield	Saint *Mary* N	*Dudon de Groveslty*	Blacke Nunnes	79 15 1 o o
	Grimesby	S. *Leonard* N	*Robert* Grosseteste B. *Linc. temp. H.* 3. Sir *Thomas* Hesterton Knight	Blacke Nunnes	12 3 7 o o
	Grimesby	S. *Austine* S. *Thelesse* P	The Kings Ancestors	Blacke Canons	
Leland.	Hagneby	— M	*Herbert* sonne of *Alard de Orreby* and *Anne* his wife	White Canons	98 7 4 o o
Leland.	Haverholme	Saint *Mary* M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne, temp. H.* 1.	White. Can. Gil. white Nuns. Sher.	88 5 5 o o
Leland.	Hennings N	— P	*Ranulfe Evermowe*	Cistercian Nunnes	58 13 4 o o
Leland.	Hunston, *alias* Humberston	S. *Mary* S *Peter* M	*Rose* sonne of *Drago*	Benedictine Monkes	42 11 3 o o
	Irford	— M			14 13 4 b o
	Kirkfted	Saint *Mary* M	*Hugh* sonne of *Eudo de Brisoy*	Cistercian Monkes	338 13 11 b ¼
Leland.	Kime	— N	Sir *Philip de Kime* Knight Sir *Simon de Kime* his sonne Knight	Blacke Canons Augustines	138 4 9 o o
Leland.	Letherstoke	—	*John Gifford* Clacke		
	S. Leonard *juxta* Stamford	— P			30 o o o o
Leland.	Leyburnd	Saint *Mary* M	*Robert Fitz-Gilbert*	Nunnes Augustines	57 13 5 o ¼
Leland.	Louthparke	Saint *Mary* M	*Alexander* B. *Lincolne, temp. H.* 1.	White Monks	169 5 6 b o
	Hirst in the Isle of Axholme	—	*Tho. Mowbray* E. of Nottingham, *tē. H.* 2.		7 11 8 o o
Leland.	Markeby	— P	*Rose* sonne of *Gilbert*		163 17 6 o o
Leland.	Newbowe	— M	*Richard Malbysse*	White Canons	113 11 8 o o
	Newhouse	Saint *Martiall* P	*Peter de Ganlia*	White Canons the first house of the order of Premonstratenses in *England*	
	Non-Ormesby	— P		Gilbertines	98 o o o o
	Mewsom	— P	*Peter de Calsa*	White Canons	114 1 4 b o
Leland.	Newsted *juxta* Stamsford	— M	*Willielmus de Albany*	Canons Regular Augustines	42 1 3 o o
	Newsted *iuxta* Axholme	— P			55 11 0 o o
	Noton or Nocton-Park	Saint *Mary* M *Magdalene*	*Robert D' Arcie*	Blacke Canons	52 19 8 b o
	Non- Cotton	Saint *Mary* P	*Alane de Mauncels*	Gilbertines	46 17 7 o o
	Oxeneyes	— P		Blacke Canons	
	Ravelston	S. *Augustine* C			
Leland.	Revesby	Saint *Laurence* M	*William de Romare* Earle of *Linc. circa* 1146. 12. *Steph.* *Avice* his wife, and *William* his sonne benefactors	Cistercians	349 4 10 o o
	Sempringham	Saint *Gilbert* M	S. *Gilbert* Lord of that place, & beginner of that Order, 1148. 14 *Steph.*	White Can. & Nunnes Gilbertines Gilber.	359 12 7 o o
	Sexley	Saint *Mary* P			170 8 9 o o
	Spalding	S. *Mary* S. *Nicolas* M	*Ivo Talbois*, Comes *Andegavensis*, *William de Romara* *Lucy* Countesse of Chester and *Linc.*	Andegavenses, Monachi	878 18 3 o o
	Iuxta Stamford	Saint *Michael* M		Blacke Monks	72 18 10 b o
	Stamford	S. *Mary* S. *Nicolas* M		Blacke Monkes	65 19 9 o o
	Stamford	Saint *Mary* F	King *Edward* the third		
	Stamford	— H	*William Browne* Citizen there	Carmelite Fryers	
	Stamford	— H	*William* L. Burghley, Lord *Treasurer* of *England, temp. Elizabeth* Regin		
Leland.	Staynsfield	— P	*Henry* Ion of *Henry de Percy* confirmed by King *John* for his father *Henry* the second	Blacke Nuns Bened.	112. 5 o o o
Leland.	Stikesfwould	Saint *Mary* M	*Lucy* Countesse of *Chester* and *Linc.* & her two sons, *Will. de Romare* E. of *Linc.* and *Ranulf* E. of *Chest. temp. H.* 1.	Gilbertines	163 1 2 b o
Leland.	Swinesfhed in Holland	Saint *Mary* M	Sir *Robert Grisley* Knight, and *Albiric* his sonne, *temp.* King *Steph.*	Cistercian Monks	175 19 10 o o
	Sixhil	— P		Gilbertines	170 8 9 o o
	Tattesfhall	— C	Sir *Ralfe Cromwell* Knight, and *Maud* his wife, *temp. H.* 6.		348 5 11 b ¼
Leland	Stowe	— N	*Godina* wife of *Leofrick*, E. of *Leicester* *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincolne* *temp. W. Conq.* a benefactor	Nunnes	
	Temple-Bruer	Preceptoria		Templers, after Hospitalliers of S. *John* of *Ierusalem.*	184 6 8 o o
	Thorneholme	— P	*John de Malberbe*	Blacke Canons Aug.	155 10 6 b o
Leland	Thornton	— M	*Will. de Crosse*, E. of *Albemerle, temp. H.* 2.	Blacke Can. Augustt.	730 17 2 b o
	Torington	Saint *Mary* P	*William de Arundell*	Blacke Canons	
	Torkesey	— P	King *John*	Blacke Canons	27 2 8 o o
	Tupholme	Saint *Mary* M	*Reynulph de Nevill*, Baron of *Raby*	White Canons Premonstratens.	119 2 8 o o

Valle

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Valle Dei *alias* Vaudy	Saint *Mary* M	*Gilbert de Gaunt*, Earle *Linc. temp.* K. *Steph.* at the request of Pope *Eugenius* the third, and Saint *Bernard* Abbot of *Clareuall* King *John* *Rose*, son of *Drago* a speciall benefa. *Ralfe de Albany*	Cistercian Monks	177 15 7 ob ¼	Leland
Wellowe	— M		Canons regular Aug.	152 7 4 o o	Leland
Vrford	— N		Nunnes	14 o o o o	Leland
Willoughton	*Preceptoria* Saint *Peter* Saint *Paul* M All *Saints* H		Templers	174 11 1 ob o	
				197 17 5 o ¼	
				18 16 o ob ¼	

The totall summe, &c. 11664. 12. o. ob. ¼

MIDDLE-SEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Episcopall See and Cathedrall Church	Saint *Paul*	*Ethelbert* King of *Kent, circa* 604. *Kenred* King of *Mercia* K. *Edward*, son of K. *Alfred* King *Athelstan* benefact Bishop *Erkenwald* *Maurice* B. *London*, began the foundation of the new fabricke, which now ſtandeth, *temp.* K. *Will. Rufus* *Richard Beaveis* B. *London, temp. H.* 1. purchaſed whole ſtreets and much houſing, all which hee pulled downe leaving the place for a Church-yard, and incloſed it with a ſtrong wall. *Richard Fitzneale* B. *London, temp. R.* 1. beſtowed much upon building the Church and other houſes. *Euſtatius de Fawconberge*, B. *London* a great benefactor to his Church, *temp. H.* 3. Bishop *Baldok, tem. Edw.* 2. gave 200. markes towards the building of our Ladies Chappell at the Eaſt end of the Church. Bishop *Fitz. Iames, tem. H.* 8. beſtowed much in repairing the Church	Secular Canons		Leland Godwin.
Holmes Col. in S. *Pauls* church	— C	*Roger Holmes* Chancellor & Prebend of *Pauls*, 1400. 2. *H.* 4.			Stow
Iefus Coll. in S. *Pauls* Church	*Iesus* C	King *Henry* 6. 14 & 8. 37. *H.* 6. K. *Henry* 7. & K *Hen.* 8 confirmed it	A Maſter 2 Wardens - - Prieſts		Stow
Petty Can. in S. *Pauls* church	Saint *Awe* C	K. *Richard* the 2 in honour of Queene *Anne* his wife, 1393. 7. *R.* 2.	Petty Canons		Stow
Iuxta Ludgate	Saint *Dominic* F	K. *Edw.* the firſt, and *Eleanor* his wife *Rob. Kilwardby*, A. B. C. The Citizens of *Lond.* 1276. 5. *E.* 1.	Dominican or Blacke Fryers	104 15 4 o o	
Iuxta Algate	S. *Trinity* P	Queene *Maude*, wife to King *Henry* the firſt, 1108. 9. *H.* 1. Benefactors. *Roſe Fitzalgold* *Wiſmarele Deveresh* *Orgar le Prude* *Edw. Hapcorobill* *Algar* *Hugh Fitzvulgar* *Seciſinus* *Alwin* *Blackſtan* *Robertt* *Wiſo* ſonnes of *Leoſtan* the Goldſmith.	Blacke Canons Regular		Stow
Iuxta Alderſgate	Saint *Martin* C	*Ingelricus* and *Edw.* his brother 1056. King *Will.* the *Conq.* confirmed it			
Guild-Hall	— Chappell	*Peter Stamberey* *Adam Fryamicie* *Henry de* — *Will. de Bramton*	Chaplaines 1299. 28. *Edw.* 1. 4 Chaplaines	12 18 9 o !o	
Barking Chapp.	Saint *Mary* C	King *Richard* the firſt King *Edward* the firſt a Benefactor *John Tiptof* E. of *Worceſter*, made it a Fraternity K. *Richard* the third reedified it, and made it a Colledge of Prieſts			Leland

A Catalogue of the Religious Houses, Colledges,

	Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Stow.	Barking Church-	——	H	*Robert Denton* Chaplain, 1369 44. *E.* 3.	Priests Franticke men	- - - - - -	
Stow	In Breadstree—	S. *Augustine*	F	*Humfrey Bohum*, Earle of *Hereford* & *Essex*, 1253 38. *H.* 3. *Reginold* Lord *Cobham* *Humfr. Bohum*, E. of *Essex* benefact.	Augustine Fryers —	57 0 4 0 0	
Stow	In Bishopsgate street	Saint *Hellen*	N	*William Basing* Dean of *Paules*, 36. *H.* 32. *Will. Basing* sheriffe of *Lond.* a benefa.	Blacke Nunnes —	376 6 0 0 0	
	In Cheapside —	S. *Tho.* of Acon	H	*Thomas Fitz-theobald de Heily*, & *Agnes* his wife-sister to *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *temp.* H. 2.	Blacke Can. August.	277 3 4 0 0	
	In Gayspurre lane, Elling Spittle	Saint *Mary*	P	*Will. Elsing* Citizen of *Lond.* 1329 3. *E.* 3.	Canons Regular —	239 13 11 ob 0	
	In Hertstreet—	——	F	*Rose Hoster* *Will. Sabernes* 1298. 27. *Edw.* 1.	Crouched Fryers —	52 13 2 0 0	
Stow	Hermitage in the wall *juxta* Cleeplegate	S. *Iames* Herm.		An Abbot of *Gerondon* in Com. *Leceist.*	- - - - - -	- - - - - -	
				Ioh. Ewin Citizen of *London*, 5 *E.* *John* *John Joyner* Citizen built the Quier, 10 *Hen.* 3. *Henry Walteis* built the body of the Church *William Potter* Alderman, made the Chapterhouse *Gregory Rokesley*, made the Dorfar *Bartholmew de Castell* built the dining Hall *Peter de Holy-land*, built the lodging roomes *Bevis Bond* Herald at Armes built the Library Queene *Margaret*, wife to King *Edward* the first, beganne a new the Quier of their Church 1506. to the building whereof in her life time shee gave 2100. markes by her will *John* Earle of *Britaine* and *Richmond*, built the body of the Church, at the charges of 300 pounds, and gave rich Iewels and ornaments to the use of the same. *Mary de Saint Paule*, Countesse of *Pembroke*, gave 70 pounds *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Gloucester* gave 20 pounds, and 20 beames of timber out of his Forrest *Eleanor* Lady *Spenser*, gave great & *Elizabeth de Burgh* sums toward Countesse of *Ulster* the worke *Robert* Lord *Lisle*, who after ward became a Fryer there, 300 pounds *Arnold de Tolnea*, 100 pound *Bartholmew de Almaine*, 50 pounds Queene *Isabell*, wife to K. *Edward* 2. gave 70 pounds Quee ne *Philip*, wife to K. *Edward* 3. gave 62 pounds. Divers persons gave sums of money towards the making of the windowes *Margaret Segrave*, Dutchesse of *Norf.* made the Cellars in the Quier, at the charges of 310 markes *Richard Whittingham* Knight, and Major of *London*, and D. *Thom. Winchelsea* a Fryer there, in 1429. built the Library, to the charges of 556 pounds *William Tailor*, Tailor to K. E 3. made the watercourse, conduit, and head thereof, the roofing, feeling and painting of the Quier at divers mens charges. This worke was finished within the space of 21 yeares, 1327. 2. *Edward* 3. The Church length 300 / breadth 89 / height 64 } feet / containes in / It was consecrated in 1325. King *Henry* 8. gave it to the Citie, calling it by the name of *Christ Church*			
Stow	*Iuxta* Newgate—	Saint *Francis*	F		Franciscan Fryers —	32 19 10 0 0	

	Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
	Saint *Laurence* Poulneyes Church	*Iesus Corpus Christi*	C	*Thomas Cole*, first founder for a master and Chaplaines in *Iesus* Chapp. *Iob. Poultney* Kn. and Major of *Lon.* 20 *E.* 3. converted the Chapp of *Iesus* & all the Church of S. *Laurence* into a Colledge	A Master 7 Priests	79 17 11 0 0	
	In Leaden-Hall	S. *Trinity*	H	*William Rouse* *John Risby* *Thomas Abbey* Priests, 1466. 41. *E.* 4. - - - - A.D. 1257. 41. *H.* 3.	60 Priests —		
	In Lothbury S. Michaels Church in Crooked-lane	——	C	Sir *Will. Walworth* Knight, Major of *London*, *temp.* R. 2.	Fratres de Sacra — A Master 9 Priests		
	In threed Needle street a Cell to S. Anthony of Vienna	S. *Anthony* Cell		King *Henry* the third Citizens of *London* King *Henry* the sixt a great benefact, King *Edward* the 4 annexed it to the Colledge of *Windsor* *John Tate* Major of *London*, began a new to build it, in A. D. 1499. and finished it in 1501. *William Campion*, Sheriffe of *London* a benefactor	A Master 2 Priests A Schoolmaster 12 poore folkes	55 6 8 0 0	Stow
	Papey —	S. *Charity* S. *Io. Evang.*	H	*William Oliver* *William Barnely* *John Stafford* Priests, 1430. 9, *H.* 6.	A Master 12 Wardens - - - Priests - - - Chaplains men & women	- - - - - - -	Stow
	S. *Peters* Church in Cornehill	S. *Peter* Brother.		King *Henry* 4, 1402, 4 *H.* 4	Brotherhood —		
	Whittington Colledge	——	C	Sir *Rich. Whittington* Knight, 4 times Major of *London* 1424, 3 *H.* 6	A Master 4 Fellowes Mast. of Arts 2 Clarkes 4 Choyristers	20 1 10 0 ½	Leland
	Iuxta Whittington Coll. In Candleweeke street	—— ——	H C	Sir *Rich. Whittington* Knight, *temp.* H. 6 —	— —	— —	Stow

The totall summe, &c. 1308. 17. 10. ob. ½

LONDON without the Walles, in the Suburbes.

	Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q	
	Westminster —	Saint *Peter*	M	*Seabert*, King of the East-Saxons, *circa* 104 *Dunstan*, Arch. B. *Cant.* King *Edward* the Confessor bene. *Simon Langham*, A. B. *Cant.* K. *Henry* 3 new built it, in the space of 50 yeares, begun 1220, 5 *H.* 3 finished 1285, 14, *E.* 1 King *Henry* 7 Anno 1502, began the sumptuous new Chappell, at the charges of 14000 pound King *Henry* 8 at the suppression, in the place of the Monkes, appointed a Deane and Prebends. Afterward the said K. *Henry* 8, in 1541, made it a Bishopricke, *Thomas Thirlby* being made the first and last Bishop thereof. After whom succeded the Deane and Prebends, which continue to this present	Benedictine Monkes	3977 6 4 ob 9	Stow
	Westminster —	Saint *Stephen*	C	King *Stephen* King *Edward* the third	Secular Canons —	1085 10 5 0 0	
	Westminster —	Saint *Iames*	H	The Citizens of *London* long before the Conquest	14 Leprous Maides	100 0 0 0 0	
	Westminster, *Iuxta* Charing Crosse, a Cel to our Lady of Rouncivall in Navarre	Saint *Mary* Cell		Suppressed by King *Henry* 5 among the Priories aliens K. *Edw.* 4 reedified it, 1474, 15 *E.* 4	— —	— —	
	Westminster S. Giles in the Fields	Saint *Giles*	H	Queene *Maud*, wife to King *Henry* 1 1117, 17, *H.* 1	— —	— —	
	Westminster the Savoy —	S. *John Baptist*	H	*Peter* of *Savoy*, Vncle to Q. *Eleanor*, wife to K. *H.* 3 first built there a goodly house, which after came to the House of *Lancaster* King *Henry* 7, 1509, made it an Hos. Queene *Mary* repaired it, and gave much Lands thereto, 1556, 4, Q. *Mary*	— —	529 15 7 ob 0	

	Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
	Westminster in Tote-hill street — H	—	*Anne*, Lady *Dacres*, Daughter to Sir *Rich. Sackvile* Knight, and wife unto *Giles*, Lord *Dacres* of the South, *temp. Elizabeth Regin*	20 Women, 20 Children	100 0 0 0 0	
Stow	*Extra* Alderſgate. — H	—	Suppreſſed by King *Henry* the fifth, amongſt Priories aliens	Cluniacks	— — — — —	
Stow	*Extra* Alderſg. in S. Botolphes Church	S. *Fabian* H, S. *Sebaſtian*	Firſt founded in 1377. 51 *E.* 3. King *Henry* the fourth confirmed it *Ioane Aſtley* Nurſe, to King *Henry* 6. *Robert Cawod*, *Thomas Smith* by the licence of King *H.* 6. founded it for a brotherh.	A Maſter, 2 Wardens, Brothers, Siſters	30 0 0 0 0	
	Ankerake neere S. Bartholm. in Smithfield	— —	*Katherine*, wife to *William Hardell*, 1226. 11. *Henry* 3.			
Stow	*Extra* Algate —	S. *Clare* — N	*Edmund* Earle of Lancaſter, Leice. and Derby, brother to *E.* 1. and *Blanch* his wife Q. of *Navarre*. 1292. 21. *E.* 1.	Nunnes Minorites	418 8 5 0 0	
Stow.	Bethelē *Extra* Biſhopſgate — H	S. *Mary* — H	*Simon Fitz-Mary*, Sheriffe of *London*, 1246. 31. *H.* 3. *Steph. Ienning*, Major of *Lond.* a ben. K. *Henry* 8. at the ſuppreſſion gave this Hoſpitall to the City, 1546.	Canons	— — — — —	
	Charterhouſe in S. *Johns*-ſtr.	Saint *Mary* — M	Sir *Walter Manny* of *Cambrey* Knight one of the Founders of the Garter. 1371. 46. *E.* 3.	Carthuſians	736 2 7 0 0	
Stow	Clerken-Well	Saint *Mary* — N	*Iordan Briſſet* Baron, the ſon of *Ralph*, and *Muriel* his wife, 1100. 1. *H.* 1.	Blacke Nunnes	282 16 5 0 0	
Stow	*Extra* Creeple-gate — N	— —	Suppreſſed by K. *Henry* the 5. amongſt the Priories aliens.	Cluniacks	— — — — —	
	Extra Creeple in Saint *Giles* Church —	S. *Mary*, S. *Giles* Brot.	Queene *Maude* wife to King *Henry* 1. *Ioh. Belancer* repaired it, 1360. 35. *E.* 3. *Walter Brune*, and *Roiſe* his Wife, 1197 9. *R.* 1.	A Brotherhood		
	Extra Biſhopſga.	Saint *Mary* — P	Founded by the Knights, Templers, *temp H.* 2. whoſe order began 1118. 19. *H* 1. *Heraclius* Patriarke of Ieruſalem, conſecrated it, 1185. 32. *H.* 2.	Canons Regular	557 14 10 ob q	
	In Fleet-ſtreete The new Temple —	Saint *Mary* — T	This order was put downe by Parliament, *tem. E.* 1. and their Lands given to the Hoſpitaliers of Saint *John* of *Ieruſalem*.	Knights Templers		
Stow	In Fleetſtreet	Saint *Mary* F	*Richard*, Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*, 1241. 26. *H.* 3. King *Edward* 1. gave them great Lands. *Hugh Courtney*, Earle of *Devon*. 1350 24. *E.* 3. new built it. St. *Robert Knowles*, a Norfolk Knight built the Weſt part of the Church, *temp. R.* 2.	Carmelites or White Fryers	63 11 4 0 0	
	Haliwell —	S. *John Baptiſt* N	*Robert Marſhall*, B. of *Hereford*, built the Quire, Presbytery, and Steeple, *temp. H.* 4. *John Lusken*, Major of *London*, a great Benefactor. One of the Biſhops of *London*. *Stephen de Gravesend* Biſhop of *Lon.* 1318. a benefactor. Sir *Tho Lovell*, Knight of the Gart. new built, *temp. H.* 7.	Blacke Nunnes	347 1 3 0 0	
Stow	In Holborne —	Saint *Mary* — T	Founded by the Knights, Templers, themſelves ruinated 1184 31. *H.* 2.	Knights Templers	— — — — —	
Stow	In Holborne —	— — H	Suppreſſed by King *Henry* 5. amongſt the Priories aliens	Cluniac Monkes	— — — — —	
Leland	In Saint *Johns* ſtreet —	Saint *John* — P	*Iurden Briſſet*, and *Muriel* his wife, 1100. *temp. Henry* the firſt. *Heraclius* Patriarke of *Ieruſalem*, conſecrated it in 1185. 32. *H.* 2. Sir *Thomas Pockeresy* Prior, repaired it in 1504 20. *H.* 7.	Hoſpitaliers of the Order of S. Iohn of Ieruſalem	2385 19 8 0 8	
	In Weſt-Smithfield —	S. *Bartholmew* M	*Iudas Macchabeus*, and *Ioſes Hiroanus*, firſt Founders of the Order at Ieruſalem, and of the Hoſpitall for the Infidels. *Raimundus de Podio*, made the Statutes for the Order. King *Henry* the firſt, *Aliis Rahere* a Prior, and Minion to King *Henry* the firſt, 1102. 3. *H.* 1.	Blacke Canons Reg.	757 8 4 ob q	
	In Weſt-Smithfield	S. *Bartholmew* H	*Rahere*, Miniō to K. *H.* 1. 1102. 3. *H.* 1. The laſt Prior P. *Balton*, a great benefa. King *Henry* the 8. gave this Hoſpitall to the Citizens	Blacke Canons	305 6 7 0 0	
	Eaſt-Smithfield new Abbey	S. *Mary* *De gratia*	King *Edward* the third, 1359. 34. *E.* 3.	Ciſtercian Monkes	602 11 10 ob 0	

Neere

Place.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Neer the Tower —	S. *Katherine* — H	Queen *Maud*, wife to King *Stephen* Queen *Eleanor*, wife to K. *Edward*, the firſt, reedified it *Tho Bekington*, B. Bath and Wels, *temp. H.* 6. a great Benefactor	A Warden, 3 Chaplaines, 3 Siſters, 18 poor women, 6 poore Clerkes	315 14 2 0 0	
In White-Croſſe ſtreet —	Saint *Giles* — H	King *Henry* the fifth	Of the French Order		
			The totall ſumme, &c.	12595. 8. 0. 0. 0.	

MIDDLE-SEX.

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Iuxta Brainford-	*Eccleſia ſanctorū Angelorum* F	*Iohn Sommerſet*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Kings Chaplaine	—	— — — — —	
Hownſlow —	— *Domus*	—	—	— — — — —	
Kilborne —	S. *Mary* — N	—	Captives —	80 13 6 b 6	
Langlye —	— P Alien	The Earle of *Derby*	Blacke Nunnes	86 7 6 0 0	
Ozeburne —	— P	—	—	— — — — —	
Stanes —	— P	*Ralph de Stafford*	—	— — — — —	
Bromley —	Saint *Leonard* M	King *Henry* the ſecond *William* Biſhop of *London* Sir *Ralph Raſſeline* Knight, gave them that Mannor	Nunnes, *aliis* White Monkes	121 16 0 8 0	
Sion —	S. *Saviour*, S. *Mary* S. *Bridget* of Sion — M	King *Henry* the fift, 1413. 2. *H.* 5.	Nunnes Auguſt. Prieſts	1944 11 8 6 q	Leland
Vxbridge —	S. *Mary* — M	*Hugh Rewſe*	—	— — — — —	
Vxbridge —	S. *Margarets* Chap. of eaſe	*Robert Oliver* *Thomas Mandin* of Vxbridge, 1447. 26. *H.* 6. *John Palmer* *John Barford*	—	7 13 4 0 6	
			Summe totall, &c.	2241. 3. 6. b. q	

NORFOLKE.

Place.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Norwich Epiſcopall See produced from the Abbey of Feſchamp in Normandy.	S. *Trinity* — M	*Sigebert*, King of the Eaſt-Saxons, inſtituted an Epiſcopall See at *Dunwich*, appointed *Felix* the Burgundian the firſt Biſhop, *circ* 640. which See was afterward divided into two places, *viz.* at *Dunwich* and *Elmeham*, afterwards it came to bee ſeated at *Elmham* alone. Biſhop *Auſtelfus* tranſlated the See to *Thetford*. *William Herbert de Loſing*, firſt Biſhop of *Norwich*, tranſlated his See from *Tetford* to *Norwich*, and founded a Monaſtery and Cathedrall Church, his Palace, and divers Pariſh Churches *temp.* K. *H.* 1. *Iohn* of *Oxford*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, finiſhed the worke begun by his predeceſſor *William Herbert de Loſing*, *temp.* King *Iohn*. *Walter de Suffield*, B *Norwich*, founded the Chappell of our *Lady* in the Cathedrall Church, *temp. Henry* the third. Biſhop *Middleton* repaired the Church, *temp. E.* 1. Biſhop *Salmon* built a Chappell at the Weſt end of the Church, and inſtituted there foure Prieſts. He built the great Hall, and a Chappell in the Biſhops Palace, *temp. E.* 1. Biſhop *Percy* gave 400 marke towards the repairing of the Church, and levied a greater ſumme of the Clergy for the ſame purpoſe, *temp. Edward* 3. Biſhop *Wakering* founded the Cloyſters, *temp. H.* 5.	Benedictine Monkes	1061 14 3 b 0	Godwin
Norwich —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Philip Congate* Major of *Norwich*, 1268. 55. *H.* 3.	Carmelite Fryers —		
Norwich —	S. *Francis* — F	*Iohn de Haſtingford*	Franciſcan Fryers —		
Norwich —	S. *Dominick* — F	—	Dominican Fryers —		
Norwich —	Saint *Auguſt* — F	One of the Biſhops of *Norwich*	Auguſtine Fryers —		
Norwich —	Saint *Giles* — H	*Walter de Suffield*, aliis *Calthorpe*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, *temp. H.* 3.	A Maſter, 2 Prieſts, 12 poore women	90 12 00 00 0	Leland

Aldby

	Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Leland.	Aldby a Cell to the Monastery of Norwich.	— —	*Agnes de Beause.*	—	—
	Attilburgh	S. *Cyriac.* — C	Sir *Robert Mortimer* Knight	—	21 16 0 b o
		— — P	The Lady *Cressy*	—	50 6 4 b q
Leland.	Beeston				
	Binham a Cell to S. *Albans*	— — P	*Robert de Valois*	—	160 1 0 0 0
Leland.	Blackburgh	— — N	*Roger Salies*, and *Muriall* his wife	Nunnes —	76 3 9 b o
	Blackeney.	Saint *Mary* — F	{ *Robert*, Lord *Rosse* / Sir *Rob. Bacon* Knight / Sir *John Bret* Knight } 1321.15. *E.2*	Carmelite Fryers —	
Leland.	Bukenham	Saint *James* — P	*William de Albeny*	Blacke Canons —	131 11 0 0 0
Leland.	Norwich	S. *Paul* — H	*Everard* second B. Norwich, *temp. H.1*	—	
	Bromhall in Windfor Forreſt	— — P	*Edward* the Blacke Prince.	—	—
	Bromholme	S. *Sepulcher* — P	*G. de Glanvile*	Cluniac Monkes —	144 19 0 b q
	Bromholme	S. *Andrew* — P	*William de Glanvile*	Benedictine Monkes	
	Brunham	Saint *Mary* — F	{ Sir *Ralph Hampnall* / Sir *William Calthrope* } 1241.26. *H.3.*	White Fryers —	2 5 4 0 0
	Budham			Blacke Canons —	84 12 1 b q
	Carew	Saint *Mary* — P			
		Saint *Mary* — N	King *Stephen*	Blacke Nunnes —	
	Carbroke	S. *Joh.* Ieruſalem P		{ Hoſpitaliers of Saint *John* of Ieruſalem }	65 2 9 b 0
	Caſtle-acre a Cell to Lewis Abbey	Saint *Mary* — M	*William*, Earle *Warren* Benefactors. *Hameline Plantaginet* / *Robert de lay Haye.* / *Robert Frevileer* / *Roger* the Sew / *Roger Coney* / *Rob. Harvy* / *Ralph Beanfoe* / *Fred. Crepeville*	Cluniack Monkes —	334 17 5 b q
	Crabehouſe	— — N		Nunnes Auguſtines	31 16 7 b o
	Flytham, a Cel to Walſingham.	— — N		Nunnes —	61 10 6 b o
Leland.	Hempton, *alias* Falkindinham	Saint *Mary* / Saint *Stephen*	{ *Roger de S. Martin*, aliis / *Richard Ward*, Canon there }	Blacke Canons Aug.	39 0 9 0 0
	Heringby	— — C		—	23 6 5 0 0
	Hilden lands	— — H		—	0 14 0 0 0
Leland.	Horſham	Saint *Faith* — P	{ *Walter Fitzroger* Knight, *aliis Robert Fitzwalter* } / *Canutus* the Dane, King of *England*, *circa* 1026. after King *Edw* the Confeſ.	Monks Benedictines / Benedictine Monkes	193 2 3 b o / 677 9 8 0 q
	Hulme	S. *Benedict* — M	*Theobald de Valentia*	Blacke Canons —	137 6 1 b q
	Falkenham	— — P			
	Hikling	— — P			
Le'and. Leland.	Rocksesford	— — M	{ *Will. Cheney* K. / *John Cheney* / *Harvey Bilet* } Benef. { *Anne Cheney* / *Micha. Bilet* / *Anne Verdun.* } Benef. / *Fundator auxeceſſor uxoria Tranſiti Pigot Militis, & ejuſdem uxoris Sororum* / Vide Hertf. and Leceſter.	Blacke Canons —	153 7 1 0 0
Leland.	Langley	— — M		Nunnes —	128 19 0 b o
	Saint *Mary* in the fields, *juxta* Norwich	Saint *Mary* — C	*John Browne* Prieſt.	{ A Deane / Prebends }	—
	Marmound	— — N		White Nunnes Gilb.	13 6 1 b o
Leland.	Markham Barbara	S. *Barbara* — N	{ *Hugh*, Earle of Arundel, and the Counteſſe of Warren his wife. }	Ciſtercian Nunnes —	42 4 7 b q
Leland.	Penteney and Wormegay.	S. *Mary Mag.* M	{ *Robert de Vaux*, / Aliis *Robert*, Lord of *Belvoir.* / And *Reginold de Warren* }	Blacke Canons —	215 18 8 0 0
	Ruſhworth	{ S. *John* the Evangeliſt } C	*Edm. Gunvile*, Parſõ of Ruſhworth, *temp. E.3.* / Sir *Robert Wingfield* Knight & *Anne* his wife, heire generall to *Edmund Gunvile*. Benefactors.	— —	85 15 0 b q
	Linne	S. *Mary.* — F	{ — — Lord *Barkolfe* / — — Lord *Scales* / S. *Joh. de Wigenhall* Kn. } 1269.54. *H.3.*	Carmelite Fryers —	1 15 8 0 0
	Linne	S. *Dominick* — F	*Thomas Cadney*	Blacke Fryers —	
	Linne	Saint *Francis* F	*Thomas de Felleſham*	Franciſcan Fryers	
Leland.	Linne, a Cell to the Abbey of Norwich	— — P	*Herbert*, Biſhop of Norwich, *temp. H. 1.*	— —	—
	Linne	Saint *John* — H		— —	7 6 11 0 2
	Maſſingham a Cell to Weſtacre	— — P			
	Ravenyngham	S. *Mary* — C	Sir *John de Norwich* Knight, *tempt. E.3.*	{ A Maſter / 8 Prieſts }	
	S. *Olave.*	S. *Olave* — P	{ *Roger Fitzrobert* / — — *Gervegan* benefactor }	—	
Leland.	Shouldham	Saint *Mary* / Saint *Croſſes* } P	*Geffrey Fitzpiers*, E. of Eſſex, *temp.* K. *John*	{ White Can. / wite Nuns. } Ciſ. ber.	171 6 0 0 0
	Thetford	S. *Trinity* — F	{ *Ariſtiſt.* Biſhop of *Elmeham*, made it an Epiſcopall See, *temp. Edw. Conf.* / *Henry* Duke of Lancaſter, made it a Friery, *temp. Edw. 3.* }	Fryers Preachers. —	

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Thetford	S. *Auguſtine* — F	*John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lanc. temp. Rich.2.*	Auguſtine Fryers —	—
Thetford	S. *Sepulcher* — F	— — — — Earle *Warren*	Blacke Fryers —	—
Thetford	{ S. *Mary* / S. *John* } P	{ *John* Earle *Warren* / *Aliis Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke* }	Blacke Canons —	40 18 1 00 0 Leland.
Thetford	S. *Gregory* — N	An Abbot of *Bury*	Blacke Nuns Bened.	10 9 8 00 0 Leland.
Thetford	S. *Andrew* — M	{ *Hugh Bigot*, Steward to King *H.1.* / and *Adeline* his wife }	{ Blacke Monks / Cluniacenſes / A Maſter / — — Fellowes }	418 6 3 ob 0 / 109 0 7 00 0
Thetford	Saint *Mary Mag.* C		—	—
Thetford	{ S. *Mary Mag.* / S. *John Baptiſt* }	*John Warren* Earle of *Surrey*	—	—
Tomeſton	— — C	{ *Thomas de Shardelow*, and *John* his brother, 1348. 23. *Edw.* 3. }	{ A Maſter / 2 Fellowes / 6 Chaplaines }	52 15 7 00 0 Leland. / 28 7 2 00 0 Leland.
Walburne	— — P	*Ralph Mungwarin*	—	—
Walſingham	Saint *Mary* — M	Sir *Ralph Fanercheſſe* Knight Benefactors / *Gilbert de Clare*, Earle of *Gloceſter* / *Edmund* Earle of *March* / *Elizabeth de Burgo*, Counteſſe *Ulſter* / — Lord *Morley* Marſhall of *Ireland*	Canons Regular —	446 14 4 ob 0 Leland.
Wendling	— — M	*William de Wendling* Prieſt	White Can. Premõſt.	55 18 4 ob q
Weſtacre	{ S. *Mary* / *All Saints* } P	{ *Ralph Toney* Knight, Benefactors / *Roger de Toney* / *Ralph de Toney* } ſonnes of *Ralph* / *Oſmund de Steuvile* / *William* ſonne of *Stangrine* / *Thomas de Ingleſharpe* / *Robert de Scales* / *Turkill* the Merchant / *Ieldewine* ſonne of *Eudo de Nirford* / *Godfrey de Quatremerth* / *John Grey of Norburgh* Knight / *Geffrey* ſonne of *Walter of Marham* / *William* ſonne of *Simon de Rondham.*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	308 19 11 ob q Leland.
Weſt-dereham	— — M	*Hubert Walter*, A. B. *Cant. temp.* K. *John*	White Canons —	252 12 11 ob 0 Godwin.
Wimondham	S. *Mary* — M	{ *William Debigny* Earle of *Arundell*, / Butler to King *Henry* the firſt }	{ Blacke Monks of Saint *Albans* / Blacke Canons de Martiall }	72 5 4 00 0
Witham	*Winewald* — P		—	—
Weybridge or Wexbridge	S. *Margaret* — P	{ *Robert Oliver* / *Thomas Munday* / *John Palmar* / *John Barford* }	—	7 13 4 00 0
Wrongey a cell to Penteney	— — Cell		—	—
Yarmouth	— — Cell	{ *William Herbert* of *Loxing* firſt B. *Norwich. temp. Hen.1.* }	—	— — — — — — Leland.
Yarmouth	Saint *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the firſt, 1278. 7 *Ed.1.*	Carmelite Fryers —	—
Yarmouth	Saint *Dominicke* F	{ *Thomas Eaſtolfe* / *Geffrey Pilgrim* }	Dominican Fryers —	—
Yarmouth *Iuxta* Yarmouth in Caſtret-leg	S. *Francis* — F	Sir *William Gerbridge* Knight,	Franciſcan Fryers —	—
	S. *John Baptiſt* C	{ *Robert de Ceſtre* / *John Faſtolfe* Eſquier, Father to Sir *John Faſtolfe* }	—	—
Yngham	{ Saint *Mary* / S. *Trinity* } P	Sir *William Staſferton* Knight	{ S. *Trinity* and redeemed captives, *Aliis* Blacke Monkes of Saint *Albans* }	74 2 7 ob 0 Leland.
— —	— — F	—	Fryers Preachers —	18 0 00 0
— —	— — F	—	Auguſtine Fryers —	1 4 6 00 0

Summe totall, £6128. 7. 3. 00. q

NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Northampton	Saint *James* — M		Blacke Canons —	213 17 2 ob 0
Northampton	{ Saint *Mary* / S. *Andrew* } P	{ *Simon de Sancto Licio*, firſt Earle of / *Northampton, temp. H. 1.* }	Blacke Monks —	334 13 7 00 0
Northampton	{ S. *Mary, de pratis*, or *de lapray* } N	{ *Simon de Saint Lis*, ſecond Earle of / *Northampton, temp.* King *Step.* }	Nunnes —	119 9 7 00 q
Northampton	Saint *Francis* F		Franciſcan Fryers —	6 17 4 00 0
Northampton	Saint *Mary* — F	{ *Simon Mountfort* / *Thomas Chiswod.* } Knights. 1271. 56 *Henry* the 3.	Carmelite Fryers —	10 10 0 00 0
Northampton	Saint *Dominicke* F		Blacke Fryers —	5 7 10 00 0
Northampton	Saint *Mary* — N		Blacke Nunnes —	
Northampton	S. *Auguſtine* — F	*John de Longavile*, 1322. 16 *Ed.2.*	Auguſtine Fryers —	
Aſhby	Saint *Mary* — P		Canons —	
Catesby	{ Saint *Mary* / S. *Thomas* } N		{ Gilbertines / Ciſtercian Nuns }	127 19 0 00 0 / 145 0 6 00 0
Chacombe	{ Saint *Peter* / Saint *Paul* } P	{ *Hugh de Anaf* Knight / *Aliis* Sir *Hugh de Awrefey* / and *William Knowles* } *temp. Wil. Conq.* / *Aliis* 1185. 32 *Hen.2.*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	93 6 3 ob 0
Cotherſtoke	— — C	*John Gifford* Clerke, 1347. 22 *Edw.3.*	—	—
Daventrey	Saint *Auguſtine* P	*Hugh de Faleſley* Knight	{ Blacke Monks / Cluniacenſes }	236 7 6 00 0 Cambd.

	Places.	Dedication	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Finiſhed the Church of S. Maries of the Caſtle of Hyniell.	Saint Mary the Virgin M	Richard Engaigne		62 16 0 00 0
Leland.	Foderinghay	Saint Mary, All Saints C	Edmund of Laughley D. Yorke, te. E.3. King Henry 4. and Queene Ioane his wife, 13. Hē.4. King Henry the 5. Edw. D. Yorke, 1415. 2. H.5. Benef.	A Maſter, 12 Chaplaines, 8 Clarkes, 13 Choriſters, Blacke Nunnes	419 11 10 ob 0
	Gare	S. Mary Magd. N			
	Higham ferries	— C	Henry Chicheley, Arch-B. of Canterbu. 13 temp. Hen. 6.		156 2 7 ob 0
	Brackley	— C	The Lord Zouches		
	Irtelingborgh	— C	John de la Poole	A Deane 6. Clarkes.	64 12 10 ob 0
	Incert. Kingſthorpe	Saint David H			24 6 0 00 0
Leland.	Peterborough	Saint Peter M	Panda Wolfer Ethelred ſucceſſively Kings of Mercia, and brothers, began 540. finiſhed 633. Benefactors. Ernulfus Biſhop of Rocheſter King Edgar Adulfus Chancellor to King Edgar Ethelwold Biſhop of Wincheſter King Henry the 8. made it an Epiſcopall See, inſtituted a Biſhop, a Deane, and fixe Prebends	Benedictine Monkes	1972 7 0 ob q
	Pipewell	S. Mary. M	William Botevilley Robert Botevilley Randulph E. of Cheſter benef. tem. H.2.	Ciſtercian Monkes	347 8 0 ob 0
	Rothewell	S. John Baptiſt. N		Nunnes	10 10 4 00 0
	Saint David	S. Trinity, Saint Mary		Blacke Canons	
	Sewesby or Sewardeſley	S. Mary P, Magdalen N		Blacke Nunnes	18 11 2 00 0
	Stanford	— N		Nunnes	
Leland.	Sulby	S. Mary M	S. William de Wodevile Kn. tem. K. Step. Sir Robert Ramſo Knight, benefactor. William Sponne D. of Divinity, and Parſon of Towceſter, temp. H.5.	White Can. (Lel) Alii Blacke Mon.	305 8 5 ob 0
	Towceſter	— C	Werburge daughter of Wolfer K. of Mercia		19 6 8 00 0
Cambd.	Wedon	— N			
	Withorpe	— M		Blacke Monkes	
		Saint Leonard H			10 0 0 00 0
		Saint John H			25 6 2 ob q
		All-Saints C			1 19 4 00 0
		Saint Michael P		Blacke Monkes	

The totall ſumme, &c. 4731. 15. 6. 00. q

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Nottingham	Saint Mary F	Reginald L. Grey of Wilton, Sir John Sherley Knight, 1276. 5. E.1.	White Fryers	
	Nottingham	Saint Francis F	King Henry the third	Franciſcan Friers	
	Nottingham	— H	John Plantree		
Leland.	Beauvale	— P	John de Cantelupe, Nicholas de Cantelupe, Edward Baliall K. of Scots, Sir William de Albroke Kn. Confirmed by E. 3. 1344. 19. E. 3. benefactors	Carthuſian Monk. Alii Ciſtercians	227 8 0 00 0
	Bawtree	— H			6 6 8 00 0
	Bingham	Saint Mary C	Edward Baliall K. of Scots, Sir William de Albroke Kn. benefactors		40 11 0 00 0
	Blithe	Saint Mary P	Roger Buſly, Foulke de Liſieurs	Blacke Monks	126 8 2 ob q
	Blithe	— H			8 14 0 00 0
	Brodham	— P	Agnes, wife of Peter de Golfa	Nunnes	16 5 2 00 0
	Clifton	— C			20 2 6 00 0
	Felley	Saint Mary M	The Anceſtors of Sir John Chough, John Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury	Blacke Monks	61 4 8 00 0
	Lenton	Saint Trinity P	William Peverell Earle of Nottingham baſe ſonne of King William the Conq. Adeline his wife	Cluniac Monkes	417 19 3 00 0
	In Mariſco apud Capell. Sanct. Thome Ebor	— Cell			63 6 8 00 0
	Matterſey		The Anceſtors of Edward Tirland		61 17 7 00 0
	New Steed, or Novo loco in Shirwood	Saint Mary P	King Henry the ſecond	White Canons, Premonſtratenſ.	219 18 8 ob 0
	Rufford	— M	- - - - Lord Beaumont	Ciſtercian Monkes	254 6 8 00 0
	Shelford	— P	Ralph Hanſelin and H. Norris Anteceſſor		151 14 1 00 0
Leland.	Southwell	— C	Paulinus, firſt A. B. Yorke, circa 635. Thomas A. B. Yorke, tem. H.1. Tho. Rotheram A. B. T.se. H.7. benef.		39 5 6 ob 0

Thurgarton

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Order. £ s d ob q
Thurgarton	Saint Peter P	St. Ralfe D'eincourt, & confirmed per Regē	Blacke Canons	359 15 10 0 0
Wallingwells	— N	— L. Fitz-Hugh, Anceſt. to the L. Dacres	Nunnes	87 11 6 0 0
Welbeck	Saint James P	Thomas de Cokeney	White Canons, Promonſtratenſ.	298 4 8 0 0
Workeſope	Saint Mary of Radford M	William Lord Louetoſt, and the Anceſtors of the Earle of Shrewsbury	Blacke Canons	302 6 10 0 0

The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſion amounteth to 2763. 7. 7. ob. q

NORTHVMBERLAND.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
	Alba Iaunda or Blaunche land	— M	The Anceſtors of the E. of Weſtmorland King John confirmed it, 1214. 16. John. John de Torington, a benefactor.	Ciſtercian Monkes	44 9 1 ob 0
	Alnewicke	Saint Mary F	John Lord Veſey (Anteceſſor Comitis Northumbriæ) firſt bringer in of this Order, comming out of the holy Land. An. Dom. 1240. 25. Hen. 3.	Carmelite or White Fryers	194 7 0 00 0
	Barwicke	Saint Mary P	Sir John Grey Knight, 1290. 55. H. 3.	White Fryers	
	Brekenbourne	— P	William de Bertram the elder. Father to Roger de Bertram, temp. King John.		77 6 0 00 0
	Frameland, Feren-Eland or Flaveland	— Cell			12 17 8 00 0
	Hexham	— P	The Anceſtors of one of the A.B. of Yorke.		138 1 9 00 0
	Holiſcombe	— N		Nunnes	115 10 8 00 0
	Holy Iland	— Cell			60 5 0 00 0
	Lambley	— N	Lord Lucy.	Nunnes	
	Newcaſtle	S. Bartholmew N	King Henry the firſt	Nunnes	37 4 2 00 0
	Newcaſtle	S. Francis F		Gray Fryers	
	Newcaſtle	S. Mary F	King Edward the firſt	White Fryers	
	Newcaſtle	S. Mary Mag. H.	King Henry the firſt	Nunnes	9 11 4 00 0
	New-Monaſtery, alias New-Minſter	— M	Reynulfe de Morley		140 10 4 00 0
	Oningham a Cel to Hexham	Cell			13 4 8 00 0
	Tinmouth a Cell to Saint Albans in Hertfordſhire	— N	Robert de Mowbrey Earle of Northumberland, temp. William Conq. Alice Teſti Earle of Yorke, brother to King Harold	Nunnes	511 4 1 ob 0

The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſions of their Monaſteries, is 1254. 5. 10. 00 0

Leland.

Colledges	Founders	Students	A.D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
1 Vniversity Coll.	*Elfred* King of the *West-Saxons*, for the ſtudy of Divinity, Philoſophy, and the other Arts, laid the foundation of *Oxford* Vniverſity, and of that Colledge that beareth name, An. Do. 872. Which being deſtroyed by the *Danes* deſolations, was reſtored by *William* Biſhop of *Durham*, who inſtituted therein	A Maſter 3 Fellowes A Bible-Clarke.	1217	*Walter Skirlow*, Arch-Deacon of *Durham*	3 Fellowſhips	K. *H.* 4.	A Maſter 8 Fellowes A Bible-Clarke Servants, Commoners, and other Students, to the number of 69.
				Henry Percy E. of *Northumb.*	3 Fellowſhips		
				R. Dudley Earle of *Leiceſter*	2 Exhibitions each 20. pounds per annum		
				Iohn Frinſtone	2 Exhibitions 20. pounds in all per annum		
				Gunſley	2 Exhibitions		
				Miſtris Payne	1 Exhibition 8. pounds		
2 Baliol Coll.	*Iohn Baliol*, and *Dervorgilla* his wife, parents to *Iohn Baliol* King of *Scots* built this Colledge, bearing their name, and inſtituted	A Maſter. 10 Fellowes 11 Schollers	1263	*Philip Somervill* *Marg.* his Wife. *Ella de Longſpee* Counteſſe of *Salisbury*			A Maſter 12 Fellowes. 13 Schollers. 4 Exhibitioners. Servants, Commoners &c. 136
				Richard de Humſingore			
				L. Will. Felton			
				Hugh de Vienna Knight			
				Iohn Bell, Biſhop of *Worceſter*	2 Exhibitions of three pounds per annum	Q. *Ma.*	
				Will. Hammond of *Gilford*, Eſquire.	1500. pounds	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Peter Blundell of *Tiverton*	1 Fellowſhip — 1 Schollerſhip	K. *Iam.*	
				L. *Eliz. Periam* of the County *Buck.*	1 Fellowſhip — 2 Schollerſhips.	K. *Iam.*	
				Thomas Triſdale of *Glympton*, *Com. Oxon.* Eſquire gave	5000. l. for the eſtabliſhing of 7 Fellowſhips 6 Schollers.	K. *Iam.*	
				Mary Dunch	1 Exhibition 10. l	K. *Iam.*	
				Iohn Browne	1 Exhibition 2. l. 12. s.	K. *Iam.*	
3 Merton Colle.	*Walter de Merton* firſt Lord Chancellor of *England* to King *Henry* the third and *Edward* the firſt, and afterwards Biſh. of *Rocheſter*, founded this Coll. at *Malden* in *Surrey*, Anno 1264. afterwards he tranſlated it into *Oxford*, and therein ordained	A Warden Fellowes no certaine number.	1274	*Iohn Williot*, D. of Divinity, Fellow of *Merton* Coll. Chancellor of *Ex.* founded	12 Schollerſhips called Poſtmaſters.	K. *Ed.* 3.	A Warden 21 Fellowes 13 Schollers Servants, &c. 79.
				Iohn Chambers Fellow of *Merton* Colledge and *Eton*, founded	2 Peſtmaſters places.	K. *Iam.*	
				Thomas Iſope Fel. of *Merton* Coll. Doct. of Phyſick. gave	20 pounds per annum to mend their dyet.	K. *Iam.*	
4 Exceſter Coll.	*Walter Stapledon* Biſhop of *Exceſter*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, founded *Exceſter* Colledge by the name of *Stapledon* Hall, in which hee inſtituted	A Rector 13 Fellowes whereof the Rector is alwayes one, the Chaplaine another, A Bible-Clarke.	1316	*Edmund Stafford* Biſhop of *Exceſter* added	2 Fellowſhips	K. *H.* 4.	A Rector 23 Fellowes A Bible-Clarke 2 Penſioners Servants, Commoners &c. other Students to the number of 200
				Sir *William Peter* added	8 Fellowſhips	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Maſter *John Perriam*, Alderman of the City of *Exceſter* gave	560. pounds which was imployed in a pyle of building	K. *Iam.*	
				Sir *John Ackland*, a *Devonſhire* Kn. gave	800. pounds with which was built a new Hall 16. yeerely pound for ever to maintaine two Penſioners	K. *Iam.*	

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
5 Oriall Coll.	King *Edward* the ſecond (as ſaith the Record) founded this Colledge, and inſtituted	A Provoſt 10 Fellowes	1327	*Iohn Franke* gave	4 Fellowſhips		A Provoſt 18 Fellow. A Bible-Clarke 12 Exhibitioners, Servants Commoners, &c. 105
				Iohn Carpenter B. of *Worceſter*, gave	1 Fellowſhip		
				William Smith Biſhop of *Lincolne*, gave	1 Fellowſhip		
				Richard Dudley Doctor of Divinity, and Canon of *Saliſbury*, gave	Ladſor the maintenance of 2 Fellowes, and 2 Exhibitioners built them lodgings.		
				Anthony Blincow, Doctor of Law and late Provoſt gave by teſtament	The remainder of his eſtate 1200 pounds to build new the forepart of the Colledge.	K. *Iam.*	
				Edward the third gave unto the ſaid Colledge	The Hoſpitall of St. *Bartholomews* neere *Oxford* with land for the maintenance of eight poore men, to be governed by the Provoſt and Fellowes	K. *Ed.* 3.	
				King *Iames* granted to the ſaid Colledge	A new Corporation	K. *Iam.*	
6 Queens Coll.	*Robert Egleſfield*, Chaplaine to Queen *Philippa*, *Edward* the third his wife, upon his owne ground founded this Colled. giving it the name of Queenes Hall. Commending the patronage thereof to his Lady the Queene and to the Queenes of *England* ſucceſſively.	A Provoſt 12 Fellowes with liberty to augment their number as their revenews increaſed. Schollers	1340	King *Edward* 3. at the motion of his Queene *Philippa*, gave	The Hoſpitall of S. *Iulian* in the Towne of *Southampton*, commonly called Gods houſe	K. *Ed.* 3.	A Provoſt 14 Fellowes 7 Schollers 2 Chaplaines 2 Clarkes Servants Commoners and others. 160
					The adowſen of the Rectory of *Bletchenden*, neere *Oxford*		
				K. *Ed.* 4. gave to this Colledge.	The Priory of *Sherburne* in *Hampſhire*, by adjoyning it to Gods houſe	K. *Ed.* 4.	
	His project was to inſtitute a Provoſt and 12 Fellowes, with reference to Chriſtand his twelve Apoſtles, and to erect 70 Schollers places (with reference to the 70 Diſciples) to bee as it were the ſeed-plot for the fellowes, whom hee would have called to meae by the ſound of a trumpet, and to ſit on the one ſide of the Table in Scarlet, & oppoſe the Schollers every meale time. But being cut off from his intent by death, he left ſetled onely			*Robert Langton* Clarke	Built the lower part of the chappel very fairely where he lyeth interred		
				Thomas Langton, ſometime Provoſt B. of *Wincheſter*, and deſigned to be Arch Biſhop.	A good benefact.		
				Chriſtopher Bainbrigge, ſometime Provoſt, afterward Arch-Biſhop of *Torke*	A good benefact.		
				Edmund Grindall Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* gave maintenance for	1 Fellowſhip 2 Schollers to bee choſen from Saint *Bees* in *Cumberland*		
				William Feliplace Eſquier	A good benefact.		
				Queene *Elizabeth*	A new Corporat.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				H. Robinſon ſometime Provoſt			
				Henry Agray Provoſt.	Land and plate	K. *Iam.*	
7 New Coll.	*William Wickham* Biſhop of *Winchester*, founded this Colledge, dedicating it unto S. *Mary* the Virgin, and therein ordained	A Warden 70 Fellowes 10 Chaplaines 1 Organiſt. 16 Chorifters 3 Clarkes 1 Sexton	1379				A Warden 70 Fellowes Schollers 10 Chaplaines 1 Organiſt 16 Chorifters. 3 Clarkes 1 Sexton Servants, &c. 135

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
8 Lincolne Coll.	*Richard Fleming*, Bishop of *Lincolne*, laid the foundation of *Lincolne* Colledge, appointing in the same —	A Rector 7 Fellowes 2 Chaplaines.	1420	*John Forrest* Deane of *Well.*	gave five pounds per annum, built the Chappell Liberary Hall Kitchin	K. *He.* 6.	A Rector 14 Fellowes 2 Chaplaines. 4 Schollers Servants, Commoners &c. 72
				Thomas Beliston B. *Bath* and *Wells.*	200. l. to build the Rectors lodging.	K. *Ed.* 4.	
				John Somtham, Arch-Deacon *Oxon* gave —	Money & Bookes	K. *He.* 6.	
				William Vinderne Esquier, gave —	A good farme a summe of money	K. *He.* 6.	
				Henry Beauford Card. B. of *Winchester*, gave —	100. Markes	K. *He.* 5.	
				John Bucktot, gave	The manner of litter Policott in Buckinghamshire		
				John Crosby treasurer of *Lincolne* gave —	100. Markes		
	Thomas Rotheram, Bishop of *Lincolne*, a second founder finished this Colledge appropriated thereto the Personage of *Twidford* and *Long-Combe*, added —	5 Fellowes	1479	*Walter Barr* gave A house —			
				Edward Darby — 3 Fellowships —		K. *He.* 8.	
				William Dagvill Mayor of *Oxon*, gave —	6. l. 13. s. 4. d. per annum —	K. *He.* 8.	
				William Bish. *Lincolne* gave —	the manors of Elsts Chalgrave	Q. *Eli.*	
				Edmund Audley	400. pounds —		
				Ioan Trapps —	4 Schollerships	Q. *Eli.*	
				Richard Killey late Rector, gave —	200. pounds in bookes, &c. —	K. *Iam.*	
9 All-Soules Coll.	*Henry Chichley* Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, founded this Colledge, unto the honour and name of the Soules of the faithfull deceased. Indowing the same with divers Mannors and Rectories instituted —	A Warden 40 Fellowes Chaplaines Clarkes Choristers without number	1437	*Reignald Poole* Cardinall Sir *William Peter* Fellow and privy Councellour to 4. Princes, *H. 8. E. 6. M. E.*			A Warden 40 Fellowes 2 Chaplaines 3 Clarkes 6 Choristers Servants o-thers, 65
10 Magdalen Coll.	*William Waynflet*, Bishop of *Winchester*, founded this stately Colledge, and dedicated it unto Saint *Mary Magdalen*. Therein instituted.	A President 40 Fellowes. 30 Demi-fel. 4 Chaplaines 7 Clarkes. 16 Choristers.	1459				A President 40 Fellowes 30 Demies 4 Chaplaines 8 Clarkes 16 Choristers 3 Readers 2 Grammer Schoolmasters Servants Commoners, &c. 131

Brasen-

Colledges	Founders	Students	A.D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raignes	Residents
11 Brasen Nose Coll.	*William Smith*, Bish. of *Lincolne*, first laid the foundation of *Brasennose* Colledg. *Richard Sutton* of *Chester*, finished the buildings: and both of them therein appointed —	A Principall. 12 Fellows.	1513	*William Clifton* —	1 Fellowship.	K. *He.* 8.	A Principall. 20 Fellowes. Schollers, Servants, Commoners, &c. to the number of 182
				William Porter. —	1 Fellowship	K. *He.* 8.	
				John Elton, alias *Baker.*	1 Fellowship	K. *He.* 8.	
				Humphrey Ogle —	2 Schollerships.	K. *He.* 8.	
				Edward Darby —	1 Fellowship	K. *He.* 8.	
				John Williamson —	2 Fellowships	K. *He.* 8.	
				Brian Higden. —	1 Fellowship	K. *Ed.* 6.	
				John Claymond —	6 Schollerships	K. *He.* 8.	
				Alexander Nemet Deane of *Pauls.*	13 Schollerships.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Joyce Franklin widow, gave	1 Fellowship. 4 Schollerships. Additions to the former	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Richard Harper Iustice of the Common Pleas. —	A good benefact.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				John Port Knight gave maintenance for a —	Philosoph. Lect. Rhetor. Lecture &c.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				L. *Mordent* gave	3 Schollerships. 4 Almesmen.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Doctor *Barnestone* gave an —	Hebrew Lect.	K. *Iam.*	
				George Palin gave	4 Exhibitions	K. *Iam.*	
				Annexed to Brasen nose, are —	Kings Hall. Blacke Hall. White Hall.		
12 Corpus Christi Colled.	*Richard Foxe*, Lord privy Seale to King *Henry* the seventh B. of *Winchester*, and Godfather to King *Henry* the 8. founded this Colled, of *Corpus Christi*, giving Lands thereto to maintaine. —	A President. 29 Fellowes 20 Schollers 2 Chaplaines. 2 Clerkes. 2 Choristers.	1516	*Hugh Oldham* Bishop of *Exceter*, bestowed —	Many buildings.	K. *He.* 8.	A President. 20 Fellowes. 20 Schollers. 2 Chaplaines. 6 Clerkes. 2 Choristers. Servants, and Commoners, &c. 61
				Master *Claimond*, first President —		K. *He.* 8.	
				William Frost —	1 Fellowship —	K. *He.* 8.	
				Master *Moreden* —	— — — — —		
				Sir *Reinold* —	100 choice Book.		
				Sir *George Saint-Paul* —	100 pounds —	K. *Iam.*	
13. Christs Church.	*Thomas Wolsey* Cardinall, Archbishop of *Yorke*, with the suppression of forty Monasteries, upon the old foundation of Saint *Frideswicke*, began the magnificent and large fabricke of Christs-Church, finished only the Hall and Kitchin. King *Henry* the eight established this Church, ordaining it to be the Cathedrall of his new erected Episcopall See, and therein instituted —	A Deane. 8 Canons. 60 Students 8 Chaplaines 8 Choristers 8 Singing-men. 1 Organist. A Free-sch. for Schollers whose revenewes were afterward by a visitation in Q. *Maries* time, converted to the maintenance of 40. Students more, which made up the number of Students 100. The three publike professors to bee paid from the Churches revenew.	1546	Annexed to Chr.	*Canterbury* Coll. founded by *Simon Islip*, A. B. *Cant.*	K. *He.* 8.	A Deane. 8 Canons. 100 Students. 8 Chaplaines. 8 Choristers. 8 Singing-me. 1 Organist. 24 Almesmen. Servats, Commoners, &c. 224
					Beckwaters Inne, an Almes-house for 24. poor folks augmented their Library.	K. *Iam.*	
				Otho Nicholson			

Leland.

Trinity

Colledges	Founders	Students	A. D.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raigne	Residents
14 Trinity Colled.	Sir *Thomas Pope*, after the suppression of the former foundation, restored it; and dedicated the Colledge to the holy Trinity, and endowed it with maintenance for —	A President. 12 Fellowes 12 Schollers.	1556	The Lady *Paulet*, wife to S. *Thomas Pope*, the founder gave	A pension of 100 pound per annum	Q. *Ma.*	A President. 12 Fellowes. 12 Schollers Servants, Commoners, &c. 123
15 St Johns Coll.	*Henry Chichley* Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, among other his buildings laid the foundation of this fabricke, and called it *Bernards* Colledg.		1437				
	After its suppression by King *Henry* the 8. it was in a dreame (*ut traditum*) shewed unto S. *Thomas White* Knight, Merchant Taylor of *London*, and thereupon was by him new built to the honour of Saint *John Baptist*, and endowed with maintenance for —	A President 50 Fellowes Schollers 3 Chaplaines. 4 Clerkes. 6 Chorifters. 4 Singing-men.	1557	The Company of the Merchant-Taylors in generall, and divers of them in particular have beene from time to time very beneficiall, more especially S. *Williams Craven* Kni. Merchant Taylor and Alderman of *London*, gave —	Toward the building of the Liberary, and furnishing it with 100 Bookes. For the perpetuall patronage of Greeke, 300 l. Toward the purchase of *Bagley*, 100. l. Many Bookes to the Liberary, with promise of more A faire paire of Organs to the Chappell.	K. *Iam.*	A President 50 Fellowes Schollers. 1 Chaplaines. 1 Clarke. Servants Commoners, other Students. 183
				Sir *William Paddy* Knight, Doctor of Physicke, sometime Commoner of this Colledge, hath already given —	20 pound per annum for the maintenance of an Organist; and is at this present upon the purchase of land, to maintaine a full quier.		
				Sundry others have bestowed	Summes of mony to the building and repairing other parts of the Colledge.		
16 Jesus Coll.	Queene *Elizabeth*, founded this Colledge, and ordained therein.	A Principall. 8 Fellowes. 8 Schollers.	1562	*Hugh Price* D. of Lawes, gave —	600. pounds in buildings.	Q. *Eliz.*	
				Herbert Westphaling, Bish. of *Hereford* —	20. pounds per annum.		
				Henry Rowland, B. of *Bangor* —	20. pounds per annum.		
				Owen Wood —			
				Griffith Lloyd D. of the Lawes —	15. pounds per annum.	K. *Iam.*	A Principall 16 Fellowes 16 Schollers Servants, Commoners, other Students. 105
				Griffith Powell late Principall —	20. Markes per annum.		
				Sir *Eubule Thitwall* the present Principall —	A Chappell and much building 8 Fellowships. 8 Schollerships		
17 Wadham Coll.	*Nicholas Wadham* of *Summersetshire*, and *Dorothy* his wife, sister to *John* Lord *Peter*, founded this Colledge, and endowed it with maintenance, for —	A Warden 15 Fellowes 15 Schollers 2 Chaplaines 2 Clarkes	1613	*Phillip Bisse*, Doctor of Divinity, Arch Deacon of *Taunton*, gave to this Colledge Liberary.	His Study of bookes; which were of a very great value.	K. *Iam.*	A Warden 15 Fellowes 15 Schollers 2 Chaplaines 2 Clarkes Servants Commoners &c. 129

Bead-

Colledges	Founders	Students	An. Do.	Benefactors	Gifts	Kings Raigne	Residents
1 Broadgate Hall.	Broadgate Hall, was in the tenure of the Prior and Covent of St. *Frids'wick*, and had under it two or three Hals, viz. Nun-Hall, Myne-Hall, &c. The Monastery, to which it had reference, was restored by *Adelfrid*.		1004				A Principall. The full number of Students residents. 107
2 Glocester Hall.	*John* Lord *Gifford* of *Brimfield*, first built this Hall for the Monks of *Glocester* to study in: After it was augmented by the Monasteries of the Order of Saint *Benedict*, for their Benedictine Monks; and lastly converted to a house for Schollers, by Sir *Thomas White*, the founder of Saint *John Baptists* Colledge.						A Principall. The full number of Students residents, are 52.
3 Edmund Hall.	*Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, canonized and called St. built for Students a Hall, which to this day beares his name.						A Principall. The full number of Students residents, are 44.
4 Saint Albons Hall.	The Abbots of Saint *Albans*, to maintaine their Monkes to study, built this Hall.						A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are 55.
5 Hart-Hall.	*Walter Stapledon*, Bish. of *Exceter*, founded this Hall for Students.		1316				A Principall. The full number of Students resident, are 85.
6 Turlokes Inne, New-Inne.	New-Inne, in the tenure of New-Colledge, it was heretofore call'd Turlokes-Inne.						A Principall. The full number of Residents, are 10.
7 Saint Mary Hall.	K. *Edward* the second founded this Hall, and dedicated it unto Saint *Mary*.		1327				A Principall. The full number of Residents, are 85.
8 Magdelen Hal.	*William Wainflet*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and founder of *Magdalen* Colledge was also founder of this Hall, bearing the same name.		1459				A Principall. The full number of Residents, are 298

The Totall number of Students of all degrees in this Vniversity, having names in every particular Colledge, with the Magistrates and daily Officers thereunto belonging, are 2850. besides divers young Schollers that are relieved therein, which have no names in any Colledge, as aforesaid.

THE

THE DIVINITY SCHOOLE AND LIBERARIE.

THE Divinity Schoole and Liberrary, a most Magnificent and Stately building, was founded in the raigne of King *Edward* the fourth, as appeareth by his Armes and Supporters, *viz.* a Greyhound and a Bull, graven in ſtone on the top of the vaults, in every partition in the nether Roome, now ſerving for the Divinity Schoole. The worke was done at the coſt and charges of divers perſons Spirituall and Temporall: And as it ſhould ſeeme by the Armes of moſt of them, both cut in Stone in the roofe of the Vault, as alſo in the Windowes, there was an intention and generall contribution for this worke, long before it was begun, for that many of thoſe Benefactors whoſe Armes are there ſet up, were dead long before the Fabricke was taken in hand. It was well furniſhed with Bookes, *Richard Angervil* dyed long before this Liberary was built, and therefore is not to be named as a Benefactor. *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who gave 129 choice Bookes, all of them Manuſcripts, which hee procured out of *Italy*. It continued in good eſtate untill the wavering and uncertaine time of King *Edward* the ſixt, when ſome ill diſpoſed, out of their private avarice envying the Common good, deſtroyed the Liberary, converting thoſe Bookes to their owne private uſe. But lately, in the raigne of our Soveraigne King *Iames*, this wrong and ſacriledge hath beene ſupplyed by that worthy *Mæcenas* and *Ptolomey* of our times, Sir *Thomas Bodley* Knight, who hath beſtowed many thouſand pounds, not onely in getting the choyſeſt Authors and Bookes in all Chriſtendome, and from the remoteſt parts in the World; but alſo in making *Anno* 1611. a new Croſſe-building anſwerable to the magnificy of the former worke, finiſhed *Anno* 1613. and a faire new Gallery over the building of the Schooles. So that now it is one of the chiefeſt Liberaries in the World, for uſe, ſtore of Bookes, and magnificence.

BENEFACTORS.

King *Henry* the ſixth.
King *Edward* the fourth.
Henry Chichley, A.B. *Canterbury.*
Thomas Bourcher, A.B. *Canterbury.*
George Nevill, A.B. *Yorke.*
William Grey, B. of *London.*
William Wicham, B. *Winchester.*
Henry Beaufort, B. *Winchester.*
William Wainflet, B. *Winchester.*
John Bokingham, B. *Lincolne.*
Marmaduke Lumbley, B. *Lincolne.*
Richard Beauchamp, B. *Salisbury.*
Walter Hart, B. *Norwich.*
John Low, B. *Rocheſter.*
The Abbot of Saint *Edmunds-bury.*
The Abbot of Saint *Albans.*
The Abbot of *Gloceſter.*
Edward, Prince of *Wales.*
John, Duke of *Norfolke.*
John, Duke of *Sommerſet.*
William de la Pole, D. *Sommerſet.*
Richard Beauchamp, E. *Warwicke.*
Richard Woodvill, E. *Rivers.*
Henry the ſeventh, and *Elizabeth* his wife.
Humphrey, Duke of *Gloceſter.*
Lady Margaret Counteſſe of *Richmond.*
John Kemp, A.B. *Canterbury.*
Thomas Kemp, B. *London.*
Richard Leitchfield, A. Deacon. *Mid.*
Cardinall Wolſey, A.B. *Yorke.*
King *Henry* the eighth.
King *Edward* the ſixth.
Queene *Mary.*
Queene *Elizabeth.*
King *Iames.*
Sir *Thomas Bodley.*
Sir *Hugh Savill.*
Sir *William Sidly.*
Doctor *White.*
Maſter *Camden.*
Lord *Pagit.*
Lord *Dauers.*

Common Schooles.

Queene *Mary* was the firſt Foundreſſe of the Common Schooles, which being pulled downe, 1613. are now in a more magnificent manner new built, partly at the charge of the Vniverſity it ſelfe, and partly by the Contributions of other well diſpoſed Benefactors. Ordered by the care of Sir *John Bennet*, finiſhed about 1616.

OXFORD-

OXFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Oxford	Epiſcopall See	King *Henry* the eight.	A Deane, 8 Prebends, 100 Schollers		
Oxford	Saint *Frideſwick* P	*Frideſwid*, daughter of *Algar*, by the helpe of *Didan*, Earle of *Oxon.* King *Ethelred* repaired it. *Roger* Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, brought in Canons, 11. *H.*1. and a ſpecial Be.	Nunnes, after Blacke Canons	124 4 8 00 0	Leland.
Oxford	Saint *Croſſe* F	*Richard Carey*			
Oxford	S. *Francis* F	King *Henry* the firſt	Crouched Fryers		
Oxford	S. *Auguſtine* F	King *Henry* the third	Gray Fryers		
Oxford	Saint *Mary* F	King *Edward* the ſecond. 1308. 2 *Ed.*2.	Auguſtine Fryers		
Oxford	Saint *Dominicke* F		Carmelite Fryers		
Iuxta Oxford	Saint *Mary* M	*Robert*, ſonne of *Nigell D'oily*, a Norman, 1129. 30. *H.*1.	Blacke Fryers		
Oſney	Saint *John* H	King *Henry* the third, 1233. 18. *He.*3.	Blacke Canons	755 18 6 ob 0	
Oxford		*Edmund*, Earle of *Cornwall*, *temp. E.*1.			Leland.
Iuxta Oxford	M		Ciſtertian Monkes, Bened. *Lel.*	174 3 0 00 0	Leland.
Rewley				48 6 0 00 0	
Banbury	Saint *Mary* C			15 1 10 ob 0	
Banbury	Saint *John* H		Blacke Canons		
Brockley	Saint *Mary* P		White Monks Bern.	124 10 10 00 0	Leland.
Bruerne	Saint *Mary* M	*Nicholas Baſſet.*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	167 2 10 00 0	
Burceſter	S. *Eadburg*	*Gilbert Baſſet* and *Egeline Courtney* his wife, *temp.* K.*H.*2. *L. Strange* a benef.		13 6 6 00 0	
Burford	P			7 14 0 00 0	
Chipping Norton				34 19 2 00 0	
Clattercold	S. *Leonard* M		Blacke Monks		
Cogges	P				
Dorcheſter	M	*Birinus* the Apoſtle of the *Weſt-Saxons* An. 635. After *Nicholas Huntercumbe*, heire of *William Huntercumbe.*	Blacke Can. Aug.	219 12 0 00 0	
Ewelme	H	*William de la Pole*, D. of *Suffolke*, *tem.* H.6.			
Eynſham	Saint *Mary* M	*Ethelmer*, Earle of *Cornwall*, King *Ethelred* confirmed it, 1005 *Robert Blunt* B. *Lincolne*, benefactor	Benedictine Monkes	20 0 0 00 0	
Godſtow	Saint *Mary* N	*Ide*, a rich widow King *John* repaired it.	Blacke Nunnes	421 16 1 00 0	
Goring	Saint *Mary* N		Blacke Nunnes	319 18 8 00 0	
Lidmore, *alias* Littlemore	N	The Kings Anceſtors	Blacke Nunnes	60 5 5 00 0	
Norton	P	The Kings Anceſtors *Reginald*, Earle of *Bologne*, gave 108 ½ acres to it *Richard Sergeaux*, a benefactor	Blacke Canons	33 6 8 00 0	
Sawcombe	Saint *Mary* P		Blacke Canons		
Stodeley	Saint *Mary* N	*Peter Corbuchun*	Nunnes	102 6 7 ob 0	
Tame	Saint *Mary* M	*William de Cantelupe*	White Monkes	256 13 7 ob 0	
Wroxton	Saint *Mary* P	*Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, *temp.* H.1. *Michael Byler* for *Hervey Byler* his father, confirmed by King *John*	Blacke Can. Aug.	78 14 3 00 0	
			Summe totall, &c.	3078. 1. 6. 00. 0	

RICHMVND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
Richmund	Saint *Agatha* M	*Realdus*, Conſtable of *Richmund*, and *Gracias* his wife. *Fundator Anteceſſor* *Dom. Scroope*, 1152. 18 *Stephen*		188 16 2 00 0	
Richmund	Saint *Nicholas* H			10 0 0 00 0	
Coverham, *alias* Somerham	M	Firſt founded at *Swainſey* by *Helmiſa*, Daughter of *Ralph Glanvill*, wife to *Ralph* Lord of *Middleham*, but removed after to *Coverham*, by *Randulph* Lord *Middleham*, 1182. 29. *H.*2.	White Canons, Premonſtratenſes	207 14 8 00 0	Leland.
Cander	M				
Ellerton	Saint *Mary* M	*William Fitz-piers.*	Nunnes	64 3 9 00 0	
Furneſſe	Saint *Mary* M	Firſt *Stephen* Earle of *Bolleyne*, A.D. 1127. After *Will. de Mowbray* gave Lands to it, which Lands he had of *Richard Morvill*, and *Amy* his wife. King *Henry* the firſt confirmed it.	White Monkes	15 14 8 00 0	
Fountaines	Saint *Mary* M	*Thurſtan*, A.B. *Yorke*, 1132. 33. *H.*1.	White Monkes, Bernardines	966 7 10 00 0	
Gilling	N	*Io. de Cancio*, Abbot there, a great ben.		1173 0 7 ob 0	Leland.
Ierualt	Saint *Mary* M		Nunnes		
Iuxta Kendall	H	*Stephen*, E. of *Britaine* and *Richmund*, *temp.* K.*H.*2.	White Monkes, Ciſtercians	455 10 5 00 0	
Iuxta Knaresburgh	Saint *Robert* P	*Richard* King of *Romans*, and Earle of *Cornwall*, 1218. 3. *H.*3.	Saint Trinity and Captives	6 4 3 00 0	Leland.
Maryke	N	- - - - - *Aske*	Nunnes	35 10 11 00 0	
				64 16 9 00 0	

Places.	Dedication	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
Stow. Middleham, or Bernards Caſt.	— C	{Richard Duke of Glocester, after King Richard 3.	—	—
Nun-Munketon	— N	The Anceſtors of Sir William Gaſcoigne,	Nunnes	85 14 8 00 o
Ribleſton Comendary	—	—	—	207 9 7 00 o
Leland. Rippon Eccleſ. Collegiat.	— C	Henry Bathe Archbiſhop of Yorke	—	35 3 8 00 o
Rippon	S. Mary Mag. M	{Wilfride Archb. of Yorke, circa 690. {Odo Archb. Cant. a benefactor	—	24 0 7 00 o
Rippon	S. John Baptiſt. H	—	—	10 14 4 00 o
Seton	— N	The Anceſtors of Henry Kirkeby	Nunnes	13 17 4 00 o
Welles	S. Michael — H	Ralph Lord Nevill, 1367. 42. E.3.	—	20 17 11 00 o
		The totall ſumme, &c.		3585. 18. 1. ob. o

Leland.

RVTLAND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Okeham under the cuſtody of the Priory of S. Anne Carthuſians by Coventree	S. John Evang. H	William Dalby of Exton	2 Chaplaines 12 poore, each 30.s. yeerely	—
Brook a Cell to Killingworth	{Saint Mary the Virgin P	{Walkeline de Ferrers Baron of Okeham, temp. Hen. 2.	Blacke Can. Aug.	43 13 4 00 o

Leland.

SHROP-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedications.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q
Shrewsbury	{Saint Peter. Saint Paul. Saint Melb. M	{Roger Earle of Montgomery 1081. the 16. of K. William the Conquerour	Blacke Monks	615 4 3 ob o
Shrewsbury	{Saint Mary. {S. Chadd. C	—	—	14 14 4 00 o
Shrewsbury	Saint Mary — C	—	—	13 1 8 00 o
Shrewsbury	Saint Auguſtine F	— — — — Lord Stafford	Auguſtine Fryers	—
Shrewsbury	Saint Mary — F	— — — — de Ieveneile	Carmelite Friers	—
Shrewsbury	Saint Francis — F	Geffrey Lord Powis	Franciſcan Friers	—
Shrewsbury	Saint Dominic F	— — — — de Charleton	—	—
Alberbury given to Alle-ſoules Colledge in Oxford by King Hen. 6.	Alien P	The Kings Anceſtors	—	—
Battlefield	S. Mary Magd. C	King Henry the fourth	—	54 1 1 00 o
Bildewas	S. Mary. — M	Roger Biſhop of Cheſter	Bernardine Monkes	129 6 10 00 o
Brewood	— M	—	—	31 1 4 00 o
Bridgenorth	Saint Francis — F	{John Talbot Earle of Shrewesbury Coſen and Heire to Ralph Strange	Gray Fryers,	4 0 0 00 o
Brumfield	— M	—	Blacke Monks	—
Chirbury	— P	—	—	87 7 4 00 o
Leland. Hales Owen	— M	{Peter de la Roche B. Winch. temp. K. John {King John a benefactor.	—	337 15 6 ob o
Leland. Haughmond	{Saint Mary S. John Evan. M	{William Fitz-Alane Edmund E. of Arundell a benef. 18 E.3.	{Blacke Can. (Lel) Alii white Can.	294 12 9 00 o
Ludlowe	Saint Mary — F	Sir Laurence Ludlowe Kn. 1349. 24. Ed. 3.	White Fryers	—
Ludlowe	Saint Auguſtine F	{Edmund de Ponsibus, ſive Bridgeman, a benefactor	Auguſtine Fryers.	—
Ludlowe	Saint John — H	—	—	17 3 3 00 o
Leland. Lyleſhall	— M	{— — — — de Beauveis — — — — Lord Zouch a benefactor.	Blacke Canons	317 10 0 00 o
Stone	Saint Michael P	—	Blacke Monkes	—
Leland. Tonge	S. Bartholmew C	{Iſabell wife of Sir Foule Pembridge Kn. Sir Richard Vernon Knight repaired it	—	22 8 1 00 o
Wenlocke	Saint Milburge P	{Leofricke E. of Mercia, per Hollinſhead Roger Earle of Mountgomery & Salop, 1081. 16. William Conq. (per Fabian.)	Blacke Monkes	434 0 1 00 o
Womebridge	— P	—	—	72 15 8 00 o
Wygmore	— M	Hugo de Mortue-mary, An. Dom. 1172.	White Canons	302 12 3 ob o
		The totall ſumme of the valuations of this County, beſides many others unvalued at the ſuppreſſions of their Monaſteries, is		2757. 14. 6. ob. o

STAFFORD.

STAFFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
Lichfield Cath. Church	S. Chadde —	{Oſwy King of Northumberland, made it an Epiſcopall See, 656. Pope Adrian the 4 made it an Arch-Biſhops See, which title continued not long after Iarumau B. Lichfield laid the foundation of the Cathedrall Church 666 Roger Chuton B. Lichfield, temp. H. 1. built a great part of the Church, increaſed the number of the Prebends, fenced the Towne of Lichfield with a ditch, and beſtowed much upon the Caſtle. Walter Langton, B. Lichfield, temp. E. the firſt began the foundation of our Ladies Chappell, and left order with his Executors for the finiſhing the ſame: he compaſſed the Cloiſter with a ſtone wall, and beſtowed a ſumptuous ſhrine upon S. Chadd his predeceſſor, at the charge of 2000. pounds, he ditched and walled all the Cathedrall Church round about, made one gate of great ſtrength at the weſt-end of the Cloſe, and another on the South-part, hee built the great bridge beyonde the Vineyard, 1310. 4 Ed. the ſecond, hee gave his owne Pallace to the Vicars for their dwelling, and built a new for himſelfe at the Eaſt end of the Cloſe: he built and reedified the Caſtles of Eccleſhall, Shutburrowe and Heywood, and his Palace in the Strand in London. He beſtowed much money and plate upon his Church, and procured thereto many Charters and priviledges from the King	{Grey Friers and lately Canons	— Godwin
Lichfield	S. John Baptiſt P	Roger B. of Coventree and Lichfield	—	—
Lichfield	Saint Francis — F	{Alexander de Gavenby Biſhop Lichfield, temp. H. the 3.	Franciſcan Fryers	— Godwin
Lichfield	Saint John — H	William Smith B. Lichfield, temp. H. the 8.	{A Maſter 2 Prieſts 10 poore men	8 15 0 0 0 Godwin
Stafford	Saint Mary — F	— — — — Lord Stafford	Grey Fryers	35 13 10 0 0
Stafford	S. Auguſtine —	—	Auguſtine Fryers	—
Iuxta Stafford S. Thomas	S. Thomas Mart.	{Richard Peche, Biſhop of Lichfield temp. Hen. the 3. John Burghull, B. Lichfield, temp. E. 2. Ralph Earle of Stafford, temp. Edw. 3. Benef.	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	141 13 2 0 0 Godwin
Brewoode	— N	—	—	—
Briwerne	Saint Mary — P	—	Blacke Nunnes	11 1 6 0 0
Bruerne	S. Leonard N	—	Blacke Monkes	—
Burton upon Trent	{Saint Mary S. Modwin M	{Wlfricke Sprot Earle of Mercia, temp. King Ethelred, circa 1004.	White Nunnes	—
Calwicke	— P	—	Blacke Monkes	356 16 3 ob o
Stafford	Saint Mary — C	—	Blacke Canons	—
Catton	— — N	—	Blacke Nunnes	—
Chetwood	— — P	{John Chetwood Chollet T. Govell William Cardiner, Parſon of Somerton John, Parſon of Godington	Blacke Nunnes	—
Croxden	Saint Mary — P	{Bertram de Verdon; ſonne of Norman de Verdon, 1176, 23. H. 2.	Bernardine Monkes	103 6 7 0 0 Stow
Delacres	— M	{Ranulph the third of that name Earle of Cheſter, 1220, 5. H. 3.	White Monkes	243 3 6 0 0
Dudley a Cell to Wendlocke Priory	— Cell	John, ſon and heire to John Lord Dudley	Blacke Monkes	—
Faireweld	Saint Mary — N	—	Blacke Nunnes	—
Ferburge	— — H	—	—	50 0 0 0 0
Hulton	— — M	The Anceſtors of the Lord Audley	—	76 14 10 ob o
Gnowſhall	— — C	—	—	—
Lappele	S. Remigo — P	—	Blacke Monkes	—
Merivall	— — C	—	—	199 14 10 0 0
Penkrich	— — C	—	—	—

	Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
	Raunton	—	—P	— — — Noel de Ellenhall	—	—	
	Rouceſter	—	—P	St Robert Knightly Kn. tem. E. 2. benef. / Rich Bacun neph. to Ranulfe E. of Cheſter	Canons	90 2 10 ob 0 / 111 13 7 0 0	
Leland	Stone a Cell to Kenelmworth Com. Warr.	S. Mary / S. Wolphus	Cell	Leofred Earle of Mercia / Robert de Stafford, a great benefact. an. 1260. 45. H. 3. brought it from the ſubjection of Kenelworth / Enſum a great benefactor	Blacke Canons	119 14 11 0 0	
Leland.	Tamworth	Saint Edith	—N	Edith daughter to King Edgar, tranſlated to Polefworth Com. Warr. by / Richard Marmion	Nunnes	—	
	Tamworth	—	—C	— — — Lord Marmion	—	—	
	juxta Tamworth	S. James	—H		—	3 6 8 0 0	
	Sanwell	—	—Cell		—	—	
	Tetnall	—	—C		—	—	
	Trentham	Saint Mary / All Saints	—P	Ranulph Earle of Cheſter	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	106 3 10 0 0	
	Tricingham	—	—M	Saint Werburge / Henry de Ferrers a Nobleman of Normandy, 1088. 3. William Rufus Benefactors / Theobaldus de Verdon / Alureda de Soulvey / Henry de Rolleſton / Robert de Albeney / William Fitzherbert / Thomas de Very / Rafe de Boſcroile / Henry de Tuske / William de Meiſham / Thomas de Corvile / William de Iſtones / Rafe de Roſce / Robert de Furgiambe / William de Mountgomery / Henry de Blacliſford / Hugh Okover / Will. Burton of Falde juxta Tutbury, Standard-bearer to King Henry the 6. / Henry de Kinveton	—	—	
Regiſt	Turbury	Saint Mary	—P		Blacke Monkes / Benedictines	244 16 8 6 0	
	White Ladies	—	—N		White Nunnes	—	
	Wollerhampton	—	—M	Herbert Walter Arch-B Can. tem. K. John			
	Wollerhampton	—	—C	Clement Luſon, Chaplaine / William de Waterfall / William Dudley, a Prebend, a benefact.	Deane / Prebends		
					Summe totall, &c.	1902. 17. 13. ob. q	

SOMMERSET-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
				King Oſricke, firſt founder for Nuns 679. (Cambd.) / Offa King of Mercia brought in Secular Canons, 775. / Elfegus Arch-B. Cant. repaired it, An. 1010. / John de Villula B. Wels, tem. K. William Rufus. removed his See from Welles to Bathe, calling himſelfe Biſhop of Bathe: which City he bought of the King for 500 Markes, and repaired this Monaſtery for the receipt of his new Epiſcopall See; but it was conſumed by fire, 1087 / Robert B. of Bath his ſucceſſor, temp. K. Steph. reedified the ſame after the ſpoyling thereof by fire, and was finiſhed by the ſucceding Biſhops / Oliver King, Biſhoppe of Bath, pulled downe the old Church, and began the foundation of a faire and ſumptuous building, but at his death left it unperfect / Hadrian de Caſtello his ſucceſſor, and William Bird laſt Prior there endevoured to finiſh it, which as yet is not fully ended / King Edgar, Edwin, Ethelred, and Wolſtan, benefactors			
Godwin	Bathe Epiſcopall See	Saint Peter / Saint Paul	—M	Reginald Fitz-Joceline Biſhop of Bath temp. Hen. 2	Blacke Monks	695 6 1 ob 0	
	Bathe	Saint John	—H		—	22 16 9 ob 0	

Places.	Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s d ob q	
			Inas King of the Weſt-Saxons, circa 704. built a Church and Colledg / Kinewolph King of the Weſt-Saxons, gave it great lands and poſſeſſions, an. 766 / King Edward ſenior made it an Epiſcopall See / Robert Biſhop of Bath and Welles, temp. K. Steph. firſt ordained the title of Biſhop of Bath and Welles, pulled downe a great part of the Church and new built it, ordained many offices in his Church: ordained more Prebends and Canons, and gave lands to the maintenance of them, / Joceline de Welles, Biſhop of Bath and Welles, pulled downe the Weſt end of of the Church, and built it anew from the foundation, 1239. Hee built a ſtately Chappell in his Palace at Welles, and another at Onkey, hee purchaſed much lands and large poſſeſſions, and gave them to his Church / Rafe de Shrewsbury Biſhop of Bath and Welles, gave great Lands and large poſſeſſions to his See, hee built much, both in the Church, and Pallace, and divers edifices thereunto belonging, temp. Edward the third / John Harewell Biſhop of Bathe and Welles, built the South-weſt Tower, gave 100 pounds for glazing the weſt-windowes, and two great Bels, temp. Ed. 3 / Biſhop Budwith, built the Library over the Cloyſters; and a faire Chappell, and purchaſed Lands for his Church, temp. H. 4 / Biſhop Bekington, built the Eaſtſide of the Cloyſters, and was a great benefactor to his Church, in money, plate, and veſtmentes / Biſhop Stillington, built the goodly Lady Chappell, temp. Edward the fourth			
Welles Epiſcopall See	S. Andrew / S. Io. Bapt.	—M		Secular Canons	42 3 0 ob q	Godwin
Welles	—	—C	Robert Ergham B. Bathe and Wells, ſit. R. 2	—	—	Godwin
Welles	Saint John	—H	Jocelin de Welles B. Bathe &c. / Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne / Nicholas Bubwith Biſhop, temp. H. 4	firſt Fou. / ſtep. K. Joh.	—	Godwin
Welles	—	—H			24 poore	
Briſtowe Epiſcopall See	S. Auguſtine	—M	King Henry the ſecond / Robert Fitzharding, ſon of Harding King of Denmarke / King Henry the 8 in our time made it an Epiſcopall See, appointing a Biſhop, a Deane, and ſix Prebends	Blacke Canons Auguſtines alias Victorines	767 15 3 0 0	
Briſtowe a Cell to Teukesbury	Saint James	—P	Robert Conſull, Earle of Glocester, baſe ſonne of King Henry the firſt	Benedictine Monkes		
Briſtowe	Saint Mary	—F	King Edward the firſt, 1267, 52, Hen. 3.	White Fryers	—	
Briſtowe	S. Io, Evan.	H	Henry de Gaunt Prieſt, brother to Sir Maurice de Gaunt, founded a Colled. / Thomas Carre, a wealthy Citizen of Briſtow converted it to an Hoſpitall	Blacke Canons after Orphanes	140 0 0 0 0	Leland
Athelme	S. Peter / S. Athelwin	M	King Athelſtone, Ann. 888	Blacke Monks	209 3 0 0 6/9	
Barlinck	—	—P	William Saye	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	98 14 8 ob 0	Leland.
Brewe	S. Mary / S. Edwin	N		Blacke Nunnes	—	
Bridgewater	S. Francis	—F		Gray Fryers	120 19 1 ob 0	
Bridgewater	Saint John	—H	William Brewer junior, temp K. John — — — Earle March / — — — Lord Zouch / — — — Lord Daubney	Benefa.		
Buckland	—	—P	Amy Counteſſe of Devonſhire	Hoſpitaliers of Saint Joh. of Jeruſalem	223 7 4 ob 0	
Bruton	Saint Mary	—M	Almare E. of Corswall, before the Con. / William Mohuns Earle of Sommerſet brought in Canons	Canons Benedictines	480 17 2 8 0	Leland.
Cadbury	S. Michael	—C	Elizabeth Butreaux, and her ſonne William Butreaux	A Rector / 7 Chaplaines / 4 Clarkes		
Clive	—	—M	William de Romare, E. of Lincol. (Lel.) / Will. de Romare, Cozen to the Earle Lincolne, (Cambd.)	Bernardines (Lel.) / white Mõks (Cãd.)	155 9 5 0 6/9	Leland.
Cannington	Saint Mary	—N	Robert Courcy	Blacke Nunnes	39 15 8 0 0	Leland.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.	
					£ s d ob q	
	Dunkeswell —	— P	William Brewer, junior	—	37 4 8 0 0	
	Dunster —	— P	John de Mohun de Dunster	—		
Leland.	Farley a Cell to Lewis	S. Mary Mag. P	Humphrey de Bohun, temp. K. Stephen; Maude the Empresse a Benefactor	Cluniac Monkes	100 0 0 0 0	
Cambd.	Glastonbury	Christ; Saint Mary; Saint Peter; Saint Paul	Ioseph of Arimathea; Dene Bishop of Saint Davids; 12 Northerne men; K. Inas, K. of the West-Saxons, 708; Dunstan changed the Mo. into Bened.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines	3508 13 4 ob ½	
	Henton —	— M	William Lonspee E. of Salisbury temp. Hen. 3.	Carthusians	262 12 0 0 0	
	Kenisham —	Saint Mary — M	Ella Countesse of Salisbury; William Earle of Gloucester rem. K. Hen. 2.	Blacke Canons —	450 3 6 0 0	
Leland	Montacute —	Saint Peter; Saint Paul — M	William E. Moriton, halfe brother to the Conq. by the mothers side, 1. H. 1.	Benedict. (Lel.); Alias Cluniac.	524 11 8 ob 0	Leland.
	Moundroy —	— C			11 18 8 0 8	
	Muchelney —	Saint Peter — M	Ina K. of the West-Saxons, 740 (Lel); King Athelstan, 896 (Cambd.)	Blacke Monks —	498 16 3 0 q	Leland.
	Minchinbarrow —	— P			29 6 8 ob 0	Leland.
	Stoke under Hamden	S. Andrew — C	de Gourney	Blacke Monkes		
Leland	Taunton —	Saint Peter; Saint Paul — N	William Gifford Bishop of Winchester, temp. Hen. 1.; Hen. de Blois	Blacke Nunnes; Canons (Leland); Kt. Templers, after; Hospitaliers of S. John of Ierusalem.	438 9 10 0 0	
	Temple-Combe	Commendary —			107 16 11 ob 0	
	West bury —	— C	John Carpenter B. Worcester, temp. H. 6; William Cannings, Kt. Citizen and Major of Bristowe, a benefactor		110 18 4 ob q	
	Worspring —	— P				
Leland	Witham —	S. Mary; S. John Baptist; All-Saints; Saint Katherine H	King Henry the second (Leland); King Henry the third (Cambden)	Nunnes first, after the first house of Carthusians	227 1 8 0 0	
	Yeveley, or Ivell	— —	John Woburne petty Canon of Paules; Richard Hewett		21 15 8 0 0	
				Summe totall, &c.	9324. 17. 2. 0. 0	

SVFFOLKE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.	
					l. s. d. ob. q.	
	Ipswich —	Saint Peter; Saint Paul — M	Thomas de Lucy, and Alice his wife first founded, after Thomas Wolsey Cardinall, and Archbishop of Yorke, temp. H. 8	Blacke Canons —	88 6 10 0 0	
Leland	Ipswich —	S. Trinity — P	Norman Castrede, and John de Oxford	Blacke Canons —	88 6 9 0 0	
	Ipswich —	Saint Mary — F	The L. Bardolfe; Sir Geffrey de Hadley 1279, 8 Edw. 1; Sir Robert Norton	White Fryers		
	Ipswich —	Saint Dominick F	— — — — —	Blacke Fryers		
	Ipswich —	Saint Francis F	John Haver, a benefactor	Grey Fryers		
	Ipswich —	S. Augustine — F	Robert Tilbot; Henry de Mawesby; Henry Redred; Henry de Landham	Augustine Fryers		
	Bliburgh —	— — P	King Henry the first; Richard Beaveis Bishop of London	Blacke Canons —	48 8 9 0 8	
Leland	Briset —	S. Leonard — F	— — — Duke of Clarence	Blacke Canons —	— — — — —	
	Bungey —	— — N	Roger de Glanvile, & Gundred his wife; Alice the Ancestors of Thomas of Brotherton, Earle of Norfolke	Nunnes —	62 2 1 0 0	
	Brusyherd —	— — M			56 2 1 0 0	
	Butley —	Saint Mary — P	Ralphe de Glanvile	Blacke Canons Aug	318 17 2 ob 0	
Leland	Campsey —	Saint Mary the Virgin M	Ione; Agnes; de valence, sisters	Nunnes —	182 9 5 0 0	
	Clare, or Stoke	S. Io. Bapt. P	Henry Earle of Essex, and Isabel his wife	Blacke Monkes; alias Aug. Friers		
Cambd.	Gniobersburge or Burgh Castle	— —	Furfey a Scot; Sebert K. of the West-Angles, circa 640	— —	22 8 9 0 ½	
	Deusston —	— — C			42 18 8 0 0	
	Dodnash —	S. Mary — M	The Ancestors of the Duke of Norfolke	— —		
	Dunwich somtime an Episcopall See	— —	Felix the Burgundian that reduced the East-Angles againe unto the Christian faith, 630	— —		
Leland.	S. Edmunds Bury	Saint Edmund M	Canutus K. of Engl. & Denmar. circa 1020	Blacke Monkes	2336 16 0 0 0	
	S. Edwards place, sive Edwardstowe	Saint Edward M	Peter Bishop of Winchester, temp. K. John	— —		
	Eye —	S. Peter — M	Robert Malet Lord of Eye	Blacke Monkes -	184 9 7 ob ½	
	Flixon —	— — N	Margery wife of Bartholmew de Creke	Nunnes Augustines	23 4 1 0 ½	
Leland.	Hernigfleet —	Saint Olaves M	Robert Fitzrobert, the sonne of Osbere	Canons Regular	49 11 7 0 0	
	Hoxon —	— M				
	Leiston —	Saint Mary — P	Ralph de Glanvile; Sir Robert de Vfford	White Canons; Premonstratens.	181 17 1 ob 0	
	Letheringham —	— P			26 18 5 0 0	
	Liteburch —	Saint Mary — P		Blacke Canons —		
	Mettingham —	S. Mary — C	Sir John de Norwich Knight, Vice-Admirall, Lord of Mettingham	— —	202 7 5 ob 0	
	Rafford —	Saint Mary — M	Robert Bishop, or Earle of Lincolne	— —		
	Ratisford —	Saint John — H		— —	53 10 0 0 0	

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.	
					£ s d ob q	
	Redlingfield —	Saint Mary — M	Manasses de Gisnisues	Blacke Nunnes	81 2 5 ob 0	
	Rumburh —	S. Michael P		Blacke Monks —		
	Snapes —	Saint Mary — P	William Marsell	Blacke Monkes of Rochester	99 1 11 ob 0	Leland.
	Stokes Clare —	— — C	— — — — Mortimer Earle of March	Deane — — Prebends 8 Priests 5 Choristers 4 Secular clerks	324 4 1 ob 0	
	Sudbury —	S. Bartholmew P	Simon de Sudbury A.B. Cant. temp. R. 2	Blacke Monks		
	Sibbeton —	Saint Mary — M	John de Cherisey; William Cheney (Cambd.)	of Westminster	122 18 3 ob 0	
	Trewe —	— — P	— — L. Dacres (Leland); John de Boivile Knight	Ciftercian Monkes	250 15 7 ob 0	Leland.
	Walton —	Saint Felix — P		Blacke Monkes of Rochester	— — — — — —	Leland.
	Wansford —	Saint Mary — P	Dondo Anfered of France sewer to the K	Cluniacke Monkes	30 9 5 0 0	Leland.
	Wingfeifield —	— — C			69 14 5 0 0	
	Woodbridge —	Saint Mary — M	— — — Rousse; — — — Hansard	— —	50 3 5 ob ½	
	Wikes —	— —	The Kings Ancestors	— —	92 12 3 ob 0	
	Iteworth, or Ixworth	S. Benedict — M; — — P	Gilbert Blunde	— —	280 9 5 0 0	
				The totall summe, &c.	5390 7. 9. 0. 0	

SVRREY.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.	
					£ s d ob q	
	Bermondsey —	Saint Saviour M	Alwin Child, Citizen of London 1081; 16 William Conq. K. Will. Rufus built the new Church, and gave lands unto it; Pope Boniface the 9 made it an Abby; Robert Blose B. of Lincolne, a speciall benefactor, temp. Will. Rufus; Frithwald a petty Regét of Surry 666 Benefactors.	Cluniack Monkes —	548 2 5 ob ½	Stow
	Chertsey —	S. Peter — M	King Edgar; Ethelwald Bishop of Winchester; Peter de la Roche, B. of Winch after; Thomas Oldam; John Rotherwicke; Gualter de Eaton; Gualter de Chanham	— —	744 18 6 ob ½	Leland
	Guilford —	S. Crosse — F		Crouched Fryers		
	Guilford —	Saint Dominick F	— —	Blacke Fryers		
	Lingfield —	— — C	Reginold de Cobham Knight; William Cromen; John Arderne; John Bayhall	— —	75 0 0 0 0	
	Merton —	Saint Mary P	King Henry the first, 1117, 18. H. 1. Benefactors; Gilbert Vicount of Surr; Fararimisius de Bolonia; William de Dammorin; Ewftace Earle of Bologne; Paline de Beauchampe; Stephen Earle of Morton and Boloign; Roger de Wancy; Rafe de Kaymes; William Testard; Robert sonne of Brient	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	1039 5 3 0 0	Leland
	Ne warke vel de Novo loco	S. Mary; S. Tho. Mar. P		— —	258 11 11 ob 0	
	Reigate —	Saint Crosse — F	William de Warren first Earle of Surry; John de Mowbrey	Crouched Fryers —	78 16 8 0 0	
	Shene —	S. John de Bethlehem P	King Henry the fift	Carthusian Monkes	962 2 6 0 0	Leland
	Southwarke —	Santta Maria Virginis de Overcy	Mary a noble woma a Saxō for Nuns Swithe, a Noblewoman Saxon brought in Priests; Will. de Pontlarck, & Wil. Dansey Norma Kts brought in Can. Regu. 7. H. 1. Will. Gifford B. Winchester, built the body of the Church, temp. H. 1. King Stephen; Peter de la Roch, B. Winch.; John Gower the famous Poet.	Blacke Canons —	656 10 0 ob 0	Stow
	Southwarke —	Saint Thomas H	Ric. Prior of Bermond 1213, 15. K. Io. Peter de la Roche B. Win. founded it anew for fecul. Can. 1215, 17 K. Io. The Citizens of Lond. 1552 purchafed it of E. 6. & made it an Hofpital.	— —	266 17 11 0 0	

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
Leland	Tanridge —	— P	*Odo de Merton*	Blacke Canons Aug.	78 16 10 ob ½
	Waverley —	Saint *Mary* — M	*William Gifford* B. *Wincheſt. temp. H.* 1. *Nic. de Ely*, 2 great benef. *temp. E.* 1.	Cistercian Monks —	174 8 3 ob 0
				Summe totall. &c.	4883. 15. 6. ob. ½

SVSSEX.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
Godwin	Chicheſter Epiſcopall See	S. *Trinity* — P	*Edilwalch* K. of *Suſſex*, firſt founder of the Epiſcopall See at *Seksey*, 681. B. *Stigand* Chaplain to the *Conqueror*, tranſlated his See to *Chicheſter* *Ralfe* B, *Chicheſter*, with the helpe of K. *H.* 1. built the Cathedrall Church from the ground B. *Suffridus*, *temp.* K *Rich.* 1. repaired the Church and Palace, having been conſumed with fire B. *Nevell*, *temp. H.* 3. built much in his owne Church, built a great houſe in *London*, now an Inne of Court called *Lincolnes Inne*, hee built the Chappell of Saint *Michael* without the Eaſt-gate B. *Clippinge*, *temp. Hen.* 3. gave the Mannour of *Drungwik* to his Church. Biſhop *Gilbert de S^o Leofardo* built the Chappell of Saint *Mary* from the ground, *temp E.* 1. Biſhop *Langton* built a coſtly ſouth-window in the Church Biſhop *Reade*. *temp. E.* 3. built the Caſtle of *Amberley* from the ground B. *Moline* a great benefactor, *tem. H.* 6. B. *Sherborne*, *temp. Hen.* 8 beſtowed much money in beautifying his Church, and increaſed the number of Miniſters belonging thereunto, hee alſo founded a Grammer Schoole at *Rolleſton*, Com. *Staff.* where hee was borne, and gave lands thereto	Secular Canons —	
	Chicheſter —	S. *Peter* — M		Grey Fryers —	
	Chicheſter —	— — N		Dominican Fryers —	
	Chicheſter —	— — F		Leprous people —	4 3 9 0 0
	Iuxta Chicheſter.	S. *Mary Mag.* H		Poore People —	11 11 6 ob 0
	Iuxta Chicheſter.	S. *James* Saint *Mary* — H			
Leland,	Arundell —	— C	*Richard* Earle of *Arundell*		
	Arund ell —	S. *Nicholas* — P	*Richard* Earle of *Arundell*	Blacke Monks —	168 0 7 ob 0
	Arundell —	Saint *Trinity* — H	*Thomas* E. of *Arundell*. & *Beatrix* his wife	Almes-men —	42 3 8 0 0
	Acceale —	Saint *Peter* — M		Blacke Monks —	
	Battle —	Saint *Martin* M	K. *William the Conq.* 1066, 1 *Will. Conq.*	Blacke Monkes —	987 0 11 ob ½
	Bidlington —	S. *Mary Mag.* H			1 0 0 0 0
	Boſeham —	— M	*Dicul* a Scottiſh Monke		
	Boxegrave —	Saint *Mary* — P	*John William* (Leland) S. *John*, aliis *Robert de la Haye*	Blacke Monks Benedictines	145 10 2 ob 0
	Dureford —	S. *John Bapt.* — M		White Canons —	108 13 9 0 0
Leland.	Eaſt-bourne —	— — N	*John de Bohun de Midhurſt*	Nunnes —	47 3 0 0 0
Leland	Haſtings —	Saint *Trinity* — P	*Walter Briſel* Knight (Leland) Aliis *John Pelham* Knight	Blacke Canons —	57 19 0 0 0
	Lewis —	S. *Pancrace* —	*William de Warren* firſt Earle of *Surry* and *Gundreda* his wife	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenſes	1091 9 6 ● ½
	Lulminſter —	S. *Mary Mag.* N		Blacke Nunnes	
Leland.	Michelham —	S. *Mary Mag.* P	*Gilbert de Aquila*	Blacke Canons Auguſtines White Canons	191 19 3 0 0
	Ockham —	S. *Laurence* — P		Blacke Nunnes	
	Ramſted —	S. *Mary Mag.* N		Ciſtercian Monks —	232 9 8 0 0
	Roberts Bridge —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Alfred de Saint Martin*, *temp.* K. *H.* 2.	Blacke Nunnes —	39 13 7 0 0
	Rupperar —	S. *Mary Mag.* N			
Godwin	Selley Epiſcopall See	— — M	*Edilwalch* K. *Suſſex.* 681, (Godwin) Aliis King *Cadwell*, K. *Weſt-Saxons*	Blacke Can. Auguſt.	79 15 6 0 0
	Shulbred —	— — P	Sir *Ralph Ardent* Knight		45 12 5 ob 0
Leland.	South-Malling —	— — C	*Cadwell* K. of the *Weſt-Saxons* 680		
	Stennings —	S. *Mary Mag.* Cel		Secular Canons —	
	Hardham —	— — P	— — — *Goring*	Blacke Canons —	
	Shoreham —	Saint *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the ſecond — — — — Lord *Mowbrey*	White Fryers — Blacke Canons —	
	Torting —	S. *Mary Mag.* P	*Hawis de Corbet*	Fryers Preachers —	101 4 1 0 0
Leland.	Winchelſea —	— — F	King *Edward* the ſecond		
	— — — — —	S. *Mary* — M	*William de Buckingham*, confirmed by King *Edward*		
				The totall ſumme, &c.	3355 10. 7. 0. ½

WAR-

WARWICKE-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l. s. d. ob. q.
	Warwicke —	S. *Sepulchers* P	*Richard Neviill* E. of *Warwick*, *temp. H.* 6.		49 13 6 0 0
	Warwicke —	— — P	*Peter de Mountfort*	Blacke Canons —	
	Warwicke —	— — F		Fryers Preachers —	4 18 6 0 0
	Warwicke —	— — C			247 13 0 ob 0
	Warwicke —	S. *Michael* H			10 1 10 0 0
	Warwicke —	S. *John Bapt.* — H	*Thomas de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, *temp. E.* 3		
	Warwicke Hanging-gate Chantery	— —	*Thom de Beauchamp* E. of *Warwicke*, *tem. E.* 3		19 3 7 0 0
	Warwicke —	Saint *John* — H	*Thomas Beauchamp*		
	Warwicke —	Saint *George* —	*Robert de Deneby* *William Ruſſell* *Hugh Cooke* (for the good eſtate of King *Richard* 2 Queen *Anne*, &c. Prince of *Wales*, *Michael de la Pool* and all their brethren and ſiſters.)	A Fraternity —	
	Coventrey —	Saint *Mary* — P	K. *Canutus* firſt founder. for Nunnes, *Leofrick* Earle of *Mercia*, founded it a new, 1043.	Blacke Monkes —	— — — — — — Cambd.
	Coventrey —	S. *Anne* —	*John de Northbury* a Carthuſian Prior	Carthuſian Monkes	251 5 9 0 0
	Coventrey —	Saint *Mary* — F	Sir *John de Poulney*, Major of *London*, Knight, 1343, 17, *E.* 3	Carmelite Fryers —	7 13 4 0 0
	Coventry Bablake	— — C			45 6 8 0 0
	Coventry	S. *John Baptiſt* H			83 3 3 0 0
	Alceeter, or Alneceſter	S. *John Baptiſt* P	— — — Lord *Beauchampe of Powicke*	Blacke Monkes —	101 14 0 0 0
	Aveeuter a Cell to Malverne Prior in *Worceſterſhire*	— — P			34 8 0 0 0
	Aulcote —	— —	*William Burdet* Knight, *temp. Hen.* 2.	Nunnes —	34 8 0 0 0 Record
	Aſtley —	— — C	*Thomas* Lord *Aſtley*, *temp. E.* 3	A Deane Canon Regular	39 10 6 0 0
	Atherſton —	S. *Auguſtine* F	*Ralfe* Lord *Baſſet* of *Drayton* Aliis *John de Wellesburgh* Com. *Leic.*	Auguſtine Fryers —	1 10 2 0 0
	Balſhall —	Commendary	*Roger Mowbrey*	Templers firſt, after Hoſpitaliers of Saint *John* of Jeruſalem	
	Berdeſlege —	S. *Mary* — M		White Monks —	
Leland,	Combe —	Saint *Mary* — M	— — L. *Mowbrey* — — L. *Canvile* — — L. *Aſtley* (*Alii* Benefact. & che kings Anceſtors original founders, and in many of the Abbats Seales is the three Lions of *England*, with a label of five points)	Ciſtercian Monkes —	343 0 5 0 0
	Erdbury —	Saint *Mary* — P	— — Lord *Sudley*	Canons Regular —	122 8 6 0 0
	Guyeſcliffe —	Saint *Margaret* C	*Rich. de Beauchamp* E. *Warwick*, *temp. H.* 6.	Prieſts —	
	Henwood —	Saint *Margaret*	*Cethelbrand De la Laund*	Nunnes —	21 2 0 ob 0
	Kenelworth —	— — P	*Geffrey de Clinton* L. Chamberlain to *H.* 1	Blacke Canons —	643 14 9 ob 0
	Knolle —	Saint *Anne* C	*Walter Cook*, Can. of *Lichf.* *Adam Cooke* (by the licce of Pope *Bonifac.* 9. 1397 21. *R.* 2	Fraternity —	18 5 6 0 0 Regiſt
	Kinſwood —	— — N		Blacke Nunnes —	— — — — — —
	Marſtocke —	S. *Mary* P S. *Michael* P	*William de Clinton* Earle of *Hemingford*, 1342, 17. *E.* 3.	Blacke Canons Auguſtines Ciſtercians *Aliis* Carthuſians	129 11 8 ob 0 Regiſt
	Murevall —	Saint *Mary* — M	*Robert de Ferrers*, 1100, 1. *H.* 1		303 10 0 0 0
	Nun-Eaton —	Saint *Mary* — N	*Amice*, wife to *Robert Boſſue*, Earle of *Leiceſt. temp. H.* 2 *Edith* daughter to King *Edgar* founded it at *Tamworth*	Nunnes —	290 15 0 ob 0
	Poleſworth —	Saint *Mary* N	*Robert Marmion*, & *Millcent* his wife	Blacke Nunnes —	23 8 6 0 0
	Pinley —	Saint *Edith* N — N	tranſlated it to *Poleſworth*, *temp. H.* 1	Nunnes —	27 14 7 0 0
	Stoneley —	— — M	*Maude* the Empreſſe King *Henry* the ſecond *Philippe Baſſet* *Ralfe Baſſet* Benefactors	Ciſtercian Monkes —	578 2 5 0 0
	Stratford upon Haven	— — C	*John de Stratford* Arch-B. *Canterbury* *temp. E.* 3.		123 11 9 0 0
	Studeley —	— — P		Blacke Canons —	181 3 6 0 0

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Thelesford	—	— — — Lucy Knight Aliis — — — de Charlewte	Po ore folkes Pilgrimes	23 10 0 ob q
Wroxhall	God and S. Leonard N	Hugh de Hatton King John a great Benefactor	Blacke Nunnes	78 10 1 ob 0
Wotton Wawni	—	The Countesse of Stafford	—	—

Summe totall, &c. 3839. 3. 0. 0. q.

WESTMORLAND.

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Appleby	Saint Mary F	— — — L. Vesey — — — L. Percy 1281.10.E.1. — — — L. Clifford	Carmilite, or white Fryers	—
Sharpe	— M	Thomas the sonne of Gospatricke, sonne of Ormus	—	166 10 6 ob 0

Leland.

WILT-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Salisbury Episcopall See	Saint Peter	Inas King of the West-Saxons, divided the Bishopricke of Winchester, one part remaining to the Bishop of Winchester, as it is at this day, of the other part he ordained a new Bishoppe, whose See was at Shirburne, making Adeleine the first Bishoppe, Anno Dom. 705 Bishop Hermon, by the commandement of William the Conqueror translated his See to Salisbury, and began the new foundation of a Cathedrall Church Bishop Osmund, 1092, 6. William Rufus, finished the Church and added to the same a very faire Library Bishop Pore, began the foundation of this Elegant & sumptuous Church now standing, which after thirty yeares travell was not fully perfected: as also his Successor B. Bingham, who after twenty yeares space, yet did not fully finish it Bishop Yorke his Successor fully finished the same, and was confecrated by his Successour Bishop Bridport, 30 Septemb. 1258, 43. Henry the third	Secular Canons	—
Salisbury	S. Nicholas C	—	A Warden 4 Fellowes 2 Chaplaines	—
Salisbury	— F	King Edward the first Robert Kilwarby Arch-Bishop Cant.	Blacke Fryers	—
Salisbury	Saint Edith C	—	Gray Fryers	—
Salisbury	S. Francis F	Richard Pore B. Salisbury, 1382, temp. H. 3	—	25 2 2 0 0
Iuxta Salisbury	S. Michael H	—	—	—
Salisbury	Saint Edmund C	—	—	—
Ambresbury	— N	Alfritha wife to King Edgar, 979. King Edgar King Ethelred benefact. Q. Eleonor wife to K. H. 3.	Nunnes	558 10 2 0 0
Aufly	— H	—	—	81 8 5 0 0
Bradnestoke	Saint Mary P	Walter eldest son of Walter de Ewreux Earle of Rosemare in Normandy Patrick Earles of Salis. benef. Wil. Log spere	Blacke Monkes	270 10 8 0 0
Bromehore, or Bromere	Saint Mary S. Michael P	Baldwine Earle of Rivers and Devonshire	Blacke Canons	—
Briptune	S. Mary Mag. P	—	Blacke Canons	—
Colne	— H	—	—	2 2 8 0 0
Creekelade	— H	—	—	4 10 7 ob 0
Edoros	— P	King Henry the second King Henry the third	Blacke Canons	133 0 7 ob 0
Edington	All Saints P	2 William de Edington B. of Winchester 5. E. 1	Bon-homes	521 12 5 ob 0
Efton	Saint Trinity P	—	—	55 14 4 0 0
Farely Monkes a Cell to Lewis	S. Mary Mag. P	Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereford Maude the Empresse a benefactor Mary Countesse of Norfolke, temp. E. 3.	Cluniacke Monkes	217 0 4 ob 0
Fishart	— H	—	Fryers Preachers	4 10 7 ob 0
Grekelade	—	Robert Lord Hungerford, and Margaret his wife, temp. Hen. 4.	—	—
Heytesbury	— C	—	—	—

Henton

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Henton	— N	Ella Countesse of Salisbury temp. Hen. 3.	Nunnes	l. s. d. ob. q. —
Kynton	S. Mary P S. Mich.	—	Nunnes	38 3 10 0 6
Lacocke	Saint Mary N S. Bernad	Ella Countesse of Salisbury, 1232, 17. H. 3	Nunnes Augustines	203 12 3 ob 0
Malmesbury	Saint Adeline M	Maidulfe, a Irish Scot, circa 648. Adeleine his Scholler King Athelstan King Edgar Benefactors King Iohn	Benedictine Monkes	803 17 7 0 0
Middleton	— P	King Athelstone	—	—
Marleburgh	Saint Margaret P	Edmund Earle of Cornwall, temp. E. 1.	—	—
Marleburgh	S. Mary F	Iohn Goodwin 1316, 10. E. 2 William Rainsbech	Canons White Fryers	38 19 2 0 0
Iuxta Marleburgh	S. Iohn Baptist H	—	—	—
Maiden Bradel	— P	Manasser Basset, aliis Bisset, temp. H. 2. Hubert B. Salisbury, a benefactor.	—	6 18 4 0 0
Maiden Bradely	— H	One of the inheretrices of Manass. Basset.	Canons regular	197 18 8 0 0
Stanley	S. Mary M	—	Leprous people	—
Wilton	— M	King Alfrid, circa 882. King Eldred King Edward Sirnor King Athelstan King Edmund King Will. Conqueror Benefact.	Ciftercian Monkes	222 19 4 0 0
Wilton	S. Mary S. Edith N	Egbert King of England, 773. (Lel.) King Edgar (Camd.) (son Alius Wealstin, E. of Ellandune, or Wil- Alita Edith, wife to St Edward	Blacke Nunnes	652 11 5 0 q
Iuxta Wilton	S. Giles H	—	—	—
Iuy Church	— P	King Henry the second Rob. Blunston, Canon of Salish. bene- Robert Hungerford, Knight — fact.	Blacke Can. August.	5 13 4 0 0
West-church	— P	—	—	—

The totall summe, &c. 4944 17. 1. ob. q.

WORCESTER-SHIRE.

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value.
Worcester Episcopall See	S. Mary S. Wolstan M S. Katherine	Ethelbred K. of Mercia, first founder of the Episcopall See. Anno Domini 670 Sexwolph, Bishop of Mercia, An. Domini, 680 Bishop Egwin built the Cathedrall Church and Monastery, Anno Domini 700 Bishop Oswald brought in Monkes, An. Dom. 980. King Edgar repaired it, and gave divers Liberties thereunto Bishop Wolstan 1090. 4. William Rufus built a new the Cathedrall Church from the very ground, and made the number of the Monkes 50. Bishop Fagham, temp. Henry 2. gave Lands to his See Bishop Beleyes gave Lands to his Church, temp. H. 3 Bishop Giffard, temp. Edward the first, bestowed much money in beautifying his Church Bishop Cobham, temp. Edward the second, vaulted over the moste part of the Church Bishop Wakefield, temp. Richard the second, built the North-Porch, and enlarged the Church by two Arches Bishop Carpenter, temp. H. 6. a benefactor King Henry the 8 in stead of Monkes, instituted a Deane and Prebends, and also a Grammar Schoole	Blacke Monkes	1386 12 10 ob q Godwin
Worcester	— F	—	—	—
Worcester	— F	—	—	—
Worcester	S. Wolstan H	William de Beauchampe	Gray Fryers	63 18 10 0 0
Alcester	— Cell	—	Blacke Fryers	75 7 0 0 0
Bordesley	Saint Mary P	Walleran de Beaumont, Earle of Worcester, temp. H. 1. (Glover) Maude the Empresse King Henry the second Alii	Ciftercian Monks	—
Bredon	Saint Peter M	Kenwulfe King of Mercia, 748 Offa King of Mercia, a benefactor	—	—
Brodesley	Saint Mary M	—	—	—
Cokehill	— N	—	White Monks White Nunnes	392 8 6 0 0 34 13 11 0 0

Elvece.

A Catalogue of the Religious Houses, Colledges,

	Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
		— P		Blacke Monks —	
	Elvecestre —		*Egwin* Bishop of *Worcester* } 700		
	Evesham —	Saint *Mary* } M S. *Eadburg* }	*Kenred* King of *Mercia* } 700 King *Offa* Benefactor	Blacke Monks —	1268 9 9 ● ●
	Fladbury —	— M			
Godwin	Kemesey —	S. *Andrew* — C	*Alwin* Bishop of *Worcester*, 868		- - - - - - -
	Halesowen —	— M	*Peter de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester* } *Alias* King *Iohn* }	—	282 13 4 0 0
			Alwin a Monk, 1083, 18, *Will. Conq* Benefactors		
Leland Godwin	Malverne Major	S. *Mary* — P	King *Henry* the first King *Edward* the first *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloucester* *Osberne de Pomibus* *Richard de Pomibus*	Blacke Monkes —	375 0 6 0 ½
	Malverne Minor	Saint *Giles* —	*Aseline* and *Ethred*, two brothers, and both religious men there *William de Blois* Bishop of *Winchester*, a benefactor, 1171, *temp. Hen.* 3.	Blacke Monkes —	102 10 9 0 0
	Penwortham —	—	The King's Ancestors	—	99 5 3 0 0
	Pershore —	S. *Mary* } M S. *Edburge* }	*Egilward* E. of *Dorset*, temp. K. *Edgar* } King *Oswald* }	Blacke Monks —	666 13 0 0 0
	Westwood —	— N		Blacke Nunnes —	78 8 0 0 0
	Whilton *juxta* —	— P		—	56 3 6 0 0
	Worcester —	Saint *Oswald* H		—	13 14 4 0 0

Summe totall, &c. 4896. 1. 8. ob. ½.

YORKE-SHIRE.

	Places.	Dedication	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value £ s d ob q
			Edwin King of *Northumberland*, first made it an Episcopall See, and built a Cath. Church 627		
			Oswald King of *Northumberland* finished it		
			Pope *Honorius* made it an Metropolitan See		
			B. *Egbert* erected a famous Library at Yorke, 750		
			Thomas Arch-B. Yorke began anew the foundation of the Cath. Church, *temp.* K. *William Rufus*		
			Bishop *Roger temp. Henry* the second built a new the Quier of the Cathedrall Church, and the Vaultes of the same decayed with fire, and the Pallace, and the Chappell of Saint *Sepulcher* on the North side of the Cathed. Church, and gave much lands to his Church		
Godwin	Yorke Arch-Bishops See	Saint *Peter* —	*Iohn Romane, temp. Edward* the first, built the Crosse Isle on the North-side of the Church, and a goodly steeple in the middle of the Church. Arch-Bishop *Melton* finished the West part of the body of the Church with the expences of 700 markes, *temp. E.* 2.		
			Bishop *Zouch, temp Edward* the third, beganne the foundation of a new Chappell on the Southside of the Church		
			Bishop *Thoresby, temp. Edward* the third, beganne to build a new the Quier of the Cathedrall Church, hee bestowed great cost in beautifying the Lady Chappell with images and pictures		
			— — de Percy } Benefact. the one giving the Stones, the other the wood towards the finishing of the Cathedrall Church. — — de Vavesour }		
	Yorke *extra muros*	S. *Mary* — M	King *William Rufus*, after *Alane* Earle of Little *Britt.* (in *Armorica*) & of *Richmond*	Blacke Monkes —	2085 1 5 ob ½

Yorke

Places.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value l. s. d. ob. q.
Yorke —	Saint *Trinity* —	A House of Canons destroyed by K. *Will. Conq.* *Robert Paynell* repaired it for Monkes	Blacke Monkes —	196 17 2 0 0
Yorke —	Saint *Mary* — F	- - - - Lord *Vesty* } - - - Lord *Percy* } 1255, 40. *H.* 3	White Fryers —	
Yorke —	S. *Augustine* — F	- - - - Lord *Scroope*	Augustine Fryers —	
Yorke —	Saint *Peter* } H S. *Leonard* }	King *William Rufus* dedicated it to St. *Peter* King *Stephen* founded it a new, dedicating it to S. *Leonard* *Iohn Roman* Arch-B. of *Yorke*, built the body of the Church, *temp. E.* 1.	A Master 12 Brethren 4 Secular Priests 8 Sisters 30 Choryfters 2 Schoolmasters 206 Beadmen 6 Servitors	362 11 1 ob 0
Iuxta Yorke —	S. *Andrew* — P			
Nun Appleton —	— N	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland*	—	57 5 9 0 0
Arden —	— N	The Kings Ancestors	Nunnes —	83 5 9 0 0
Arthington —	— N	The Ancestors of *How Arthington*	Nunnes —	13 7 4 0 0
Bamburgh, a Cell to Saint *Oswald*	— Cell	King *Henry* the first	Nunnes —	19 0 0 0 0
Barton or Burton Saint *Bees* in Northumberl.	Saint *Mary* — M — Cell	*Adam Swenston* The King's Ancestors	—	124 15 7 0 0
Bella-Launda, vulgo Biland.	Saint *Mary* — M	*Acarius*, first Founder, after *Robert* (Leland) *Roger de Mowbray* & *Gunnora* his mother, fo'uded the Church at *Hode*, and after removed it to *Biland*, 1138, 4 *Stephen*	Blacke Monkes —	149 19 6 0 0
Beverly Commandary —	Saint *Mary* —		Templers first, after Hospitaliers of Saint *John* of Ierusalem	164 10 0 0 0
Beverly —	Saint *Iohn* — C	*Iohn de Beverley* Arc-B. *Yorke, cir.* 700 King *Athelstan* restored it, 929 *Africus Puttocke* *Kinsius* *Alberchus* } Arch-Bishops of *Yorke*. Benef.	Monkes Canons	109 8 8 ob 0
Beverly —	— F	*Iohn de Eightmonde*	—	
Beverly —	— F	*William Tykeston* *Henry Wigleton* Sir *Iohn Hotham* Knight, repaired it, 1287, 16 *E.* 1	Fryers Minors Augustine Fryers	
Bawtre —	— H		—	6 6 8 0 0
Bolton in Craven —	S. *Inis* — F	- - - Earle of *Albemarle*		
Bowtham —	— H	Aliis - - - L. *Grey* of *Codnor*	Carmilite Fryers —	102 9 3 0 0
Bridlington —	S. *Mary* — M	King *Athelstan*	—	9 6 8 0 0
Dasedale —	— N	*Walter de Gaunt* } about the Conque- *Iordan Paganell* } rours time	Canons Regular —	682 13 9 0 0
Doncaster —	Saint *Mary* — F	*Antecessor Radulphi Evers militis*	Nunnes —	21 19 4 0 0
Drax —	— P	*Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* } *Iohn Nighbroder* } 1350, 25, *E.* 3.	White Fryers	
Elerton —	Saint *Mary* N	Sir *William Painell* Knight, Ancestor to Sir *Marmaduke Constable*	Canons —	121 18 3 ob 0
Esselhoult —	— N	*William Fitz-Peter* } *William Aselby* and the Ancestors of } *William Thurreshy* *Ralph Spencer*	Nunnes —	78 0 10 0 0
North Ferreby —	— P	The Ancestors of *Christopher Ward*	Nunnes —	19 0 0 0 0
Fosse gate —	— H	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Cumberland*	—	95 11 7 ob 0
Gromount, or Grosmont —	— P		—	6 13 4 0 0
Guisburgh —	— M	*Peter de Mawley*, Ancestor of *Francis Bigot*, and *George Salvaine*	—	14 2 8 0 0
Hagulstall —	— C	*Robert de Bruis*, 1119, 20 *H.* 1.	—	712 6 6 0 0
Haltemprice —	— M	*Thomas* Arch-B. of *Yorke, temp. H.* 2.	Canons Regular —	
Hampall —	— N	*Thomas Holland* Earle of *Kent*, aliis The Ancestors of the E. of *Richmond*	—	178 0 10 0 0
Handale, or Grundale —	— N	The Ancestors of *Gervais Clifton*	Nunnes —	85 6 11 0 0
Helagh-Parke —	— P	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland*	Nunnes —	20 7 8 0 0
Heningburgh —	— C	The Ancestors of the Earle of *Northumberland*	—	86 5 9 0 0
Hull, *juxta* —	S. *Michael* M	*William de la Poole*, and *Katherine* his wife, 1377, 1 *Richard*	—	36 0 7 0 0
Hull —	S. *Augustine* F	*Galfride de Hutham*, 1330, 5. *E.* 3.	Carthusian Monkes	231 17 3 0 0
Hull —	Saint *Mary* — F	King *Edward* the first Sir *Robert Oughtred* Knight *Richard de la Poole*, 13. *E.* 1.	Augustine Fryers — Carmilite, or white Fryers	
Hull —	S. *Trinity* — H		—	10 0 0 0 0
Hyrst in the Isle of Axholme —	—	*Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*	—	7 11 8 0 0
Keldon —	— N	The Ancestors of the E. of *Westmorland*	Nunnes —	29 6 1 0 0
Non Keling —	— N	The Kings Ancestors	Nunnes —	50 17 2 0 0
Kirkham —	— P	*Walter Espec.* 1122, 23. *H.* 1.	Canons Augustines —	300 15 6 0 0

Kirkleys

Leland

Leland

Leland

Godwin

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.	
Kirkleyes	— N		Nunnes	20 7 8 0 0	
Kirkstall	S. Mary M	Henry Lacy the first, 1147, 13. Stephen	Ciftercian Monks	512 13 4 0 0	
Iuxta Lincolne	S. Mary Mag. Cell			26 1 3 0 0	
Meaux or Melsa	Saint Mary M	William the grosse Earle of Albemarle 1150, 16. King Stephen	Cam. Clu. aliis Cifter. Monkes	445 10 2 ob 0	
Merton	— P	Katherine de Brawmere		183 2 4 0 0	
Molesby	— N	The Kings Ancestors, Aliis The Earle of Salisbury	Nunnes	32 6 2 0 0	
Mountgrace	— M	Thomas Holland, D. of Surry, E. of Kent, & Lord of Wake 1401 John Ingleby, Esquire 3 H.4.		382 5 11 ob 0	
Monke Burton	S. Mary Mag. M	Adam Fitz-Owen	Monkes	323 8 2 0 0	
Nether Alcafter	S. Mary C, S. John Bap. C	Robert Earle of Leicester		27 13 4 0 0	
Newburgh	— P	Robert de Mowbrey, 1127, 28 H.1	Blacke Canons Augustines	417 13 5 0 0	
Newland Commandary	Saint Mary —		First Templers, after Hofpitaliers of S. John of Ieru.	129 14 11 ob 0	
Newton	— H			21 0 2 0 0	
North Allerton	Saint Mary F	King Edward the third 1354 Thomas Hatfield, B. Durham 29 E.3	White Fryers		
North Alverton	Saint Iames H			56 2 2 0 0	
Noftell	S. Oſwald M	Robert Lacy Earle of Lincolne A Confeſſor to King H.1. repaired it	Canons	606 9 3 0 0	
Nunvetholme	— N	The Ancestors of the Lord Dacres	Nunnes	10 3 3 0 0	
Ould Maulton	— M	Eustace Fitz-John with one eye, temp. K. Stephen		257 7 0 0 0	
Howden	— C				
Pontefract	S. Io. Bapt M	John Lacy Earle of Lincolne, temp. H.3	Cluniac Monkes	472 16 10 ob 0	
Pontefract	Saint Trinity H	Sir Robert Knowles Knight, and Constance his wife	Poore people	182 13 7 0 0	
Iuxta Richmund	S. Martin, Cell	The Kings Ancestors		47 16 0 0 0	
Rippon	— M	Wilfride Bishop of Torke, 700 Odo Arch B. Cant. repaired it, 930			
Leland. Rivaulx	Saint Mary M	Walter Espec, & Dalina his wife, 1132 33 Hen. 1	Cluniacke Monkes		
Rofedale	— P	The Kings Ancestors		41 13 8 0 0	
Leland. Rotheram	S. Iesus C	Tho. Rotherams Arch. B. Yorke, temp. H.7.	1 President, 5 Priests, 6 Chorysters, 3 School masters (Grāmer, writing, Muſicke)	58 5 9 ob q	
Leland Rupe, Alias Roche	Saint Mary M	Richard sonne of Turgis Richard de Bullie		271 19 4 0 0	
Richall, or Ridall	— M			351 14 6 0 0	
Salley	S. Mary M	William sonne of Henry de Percy	White Monks	221 15 8 0 0	
Scarburrow	Saint Mary F	King Edward the second, 1319	White Fryers		
Scarburrow	— F	Sir Adam Sage, Knight	Preaching Fryers		
Scarburrow	— F	Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland	Blacke Fryers		
Selby	Saint German M	King William Conqueror, 1078	Benedictine Monkes	819 2 6 0 0	
Sempringham	S. Gilbert S. M, Mary Wotts	S. Gilbert the beginner of the order Agnes de Chester	Gilbertines	66 13 4 0 0	
Smithywait, or Semingthwait	— N	The Ancestors of the Earle of Northumberland	Nunnes	62 6 0 0 0	
Stoke Kirke	— Cell			8 0 0 0 0	
Sutton	— C			13 18 8 0 0	
Swinhey	— C			134 6 9 ob 0	
Thyrkehead, or Tinkenhead	— N	The Ancestors of Sir John Melton, Knight	Nunnes	23 12 2 0 0	
Tickhill	S. Augustine F	The Ancestors of John Aske	Nunnes Augustine Fryers		
Warter	S. Iames P	John Clavell Deane of Paules	Blacke Canons Augustines	221 3 10 0 0	
Watton	— M	Geffrey Trusbut Knight temp. H.1 William Ros of Hamlake Eustace Fitz-John with one eye, temp. King Stephen	Ganons Gilbertines Nunnes tines	453 7 8 0 0	
Whitby	Saint Peter Saint Hilda M	Saint Hilda 664 Oſwin King of Northumberland, and Edelfleda his daughter, benefactors William (Cambd.) Serlo de Percy re-edified it (after the destruction thereof made by the Danes) circa tem. H.1	Benedictine Monkes	505 9 1 0 0	
Woderhall					
Woodkirk a Cell to Saint Oſwald	S. Trinity Cell			128 5 3 ob 0	
Wicham	— Cell	— — — Earle Warren		47 0 4 0 0	
Leland Wilberfoſſe	— M	The Kings Ancestors	White Monks and Nunnes Gilbert	25 17 6 0 0	
Yeddingham	Saint Mary N, — N	Alane, ſon of Elias de Cotton Alane his ſonne a benefactor	Nunnes	28 8 8 0 0	
	S. Clement N	The Ancestors of the Lord Latimer	Nunnes	26 6 8 0 0	
	S. Sepulcher. M		Nunnes	55 11 11 0 0	
	S. Nicholas N			11 18 4 0 0	
				29 1 4 0 0	

S. John

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s. d. ob. q.	
S. Iohns Mount Commendary S. Sepulch. Chap.	Saint Mary S. Se-Pulch. Chap.			102 13 10 0 0	
				138 19 2 ob 0	

The totall ſumme, &c. 1461 l. 3. 5. ob. 0

In S. Aſaph DIOCESSE.

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s. d. ob. q.	
Baſing worke in Flintſhire	— M	King Henry 2. Ran. Higd. lib. 7. 12.	Ciſtercian Monks	157 15 2 0 q	Leland
Aber-convey in Carnarvanſh.	Saint Mary M	Lleoline, the great Prince of North-wales temp. H.3	Ciſtercian Monkes	179 10 10 0 0	Leland.
Howſton Commandary	Saint Mary		Templars firſt, after Hoſpitalers of S. John of Ieruſal.	160 14 10 0 0	
Lanlugen, or Wanligan in Mountgomſh.	— N		Nunnes	22 13 8 0 0	
Strata Marcella, or Stratmarhill Mountgomery ſhire	— M	Owen ſonne of Griffin, Prince of Powis Wenneonnes his ſonne confirmed it, 1202. 4. Iohn	Ciſtercian Monkes	73 7 6 0 0	Leland.
Vale of Saint Croſſe in Denbigh-ſhire	Saint Mary M	Madoc ſon of Griffith, Prince of Powis temp. E.1.	Ciſtercian Monks	214 3 5 0 0	Leland.
Saint Aſaph Epiſcopal See		Kentigerne Biſhop of Glaskow in Scotland, founded a Monaſtery, 560. wherein were 660 Monkes Malgo a Brittiſh King, at the ſame time made it an Epiſcopall See B. Howell de Ednevell, B. Lleweline, B. Kedman, B. David ap Owin, Io Fitz-allan Earle of Arundell, Griffith Vaughā Lord of Tale, eſpeciall Benefactors			Godwin

Summe totall, &c. 808. 5. 5. 0. q.

Bangor DIOCESSE.

Place.	Dedication.	Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £ s. d. ob. q.	
Bangor Epiſcopall See	Saint Daniel M	A famous Monaſtery in the Saxons time, made an Epiſcopall See about the Conqueſt time Owen Glendour, that famous Rebell, temp. Hen.4. burnt downe the Cathedrall Church, which the ſucceeding Biſhops indevoured to reſtore Henry Dene Biſhop, ſpent very much in repaire of it, temp. Hen.7 B. Skevington, temp. H. 8. built all the Cathedrall Church from the Quire downe-ward, with a foure-ſquare Tower Steeple			Godwin
Bangor	— F		Blacke Fryers		
Bradeſey in Caernarvan-ſh.	Saint Mary M			58 6 2 ob 0	
Beaumaris in Angleſey	S. Francis F		Gray Fryers		
Bithkillert	— M			69 3 8 0 0	
Caſtr. Cubii	— C			24 0 0 0 0	
Holy head in Angleſey	— C				
Kinner in Merioneth-ſhire	Saint Mary M	Lewelline, ſonne of Gerwais.		58 15 4 0 0	
Lanuais	Saint Mary F	Lewelline, Prince of Wales, Kings of England, Benefactors.	Dominican Fryers		Leland.
Penmon	— P			40 17 9 ob 0	
Siriolis	— M			47 15 3 0 0	

Summe totall, &c. 298. 18. 3. 0. 0

Saint

Saint Davids DIOCESSE.

	Places.		Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £	s	d	ob	q
Godwin.	Saint *Davids* Episcopall See		S. *Andrewes* / S. *Davids*		*Lucius* King of *Britaine*, being baptized, caused the Temples of the false gods to be dedicated to the service of the true God, and appointed 28 Bishoprickes, whereof three were Arch-bishopricks, one of which three was seated at *Caerlegion* upon *Vske*, 180. At this *Caerlegion, tem. K. Arthur* fate *Dubritius* Bishop there, who dyed Anno 522. Saint *David* succeeded him, and translated his See from *Caerlegion* unto S. *Davids*, by the consent of King *Arthur*, to whom he was Vnle, and they continued their Archiepiscopall dignity almost to King *Henry* 1 his time, about which time they lost their Title of Arch-Bish. and submitted themselves to the See of *Canterbury*. Bishop *Peter* new built the Cathedral Church, *tem* K. *John*. B. *Gower, temp. E.* 3, built the Bishops Pallace. B. *Vaughan, temp. H.* 8, built the Chappell of S. *Trinity*.					
	Saint *Davids*	—	—	C	*Adam de Houghton*, Bish. of S. *Davids*, *temp. E.* 3						
	Iuxta S. *Davids*	—	Saint *Mary*	C	John Duke of *Lancaster, temp. R.* 2						
Godwin	Abergully in Caermarthenshire		—	C	*Thomas Beke*, Bishop of Saint *Davids temp. E.* 1		42	0	0	0	0
Leland	Alba-Iuli la in Caermarden-sh.		—	M	*Rhese* son of *Theodor*, Prince of *South-wales, temp. Will. Conq.*	Cistercian Monkes	153	17	2	0	0
	Brechon	—	S. *Evang.*	P			134	11	4	0	0
	Cardigan, a Cell to Chertsey		—	Cell			13	4	9	0	0
Leland	Caermarden in Caermarden sh.		—	P		Grey Fryers, (Lo. Canos Aug. land	174	0	8	0	0
	Combe-hyre	—	—	M			24	19	4	0	0
	Iuxta S. Davids in Pembrokeshire		Saint *Mary*	C	John Duke of *Lancaster*		106	3	6	0	0
	Denbigh	—	Saint *Mary*	F	*John de Sunimore*. 1399, 23, R. 2	Carmelite Fryers					
Leland	S. Dogmaels in Pembroke-sh.		Saint *Martin*	M	*Martin De Tours*, L. of *Kemis* 3 *ep. H.* 1 *Will. de Valence*, Earle of *Pembroke* repaired it, *temp. H.* 3	Monkes of S. Martin.	68	1	6	0	0
	Heverfordweſt in Pembrokeshire		—	P			135	6	1	0	0
	Kidwelly in Caermardensh. a Cell to Sherburne		—	—			29	10	0	0	0
	Landewybrevy	—	—	C	*Thomas Beke*, B. S. *Davids temp. E.* 1						
	Lilere in Caermarden-shire		—	M			57	5	4	0	0
Leland	Monketon, a Cell to S. *Albans*		—	P			113	2	6	ob	q
	Newport	—	—	F		Augustine Fryers					
Leland	Pulla in Caldey Iſland a Cell to S. Dogmaell		—	P		Monks Benedict. of the order of S. *Martin of Turin*	52	2	5	0	0
Leland	Slebach in Pembroke-shire a Commendary		—	—	*Wizo* / *Walter* brothers	First Templers after Hoſpitaliers of S. *Io. of Ieruſal.*	184	10	11	ob	0
	Straſſlorida or Straſſower in Cardiganſhire		—	M	*Rafe*, ſonne of *Theodore* Prince of *South-Wales, temp.* King *William Con.* / Aliis *Griffith ap Rafe* and *Meredith*	Ciſtercians (Lel.) Cluniac. (Camb.)	122	6	8	0	0
	Swanſey	—	—	—							
	Gardanatus Pembroke a cel to S. Albans		—	Cell	*Humfrey* Duke of *Glouceſter. temp. H.* 6.		20	0	0	0	0
Leland.	Talley	—	S. *Mary* / S. *Joh. Bap.*	M	*Reſtus*	White Canons Premonſtratenſ.	153	1	4	0	0
	Tiron	—	—	—	*Robert Martin, temp. H.* 1						

Summe totall, &c. £ 1584. 3. 7. 0. ½

Landaffe

LANDAFFE DIOCESSE.

	Places.		Dedication.		Founders, Benefactors, and Time.	Order.	Value. £	s	d	ob	q
	Landaffe Epiſcopall See		Saint *Teleau*	—	*Lucius*, firſt Chriſtian King of the *Britaines*, 180. *Germanus* and *Lupus*, two French Biſhops, about 520, appointed *Dubricius* Biſhop of this See. Biſhop *Vrban* built a new the Cathedrall Church, *circa* 1120, 21. *H.* 1. *Henry* Biſhop of *Landaffe*, added 14 Prebends						
	Abergevenny in Monmouthſhire	—	—	P	*John de Haſtings*, Earle of *Pembroke*, *temp. E.* 3	Benedictine Monkes	59	4	0	0	0
	Breknoke a Cel to battell Abby		S. *Io, Evan.*	F	*Bernard de Newmarch, temp. H.* 1. *Miles* / *Roger* Earles of *Hereford*, Benef. K. *Hen.* 8. converted the Fryery into a Colledge of Prebends, incorporating 14 Prebends therein	Blacke Fryers	—	—	—	—	—
	Caerdiffe	—	S. *Francis*	F							
	Caerdiffe	—	—	F		Franciſcan Fryers					
	Chepſtow in Monmouth-ſh.		—	M		Blacke Fryers					
	Gracedieu in Monmouth-ſh.		Saint *Mary*	M		Benedictine Monkes	32	4	0	0	0
	Goldcliffe, in Monmouth-ſh.		—	P	— — — — *de Chaundois*		19	4	4	0	0
	S. Kinmercy, with a Chapp.		—	P			—	—	—	—	—
	Lantarnam in Monmouth-ſh		—	M			8	4	8	0	0
	Malps by Newport, neere the River of Vske		—	Cell		Ciſtercian Monks	71	3	2	0	0
	Monmouth	—	S. *Katherine* / S. *Florence*	P			14	9	11	0	0
	Morgan in Glamorgan-ſhire		—	M	*William* Earle of *Glouceſter, temp. H.* 2.	Benedictine Monkes	56	1	11	0	0
	Nith in Glamorganſhire		S. *Mary*	M	*Richard de Grenvile*	Ciſtercian Monkes	188	14	0	0	0
	Lanthony in Monmouth-ſh.		—	P	*Miles* Conſtable of *Glouceſter*, and Earle of *Hereford*, 1137, 3. *Steph.* (Leland) / *Walter Lacy.* (Cambd.)	Ciſtercian Monkes	150	4	9	0	0
	Cair Vske in Monmouth-ſh.		—	N			—	—	—	—	—
	Tinterna in Monmouth ſh.		—	M		Benedictine Nunnes	69	9	8	ob	0
	Wenny, a Cell to Glouceſter		—	P	*Walter* ſonne of *Richard*, Earle of *Oge* / brother of *Gilbert*, Earle of *Pembroke*.	Ciſtercian Monks	—	—	—	—	—
							256	11	6	ob	0

The totall ſumme, &c. 925 12. 0. 0. 0

The whole totall ſum of all the values contained in this Catalogue of England, beſides the two Vniverſities, and divers Monaſteries unvallued at the ſuppreſſion, amounteth to 182895 pound, 8 ſhillings, 9 pence, ob. q. And of Wales 3616 l. 19 s. 3 d. ob. 0. which maketh in all 186512 pound, 8 s. 1 d. 0. q.

The Totall Number and Value of theſe, and all the Promotions Spirituall, certified at the taxation in King *Henry* the eight his time of the firſt Fruits and Tenthes, are by the Record, as followeth.

Promotions.	Number particular	Number totall.	Value totall.
Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks	21		
Deaneries	11		
Archdeaconries	60		
Dignities and Prebends in Cathedrall Churches	394	12474 l.	320180 l. 10 s.
Benefices	8803		
Religious Houſes	605		
Hoſpitals	110		
Colledges	96		
Chantries and free Chappels	2374		

Taken from the poſſeſſion of the Clergie by *Henry* the eight, and converted to temporall uſes out of the former ſumme, 161 100 l. 9 s. 7 d. q. Since in this Precedent Table, wee have laid to the Readers view a great part of this Kings ill, the waſte of ſo much of Gods revenue (howſoever abuſed) let him not hold it in curioſity, out of ſeaſon, ſince it may in Charity fall well in ſequence by ſetting downe the Churches either erected, or reſtored by him, or by him (which is the now ſtate of our Clergie) continued, to redeeme his memory, blemiſhed by the former errour from the vulgar aſperſion of ſacrilegious impiety.

This King after the diſſolution of the Religious Houſes, erected theſe ſixe Biſhopricks, to wit, *Weſtminſter, Cheſter, Peterborough, Oxford, Briſtoll*, and *Glouceſter*, whereof the five laſt are in *eſſe*, and at the ſame time he erected alſo theſe Cathedrall Churches hereafter mentioned, wherein he founded a Deane, and the number of Prebends following, *viz.*

Canterbury

Canterbury	12	Glouceſter	6
Wincheſter	12	Briſtoll	6
Worceſter	10	Carliol	4
Cheſter	6	Durham	12
Peterborough	6	Rocheſter	6
Oxford	6	Norwich	6
Ely	8		

The yearely value of which Cathedrall Churches ſo newly by him erected, with the Collegiats of *Windſor*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Wolverhampton*, over and beſides the Petri-Canons, and other inferiour Miniſters, amounteth by eſtimation to 5942 l. 8. s. 2 d.

The Promotions Eccleſiaſticall, which for the moſt part, except a little pared, he preſerved entire, are in a generall eſtimate by the Shires, wherein they ſtand in the enſuing Table expreſſed.

The Preſent Number and value of the Spirituall Promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	*Promotions*	*Value.*	*Counties.*	*Promotions*	*Value.*
Barkeſhire	139	205 3 06 00 ob 0	Lancaſhire	30	078 9 10 01 00 0
Bedfordſhire	116	150 6 05 05 00 0	Leiceſterſhire	199	256 14 08 00 0
Buckinghamſhire	172	223 6 02 06 00 q	Lincolneſhire	638	612 9 10 4 ob 0
Cambridgeſhire	151	190 2 18 07 ob 0	The City of *London*	96	336 5 00 14 ob 0
The towne of *Calis*, & the Merchants thereof	26	059 0 06 10 00 0	Middleſex	58	107 4 19 06 ob 0
Cheſhire	68	177 6 12 00 ob 0	Norfolke	678	650 5 15 10 ob 0
Cornwall	161	270 8 16 02 00 0	Northamptonſhire	281	388 4 08 11 ob 0
Cumberland & Weſtm.	63	101 2 06 06 ob q	Nottinghamſhire	168	164 0 07 09 ob 0
Derby	106	101 7 11 10 ob 0	Oxfordſhire	164	191 7 17 07 ob 0
Devonſhire	394	746 6 01 04 00 0	Rutlandſhire	52	054 8 00 10 00 0
Dorſetſhire	248	307 7 05 08 ob q	The Archdeaconry of Richmond	105	184 1 11 08 ob q
The Biſhopricke of *Durham* in the County of *Northumb.*	118	233 2 07 05 ob 0	Shropſhire	190	153 0 05 10 ob 0
Eſſex	378	534 7 06 11 00 q	Staffordſhire	134	088 4 03 11 00 0
Yorkeſhire	440	497 4 00 00 00 0	Southamptonſhire	158	374 9 06 07 ob 0
Gloſterſhire	288	329 6 06 04 ob 0	Sommerſetſhire	385	491 0 13 07 00 q
Huntingtonſhire	79	109 7 0 06 00 q	Suffolke	428	48 11 0 80 00 0
Hartfordſhire	110	183 7 16 00 00 0	Surrey	113	170 1 08 09 00 q
Herefordſhire	160	136 4 19 02 ob q	Suſſex	322	306 8 16 04 000
Kent	335	397 4 13 00 ob 0	Warwickſhire	158	173 2 18 10 ob q
			Worceſterſhire	153	203 5 14 00 ob 0
			Wiltſhire	305	350 5 02 00 ob q

Number totall of the benefices in *England* 8501	Value totall of the Benefices in *England* 167721. 5. s. 2.

The ſeverall Dioceſſes of Wales.	*Promotions.*	*Value.*
The Biſhopricke of Saint *Aſaph*	312	153 6 18 07 ob 0
The Biſhopricke of *Bangor*	104	122 5 05 08 00 0
The Biſhopricke of *Landaffe*	166	120 4 11 19 ob 0
The Biſhopricke of Saint *Davids*	323	253 1 12 09 000

Number totall of the benefices in *Wales* 905	Value totall of the Benefices in *Wales*, 6498. l. 8. s. 1 l.

Number totall of all the benefices both in *England* and *Wales*, 9407.	Value totall of all the Benefices both in *England* and *Wales*, 111207. l. 14. s. 1. d.

The value of theſe inferiour Promotions in England, which have cure of Soules, I have ſuited into ſeverall Proportions as they are rated in Record, and diſtinguiſhed the Vicarages from Parſonages in the Table following.

Livings under tenne pound	4543	Parſonages	
		Vicarages	
Livings of tenne pound, and under twenty Markes	1445	Parſonages	905
		Vicarages	540
Livings of twenty Markes, and under twenty pound	1614	Parſonages	1134
		Vicarages	0490
Livings of twenty pound, and under twenty ſixe pound	0524	Parſonages	0414
		Vicarages	0179
Livings of twenty ſixe pound, and under thirty pound	0206	Parſonages	0163
		Vicarages	0043
Livings of thirty pound, and under forty pound	0248	Parſonages	0188
		Vicarages	0060
Livings of forty pound, and upwards	0144	Parſonages	0115
		Vicarages	0029

To prevent any miſtaking in the Reader, I have thought it not unfit to conclude this Table with the diſcovery of my meaning by certaine letters before uſed, *viz.*

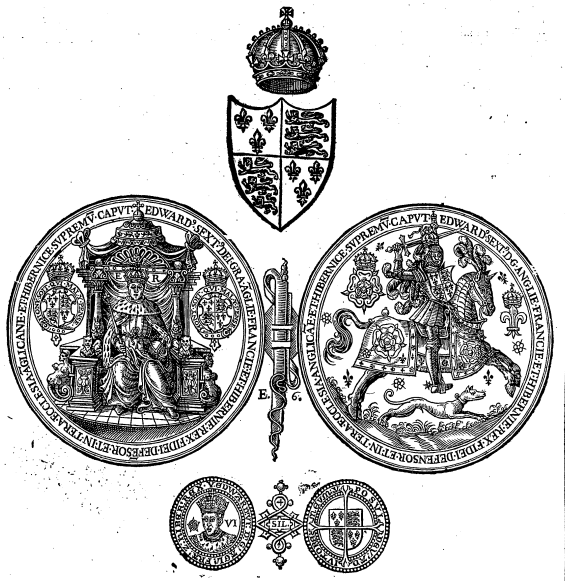
M.	Monaſtery	F.	Fryery.
P.	Priory	N.	Nunnery.
C.	Colledge.	H.	Hoſpitall.

EDVVARD

Edw. VI.

EDVVARD THE SIXT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTIE-NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS LIFE, ACTS, AND DEATH.

Monarch 59.



Chapter XXII.

An. Dom. 1547.

EDWARD the ſixth of that Name, and onely ſonne living unto King *Henry* the eight, was borne at his Manor of *Hampton-Court* in Middleſex, the twelfth of *October*, and yeare of ſalvation, 1537. and ſixe dayes after being the eighteenth of the ſame moneth, hee was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*: his birth was joyfull unto the King and Commons; but the death of his Mother, the vertuous Queene *Iane*, brought immediate ſorrow unto both, whoſe wombe was cut (as ſome have affirmed) to the ſaving of his, but loſſe of her owne life, upon whoſe death theſe elegant verſes were writ;

Phœnix Iana jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla taliſſe duas.

Here lies the Phenix, Lady Iane,
whoſe death a Phenix bare,
O griefe, two Phenixs at one time,
together never were.

P. Gratian.

Edward created Prince of Wales, preſently after his birth.

Alluding to the Creſt of her Father a Phœnix in flames within a Crowne.

(2) Nine yeares and odde moneths he was vertuouſly trained up in the life of his Father, and at his death appointed the firſt of his heires, and for want of iſſue (if it ſo chanced) *Mary*, and thee failing, *Elizabeth* to ſucceed in his Throne: for as *Henry* with *Salomon* was blame-worthy for women, ſo left he but one ſonne and two daughters, as the other in Scripture is ſaid to have done: *Salomon* had *Rehoboam* a foole, and unfortunate, his daughters, but obſcure, and both of them Subjects; but *Henry*

By his Will dated the 30. of *Decemb.* An. D. 1546.

Salomon and *Henry* compared in their ſonnes, and in their iſſue.

An. Dom. 1546.

was more happy in *Edward* his sonne, who proved another young *Salomon* himselfe, and his sisters both Soveraignes of an Imperiall Crowne.

(3) He began his raigne the twentie eight of *January*, in the yeare of *Christ Iesus* 1546. and the last of that moneth was proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; and supreme Governour of these Churches, with other his rightfull Titles to his Imperiall Stiles belonging. And on the twentieth of *February* following, being Shrove-Sunday, was Crowned at *Westminster* with all due Solemnities.

John Stow.

The Duke of *Hereford* made Protector by Parliament.

(4) His Counsellours were appointed by his licke Father as we have said, and Protector over his Minority and Realmes (by consent of the Nobles) was ordained his Vncle *Edward* Lord *Seymer*, Earle of *Hereford* and Duke of *Sommerset*, brother unto Queene *Iane*, who thereupon gave the young King immediately did the like unto the Lord *Mayor* of *London*.

2 *Chron* 34.

(5) His first businesse was to establish Gods service, who had established him in the Throne, and as another *Iosiah* in godly zeale, destroyed Idolatry, by pulling downe Images in *England*, as that King in *Iudah* did the Altars of *Baalim*; sought the Salvation of his Subjects, by sending forth Preachers to instruct the people, as *Iosiah* did the *Levites*, the teachers of *Israel* unto their charges: brought the Bible in a knowne language to be read in the Church, as he did the Arke into the Temple of the Lord; commanded the ancient and true use of the Sacrament in both kinds, as *Iosiah* commanded the Passeover both to be kild and celebrated in *Ierusalem*, and in all things proved another *Iosiah* indeed.

Iosiah and King *Edward* compared. 2 *chron.* 35.

Statutes 1 *Ed.* 6. *An.* 1.

(6) And as *Edward* was busied in setting forth Gods glory, so the Protector and Councell were carefull for the State of the Realme, and especially for their Kings marriage with *Mary* the young Queene of *Scotland*, unto which a Parliament at *Edenburgh* had consented in *Anno* 1543. and for confirmation thereof, had sent into *England*, *William* Earle of *Glancarn*, *Sir George Dowglas*, *Sir William Hamilton*, and *Sir Iames Lermound*, Scotish Knights, Ambassadors, unto King *Henry* deceased, betwixt whom the contracts were sealed interchangeably as we have said.

John Lesse, B. R.

Rich. Grafton.

(7) And now by the Councell of *England* was thought most fit to be sought after, and consummated, for the wealth and peace of the whole Iland: wherefore they published their desires to that end, in an Epistle sent to the Scotish Nobility, directed unto them by the Lord *Protector*; wherein they were remembred of the many incursions, roades, and spoiles, committed and done, upon either Kingdome through their continuall hostilities, and warres: shewing likewise the neerenesse of language, lineaments, and conditions of the Nations; inhabiting the same Iland, and therefore a most sure token (as they tooke it) to be descended from one and the same Originall; urging Gods providence, that had taken away all the Male-Princes of *Scotland*, leaving them only one daughter, and in *England*, onely one sonne unto King *Henry* among his many wives. Their Princes themselves for yeares, qualities, and magnificence, fitly ordained to contract the union of Peace: alleaging that *England* sought neither the preheminence, nor the conquest of *Scotland*, but rather desired an equality both in State and government; and to that end offered to take the name of *Britaines*, indifferent to both, though dishonourable to themselves, in bereaving their Nation of the glory atchieved, in many of their victories. These notwithstanding, the Scotish persisted, to bestow their young Queene another way.

The English desire the marriage with *Scotland*.

An Epistle sent unto the Nobility of *Scotland*.

(8) Whereupon the Protector in person, undertooke an expedition into *Scotland*, accompanied with the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Dacres*, and *Grey* of *Wilton*, many Knights, and a most warlike army of Souldiers. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admirall of the Fleete was appointed to Sea, and Sir *William Woodhouse* made his Vice-admirall: these meeting at *Barwicke*, set forth into *Scotland*, declaring by sound of Trumpet the cause of their comming, with proffers of peace to all such of that Nation, as would advance the marriage betwixt their two Princes, according to Covenants already concluded upon.

The ancient name *Britaine*, indifferent to English and Scotish.

The Protector goeth into *Scotland*.

(9) The Governour of *Scotland* hearing newes of many Castles furrender and surprise, and feares daily encreasing by augmented reports, commanded his Heraulds with all possible diligence, to passe through all the parts of the Realme, and the *Fire-Crosse* to bee borne wheresoever they came; a Custome indeed anciently used in greatest extremitie, and onely then after this manner, two fire-Brands set a Crosse, were carried upon the point of a speare, with Proclamation of the eminent danger, calling for aide, assigning the time and place, when and whither they were to resort: yet there be that say, It was a painted red Crosse set up for certaine dayes in the Field of that *Barony*, whereunto the aide should come: and those that refused, being above sixteene, and under sixty were accounted traitors, and their Land confiscated to the King. This ancient muster the Governour commanded, appointing them a day to be at * *Mussilburt*, in defence of their liberties and young Princes life: which presently strucke such regard to their hearts, that thither they strove who should be first, and pitched their Standards even in the face of the Enemy.

The English made Proclamation in *Scotland*.

John Lesse.

The manner of the fire Crosse.

Will. Patten.

(10) Many warlike enterprises were attempted betwixt them, many prisoners taken, and stout Souldiers slaine, upon the *Scots* part the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horse lost his life, and his sonne with one *Maxwell* and sixe other Gentlemen taken prisoners. Of the English were hurt *Henry Vane*, and *Bartevill*, a French-man: *Bulmer*, *Gower*, and *Crouch*, three Captaines of the light horsemen were taken prisoners: all which so happened before the day of great Battell.

* *Mussilburgh*. The hurts meant at *Musselburgh*.

Enterprises done before the great battell was fought.

(11) Whilest these things proceeded, and either part played upon the advantage, Earle *Huntly* of *Scotland*, sent a Herauld and Trumpet unto *Englands* Protector, with proffers of Combate, either twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or in single fight themselves man to man, which surely was honourable, the *Scots* having advantage for number, and charitable for the saving of Christian bloud: but their persons unequall in regard of his place; that demand was denied, and proffers made for the battell: which happened even the next day following, being the tenth of September, and the last of the weeke.

Earle *Huntly* his stout challenge.

(12) The place where the *English* lay encamped, was upon the Bankes of *Edenbrough Frith*, wherein their Ships floted to further the Land service, and their men seeking the advantage of a hill, called *Pinkinclenche*, hasted thitherward betimes in the morning; the *Scotish* thinking they had fled to their ships, made the like hast to impeach their March, their Army they divided into three Battels, the Vantgard whereof was led by the Earle of *Angus*, the reregard by the valiant Earle *Huntley*, and in the great Battell, was the Governour with the Earle of *Argile*, and many other of the *Scotish* Nobilitie.

The Scots discomfited.

The number of Scots slaine.

Bishop *Lesle*.

Holinsh. p 989.

The Scots mistake the English designe.

(13) These eager of spoile, and filled with hope, hasted furiously forward, without all feare, or any good Order, and breathlesse, almost passed over the River *Eske*, preventing thereby the expectation of the enemy, but being within danger of shot, the *English Fleete* from the Road let freely flie among a wing of the Irish-Archers, slaying many, with such terrour to the rest, as hardly could they be gotten to goe forward, which indangered them more. The *Scotish Armie* thereupon removed somewhat South-ward, seeking to get the higher ground, with advantage both of Sunne and winde, the desire whereof caused them little to regard the helpe of Horse, but for hast drew their great Ordnance thitherward onely by maine strength of men.

(14) The

W. Patten.

The name of this field is not agreed upon, we call it *Musselburgh*: the Scots *Seaton-field*. *Rous-fide*, *Brayfield*: *Prestfield*, *Walkford field*, &c. Master *Patten*.

English Captaines slaine, and the Lord *Grey* hurt.

The Kings Standard in danger to be lost.

The battell of *Musselburgh*.

(14) The English Captaines perceiving what the Scotish intended, and that now no skirmish but a Battell must be undergone, fell to Consultation, as they sate mounted in their saddles, where with such resolutions they departed asunder, that *John* Earle of *Warwicke*, Lord Marshall of the Field, desired the Protector to be good unto his Wife and Children, if on his part things went not well with him. By this time the Armies were at point to joyne battell, in the place called *Edmondstone-edge*, neere unto *Muskelborough*, where the Master of the English Ordnance had mounted two Canons neere unto the top of the hill. The Scotish came forward, faster then an ordinary March, their Pikemen thicke ranged together, bearing broad Bucklers in their left hands.

(15) At the first encounter Captaine *Shelley* Lieutenant of the Band of *Bulleners*: Captaine *Ratliffe* brother to the Lord *Fitzwater*, with many Gentlemen of name and account, were slaine, and the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* Generall of the Horsemen, dangerously hurt in the mouth with a Pike: and indeed such was the fury of the Scots first encounter, that the English horsemen were forced backe, and in retiring ranne through, and bare downe a part of their owne foot-men, to their great hurt: when their Kings Standard (borne by Sir *Andrew Flammoch*) was laid fast hold on by the Scotish, and had not that Knights strength beene the more, and his Horse the better, himselfe had beene slaine, and the Standard lost, which notwithstanding was grasped so fast, that the Scots bare away the Nether end of the staffe to the burrell.

(16) The Canons from the hill, played fore upon the *Scotish*, and so did the Ordnance out of the English Fleete, whose terrible noise and smoake, filled the Armies with furious Cryes, and darkened the day as with the Clouds of night: The retreat of the Protectors Horsemen, disordering their fellowes (as is said) gave signes unto the *Scots* of a present victory, who now upon a forward Courage disranked themselves for hast, and fell upon the disbanded *English*, who presently by their Leaders were brought into Array, and fiercely prefsed forward upon the vantgard of the enemy, their advantage the more, for that the *Scots* wanted shot to answer their violence: which caused them in haste confusedly to retire towards their great Battell; and those misdeeming the day had beene loft, turned their backes and fled; the chase was followed almost five miles, wherein the Lord *Fleming* with sundry men of note were slaine: *Bishop Leslie* recordeth nine by name, besides ten thousand of their souldiers that therein lost their lives, and prisoners taken, about a thousand persons, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of *Huntly*, Chancellour of *Scotland*, the Lord *Yester*, *Hobby*, *Hamilton*, Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the Master of *Saupoole*, the Lord *Wimmes*, and a brother of the Earle of *Cassils*: such was the successe of the English, and losse of the Scottish.

Queene *Mary* conveyed into France.

A wing of the Irish slaine gall'd from the Fleete.

Rich. *Grefton.*

(17) *Lieth* they sacked and set on fire, tooke the Iland *Saint Colmes*, *Broughticrag*, *Rockesburgh*, *Humes* Castle, and others: so that many Gentlemen in *Tividall*, and the *Meres*, came to the Protector, and entred into termes and conditions of Peace. In the meane while by the working of the Governour, and Queene *Dowager*, the young Queene was suddenly conveyed from *Striveling*, unto the *Ile*, and Abbey of *Michmahomo*, as to a place of more securitie, and shortly after into *France* to be married unto the *Dolphine*, shee then being of age betwixt five and sixe: whereat the English so stormed, as they determined and threatned the Conquest of *Scotland*. But God who is the disposer of Kingdomes, and hath the hearts of Princes in his owne hand, in his unsearchable decrees, saw it not time to unite us yet, the whole *Iland* under one Crowne, to which end he suffered the *French* to assist the *Scots*, and *England* to be burthened with her owne civill broyles.

(18) For the Protector returned, and a Parliament at *London* assembled, all Colledges, Free-chappels, and Chanteries, were given to the King, wherein was repealed the Statute formerly made, and commonly called the *Sixe Articles*, which had beene the cause of many Martyrs deathes, in the dayes of King *Henry* his Father, as also other enacted by King *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the fift, for the suppression of Scriptures in English, and other points held, in their dayes accounted hereticall, at which time also injunctions went forth to cleanse the Church of all Images, and Commissioners sent with authoritie to pull them downe, who first began at the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules* in *London*, and thence proceeded casting downe those Idols in all the Churches throughout *England* and *Wales*. Whereof great stirres prefently happened, and in *Cornwall* the first.

The act of the sixe articles repealed.

Images suppressed.

(19) For the Kings Commission being put in practise, and these gay golden Images cast downe, broken and burnt, their Priests accounted the Act sacrilegious, and one of them as *Baals* for zeale, sought to make his sacrifice with bloud, but sparing his owne, sheathed his knife in the heart of Master *Body* a Commissioner, imployed about the same businesse: which fact was so favoured among the rurall Commons of *Cornwall*, and *Devonshire* (who ever gave voice for the Papall continuance) that in a rebellious manner they combined together against the King.

Body murthered by a Priest for pulling downe Images.

(20) Their chiefe Captaines were *Humfrey Arundell*, Governour of the Mount, with sixe other Gentlemen of name, neither were the Priests backeward in so bad a worke, whereof *Robert Bocham*, and seven others were the forwardest men; accompanied with no lesse then ten thousand tall Souldiers, who all sought to undoe those points of Religion, which the King by law and Act of Parliament had ordained to be observed: Whereupon they besieged the Citie of *Excester*, and with many sharpe assaults fought the possession thereof, twise firing the Gates, and leaving nothing undone, that either wit or warre would afford to obtaine: for they brought the Citizens to such distresse, that they forced them to mould up branne for their bread, working it in Cloathes, for otherwise could they not bring it to incorporate together: their daintiest flesh was their owne horses, and those slaine were distributed aswell to the poore as rich; for which their loyaltie and most faithfull service King *Edward* did both highly esteeme them, and richly reward them by confirmation of the Cities Charters, inlarging the liberties, augmenting the revenewes, and giving unto the Citizens the Mannor of *Exiland*, as the signet of his love for their service to the Crowne, to be had in remembrance of their loyaltie for ever. Meane while the Rebels robbed the Countrey, unto whom all things was common that came unto hand.

John Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Commotion in *Cornwall*.

Excester in great distresse by the rebels.

(21) The Rebels thus pestering those parts with their riotous attempts, looked and well hoped that others would have joyned to their aide, but therein deceived, they lastly fell to Consultation what was to be done, and in fine concluded for the best policy to article with the King, which how to be set downe, bred likewise much trouble and disturbance with their confused cries: for these rude and unexperienced Councellors made their owne conceived opinions the fundamentall matters for redresse, some would have this, and other some that; but none would be gainesaid of his will or demand, holding his voice as worthy of hearing in this Court of assembly, as his body an aide to support the Action, so that long it was ere they could light on their owne discontents, and longer ere they could agree what they would have reformed, onely still constant in variable unconstancy; for some would have no Iustices, others no Gentlemen, Parkes must be Pastures, and Inclosures must downe, the Priests ever pulling the Bell-rope to ring the Masse into *England*, and to vowll *Cardinall Poole* from *Rome*, and with much

King *Edwards* gift unto *Excester*.

The confusions among the rebels.

The Clergy for the Pope.

much adoe, lastly to little purpose Articles were agreed upon, and sent to the King, the Copy whereof was thus.

Articles of the Rebels Sacrament of Baptisme.

(22) *Forasmuch as man, except hee be borne of Water and the holy Ghost, cannot enter into the Kingdome of GOD, and forasmuch as the gates of Heaven be not open without this blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, therefore we will that our Curates shall minister this Sacrament at all times of need, aswell in the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.*

Confirmation.

Item, wee will have our children confirmed of the Bishops whensoever wee shall within the Diocesse resort unto them.

Consecration of the Lords Body.

Item, forasmuch as wee constantly beleeve that after the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration being at Masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the Body and Bloud of our Saviour Iesus Christ, GOD and Man, and that no substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very same Body that was borne of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Crosse for our Redemption: therefore we will have Masse celebrated as it hath beene in times past, without any man communicating with the Priests, forasmuch as many rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference betweene the Lords Body and other kinde of meate; some saying that it is bread before and after: some saying that it is profitable to no man except hee receive it, with many other abused termes.

Hallisbread.

Item, we will have in our Churches reservation.

Reservation of the Lords Body consecrated. Holy Bread & Holy Water.

Item, wee will have holy bread, and holy water in the remembrance of Christs precious Body and Bloud.

Priests not to be married.

Item, we will that our Priests shall sing and say with an audible voyce, Gods service in the Quier of the Parish Churches, and not Gods service to bee set forth like a Christ-masse play.

Item, forasmuch as Priests be men dedicated to GOD, for ministring and celebrating the blessed Sacrament, and preaching of Gods Word, wee will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as Saint Paul *did, being the elect and chosen vessell of God: saying unto all honest Priests, Be ye followers of mee.*

The five Articles.

Item, wee will that the five Articles which our Soveraigne Lord King Henry *the eight set forth in his latter dayes, shall be used, and so taken as they were at that time.*

The Kings answere and generall pardon.

Item, wee pray God save King Edward, *for we be his, both body and goods.*

(23) To these their Demands the King sent an answer, therein pittying their ignorance, and blaming their folly, and therewithall his Generall pardon, to as many as would desist whiles it was time. First he reproved them, for their presumptions, thus contumeliously to rise against their dread Soveraigne, to the disturbance of his loyall Subjects peace; whose simplicity they had notoriously abused, in using his name to draw them into action of Rebellion: and no lesse likewise in the grounds of their demands. As in the first Article for Baptisme, where it was well knowne the same was admitted as necessity required, or rather commanded by the Booke of Common Prayer, published by authoritie of Parliament, and as themselves knew in present practise. But touching the Sacrament in their second Article, how impudently they did belie the true receivers thereof, was manifest, who make so much difference in that holy administration, that they account no profit in Common bread, besides the nourishment of their naturall Bodies: but this blessed bread to be the food of their soules unto eternall life. And as you are seduced in these (saith the admonition) so in confirmation also they carry your simplicities captive, for the truth teacheth no otherwise then themselves beleeve, namely, that a Child baptized, and dying before confirmation, is nethelesse in state of *Grace*, else are themselves causers of their childrens damnation: so the service of *God* brought from an unknowne tongue, cannot surely offend any reasonable man, which is onely to make him understand that, which before he knew not, and

The first Article answered.

The second Article answered.

The third Article answered.

their other [illegible] answered.

to give his consent to those prayers, whereof he hath most need, and giveth the negrest touch to his owne feeling conscience, for *God* requireth the heart onely which with an understanding service, we must sacrifice unto him. But most of all (saith this good King) we marvell at your demand, for the five Articles restored, to have them in power as formerly hath beene. Doe you know what you aske, or in obtaining doe you know what you get? They were lawes indeed lately made, but quickly repented; too cruell for you, and too mercilesse for us; who would have our Raigne written with milke, and not with bloud, and because they were bloudy, we tooke them away, with the same authoritie, by which they were made; left retaining them, our Sword should be too often drawne, and rigour extended upon our true and well-deserving subjects. We for our parts seeke no longer to live, then to be a father unto our people, and as *God* hath made us your rightfull King, so hath he commanded you unto obedience: by whose great Majesty we sweare, you shall feele the power of the same God in our sword; which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth: how puissant it is, no private man can judge, and how mortall, no English heart can thinke: therefore embrace our mercy while it is offered, left the bloud spilt by your meanes cry vengeance from the Earth, and be heard in the eares of the Lord in Heaven.

Answer to the five Articles.

(24) All this notwithstanding, the Rebels persisted in their traiterous attempts: against whose seditions Sir *Iohn Russell* Lord *Privy Seale*, was appointed Generall of the Kings Army, unto whose assistance was joyned the Lord *Grey of Wilton*, under whom served a band of *Italians* intended against *Scotland*, these lay at *Brisbow*, attending the comming of the Lord *Generall*: who now was marched Westward to *Honiton*, where daily looking for more supply, those which he had, began to shrinke away, whereby the Rebels were emboldened to make towards him, and came as far as *Fenington-bridge* within three Miles of *Honiton*, and in a faire Meadow there spread their Colours. The Lord *Russell*, though weake in comparison of them, holding it more honour to assaile, then to be assaulted, made forward even unto the Bridge: at whose sight the Enemies prepared themselves to fight, and with a strong guard maintained the Bridge, besides which there was no passage over the River, that held his course betwixt the two Armies.

The Rebels againe overthrowne.

Gualt. Fox. in act. and mon.

The Crucifixe brought in a Cart into the field.

King *Edwards* lawes written in milke and not in bloud.

(25) Great were the attempts the Lord Lieutenant gave, and manfull was the resistance that the Rebell made, yet lastly the way was wonne, and followed unto the battell of the disloyals: where presently began a most cruell fight, and a while was maintained to the losse of their bloud, but the false hearts failing, and the true subjects courage increasing, the Cornish immediately gave backe and fled, whereat the Kings souldiers out of Order fell to the spoile, minding nothing lesse then that which presently ensued, for the Cornishmen perceiving their disordered carriage, suddenly returned, and began a new fight, when the Lord *Russell* likewise ordered a new his Army: these furiously joyning, a sharpe and cruell encounter ensued, with the losse of much bloud, and the lives of three hundred Rebels, who lastly tooke to their heeles, and left the field: the chase a while followed, and the Souldiers scattered, a fearefull cry suddenly arose, that all the Commons were up, which caused the Lord Generall to returne unto *Honiton*: whether shortly came the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, having in pay *Spinola* an Italian Captaine with three hundred shot.

The Rebels againe overthrowne.

Spoken like a King.

(26) The Lord *Russels* forces augmented, his greatest care was to releeve the City *Excester*, whither upon the third of *August* he hasted from *Honiton* being a thousand strong; and passing over the Downes toward *Woodbury*, lodged his Campe, that night neere to the Wind-Mill, whereof the Rebels having intelligence, raised themselves from Saint *Mary*

Mary Clift, and made amaine unto the Downes, thinking to surprise the Lord Generall before hee was ready; but hee as vigilant as they were forward, encountred them againe in battell, and againe gave them the overthrow with the losse of the most of their lives, the rest escaping by flight, got unto the Towne of Saint *Mary Clift*.

The Capraines of the Rebels executed.

(27) The newes whereof bruted, and the Papall side bruised by these three overthrowes, the Commons in whole troupes resorted to their ayde, and to make all sure on their side (by the presence and helpe of their consecrated God) they brought into the field the Crucifixe under a Canopy, which in stead of an Alter was set in a Cart, accompanyed with Crosses, and Candlesticks, Banners, Holy-Bread, and Holy-Water, both to drive away Divels, and to dull their enemies swords; which notwithstanding they did not, neither could they deliver themselves in the day of destruction; for the Towne being fired, and the Armies met upon Clift heath, a most cruell and bloudy battell was fought, wherein was slaine the whole rout of the Rebels, and all these trinkets cast in the durt.

The Major of *Bodmin* hanged.

(28) The chiefe Captaines were taken and sent unto *London*, who were *Humphrey Arundell*, *Winsland*, *Holmes*, and *Bury*, who there paid the Law with the losse of their lives. Many others were executed without judgement, onely by Marshall Law, as was *Boier* Major of *Bodmin* in *Cornwall*, unto whom Sir *Anthony Kingston*, Provost Marshall sent word he would visite him at dinner, but before hee was set downe, commanded the Major to cause a paire of Gallowes to be set up; and the table taken away, he willed the said Major to accompany him to the place, and there presently commanded *Boier* his Host to the halter, and saw him hanged before he departed.

Forces sent against the Rebels.

(29) At the same time, and neere the same place dwelled a Miller, who had beene a busie doer in the Rebellion, but hee knowing the danger, willed his man to take the name of the master, if any enquired after him; whereupon the said Sir *Anthony* came to the mill, and calling for the master, the man in his name presented himselfe, who strait commanded him unto the Gallowes, the servant then seeing the danger of death, confessed hee was not the master, but the man: well, said the Knight, thou canst never doe thy master better service then to hang for him, and thereupon trussed him up in the next tree.

Iohn Hooker in description of Exceter.

The Rebels make toward the Lord Generall.

A Millers man hanged for his Master.

(30) As these things were in acting in the West, so other commotions arose in other parts of the Land, though broched under another pretence, namely the laying open of inclosures, which the King by Proclamation had commanded to bee done, but many offenders bearing themselves out with greatnesse, slackened the execution, and the poorer presuming upon the Kings pleasure, began to execute his commission themselves, and those in many places at once, as in *Kent*, *Essex*, *Sommerset*, *Buckingham*, *Northampton* and *Lincolneshires* they did.

Commotions for inclosures.

The valiant attempt of the Lord *Russell*.

The rebels put to flight.

An. Dom. 1549. Commotions in *Norfolke*. *Grene.*

(31) But most dangerous was that in *Norfolke*, whose Inhabitants following the examples of the rest, held out much longer, and in more violent manner. Their first attempt was at *Aslborough* against one *Greene* that had taken away part of their commons, next at *Wimonham*, where by the instigation of *John Flowerdew* they cast downe the fences of Inclosures, belonging to *Robert Ket* a Tanner in the same Towne; who to bee even with *Flowerdew* brought them to *Hetherset*, and set them on worke to pull downe both hedge and ditch of his pasture grounds incloſed: to which worke hee gave such desperate incouragements, that these unrulies presently chose him for their Ringleader, who with them passed to *Bowthrope*, laying all levell where they came.

The rebels returne & maintaine the fight.

John Flowerdew and *Robert Ket* the causers of the Commotion.

And againe put to flight.

Ket made Captaine of the Commotion.

(32) Their number encreasing, and doings outragious, Sir *Edmund Windam* Knight, at that time high Shiriffe of the Shire, made proclamation among them in the Kings name to depart, which if they did not forthwith, hee pronounced them Traitors, but had not his Horse beene swifter, hee had beene either taken or slaine, thereupon their terrour began to be fearefull, and themselves to be furnished with weapons, Armour and Artillery, daily brought them in abundance by the By-dwellers, besides store of victuals to maintaine their campe.

Sir Edmund Windam in danger.

(33) But now considering what dangers were open, if dispersedly scattered they should attend their bad worke, they held it best policy to draw to one place: and to fortifie themselves together with further strength; whereupon with full resolution, *Monshold* was thought fittest neere unto *Mount Surrey*, a place built by these Earles of that County, and upon Saint *Leonards* hill which hangeth over *Norwich*, they unkennelled themselves; besides these of *Monshold*, a lesser rabble of them lay at *Rising-chase* neere *Linne*, which were rowsed thence by the Gentlemen of those parts: who first from *Watton*, then from *Thetford*, and next from *Brandon*, were forced to their litter at *Monshold*.

Monshold the place of the randevow.

(34) Their parts were rigorous, or rather inhumane even to their welwillers, for it is a knowne truth, that Sir, *Roger Wodehouse* in kinde courtesie bringing them two Carts laden with Beere, and another with victuals, was recompenced with the losse of all his Horses, his owne apparell, and his body tugged, and torne, cast into a ditch, whom lastly with others was imprisoned by them in the house of *Mount Surrey*, and yet would they seeme very Religious, having one *Coniers* for their Chaplaine, who devoutly said service unto them both morning and evening.

The inhumanities of the commotioners.

(35) To those, the lewdly disposed of *Suffolke* assembled, as also the scumme and dregs out of *Norwich*, adding still fewell to their owne smoaky flames by firing of Beacons, ringing of Bels, and what not, to set all in an uproare: some true and faithfull subjects they violently led away, and made them of their councell, namely *Thomas Cod*, Major of *Norwich*, *Robert Watson* Preacher, and *Thomas Alderiche* Gentleman, Sergeant *Catlyn*, and Sergeant *Gaudy*, whom they kept fettered, and compelled them to be attendant upon *Ket*; who now tooke upon him to bee the Kings Deputy, and to give out warrants in his Majesties name, by vertue of which, many of Worship and credit were fetched from their dwellings, brought before him, and violently cast into prison: their Rabble encreased to the number of sixteene thousand men.

Supplies of the Commotioners.

Many good subjects forced to attend upon the Rebels.

(36) And that the shew of Iustice and piety was onely the marke whereat these lawlesse levelled, they ordained a Tribunall seat in an old tree, whose Canopie was the Cope of Heaven: in this sate the Tanner as a Chauncellor or chiefe Iudge, accompanyed with his Councellors, assisted by two chosen men out of every hundred among them, hither assembled the complaints of the Campe, and hence had they commission to fetch out of Ships both Ordinance, powder and shot, and out of Gentlemens houses all abilements of warre: and heere such Raskals as had exceeded their commission, had judgement of imprisonment, so that this tree was termed, the Oake of Reformation, whence likewise sometimes Sermons were delivered to the people, and once by the Reverent Doctor *Parker*, which had almost cost him his life.

The tree of Reformation.

(37) To these the Kings generall Pardon was publikely pronounced by an Herald at Armes, but so farre off from embracing, as the Rebels from the height of the hill, shot at the City, which doing little harme, they removed their Ordinance to the lower ground, and thence began to batter the Wals, and without great resistance entred the Towne, where they became Masters of all the munitions, and emprisoned the Major, and many other Citizens.

The Kings pardon contemned.

Norwich wonne by the Rebels.

(38) These times thus troublesome, the King sought

Aide sent unto Norwich.

Lord Marquesse enters Norwich.

The L. Sheffield slaine.

The L. Marquesse forced out of Norwich.

The Lord Dudley made Generall against the Rebels of Norfolke.

The Earle entreth the Citie Norwich, and executeth sixty rebels by Marshall law.

Alexander Neuill.

The great Ordnance won by the Rebels.

fought to quiet, and to that end sent the L. *William Parr*, Marques of *Northampton*, with fifteene hundred Horsemen unto *Norwich*, accompanied with the Lords *Sheffield*, and *Wentworth*, besides many Knights; who at his first comming thither, summoned the Citie to yeeld; the Magistrates whereof as willingly obeyed, and repairing to his Standard, yeelded up their Cities Sword unto him; declaring themselves true subjects to the King, though some of the baser sort had favoured *Kets* doing, and with them immediately the Lord Marquesse entred the Citie, which the same night was assaulted by the Rebels, whom he manfully resisted, and slew three hundred of their riotous rout.

(39) The next day following these bloud-hounds unkennelled by troupes, and entring the City by the Hospitall, began a most cruell fight, wherein the Lord *Sheffield* by the fall of his horse into a ditch was cowardly slaine by a Butcher, as hee sought to recover himselfe, and the rebels now fleshed with this their fortunate chance, followed the chase with such slaughter and cry, that they forced the Lord Marquesse to forsake the Citie, and therein tooke Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* prisoner, whom they straitly kept in durance till their last overthrow. *Norwich* they ransacked and set on fire, whose ashes as yet fill up their ruines, and more had beene made, had not God quenched these flames by showers from Heaven.

(40) The Lord Marquesse returned, and the Rebels holding *Norwich*, it was more then time to looke to the maine chance; and therefore those forces that were gathered to invade others, were now thought the fittest to secure our selves, over whom was appointed the Lord *John Dudley*, the warlike Earle of *Warwicke*; hee comming to *Cambridge* prepared for the enemy, whither resorted the foresaid Lord Marquesse, the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powes*, and *Gray*, his sonnes *Ambrose* and *Robert*, with many of the *Norfolke* men, and the twentie three of *August* shewed himselfe upon the Plaine before *Norwich*, whence to save the effusion of bloud, hee sent *Norrey* and a Trumpet to summon the Citie, and to offer a generall pardon; which being againe refused, he caused his Ordnance to be planted against Saint *Stevens* gate, and his Pioners to breake open the brasen gate, where at many made entry, and divers were slaine.

(41) Saint *Stevens* gate forced open by Canon shot, the Earle of *Warwicke* entred the City, and with small resistance came into the Market place, where threescore Rebels were incontinently executed by Marshall law. But the Earles carriages passing thorow the Citie, were surprised and taken by the enemy, wherein was great store of powder and shot, which with triumph they convaied to their Campe, and tooke it a signe of further successe, their want consisting most in those provisions, whereupon they manned the streets of that City, and slew very many of the Kings friends, but the showers of arrowes and shot from the Kings Subjects so rained amongst them, that they were forced backe to take shelter in *Monshold* their hole of refuge.

(42) The Earle of *Warwicke* thus mastring the City, shut all the Gates, them onely excepted that gave way toward *Monshold*, and those hee planted with his great Artillery. The Rebels perceiving what hee went about, suddenly made downe towards the Gate, and with great courage and confused cries, fell with such violence upon their attendants, that they gave backe and fled, leaving their Ordnance to the will of the Rebels, who presently disposed them amongst their owne, so that the Earle stopped likewise these passages, and imployed all his endevour to defend the Citie, which notwithstanding he could not, the Rebels making incursions over the River from their well stored Campe: and setting the streets in many places on fire, whose ate npts so continued and prospered to evill, as some despairing of any good, counselled the Earle to bee gone. But so farre was hee from such staine of honour, that drawing forth his owne sword, commanded other to doe the like, and with an interchangeable kisse confirmed the resolution of his bold courage, a custome indeed used in greatest danger of warre. And thereupon determining another way to worke, fought to stop the passage from all convoy of victuall; which the Rebels perceiving, set fire on their Cabbins, and with ensignes displayed, entrenched themselves at the foote of the Hill, in the valley called *Dussin-dale*, partly upon vaine Prophecies pronounced among them by certaine wizards, who gave forth that *Hob*, *Dic*, and *Hic*, (meaning the Rustickes) with their Clubs should fill up the valley of *Dussin-dale* with the bodies of the dead.

The noble resolution of the Earle of Warwicke.

The vaine prophesie of the Rebels.

(43) The next day being the seven and twentieth of *August*, the Lord Generall prepared for fight, having newly received a supply of fourteene hundred Lances. But before that *Mars* should try his strength by sword, he sent unto them a Generall pardon for all things that were past, which when they had againe utterly rejected, he ranged his battels for fight. The Rebels likewise, set themselves in order, where in the fore-ranke all the Gentlemen whom they had taken Prisoners, were placed and coupled in Irons for starting away, so that their dangers were doubled, and themselves exposed to death aswell by their friends, as by their enemies.

The Lord Generall offered the rebels a generall pardon.

(44) But before the charge could be given, one *Miles* a most skilfull Gunner amongst them made shot at the Kings Standard, and strucke the Bearer thereof in the thigh, and his horse through the shoulder, which so moved the Earle that he caused a whole volley of Artillery to bee discharged against them, when Captaine *Drury* with his owne band and the *Almanes*, thrust fore upon them, and opened their Battell, whereby most of the Captive-Gentlemen escaped away, upon which brunt the Earles light horsemen came so valiantly on, that the Rebels gave backe and fled: and with the formost *Robert Ket* their Captaine, upon a swift horse galloped away, the Chase continued three miles and more, with the slaughter of three thousand and five hundred Rebels.

The Kings Standard strucken.

The Rebels discomfited and many slaine.

(45) Their battell thus broken, and the most part fled: those notwithstanding that kept about the Ordnance, determined to dye like men, and inclosing themselves among the Carts and Carriages, had the advantage of a Trench and certaine stakes stucke against the horsemen, whereby they stood more resolutely at defence. The Noble Earle pitying their case, and loath to loose so many brave men, sent *Norrey* King at Armes unto them, with proffer of pardon if they would lay downe Armes, and returne to obedience, otherwise they well saw, there was no way but death: Their answer was, that they were free borne English men, who disdained all ignominious death, whereunto they said, they were appointed, and barrels of ropes brought into the field (as they were informed) to strangle them, so that if they must needs dye, they chose the manly deathes of Souldiers, not trusting the sugred promises for surprize, and then to be trussed up like dogs.

The idle and rude ever the fittest to broach mischiefe.

The compassion of the Lord Generall.

(46) Their answer returned, and compassion still working in the Lord Generals breast, even when hee had set his whole Army against them both of horse and foote; and the signe of battell ready to have beene given, hee sent to them once more, to know if they would believe and imbrace their pardon, if hee came in person to declare it to them himselfe; whereunto they answered, that they knew him to be honourable, and would from his mouth most thankefully receive it: thereupon hee repayred unto them, and causing againe their pardon to bee read, confirmed the same with such effectuall words, as they all cast away their weapons, and with one voyce cryed, *God save King Edward.*

Rash Mollins. Orym.

The noble act and love of the L. Generall.

(47) The

Robert Ket apprehended.

The oake of Reformation is made the tree of Reformation indeed.

Ket and his brother executed.

Hist. p. 17.

An. Dom. 1549. The Northerns more Rebellious.

Religion ever made the cause of Commotion.

Emulation among the privy Councellors.

The Protector and his brother the Admirall at ods.

(47) The day following, *Ket* the Captaine of this sedition, crept into a Barne of one Master *Riches* of *Swanington*, was by two of his servants apprehended, and with twenty horsemen conveyed to *Norwich* where nine of the chiefest Rebels had judgement of death, and were all of them hanged upon the Oake of Reformation, which not till then, had the true note of that name. *Ket* with his brother *William* were brought unto *London*, and thence backe againe into *Norfolke*, where *William Ket* the younger was hanged upon the high Steeple of *Windmonham*, and *Robert Ket* the Arch-Rebell in chaines upon the Castle of *Norwich*, whose Citizens annually solemnized the day of their delivery with no lesse joy, then the Iewes did when they had escaped the sword of wicked *Haman*.

(48) These hazards set in the South, West, and East, the North likewise among them would come in for a cast, as forward and able to undergoe rebellion, and their zeale as hote as any others, the occasion conceived, was the Papall Religion abolished by Law, whose tottering top they meant to make steady by maine strength of Armes, notwithstanding the very foundations were so shrewdly undermined. The place where this canker began was *Seimer* in the North-riding in *Yorkshire* spreading it selfe further into the East-riding also, and the first broachers of this giddy heady wine; were persons no better then *William Ombler* a Yeoman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerke, and one *Stevenson* the Post, imployed to blanch forth these businesses betwixt them.

Wil. Ombler. Tho. Dale.

Upon a blind prophesie the Northren Commotioners relye.

(49) Their pretences were faire, as to restore the Church her right, and to disburden the land of all grievances imposed: these strings ever founding, that the Pope was the Man, that King *Edward* was an Intruder, if not a meere heretike, that the Church had the power of both the swords, which now upon a blind prophesie they presupposed should bee drawne against the King and his Nobles, whose times (as they beleeved) should bee no more, but that the land should bee ruled by foure Governors, when the *Commons should meete in a Parliament, assembled from the foure winds*, which they interpreted from foure Coasts of *England*, whereof themselves now made the last.

(50) First therefore to raise men, and to bring all into confusion, they fired their Beacons, whence the sparkes of sedition were carried amaine; for the rudest alwayes unwilling to labour, and the fittest fewell to breake into flame, flocked together on heapes, each one having a Common-wealth in his head, and all of them disliking the reformation of religion that the King had commanded. Among these the most seditious had ever a voice which drew consent to forward the Action, and especially to beare downe the rich, whereof they made their first assay upon *White* a Gentleman, *Savage* a Marchant, *Clopton* and *Berry*; whom they cruelly murthered, and disposiling them of their apparrell, left their naked bodies on the *Would* before *Seimer*, thence passing forward from Towne to Towne, tooke many away that were unwilling to goe, and all to fulfill their perfidious prophesie.

(51) Their number now increased unto three thousand, the Country beganne to grow in great feare, especially the Gentlemen, and the richer sort, seeing their lives and substance thus thirsted for and fought after: but presently downe came the Kings pardon with profers of life, which so willingly was imbraced, that *Ombler* and *Dale* were quite forsaken, and almost left alone, who with *Wright*, *Peacocke*, *Weatherell*, and *Buttry* were worthily executed at *Yorke* upon the one and twenty of September following.

The Kings pardon disdaineth the Commotion.

Ombler and others executed. Iustitia iudicii, &c.

(52) As the Commons by these tumultuous rebellions greatly disquiered the peace of the land, so the chiefest Lords did disturbe the Court of the yong King, where the greatest Counsellors through emulation and disdaine, banded each against others, without respect of themselves, or regard of their Soveraigne; whereof the Kings uncles, the Protector and Admirall are noted for the first; and with the first paid their offences with their lives: but both were the brethren of Queene *Iane* the Kings mother deceased, the elder Lord *Edward* Duke of *Somerset* was Protector of his Person, Realmes and Dominions. And *Thomas* Lord *Seamer* Baron of *Sudley* the younger, high Admirall of *England*, both worthy persons, had they known their own worths: for so long stood they in safety of life and true honor as the bounds of brotherhood and nature stood unviolated betwixt them: but that once broken, their lives lay open to dishonour and death.

Strife betwixt women caused the deaths of their husbands.

(53) The younger brother Lord *Thomas* had married Queene *Katherine Parre*, the last of the many wives of King *Henry* the eight, who undoubtedly bore himselfe no meaner by that match, neither she the state or name of a Dowager Queene: though of her selfe a woman compleate with singular humility. And the Dutchesse of *Somerset* matched with the greatest Peere in the Land, held her State equall to her husbands degree: and for place and precedency (as report hath divulged) the lamentable tragedy of these two great Brethren began; which now in acting brought upon the Stage at once their owne destructions, the Lands rebellions, and the griefes of the good young King, into a fatall and unrecoverable sicknesse, whereof lastly followed his death.

The hate of distentions.

(54) So subtile is the old serpent, and so ready ever, to sow tares among wheat, that he disturbed religions proceedings with all these calamities almost at one time; first, setting matters of discord betwixt them, by scandalizing tongues, then jealousies of suspitions spiced with envy; and lastly hatred unto death. Insomuch that the Protector suffered his brother to be accused and condemned in Parliament of high Treason (whether true or false, God onely knoweth) and under his owne hand writing, committed his head to the axe: whereby one of the three twisted cords of *Englands* strength was cut asunder by that fatall and unhappy stroake, and his owne now made loose in the Cable prooved too weake by farre to hold fast the Anchor, whereby the shipwracke of his owne life was shortly made.

St. Pau. in Acts & Mon.

Lord *Thomas Seimer* arraigned and beheaded.

(55) The Lord Admirals inditement was, that hee had purposed to destroy the young King, and to translate the Crowne unto himselfe, as standeth recorded in Statute made the third of this Kings raigne, for which the twentie of March he suffered death upon the Tower-hill; which as many suppose'd that it was the Dutchesse of *Somersets* doings: so the wiser sort feared, it would be the ruine of her husband the Duke, the experiment whereof had often beene approved, and indeed was too fatally linked as it chanced in these two brethren.

King *Edward. L. Protector. H. Admirall.* Eccle. 4. 12.

The Lord Admirals inditement.

Ex Stat. Record.

(56) For the Admirall being made away by order of law, the giddy Commons without either order, or law, rose up in their Insurrections as hath beene said: And the Lords returned from their suppressions, began forthwith to envy and article against the Protector, which they published by Proclamation against him, wherein hee was accused, 1. of evill government: 2. the losse of the Kings Peeres in *France*: 3. to be ambitious in his buildings: 4. regardlesse of the Counsellors: 5. a sower of sedition among the Nobles: 6. dangerous to the King: 7. a scandalizer of the Councell: 8. and lastly, that he was no lesse then a Traitor. Against whom they desired the aide of the *Londoners* to take from him the King; to all which seventeene Counsellers subscribe their names.

Articles exhibited against the L. Protector.

(57) These Statists in consultation daily at *London*, and the Protector residing still with the King, intercourse of Letters were interchangeably both sent and received, whereof two, from either part one, and even at one instant were sent unto the Lord Major and

Letters from both parties writ unto the Londoners.

and Citizens of *London*, requiring their aide in these their opposite quarrels, and surely in their assembly the rale of the Lords by the Recorder was so well told, as had not a grave * Citizen stept up betimes, the common Councell had granted aide against their King, whose wisdome and loyalty, in regard my selfe a Citizen, would have it recorded to his everlasting memory, and an example and motive for our obedient love and dutie toward our Soveraignes, I will insert as I finde them uttered and spoken.

* *George Stradlan.*

George Stradlan his Oration.

" (58) In this case (said he) good it is to thinke " on things past, to avoyd the danger of things to " come; for I remember a story written by *Fabian* " in his Chronicles of the warres betwixt the King " and his Barons, who even then as our Lords doe " now, demanded aide of the Major and Commons " of *London*, against their Soveraigne King *Henry* " the third, and that in a cause rightfull, and good " for the Common-weale, which was the execution " of certain wholesome lawes, somewhat derogating " from his princely prerogative, which hee would " not permit. The aide was granted, and quarrell " came unto battell, wherein the Lords prevailed, " and tooke the King and his sonne prisoners. But " they againe restored to liberty, among other con- " ditions this was one, that the King should not " onely grant his free pardon to the Lords, but also " unto the Citizens of *London*; which was done, yea " and the same confirmed by Parliament. But what " followed? was it forgotten? no surely, nor ne- " ver forgiven during the Kings life: for the liber- " ties of the Citie were taken away, strangers appoin- " ted to be our Heads and Governours, the Citi- " zens given away both body and goods, and from " one persecution to another, were most miserably " afflicted: such it is to enter the wrath of a Prince, " which (as *Salomon* saith) is death: Wherefore, for- " asmuch as this aide is required of the Kings Maje- " sty, whose voice (being our high Shepheard) we " ought to obey, rather then to hearken to the " Lords, whom nevertheless I wish not to be ut- " terly cast off; my councell is, that they with us, " and wee with them, become humble Petitioners " unto his Highnesse, that it would please him to " heare such complaints against the Lord Protector, " as may be justly alleadged and proved, and I doubt " not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither " shall the King, nor yet the Lords have cause to " seeke for further aide, neither we to offend any of " them both.

(59) These words well weighed, and the Councell dissolved, five hundred Londoners were prepared in a readinesse: for Sir *Philip Hobby* being sent from the Lords to the King, so delivered their minds, that the Lord Protector was commanded out of presence, and the next day being the twelfth of October, the Lords of the Councell resorted to *Windsor*, where they so wrought with the King, as his Vncle was delivered into their hands, whom the same night they imprisoned in *Beauchamps* Tower in the same Castle, and the next day strongly attended, brought him to *London*, whence the streets were guarded onely by houseolders, the Aldermen taking the charge of the businesse, and so to the great griefe and wondering of the people, hee was conveyed to the Tower, and there left.

Joh. Stow.

The Lord Protector committed to the Tower. *35. Fox in Acts and Mon.*

(60) Whither shortly after the Lords themselves repaired, and charged the Protector with these 20. Articles as followeth:

Articles drawn against the L. Protector.

1 That at his entry into that waighty office, hee was expressely prohibited to doe any thing in State without the assent of the last Kings Executors.

2 That hee had contrariwise upon his owne authority both subverted lawes, and stayed justice, as well by letters, as commandement.

3 That he had delivered divers persons arrested and committed to prison for felony, man-slaughter, murther and treason, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

4 That he had made Captaines and Lieutenants over waighty affaires under his owne Seale and Writing.

5 That hee had alone communicated with forraigne Ambassadors about most weighty State affaires.

6 That he had checked divers of the Kings Privy Councell, speaking for the good of the State, yea and threatned to displace them if they consented not to his mind.

7 That hee had against law erected a Court of Requests in his owne house, whither were enforced divers of the Kings Subjects to answer for their Freeholds.

8 That he had for money disposed Offices in the Kings gift, Money, Leases, and Wardes, and given presentations of Benefices, and Bishoprickes, yea and medled with sale of the Kings lands, which by office he could not, without consent of the Major voyce of the Councell,

9 That hee had commanded multiplication by Alcumistry, to the abuse of the Kings coyne.

10 That against the King and Councels will, hee had set forth a Proclamation against inclosures, which had caused dangerous insurrections in the land, wherein divers of the Kings liege Subjects have beene spoiled, and many a worthy man therein slaine.

11 That to the same end hee had given commission with Articles annexed concerning inclosures of Commons, high wayes, and decayed Cottages, giving the Commissioners authority to heare and determine the same causes, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

12 That hee had suffered Rebels and Traitors to assemble, and lye in Campe and Armour, against the King, his Nobles and Gentlemen, without any speedy suppressing of them.

13 That by his gifts in money, with promises of Fees, rewards and services, hee had encouraged many of the said rebels.

14 That in favour of them contrary to law, he had caused a Proclamation to be made, that none of the said Rebels, or Traitors should be sued, or vexed for any of their offences committed in the said Rebellion.

15 That hee had liked well of these rebellions, and had said, that the covetousnesse of the Gentry gave the occasion, affirming that it was better for the Commons to dye, then to perish for lacke of living.

16 That hee had reported the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reforme themselves for the reformation of Inclosures, and therefore the people had good cause to reforme the things themselves.

17 That upon the report of the defaults and lackes of *Bulloigne*, nothing was there amended.

18 That the Forts of *Newhaven* and *Blackneste* standing in want of men and victuall, whereof hee was informed, were suffered notwithstanding still to want, to the great encouragement of the French, and dishonour of the English.

19 That he had untruly published, that the Lords at *London* minded to destroy the King, which he instantly desired hee would never forget, and to that end instigated many young Lords, whereby sedition and discord was made among the Nobles.

20 Lastly, that whereas the Lords assembled at *London*, onely to consult upon a charitable communication to be had with the Protector for his mis-government of the King and Realme, hee contrariwise sent letters of credence to many places and persons, that the said Lords were no lesse then high Traytors to the King, and great disturbers of the whole Realme.

All these accusations notwithstanding (the young King so labouring in) he was released from the Tower the first of February following unto his free liberty, though not unto his former authority, and so remained

The Protector released from the Tower.

remained untouched for the space of two yeeres and two dayes.

(61) Whilest these his, and other troubles were commencing in *England*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton* left Lieutenant of the North, remained in *Scotland*, where many feates of warre were undergone, and many Forts fortified, and some taken, such were *Lowden*, *Hadington*, and *Tester*, at whose assault certaine opprobrious speeches in most contemptuous manner were uttered by a *Scottish* man against King *Edward* of *England*, whereat the Lord *Grey* was so offended, as upon composition for the delivery of the Castle, all were let goe with life, onely that person excepted, and his name knowne to be *Newton*, was appointed to die for the same; but he denying the words, imposed them upon one *Hamilton*, a man valorous enough, and wrongfully touched, who denied the accusation, and challenged *Newton* the combat, which he accepted, and in performance slew *Hamilton*, though more at disadvantage, then for lacke either of courage or strength: The victor was rewarded with a great chaine of gold, and the gowne that the Lord *Grey* wore at the present, though many maligned and accused him still to be the utterer of those base words.

Vpian Fulwell.

A combate fought betweene two Scottishmen before the Lord Grey.

(62) The English keeping foot still in *Scotland*, burnt *Dawketh* and *Muskelburgh*, and fortified *Hadington* both with munition and men, spoyling the Countrey, saith Bishop *Lesse*, all about *Edenburgh*, *Lowthian* and *Mers*: repaying of Forts, and placing of Garrisons, as if they meant there to remaine and abide: but their young Queene being conveyed into *France*, and the *Scots* aided with the assistance of the *French*, so quit themselves, that they voided their Land of the *English*, and recovered of them all they had lost. In which times of variable successe, the King but a child, the Nobles at variances, and the combustuous Commons obedient to neither, the *French* fought to recover the holds that the *English* had in their Countrey, and first by stealth meant to surprise the fortresse of *Bulloigneberg*, unto which enterprise seven thousand were chosen, under the conduct of *Monsieur Chatillon*.

The English forced out of Scotland.

The French intend to surprize Bulloigneberge.

(63) These secretly marching in the night with ladders and furniture meete for the enterprize, approched within a quarter of a mile unto *Bulloigneberg* fort, amongst whom was an *English* Souldier discharged out of their pay, for that he had taken a *French* woman to wife. This *Carter*, for so was his name, got entertainment under *Chatillon*, and now understanding whereabout they went, hastily made from his Company, and gave the Alarum to his Countrimen within the Fort; where Sir *Nicholas Arnale* Captaine of the Place, caused him to be drawne up betwixt two pikes to the height of the wall, unto whom he declared the attempt in hand, and among them stood so valiantly in defence of the Fort, that he gave many a wound, and received some himselfe: by him, and this meanes the Place was quit from surprizall, and the slaughter of the *French* so great, that fifteene Waggons went laden away with dead Corpes.

The good service of Carter, an English Souldier.

(64) This losse sustained, and the *English* masters in those parts of their Maine, the *French* sought to trie fortune for their Isles in the Seas, namely, *Garnesey* and *Jersey*, possest and subject to King *Edwards* Crowne, their preparations were great, and their Marshalliits many; which notwithstanding with such losse were beaten backe from their bankes, as a thousand men at Armes were slaine in the attempt, and the successe so unfortunate, as the *French* for feare of further discouragement, forbad the report, and made an inhibition, not to mention the expedition of that journey.

A great slaughter of the French.

The French assault the Isles of Garnesey and Jersey.

(65) Nevertheless, the *French* King ceased not his desired purposes, till hee had got by surrender *Hambletowne*, *Blackneste*, *Bulloigneberg*, and the Towne of *Bulloigne* it selfe, though bought at a deare rate, and delivered with great griefe to the *English*; unto

Bulloigneberge upon composition delivered to the French.

such a lamentable state, and dishonourable composition was the good *King Edward* brought, by the bandings of his great Counsellors, and insurrections of his unruly Commons; after which calamities a great and mortall disease followed; namely the sweating sicknesse, that raged extreamely through the Land, wherein dyed the two sonnes of *Charles Brandon*, both of them Dukes of *Suffolke*, besides an infinite number of men in their best strengths, which followed onely *Englishmen* in forraine Countreys no other people infected therewith, whereby they were both feared and shunned in all places where they came.

John Caius.

An. Dom. 1550. The sweating sicknesse.

(66) And to fill up the dolours of these dolefull times, the good Duke of *Sommerset* was againe apprehended, even when the least suspition was of any undirect workings: for upon his first releasement, to linke a firme love betwixt him and the potent Earle of *Warwicke* his most malignant; a marriage was contracted betwixt the Lord *Lisle* his eldest sonne and heire, and the Lady the Earles eldest daughter, which was solemnized with great joy at *Sheene*, in presence of the young King; this amity was outwardly carried with all faire shewes for a time, though inward hatred lay secretly hid, as by the sequell incontinently appeared: for after a solemne creation of many Estates, wherein the Earle of *Warwicke* had his style raised to be Duke of *Northumberland*, (unto whose rayes at that time most of the Courtiers cast their eyes) the sparkes of emulation began presently to breake forth; where the simplicity of the one, gave advantage to the other, to compasse that which long had beene fought.

A fained reconcilement.

Joh. Stow.

(67) The Duke of *Sommerset* not well adviséd, and yeelding too much unto Sycophant flatteries, was put in feare of some sudden attempt intended against him, and therefore counselled to weare under his garment a coate of defence, which hee accordingly did, and being so armed, came unto the Councell Table, supposing no man had knowne of any such thing; but his bosome being opened, and the Armour perceived, hee was forth-with apprehended, as intending the death of some Counsellor, and by *Northumberland* so vehemently taxed (who in Councell was ever the principall man) that he was forth-with attached, and sent to the Tower, upon the sixteenth of *October*, with the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *Ralph Fane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, and the next day the Durchesse his wife was likewise committed; all of them for suspition of treason and felony; and he standing so indited, upon the * second of *December* following, was arraigned at *Westminster*, attended with the Axe of the Tower, Billes, Halberds, and Pollaxes a great number.

The Duke of *Sommerset* privily armed.

Rich. Grafton.

The Duke of *Sommerset* sent to the Tower.

Joh. Stow. An. Dom. 1551.

* *Stow saith the fifth.*

(68) His inditement was for treason and felony, and the same urged unto extremity, with many amplifications, and bitter invectives, especially that he had fought and pretended the deaths of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord Marquesse, and *Pembrooke*: where after many milde answeres to these matters objected, he put himselfe to be tried by his Peeres, who acquitted him of treason, but found the inditement of felony: when presently the Axe was commanded away, whereat the shout of the people shewed the great affection that was borne to the Duke: little mistrusting that the sentence of death was pronounced against him, or that the Kings Vncle should die as a fellon; neither did the Statute intend any such thing, as some are of opinion, but rather was purposely made for the suppression of rebellions, and unlawfull assemblies, wherein such as should seeke or procure the death of any Counsellor, should be guilty as in case of felony. But such was the pleasure of the all ordering power, that he which knew no theft, should die for that sinne; so that neither himselfe, nor his wisest Counsellors, demanded the benefit of his Clergy, which would have saved his life, if it had beene required.

The Duke of *Sommerset* his inditement.

Of winchester William Hertburt.

The Duke condemned of felonie.

Rich. Grafton. John Stow. Holinsh.

(69) His sentence thus pronounced, hee was again sent backe to the Tower, wherein he kept a very sad Christmas, yea, and that in the Court, inclined to little mirth, (the King lamenting the condemnation of his Vncle) had not some witty disports broke off his passions, which how, and by whom they proceeded, let others report, and us continue the Tragedy of this Duke; who upon the two and twenty of *February* following, being Friday, was brought to the Scaffold upon Tower-hill, by eight in the morning, where turning himselfe towards the East, he spake to the people, as followeth.

The Duke of Somerset speech at his death.

(70) *Dearely beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit I never offended against the King, neither in word nor deed, and have alwayes beene as faithfull, and true unto this Realme, as any man hath beene: but forasmuch as I am by law condemned to die, I doe acknowledge my selfe as well as others to bee subject thereunto: wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe to the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto I willingly offer my selfe, with most hearty thankes unto God, that hath given mee this time of repentance, who might through sudden death have taken away my life, that I neither should have acknowledged him, nor my selfe.*

A great feare without any cause.

(71) These words uttered, besides others exhortatory, that the people would continue constant in the Gospel, suddenly was heard a great noyse, whereby the assembly was strucke into great feare, some thinking that a storme or tempest descended from above, some supposed that the barrels of Gunpowder in the Armory had taken fire, and were all blowne up into the Ayre, others thought that they heard a noyse of Horses prepared to battell, some againe affirmed confidently, that it did thunder, and others thought verily it was an earth-quake, and that the ground moved: unto such confusion and terrour were they presently brought, which (saith *Stow*) was none other, but that certaine men from the *Hamlets* warned with weapon to guard the Tower-hill, came thither somewhat after the houre appointed, whose formost seeing the Prisoner on the Scaffold, beganne to runne forward themselves, and call to their fellowes to come away: which word *away*, sounding as an Eccho in the peoples eares, they thought that rescue had come to the Duke to take him away: and seeing the Bil-men to make forward so fast, beganne themselves to shrinke backe from the hill, every man seeking to save one, and by this accident and confused cries, this feare among them fell and beganne: This stirre scarce ended, another ensued by the running of the people towards the Scaffold, who seeing Sir *Anthony Browne* riding thitherward, supposed a pardon had come from the King, so that a sudden shout arose, *Apardon, a pardon, God save the King*; by which it onely appeared in what love hee was had, and how much his life was desired of the *Commons*.

Stows Annals.

The Duke entirely beloved of the Commons.

(72) The Duke whose minde being altogether prepared for death, was little moved either to hope, or feare, and thereupon addressed his second speech to the people, and with no dejected countenance spake againe and said: *Beloved friends there is no such matter intended as you vainely hope and beleeve: It seemeth good thus to the Almighty, unto whose ordinance it is meet that wee all be obedient, wherefore I pray you be quiet and without tumult, for I am quiet, and let us so joyne in prayer unto the Lord, for the preservation of our Noble King, unto whose Majesty I wish continuall health, with all felicitie and abundance of prosperous successe. Moreover, I wish to his Councellors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule all things uprightly with Iustice, unto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to shew your selves obedient, the which is also very necessarie for you, under paine of condemnation, and also most profitable for the preservation of the Kings Majestie.* And thereupon asking every man forgiveneſſe, freely forgave every man againſt him, and desiring the people to be quiet, leſt the flesh should be troubled, though his spirit was willing, hee meekely laide downe his head to the Axe, and received at one stroke his rest by death.

The Duke of Somerset speech at the Scaffold.

(73) How soever this Dukes cause was ballanced by law, and him taken away that flood betwixt some, and their Sunne; yet was his death heavily digested by the people, that spake very bitterly against the Duke of *Northumberland*; but most especially the young King sore mourned, and soone missed the life of his Protector thus unexpectedly taken away, who now deprived of both his Vncles, howsoever the times were passed with pastimes, playes, and shewes, to drive away dumpes, yet ever the remembrance of them sate so neere unto his heart, that lastly he fell sicke of a Cough, which grievously increasing, ended with a consumption of the lungs.

King Edward falleth sicke.

(74) His sicknesse continuing with great doubt of his life, upon purpose, saith *Grafton*, *to alter the succession of the Crowne*, three marriages were in one day solemnized, whereof the first was betwixt the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth sonne to the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Lady *Iane*, eldest daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke*: the second was betwixt the Lord *Herbert*, sonne and heire to *William* Earle of *Pembrook*, and the Lady *Katherine*, the yonger daughter of the said Duke of *Suffolke*, and the third was betweene *Henry* Lord *Hastings*, sonne and heire of *Francis* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Katherine* the youngest daughter of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *which tending*, (saith he) *to the disinheriting of the rightfull heires, they proved nothing prosperous, for two of them were presently made frustrate, the one by death, and the other by divorce.*

Rich. Grafton.

Three marriages intended to divert the succession.

(75) The policy established, and languishing sicknesse of the King gave way unto such, as sought the everſion of the State, and alienation of the Crowne: In whose eye no head was seene fitter for that faire Diademe, then was *Guilfords* Bride, *Iane* the elder daughter of *Suffolke*, whose mother, Lady *Frances* then living, was the daughter of *Mary* the *French* Queene, the younger sister to King *Henry* the eight, unto whom King *Edward* over-wrought in his weaknesse, ordained his Crowne by Will, at the suggestions of such Politiques, as meant to disinherite the two lawfull Princes, *Mary*, and *Elizabeth*, and to impugne the Statute, in case provided for the succession of King *Henry* the eight his Children: unto which Will (O griefe to heare) subscribed all the Kings Councell, most of the Nobility, the reverend Bishops, and all the Iudges of the Land, one onely excepted, even Sir *Iames Hales* Knight, a Iustice of the Common Pleas, upright in judgement, and a favourer of the Gospell, he, I say, never would write or consent to the disinheriting of the Lady *Mary*.

Lady Iane made successor by sicke King Edward.

Vide Stat. in An. 35. de R. 8. M. Fox in Act. & Mon.

Sir James Hales refused to subscribe to King Edwards Will.

(76) The King thus accomplishing what his Statists had wrought, lay languishing in his faintnesse: the end whereof could not be expected but onely by death, and now being worne almost to nothing (his last breath drawing to the limits of Nature) he lift up his eyes with a prepared heart, and prayed as followeth.

King Edwards Prayer.

Lord God deliver mee out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy Chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done, Lord I commit my Spirit to thee: O Lord thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Chosen sake, if it be thy will, send me life, and health, that I may truely serve thee: O my Lord blesse thy people, and save thine Inheritance: O Lord God save thy Chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this Realme from Papistrie, and maintaine thy true Religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy Name, for thy Sonne Iesus Christs sake.

So turning his face, and seeing some by him, said *I thought you had not beene so nigh*: yes, said Doctor *Owen*, *we heard you speake to your selfe*; then said the King, *I was praying to God: O I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit*: and in so saying, gave up the Ghost, to the great losse of *England*, in whom they had conceived most hopes.

(77) His vertues were rare and many, exceeding most

The vertues of King Edward.

The report of Hieronymus Cardanus, ex Fas.

His Learning.

His Memory.

His Care.

His Mercy.

King Edwards zeale to Christs Gospell.

King Edwards Letter to Lady Mary.

most Princes; and vices so few, that none can be taxed with lesse; very learned (according to his yeeres) he was in the Latine and Greek tongues, the *French*, *Spanish*, and *Italian*, yea (and saith *Hieronymus Cardanus*) *he was adorned with the skill of Logicke, naturall Philosophie, and Musicke, and for Astronomy* (saith he) *my selfe had experience, whom he learnedly opposed of the cause and course of Comets: for Humanity, he is the very Image of Morality, and in Princely grave Majesty best beseeming a King: briefly he may well seeme to be a miracle in Nature: nor doe I speake thus Rhetorically to amplifie things, or to make them more then truth is for the truth is more then I doe utter*: and in this hee was most admirable, that hee could tell and recite all the Ports, Havens, and Creekes, not within his owne Realme onely, but also in *Scotland*, and likewise in *France*, what comming in there was, how the tide served in every of them, what burden of Shippe, and what winde best served the comming in into them.

(78) Of all his Nobles, Gentry, Iustices, and Magistrates, hee tooke speciall name of their Hospitality, and religious conversations, and that which is best accepted of a Prince, hee was very liberall, loving, mercifull, meeke, and gentle towards his people, and so farre from bloud, as he ever favoured and spared as much as might be the life of man, yea, even of Rebels, as we have seene; neither was hee willing to put Heretikes to death, as in a certaine disserration had once with Master *Cheeke* it appeared: insomuch that when *Ioan Butcher* should bee burned for her hereſie, all the Councell could not move him to set his hand to the warrant of her execution, untill Doctor *Crasmer* his Godfather, Archbishop of *Canterbury* laboured to induce him, unto whom he said, what my Lord, will you have me to send her quicke to hell? and taking the pen, used this speech: *I will lay all the charge hereof upon Crasmer before God.* Then how his hand had beene gotten for his Vncles death, is to be admired.

(79) But his constancy unto Christs Gospell, with the abandoning of all superstition, was very admirable, one example among many wee will not let to declare. Lady *Mary* his sister through the suit of *Charles* the Emperour, made great meanes to have Masse said in her House, and that to be done without all prejudice of law: the greatneſſe of her person being the immediate successor, and the might of the Emperour in amity with *England*, moved the Councell to give their consent to the suit; to forward which, *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, were employed from them to the King, who hearing their message, gave the replication so grounded upon Scripture, as they gave over to urge more that way: but like Politicians alleaged the danger in breach of amity with the Emperour, to which the King answered, he would rather adventure the hazard of his owne life, then to grant that which was nor agreeable to the truth. The Bishops yet urged him with the bonds of nature, and submissively said, they would have no nay: the King seeing himselfe so importunated, burst into weeping, and sobbingly desired them to be content, whereat the teares so abundantly burst from their eyes, as they departed his presence not able to speake. And for a further testimony of this yong Kings zeale, reade if you please a letter sent unto his sister the Princesse Lady *Mary*, out of the originall.

(80) *Right deare, and right entirely beloved sister, we greet you well, and let you know that it grieveth us much to perceive no amendment in you of that, which wee for good cause, your soules health, our conscience, and common tranquility of our Realme have so long desired, assuring you, that our sufferance hath more demonstration of naturall love, then contentation of our conscience, and forefight of our safety. Wherefore, although you give us occasion asmuch almost as in you is, to diminish our naturall love; yet be we loath to feele it decay, and meane not to be so care-*

lesse of you as we be provoked. And therefore meaning your weale, and therewith joysing a care not to be found guilty in our owne conscience to God, having cause to require forgivenesse, that wee have so long for respect of love towards you, omitted our bounden duty, we doe send at this present our right trusty, and right well beloved Councellor, the Lord Rich, *our Chancellor of England, our trusty and right welbeloved Councellor, Sir* Anthony Wingfield *Knight, Comptroler of our Household, and Sir* Will. Peter *Knight, one of our two principall Secretaries, in message to you touching the order of your house, willing you to give them firme credite in those things they shall say to you from us, and doe there in our Name. Given under our Signet at the Castle of Windsor, the of in the fifth yeere of our Raigne,* 1552.

King Edwards great care for the poore.

(81) The fruites of which Religion, this godly King shewed by his workes of compaſſion towards the poore, and that especially upon the foundation of Christs Hospitall, the late suppressed place of the Grey-Fryers in *London*, upon occasion as followeth. It chanced the reverend Bishop Doctor *Ridley* to preach before his Majesty at *Westminster*, wherein hee Christian-like exhorted the rich to be mercifull unto the poore, and to that end amplified the words of the Text against the mercilesse rich, and the negligence of such as were in great place. The Sermon ended, and the King set to dinner, he sent to the *Bishop*, commanding him not to depart the Court, before hee knew his further pleasure, and thereupon causing two Chaires to be set in the Gallery, all others avoided, he compelled the Bishop to sit downe by his side, and in no wise would admit him to be uncovered.

D. Ridleyes Sermon before King Edward.

The conference betwixt the King, and Bishop *Ridley*.

(82) Where entring conference, he first gave him hearty thankes for his Sermon, repeating unto him the chiefe points thereof, and comming to his exhortation for the poore, he then told him that hee thought himselfe first touched in the speech; for said he, *my Lord, you speake to them in authority, whereof under God I am the chiefe, and must first make answere to him if I be negligent, and therefore I thinke you principally meant me: Gods commandement I know most expressly injoyneth us to have compaſſion of his poore members, for whom we must make account; and truly my Lord, I am most willing to travell that way, not doubting but that your long approved learning and wiſdome, whose zeale is such as witheth them helpe; but that also you had conference with others what is best herein to be done, which I am also desirous to know, and therefore I pray say freely your mind.*

King Edwards Letter delivered to the Lord Major.

(83) The mover unto these pious considerations little looking for such questions of the Prince, sate a while silent, overjoyed at his words, and lastly, unprepared of any present instructions, told the King that the Citizens of *London* were best able to direct the plot, whose great charity, and well ordered governement, besides their daily charges, being overburdened with poore, had sufficient experience, and if it would please his Majesty to direct his letters unto them himselfe, he would be very ready to further this godly resolution so far as his meanes might any wife extend: whereupon the King presently commanded his letters to be writ, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart, before himselfe had thereto set his hand and signet, desiring him to deliver the same to the Lord Major, and with him to conferre about this buſineſſe, which hee wiſhed might be accomplished with all expedition.

The Kings great liberality to the poore in *London*.

(84) The Bishop as ready as the King was desirous, posted apace to the Lord Major of *London*, where delivering the letter, offered his assistance to forward the worke, and they together with some Aldermen, and twenty foure Commoners agreed upon three degrees of the poore, and divided them againe into nine.

(85) The Booke thus drawne, and presented to the King, he thereupon desired to be accounted the chiefe Founder of their reliefe, and forth-with gave unto the City S. *Bartholmewes* Hospitall by *Smithfield*, and the Grey-Fryers Church neere adjoyning,

The Kings great liberality for the poore in London.

with all the revenewes belonging thereto, his princely house of *Bridewell*, anciently the Mansion of many English Kings, wherein also their Courts of Iustice had been kept, and sumptuously new built by King *Henry* the eight for the receit of the Emperour, he gave to the Lord Major and Citizens to be a house of correction for lewd and dissolute livers, and to set on worke the idle and loitering vagabonds, whose maintenance with the new reedified Hospitall of S. *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, hee gave seven hundred Markes by yeere out of the rents of the Hospitall of Saint *Iohn Baptist* or *Savoy*, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture thereto belonging, whereby the poore thus distinguished, were by his godly furtherance thus provided for.

THE
- Poore by Impotency: Fatherles Children, Aged, Blind, Lame, Diseased persons, → *Christs Hospitall*, *S. Thomas Hospitall.*
- Poore by Casualty: Wounded Souldiers, Decayed housholders, Visited, sick persons. → *S. Thomas Hospitall*, *Christs Hospitall.*
- Poore thriftlesse: Riotous spenders, Vacabond loiterers, Idle Strumpets. → *Bridewell.*

Regi. 7. Iune 6.

(86) The Kings charitable giftes confirmed by Charter, and a Petition exhibited for liberty to take in *Mortmaine* of lands to a yeerely value without further licence, a place being left in the Patent to contain the summe, King *Edward* presently called for penne and inke, and with his owne hand filled uppe the space with these words, *foure thousand Markes by yeere*: which done, hee burst foorth and said; *Lord God I yeeld thee most heartie thankes, that thou hast given me life thus long to finish this worke to the glory of thy name.*

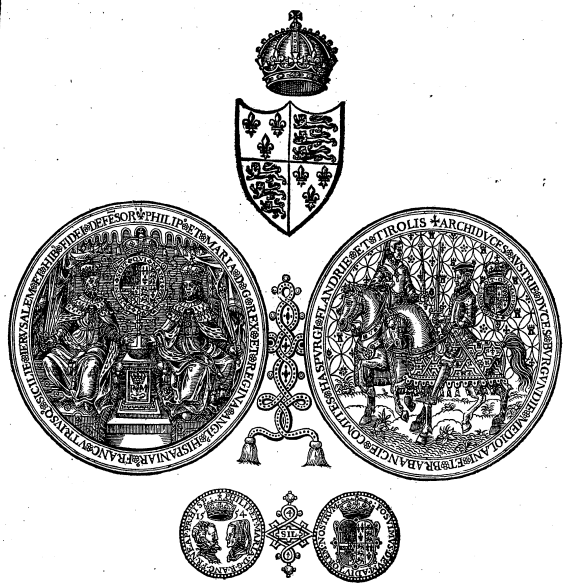
(87) Now as this godly King was carefull in redeeming the time, so likewise to take as it were an account of himselfe, hee kept a journall booke or Record written with his owne hand, how all things proceeded with him, and with the State, even from the first day of his raigne unto his death: whose many vertues as they were inferior to none of his worthy Progenitors, and zeale little short to the best Kings of *Iudah*, so was hee soone mist of all his loyall Subjects, when the bosome of Gods Saints were opened to the persecutors swords.

(88) He died at *Greenewich* upon Thursday the sixe day of Iuly, the yeere of Christ Iesus, one thousand five hundred fifty three, and the seventeenth of his age, when he had raigned sixe yeeres five monthes, and nine dayes, and was buried upon the ninth of August following, in the Chappell of Saint *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, neere unto his Grandfather King *Henry* the seventh.

MARIE

2. Mary. Monarch 60.

MARIE QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HER RAIGNE, MARRIAGE, ACTS, AND DEATH.



CHAPTER XXIII.

KING EDVVARDS life ended by his lingring disease, and the Statesmen intending to establish his will; the space of two dayes his death was kept secret, and much consultation among the Nobility had of the businesse; all of them affecting the election of *Iane*, lest *Marie* should undoe what *Edward* had done; to support which purpose, many projects were cast, and many opinions given how to proceed, yet all joyntly light in this point, *That London was the hand which must reach Iane the Crowne*: whose Citizens assistance if they might be got, the greatest difficulty (as they held it) was halfe undergone. And therefore to mould them for *Iane*, and to marre them for *Mary*, the Councell sent for the Lord Major of *London*, sixe Aldermen, and twelve Commoners Merchants.

Consultation for the disposing of the Crowne.

London the first stay in stead of trouble.

(2) These comming to the Court, were secretly certified of K. *Edward* his death, where his Will was declared, and Letters Patents shewed for the disinheriting of his two sisters, and the raising of *Suffolkes* daughter unto the Crowne; whose religion was so zealous, and vertues so many (as in truth no Princesse was possessed with more) were so well set forth by these grave Counsellors that the Lord Major and Citizens tooke their oathes for Lady *Iane*, unto whose obedience they promised to secure the City.

The Lord Major and Citizens sworne to Lady *Iane*.

(3) Lady *Mary* at *Hunsdon* hearing these newes, presently removed to her Mannor of *Keningall* in *Norfolke*: from whence shee wrote her Letters unto the Lords of the Councell, wherein shee marvelleth that her brothers death should so long be kept from her

Lady *Mary* writeth to the Lords.

her: that shee being the Princesse next in bloud, ordained by act of Parliament, and *King Henries* Testament to succeed; her right enrowled in the Records, by the authority of her Father and brother; their owne knowledge and prescription to her most rightfull Titles; yet now in consultation to undoe these provisions both against God and naturall allegiance; shee could not but marvell, and rather would construe for some politicke consideration, and take them in the best part, then to possesse the least thought of any disloyalty in them; and therefore willed them upon the receit of her letters to proclaime her Queene, and Governour of the Realme, in the City of *London*, and in other publike places, as in such cause appertaineth, with all due observances, as they tendred her displeasure and their owne safeties: this letter was signed at the Mannor of *Keninghall* under her Signet the ninth of Iuly 1553.

The Lords answer to Lady *Maries* Letter.

(4) Vnto which Letters the Lords forthwith made answere; first signifying that by good warrant of ancient Lawes of the Land, besides the will of their last King, confirmed under his hand and broad Seale, in the presence of the most part of the Nobles, Counsellors, Iudges and other grave personages assenting and subscribing to the same, that Lady *Iane* daughter to *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* should bee invested and succeed him in the Emperiall Crowne: unto whom therefore, and unto none other, they must give their loyall subjection; where also they put her in minde of the unlawfull marriage and divorce of her mother, her owne illegitimation, uncapable of Crowne, or rule of Dominions; willing her further to desist from any such claime, and to submit her selfe unto Queene *Iane* now her Soveraigne, so would they hold amity with her, else should she proove grievous unto them and her selfe, which letters were sent from the Tower of *London* the ninth of Iuly, 1553. and subscribed by the hands of such as follow:

Thomas Canterbury, Archbishop.
Thomas Elie, Chauncellour.
William Winchester, Marquesse.
Iohn Bedford, Earle.
Henrie Suffolke, Duke.
Francis Shrewsbury, Earle.
Iohn Northumberland, Duke.
William Pembrooke, Earle.
Thomas Darcie, Lord Chamberlaine.

Cobham.	*William Peter.*
Rich.	*William Cecill.*
Huntington.	*Iohn Clerke.*
Darcie.	*Iohn Mason.*
Cheyney.	*Edward North.*
Iohn Gates.	*Robert Bowes.*

Mary removed to Fremingham Castle.

M. Fox Act.

(5) These Letters received, and the Lords mindes therein made knowne, shee forthwith removed to *Fremingham* Castle, standing more safe from invasion or easie accesse; unto whom the *Suffolke* men were the first that resorted, offering their service unto her rightfull cause, with condition they might still imbrace the Gospell in the same manner as King *Edward* had established it; to which shee condiscended, though afterwards wearing the Diademe, and petitioned unto for promise, shee both punished the Writer, and answered their expectations, *That they should one day well know, they being but members should not direct her their Head.*

The *Suffolke* men the first that came to aide *Mary*.

Iane proclaimed Queene.

An. Dom. 1553. July 10.

(6) The Lords at *London* to set their enterprise upon foot, by proclamation made knowne in most parts of the City, the death of King *Edward*, and that by Will, hee had bequeathed his Crowne and Dominions, to the vertuous great Princesse, Lady *Iane*, daughter to *Henrie* Duke of *Suffolke* (as wee have said) and so was shee proclaimed by the name of Queene *Iane*, though many of the Commons wished it had beene Queene *Mary*; and for some words spoken to that purpose, one *Gilbert Pot* a seruant Vintner, upon the Pillary lost both his eares. Vnto the aide of Lady *Mary* came the Earles of *Sussex*, *Bath*, and *Oxford*, the Lord *Wentworth*, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sir *Henry Iernyngham*, Sir *William Waldgrave*, with divers others of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, yea, and the Citizens of *Norwich* themselves, having certaine knowledge of King *Edwards* death, forthwith proclaimed *Mary* for Queene, and presently sent her aide both of men and munition. The Lords then hearing of great preparations, meant betimes to overmatch her in power, and thereupon agreed that *Henry* Duke of *Suffolke* their new Queenes Father should with an Army repaire into *Norfolke*, which thing was so grievous unto Lady *Iane* his daughter, that with flouds of teares shee obtained his stay.

Rich. Grafton.

Many Noble men come to aide *Mary*.

Mary proclaimed Queene fifth in *Norwich*, July 12.

(7) None then was held fitter to undergoe this great businesse, then was the Duke of *Northumberland*, y young *Gilfords* Father, (who besides his fonnes dignity, unto whom this new Queene was wife) his valiant parts and sufficiency to marshall an Army in Field, had been often experienced in *Scotland*, and but lately among these people with whom hee was now to deale. The Duke thus appointed, beganne as it should seeme, to mistrust the worst, and thereupon freely uttered his minde to the Lords; willing them to be carefull at home, as hee would bee venturous abroad; for their cause was common, and all for the Queene. Hee with his (hee said) went now to venture their bodies to the bloudy strokes of warre, their Families and Children left to the disposse of others, whom as he told them; if they meant not faire play, hee could avoid as well as any: thus much and more spoken to the like purpose, one of the Lords replied, and said: Your Grace (as I judge) doth cast this doubt over farre, for which of us all, can wash our hands cleane of this businesse, therefore it behoveth us to be resolute, as much as it doth you: and among them *Arundell* wilfred that he might goe with him.

The Duke of *Northumberlands* Souldiers forsake him.

The Duke himselfe proclaimeth Queene *Mary*.

The feare of the Duke of *Northumberland*.

(8) All things in a readinesse, and his commission confirmed under the broad Seale of *England*, upon the 14 of Iuly the Duke with six hundred men, accompanied with Lord *Grey*, and others, set foorth of *London*, and tooke his way through *Shordiech*, where beholding the countenances of the people, he spake to the Lord *Grey* and said: *The people my Lord, presse still to see us, but not one of them bids us Gods speed*: the same day likewise Sir *John Gates* went after the Duke both of them making for *New-Market*, whither further supplies were promised to be sent.

Esai 49 23.

The milde beginnings of Queene *Mary*.

(9) In the meane time the Lord *Windsore*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Hastings* raised the Commons of *Buckinghamshire*, proclaiming Queene *Marie* ever as they went, the like did Sir *Iohn Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlaine* in *Oxfordshire*, and so did Sir *Thomas Tresham* in the County of *Northampton*: these with many more made forward toward *Norfolke*, unto whom many more joyned in the way: and as God and good hap brought it to passe, five tall Ships well manned that were appointed before *Yarmouth* to have taken Lady *Mary* if shee had fled, were by foule weather driven into the Haven, where master *Iernyngham* was raising for her, and taking a Boate to hale them, the Sea-souldiers demaunded what he would have, his answer was, their Captaines; whereunto the souldiers consented, threatning to throw them into the Sea, if they refused to serve Queene *Marie*: the Ships thus gotten, and their number augmented, their terrour grew fearefull to the Lords in the Tower: vvhose Tenants began then likevvise to drawv backe, and deny them their aide: so that certaine of them vvould faine have been gone, if by any meanes they could have escaped the Tovver, vvhich the Lord Treasurer assayed, but vvas brought backe againe about midnight.

Hollish.

Many perils, but more prey for successe.

The Lord *Windsor* proclaimed Q. *Mary*.

(10) The

Acts and Mon.

Great feares among the people.

The Bishop of *London* defendeth *Lanes* Title in a Sermon.

Queene *Mary* proclaimed in *London*. Iul. 19.

(10) The Duke of *Northumberland* in as great feare as any, tooke still his stations according to his Commission, sending still to the Lords for their promised supplies, berwixt whom were such posting of Letters, such speeding to and fro, such outward faire promises, such inward privie practises, such talking of the Souldiers, and such heart-burning of the people, as it was a world to see: and the rumour of Souldiers from all quarters daily resorting unto Queene *Marie*, made the turmoile much the more. To leave therefore nothing unassayed that might support their new made Queene *Iane*, the Councell commanded Doctor *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, to maintaine her cause in his Sermon made at *Pauls-Crosse*, which hee did upon Sunday the sixteenth of *Iuly*, but that neither working, nor the peoples affection drawne from the rightfull Successor, the Lords fell from the Duke, who then was in *Burie*, and in *London* proclaimed Lady *Marie* Queene.

(11) This sudden alteration brought many sudden feares into the Dukes breast, whose onely way, as he well saw, was to follow the streame, and now returning to *Cambridge*, his Souldiers began to turne in affection, most of them forsaking his company, a few onely excepted, whose perils were deepely engaged with his, where to shew his forwardnesse for the advancement of *Marie*, wanting both Trumpet and Herauld at hand, himselfe accompanied with the Major, and the Marquesse of *Northampton*, in the Market place proclaimed her Queene: which done in token of joy, hee threw up his owne Cap. And thus the right reverted to whom it belonged, wee will now addresse our stile to her dreadfull Raigne, wherein the Kingdomes story may seeme to be writ rather with bloud then with Inke, and the nursing mother, (as Queenes by the Prophet are termed and called) to forget the naturall affection due to her Subjects, which in some sort may be compared to the children of her wombe.

The Duke of *Northumberland* arrested.

(12) Yet were her beginnings both milde and gentle, pardoning all offenders in case of Lady *Iane*; excepting the Duke of *Northumberland*, the onely doer, and Sir *John Gates*, Captaine of the Guard, who was in Armes against her, with some few others that worthily suffered for that offence. The Duke (as is said) laying downe weapon, and himselfe proclaiming *Queene Marie*, was neverthelesse arrested with *Francis* Earle of *Huntington*, in the Kings Colledge at *Cambridge* by a Sergeant at Armes, but Letters being then sent from the Councell, that every man should bee dismissed without further trouble, the Duke among them was also released.

Sixe Ships taken to serve Queene *Mary*.

(13) The next morning *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earle of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from the Queene, who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell upon his knees, desiring him for Gods love to consider his case, that had done nothing without warrant of him, and the Councell; my Lord, said *Arundel*, I am sent hither from the Queene to arrest you, and I, said the Duke, obey your arrest, yet I beseech your Lordship to use mercy towards him whose Acts have beene no more then was enjoyned by Commission. That sooner should you have fought for, said the Earle, and thereupon committed him to Guard, and left him to the mercy of the Queene.

Rich. Grafton, The Duke and others convey'd to the Tower.

The Lords in the Tower in great feare.

(14) The Duke then with his three sonnes, *Iohn*, *Ambrose*, and *Henrie*, the Earle of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *Iohn* and *Henrie*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sandes* were conveyed towards *London*, and brought to the Tower, where the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, and the Lady *Iane* his wife, from the high Title of Soveraignty were made subject to dejected prisoners miseries.

Queene *Mary* commeth to *London*.

John Stowes Annals.

(15) Queene *Mary* from *Fremingham* repaired towards *London*, being all the way saluted without any mislikes, saving that many men feared the altering of Religion: at her entrance into the Tower were released *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, who had laine there from the last of King *Henrie* the eighth, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, whom shee forthwith advanced Earle of *Devonshire*, *Cuthert Tunstall*, Bishop of *Durham*, and *Stephen Gardiner* late Bishop of *Winchester*, by her then made Lord Chancellor of *England*. From the *Marshall-sea* was freed *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, and now againe restored by the deposing of Doctor *Ridley*, who for his Sermon lately made, was committed to the Tower; so likewise Doctor *Scorie* gave place unto *Daye*, in the Bishopricke of *Chichester*, *Miles Coverdale* unto *Wefse*, in the Bishopricke of *Excester*, and *John Hooper* unto *Heath*, in the Bishopricke of *Worcester*; who forthwith was committed to the Fleet, and Archbishop *Cranmer*, into the Tower; so roughly she began with the reformed Clergie, how milde soever her other proceedings were.

Prisoners released the Tower.

Acts and Mon.

Bishops removed and others in their Sees placed.

(16) Against which men, as also against all printed bookes; which any wayes pointed towards the disgrace of the Papall See, (the teinture whereof had stucke in her owne breast ever since her infancie) Queene *Marie* set forth a proclamation; and so much was she devoted to that See of *Rome*, as being often mooved by King *Edward*, her brother, to imbrace the Gospell according to Lawes in his time established, with promise of her advancement, by matching her in Marriage with *Don Lewis* the brother of *Portugall*, her answer was, she had rather to forgoe all earthly preferments, and to lose all her Lands, and other Livings, then to change her received opinion of her sure setled Religion.

Reported in a Letter of conference with her had by the Lord Chancellor and Secretary Peters.

(17) Her entrance thus standing, and State nothing safe (as shee thought) whilest the Duke of *Northumberland* (a Protestant) and other his Complices (for the most part in durance) were alive; their arraignements were haftened, and deaths not long after lingred, which they suffered upon the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, where the Duke having promise of life, if he would recant his profession, Dastard-like with *Peter*, forsooke his Master, and exhorted the people to the *Romish* profession: which his death Sermon afterwards by authority came forth in Print. With him suffered Sir *John Gates*, and Sir *Thomas Palmer* much more constant as appeared by their speech.

The Duke of *Northumberland* beheaded, August 22.

Sir *John Gates* beheaded.

Acts and Mon. An. Dom. 1554. Queene *Mary* Crowned. *Tho. Cranmer Cant.* *Rich. Holgate Torke.* *Hollingsh.*

(18) The way (saith Master *Foxe*) thus made by bloud, Queene *Mary* passed through *London* unto *Westminster* to receive the Crowne, which was solemnly set on her Head by *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, for that both the Archbishops were prisoners in the Tower: when a pardon was also published for many offences, which notwithstanding were so followed by them in Commission, as some were fined, some lost their Fees, some cast into prison, and some deprived of all their estates.

The vertues of Lady *Iane*.

Laurence Humfrey.

(19) The next that felt the calamities of those times, were the Lady *Iane*, and the Lord *Gilford Dudley* her Husband; both innocent persons in that which their Fathers had done: Shee doubtlesse was a Lady of admirable gifts both in learning, religion, and humane knoledge, as by her conference with *Feckuam*, Letters to an Apostata, exhortation to her Sister, and prayers by her made in most feeling manner, doe evidently appeare, and that thee was constrained to consent to the things done, is manifest by a letter sent to her father a little before her death: wherein, after a holy and dutifull exhortation unto patience, shee useth this Speech. *My deare Father, (if I might without offence rejoyce in mine owne misfe-haps, shee seemes in this I may account my self e blessed, that, washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltlesse bloud may cry before the Lord, mercie, mercie, to the Innocent. And yet though I must acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough continually assayled, in taking upon mee, I seemed to consent, and therein offended the Queene and her Lawes, yet doe I assuredly trust that this mine offence towards God is much the lesse, in that being in so royall estate as I*

Lady *Iane* to her Letter sent to her father.

was

was, mine enforced honour never agreed with mine innocent heart.

Lady Iane and Lord Guilford condemned.

(20) Yet must the Law for so great an offence take place, for triall whereof this late titled Queene, and now miserable Lady, was brought into *Guildhall* in *London*, where thee with the Lord *Guilford*, Archbishop *Cranmer*, and the Lord *Ambrose Dudlie*, were arraigned and condemned. But *Cranmer* (as *Fox* saith) was acquit of Treason, and stood onely in the case of Doctrine, which then was accounted Heresie, and so againe were returned to the Tower, for whom great lamentations were made, especially for the good Lady *Iane*, whose state the Queene her selfe so pitried, as that she had the liberty of the Tower to walke in the Queenes Garden, and on the Hill; and surely had not her Father after his first offence fallen into another, she had beene (as was thought) pardoned of life.

Fox Acts. and Monuments.

(21) His second offence was, that whereas Queene *Mary* had a purpose to marry with the *Spaniard*, and to that end embraced, the sute of *Philip*, the sonne of *Charles* the Emperour, many as well Nobles as others disliked the Match, fearing not onely the change of Religion, whereunto many of them stood very well affected, but even of the Lands servitude unto strangers, as was likely to happen, both in the Husband and Issue. To prevent which, this *Henrie* Duke of *Suffolke*, but lately pardoned of life, secretly departed unto *Leicester*, and *Warwickshire*, making Proclamations for the abandoning of Strangers, and instigated the people to withstand the Queenes marriage agreed upon with *Philip*.

Iohn Stow.

(22) These stirres thus abroach, the Earle of *Huntington* was sent into those parts, who taking *Coventree* (which Citie *Suffolke* thought himselfe sure of) forelaid the Countrey in such wise, as the Duke for his best refuge committed himselfe to the trust and secret keeping of a servant of his, called *Vnderwood*, remaining in *Astley Parke*, who against the trust reposed, treacherously betrated him, and his brother *John* Lord *Grey*, unto the Earle, whence presently by him they were conveyed prisoners unto the Tower of *London*, their other brother Lord *Thomas* escaping in the dead of the night, was presently apprehended in the borders of *Wales*, and from thence was brought prisoner to *London*.

The Duke of Suffolke letteth himselfe against Queene Maries marriage.

Holinshead.

(23) This (I say) seemed to hasten the death of those innocents, whom their Fathers had doubly brought into danger; for the Satisfs of those times, knowing their Queene could have no quiet whileft these great oppositres were reared against her, held it best policy to take them away; whereupon the twelfth of *February*, and first day of the weeke, Lord *Guilford Dudley* was had to the Scaffold upon Tower-Hill, and there with prayers and great pennancy ended his life: whose body all bloudy laid in a Cart together with the head wrapped in a cloth, was brought into the Chappell within the Tower, even in the sight of this sorrowfull Lady; a spectacle more deadly then was the Axe of her death. And now her owne part next to be acted, the Stage of her Tragedy was raised upon the Greene, within the Tower, whereon being mounted, with a cheerefull countenance, and a patient minde, these words with great constancy she spake at that present.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Henry Duke of Suffolke and his brethren apprehended.

The Lord Guilford beheaded Rich. Grafton.

Lady Iane beheaded.

The Speeche of Lady Jane at her death.

"(24) Good people, I am come to die, and by "Law I am condemned to the same, my offence a- "gainst the Queenes Highnesse was onely in con- "sent to the device of others, which now is deemed "Treason: yet it was never of my seeking, but by "counsell of those who should seeme to have fur- "ther understanding of things then I, which knew "little of the Law, and much lesse of Titles to the "Crowne. But touching the procurement and de- "sire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe wash "my hands in innocency thereof before God, and "the face of you all this day: *And therewith shee "wrong her hands, wherein shee had a booke.* I pray you "all good Christian people (said shee) to beare "mee witnesse that I die a true Christian woman, "and that I looke to be saved by none other meanes "but onely by the mercy of God, in the blood of "his onely Sonne Iesus Christ; and I confesse that "when I did know the word of God, I neglected the "same, and loved my selfe and the world, and there- "fore this plague and punishment is justly and wor- "thily happened upon me for my sinnes, and yet I "thank God of his goodnesse, that he hath given me "a time and respite to repent. And now good peo- "ple while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your "prayers.

(25) Then kneeled shee downe, and said in *English* the fifty one *Psalme*: and againe standing up, gave her booke to master *Bridges*, then Lieutenant of the Tower: then untying her Gowne, the Excutioner offered to helpe, whom shee desired to forbeare, and so turning to her two Gentlewomen, was distrobed of that, and her other Attires. This done, the Headsman kneeled known, and askt her forgivenesse, unto whom she said; *The Lord forgive thee, and I doe:* and I pray thee dispatch me quickly, and kneeling againe, said, Will you take it off before I lie downe? hee answered, no Madam. Then she tyed a Handkercher over her eyes, and feeling for the blocke, said; Where is it, where is it? Lastly, laying her necke upon the same, stretched forth her body, and said; *Lord Iesus into thy hands I commend my spirit*; which was scarcely uttered, before thee received the fatall stroake of the Axe: and thus ended the life of this chaste, innocent, and most vertuous Lady; whose case, through the severity of the Law adjudged accordingly, yet was her death much lamented of all, but most especially grievous unto him that gave the sentence of the same, even Iudge *Morgan*, who thereupon presently fell madde, and in his ravings, continually cryed, take away the Lady *Iane* from me, and in that horrour shortly ended his life. I will not avouch that shee was with childe at the day of her death, though it was so reported, but rather judge a more Christian-like proceeding against so great a person; though the time (as we well know) proved very bloudy.

Master Foxin Acts and Mon. pag. 1132.

(26) Eleven dayes after her death her Father *Henry Duke of Suffolke*, was executed upon the Tower hill, even the twenty three of *February*, where hee most Christianly made profession of his Faith, and with great repentance of his fact, received the stroke of death; and the three and twentie of *April* following, his brother the Lord *Thomas Grey* sufferred death in the same place.

Henry Duke of Suffolke and L. Thomas Grey beheaded.

(27) That the intended marriage with *Philip* of *Spaine*, was the cause of their last insurrection wee have said; to perswade which, how eloquently soever had beene delivered by *Stephen Gardiner*, *Lord Chauncellour*, unto the Nobility in the Chamber of Presence, setting forth the honour, the riches, and augmentations of Titles to the Crowne, and Kingdome of *England*: yet was it distastfive to most of their Stomackes, insomuch that combinations were made against the processe, and many in many places up in Armes; whereof Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, was the first, and that upon this occasion.

Tirethery in the Queenes Campe.

Queene Maries marriage distastfull to many of the Nobles.

(28) Among many dislikers of the Queenes marriage, it chanced one, for some other offence, to be committed to the Fleete by the Councell, who being an inward acquaintance of *Wyats*, was supposed by him to have revealed the conspiracy; whereupon he put himselfe in action, before the enterprise was altogether ripe, and accompanied with *Thomas Isley*, and and others, at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, published a Proclamation against the Queenes marriage, alleaging the thraldome whereunto the Land would become subject, by that *Spanish* March, and from *Maidstone* accompanied with Sir *George Harper*, hasted to *Rochester*, where they forth-with brake downe the Bridge.

Rich. Grafton.

Sir Thomas Wyats flight.

An. Dom. 1553. Ian. 25.

(29) In the meane while, Sir *Henry Isley*, *Ambonie*, and *William Knevet*, brethren, in East, and West *Kent*,

Wyat commeth to Rochester.

Kent, perswaded the people (who were willing enough) to take part with *Wyat*, for at *Milton*, *Christopher Roper*, in making Proclamation for the Queen, assisted by Master *Tuck* and *Darrell*, both Iustices of Peace were all three taken, and conveyed unto *Rochester*, and there retained Prisoners by Sir *Thomas Wyat*, whereupon Sir *Robert Southwell*, high Sheriffe of *Kent*, with the Lord *Aburgeunny*, and others, upon the Market day at *Malling* in a penned Oration exhorted the hearers from such seditious enterprises. On the other side, Sir *Henry Isley* at *Tunbridge*, proclaimed the said Lord, the Sheriffe and their adherents, Traitors to God and the Crowne. Thus was *Kent* divided, and preparations made to maintaine the faction, according as the Gentlemen stood diverfly affected.

Iaud. 27.

Kent divided in faction.

(30) The Lord of *Aburgeuenny* with the Sheriffe, and others, hearing that *Sir Henry Isley*, and the two *Knevets*, Conductors of five hundred Welshmen, meant their March unto *Rochester*, to joyne with *Wyat* against the Duke of *Norfolke*, who was then come to *Gravesend* with five hundred *Londoners* in the quarrell of the Queene, to intercept that designe earely the next morning, they marched with many Kentish Yeomen unto *Barrow-greene*, a place that lay directly in their passage to *Rochester*, where ordering their men, stayed the approach of the Enemy: who seeing themselves thus forelaid, turned secretly aside into another by-way, and gotten unto *Wrothamhill*, supposing they had beene quit of all danger, displayed their Ensignes.

The Duke of Norfolke Generall for the Queene.

(31) The Queenes friends thus defeated, were in a marvellous rage, and hasting forward, overtooke *Sir Henry*, and the two *Knevets*, before they could ascend the height of the Hill, where presently began a most hot skirmish, many wounds given, and many Prisoners taken, till lastly the seditious were scattered, and fled; *Sir Henry Isley* into *Hampshire*, and others into other parts, a few escaping to joyne with their Consorts.

The seditious put to flight.

(32) The beginning thus unfortunate, made many to misdoubt of the end, among whom *Sir George Harper* got from *Wyat*, and submitted himselfe to the Duke of *Norfolke*, who with *Sir Henry Iernegham* Captaine of the Guard, *Sir Edward Bray*, *Sir John Fog*, and others, upon Monday the twentie seven of *Ianuary*, came unto *Stroud* neere *Rochester* and there being busied in planting of his Ordonance, was certainly told that the *Londoners* meant to betray him: whereat fore astonied, and turning about, he saw Captaine *Bret*, and the Band of white Coates at his backe, crying, *We are all Englishmen, wee are all Englishmen*: which sudden conspiracy caused the Duke and the Captaine of the Guard, to shift for themselves, and left their unfaithfull followers, to the dispose of their owne affections unto *Wyat*; among whom *Sir George Harper* lately received of the Duke, lightly turned againe unto *Wyat*. This Duke (saith *Grafton*) being anaged man, and fortunate before in all his warres, upon this disaster impressed such dolour of minde, that for very griefe thereof he lived not long after.

Rich. Grafton.

(33) *Wyat*, and his associates greatly incouraged by this new supply, with eight brasse Peeces taken of the *Queenes*, besides other of their owne, marched the next morning unto *Cowling* Castle, where the *Lord Cobham* then lay, and bending these Ordonance against the Gate, brake it open with their shot, and made entrance for their men. The *Lord Cobham* right valiantly resisted their doings, and bestowed freely such small Munition as he had, against their breasts, even with his owne hands: in which enterprize two of his men were slaine, and *Wyat* after some talke had with the said Lord, departed unto *Gravesend*, where hee with his men were lodged that night.

Iohn Stow. Tuesday the 30. of Ianuary.

Wyat assaileth Cowling Castle.

(34) The next day hee came unto *Dartford*, whither resorted *Sir Edward Hastings*, Master of the Horse, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, Knights, both of them being Privy Counsellors to the *Queene*. Their comming signified, *Sir Thomas Wyat* with certaine Gentlemen went forth to meet them, *Wyat* somewhat marching before the rest with a partizan in his hand, at whose approach *Sir Edward Hastings* alighted, and spake unto him as followeth.

Two Privy Counsellors sent unto Wyat.

Sir Edward Hastings message to Wyat. Rehearsed.

"(35) The *Queenes* Majestie requireth to under- "stand the true cause, wherefore you have gathered "in Armes her liege people against her, which is "the part of a Traytor, and yet in your Proclama- "tions you call your selfe a true Subject, both which "cannot stand together. I am no Traytor (quoth *Wyat*) and the cause why I have assembled the people, is to defend the Realme from danger of being over-runne by Strangers, which must needs follow, if the marriage take place. Why, said the *Counsellors*, there is no stranger yet come, either for power or number whom you need to suspect, therefore if that thing onely be the quarrell, will you that dislike the marriage, come to communication touching the cause, and the *Queene* is content you shall be heard. To that I yeeld, said *Sir Thomas Wyat*; but for my further surety, I will rather bee trusted then trust; and thereupon demanded (as some have written, saith *Hollinshed*) *The Custody of the Tower, and her Grace within it, as also the displacing of some Counsellors about her, and to place other in their Roomes*: To which the Master of the Horse replyed: *Wyat, before thou shalt have thy traiterous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand more with thee*; and so these Agents departed to the Court, and *Wyat* forth-with came unto *Deepeford* by *Greenewich*.

Sir Thomas Wyats answer.

February 1.

(36) At whose approach so neere *London*, such feares were possessed, that besides those in the *Court* (who instigated the *Queene* to remoove into the *Tower*) the *Lord Major*, Aldermen, and most of the Citizens were in Armour, and the Sergeants and Lawyers at *Westminster* Hall pleaded their causes in Harneste, at which time it was no need to bid the *Spanish Ambassadors* be gone; who no more standing to woo for their Master, made away by water as fast as they could: and yet some comfort was conceived by the certaine newes of the discomfiture of the *Carewes* and *Gibs*, that were making head in the *West*, now wholly defeated, and fled: which was proclaimed in *London* upon *Candlemas* Eve: upon the day of that Feast *Queene Mary* to make the City sure on her side, came unto the *Guild hall*, accompanied with many Courtiers, whither likewise were assembled the *Lord Major*, the Aldermen, and the chiefe Citizens in their Liveries: the *Queene* being placed, and all men attending her pleasure, with very good grace and words well uttered, thee spake in effect as here insueth.

Great feares among the people.

The seditions in Cornwall discomfited.

Queene Maries Oration.

"(28) In my owne person I am come unto you, "to tell you that, which your selves already doe see "and know, I meane the traiterous and seditious "number of the Kentish Rebels, that are assembled "against us, and you. Their pretence (as they say) is "to resist a marriage betweene us, and the Prince of "*Spaine*, of all their plots, pretended quarrels, and "evill contrived Articles, you have beene made "privy. Since which time, our Councell have reser- "ted to the Rebels, demanding the cause of their "continued enterprize, by whose answers the mar- "riage is found to be the least of their quarrell: or "rather a cloake to cover their pretensed purposes "against our Religion; for, swarving from their for- "mer Articles, they now manifestly bewray the in- "ward Treason of their hearts, most arrogantly de- "manding the possession of our person, the keeping "of our Tower, and not onely the placing and dis- "placing of our Counsellors: but also to use them, "and us at their pleasures: what I am (loving Sub- "jects, you right well know) your Queene, to whom "at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the "Realme, and to the Lawes of the same (the spou- "sall ring whereof I have on my finger, which never

Mr. Foxe.

"hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye pro-
"misfed your alleageance, and obedience unto me.
"And that I am the right, and true inheritor to the
"English Crowne, I not onely take all Christen-
"dome to witnes, but also your Acts of Parliaments
"confirming the same. My Father (as you all know)
"possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance,
"which now by the same right is discended unto
"me: to him you alwayes shewed your selves both
"faithfull and loving Subjects, as to your Liege
"Lord and King, and therefore I doubt not but
"you will shew your selves so to me his daughter;
"which if you doe, then may you not suffer any
"rebell to usurpe the Government of our Person,
"or enterpose our estate, especially so presumptu-
"ous a Traytor as this *Wyat* hath shewed himselfe
"to be: who most certainly, as he hath abused our
"ignorant Subjects, to be adherents to his traiterous
"quarrell; so doth he intend by the color of the same,
"to subdue the lawes to his will, and to give scope
"to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make gene-
"rall havocke and spoile of your goods. And this I
"say further unto you in the word of a Prince, I can-
"not tell how naturally a Mother loveth her Chil-
"dren, for I was never the Mother of any; but cer-
"tainly if a Prince and Governour may as naturally
"love the Subjects, as the Mother doth her child,
"then assure your selves, that I being your Sove-
"raigne Lady, and Queene doe as earnestly and
"tenderly love and favour you. And I thus loving
"you, cannot but thinke, that you as heartily and
"faithfully love me againe: and so this love bound
"together in the knot of concord, we shall be able (I
"doubt not) to give these Rebels a short and speedy
"overthrow. Now as concerning my intended
"marriage, you shall understand, that I entred not
"into the treaty thereof, without the advice of our
"privy Councell, yea, & by assent of those, to whom
"my Father committed his trust, who have so consi-
"dered the great commodities that may thereof en-
"sue, as they not onely have thought it very honou-
"rable, but also expedient, both for the Wealth of
"our Realme, and also of our loving Subjects. But
"as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so de-
"sirous of wedding, neither am so precisely wedded
"to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I
"will chuse where I list, or else so amorous, as needs
"I must have one: for I thanke God (to whom be the
"praise) I have hitherto lived a Virgin, and doubt
"not but with Gods grace to be able to live so still.
"But if (as my Progenitors have done before) it
"might please God that I might leave some fruit
"of my body to be your Governour, I trust you
"would not onely rejoyce thereat, but also I know
"it would be to your great comfort: and certainly
"if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage
"should either turne to the danger, or losse of any
"of you my loving Subjects, or to the detriment of
"any part of the Royal Estate of this *English Realme*,
"I would never consent thereunto, neither would
"I ever marry whilest I lived. And in the word of a
"Queene, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not
"probably appeare before the Nobilitie, and Com-
"mons in the high Court of Parliament, that this
"marriage shall be for the singular benefit and com-
"moditie of the whole Realme; that then I will ab-
"staine not onely from this marriage, but also from
"any other. Wherefore good Subjects, plucke up
"your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your
"lawfull Prince against these Rebels, both ours and
"yours, and feare them not, for (I assure you) I doe
"not: and will leave with you my Lord *Howard*,
"and my *Lord Treasurer*, to be assistant with my
"Lord Major, for the safegard of the Citie from
"spoile and fackage, which is the onely scope of
"this rebellious Company.

(37) The Oration ended, and the Citizens well pleased, *Queene Mary* with good content returned to the Court, where conferring with her Councell, shee ordained the *Lord William Herbert, Earle of Pembrooke*, Generall of the Field, and gave forth Proclamation, that whosoever could bring *Wyat* either quicke or dead, should be rewarded with an hundred pound Lands by yeare, to him and his posteritie for ever.

The Earle of Pembrooke made Lord Generall. *Rich. Grafton.*

(38) *Wyat* in *Depford*, and knowing what was done, with foureteene Ensignes, and foure thousand strong, upon *Saturday* the third of *February*, marched towards *London*, at whose approch, the *White Tower* having him in danger, shot off her Ordonance, but did misse their marke, some levelling too farre over, and some as much too short. His entrance into *Southwarke*; was peaceable, and without all resistance, though many Countrey-men were therein bestowed to with-stand his comming, who contrary to trust, joyned with the *Kentish*, and then to winne the hearts of the people, he presently made Proclamation, that no Souldier should take away any thing without due payment, and the parties consent: notwithstanding *Winchester* House soone felt the contrary, whose goods were ransacked, the Bookes in the Library cut and defaced, and not a locke left upon the doores: such spoiles insurrections ever aime at, how faire soever they soyle the glasse to the sight.

Stow hath but five Ensignes, and two thousand footsouldiers.

Wyat commeth in *Southwrke.*

The Rebels spoile *Winchester* house.

(39) The Suburbs thus his, hee assured himselfe the City likewise shortly would be, but comming to the Bridge, he found the Gates fast shut, neither any in hast to open them for him, therefore making a trench at the Bridge-foote, planted two Peeces of Ordonance against the Gate: At S. *Georges* Church he mounted another, the fourth at the entrance into *Barmondsey-street*, and the fift towards the Bishop of *Winchesters* House.

Wyat fortifieth *Southwarke. John Stow.*

(40) Within the Citie the Lord Major, and Lord *William Howard* caused the draw-bridge to be cut downe, and making fortifications for their defence, placed great Ordonance against the entrance. *Wyat* still thirsting to know the Cities intent, got with some few followers through the Porters lodge unto the draw-bridge, where being unseene himselfe, saw the passage too difficult to have friendly accesse, and thereupon said to his consorts, This place is too hot for us. Besides, the Tower began to be topped with Ordonance, seven Culverings and Demy Cannons levelled against the Bridge-foote, the Steeples of *Saint Olives*, and *Saint Mary Overies*; all the *White Tower* laden with her Peeces, three Fawconers over the water-Gate, and a double Culvering upon Divelling Tower: and all these were turned, and fearefully charged upon the Borough of *Southwarke*, which seene, the Inhabitants with great lamentations came unto *Wyat*, and complained, that for his cause they were like to be utterly undone, who strucken with pitty and remorse of so many, presently removed his Army towards *Kingston* upon *Thames*, where finding the Bridge broken downe, with Ladders, and Planks he soone repaired it, and so passing the River the same night, came to *Braineford* before he was descried by the Queenes *Scoutes*, the newes whereof fore troubled the Court. *Wyats* hopes were to have surprised the Citie upon the sudden, and therefore made such haste as he did, but being hindred by a Peece of great Ordonance, that was dismounted from the carriage, came not unto Knightsbridge before it was day.

Londonfortified against Wyat.

John Stow.

The Tower fortified against *Wyat.*

Febr. 6. being Shrouetuesday.

Wyat passeth the Thames at *Kingston.*

Rich Grafton.

(41) In the same morning the Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Lord Generall*, had taken *Saint Iames* Fields, whither *Wyat* and his in good order marched, but seeing the way fore-laid both with foote, and horsemen, turned downe the old lane directly towards *Saint Iames*, whence Captaine *Vaughan* with two Enfignes tooke towards *Westminster*, and *Wyat* along the causey leading to *Charing-Crosse*; the Lord Generals Horsemen, hitherto stood hovering aloofe, untill the enemy was passed all but the taile, upon which they violently set, and severed from the rest, the maine never looking backe to releeve their distresse.

Wyat yeeldeth himselfe.

February 7. The Queenes armie in Saint *Iames* field.

(42) From

John Stow.

(42) From the higher ground, and along the high way, the great Ordonance played, and *Wyats* againe answered the like, through with small hurt to either, onely one from the Hill slew three of *Wyats* men in a ranke, and strucke through the Bricke-wall into the Parke. *Wyat* passing forward by the battell of Footmen, without any impeachment, came to *Charing-Crosse*, where the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir *John Gage*, stood ready to resist him: but the Kentish Souldiers rushing violently into the streets, forced them into the gates of *White-Hall*, which presently were shut, and a repore in the Court that the Lord Generall was revolted to *Wyat*; all so distracted, that none durst trust others, and no other voice therein heard, but Treason, Treason. Meane while *Wyat*, with such small company as he had, hasted through *Fleet-street*, and came unto *Ludgate*, where he knocked to have entrance, and well hoped of further assistance, but was farre deceived, the gate being guarded against him, with a number of true Citizens, and Bands of the Queenes friends.

Wyat commeth to *Ludgate.*

The conflict at *Charing-Crosse.*

(43) But those straglers that had taken into *Westminster*, whereof *Knevet* was Captaine, seeking to recover their companions, came before the Court gates, and there made their stand, which being shut against them, shot many of their arrowes into the Garden, yea, and into the windowes of *White-hall*, though without any hurt: from the Court thus guarded against them, they forthwith departed, meaning to follow *Wyat* their Leader into *London*, and marching forward, were met with at *Charing-Crosse*, by Sir *Henry Iernyngham*, Captaine of the Guard, *Sir Edward Bray* Master of the Ordonance, and *Sir Philip Paris* Knights, sent thither by order of the Lord Generall, with a band of Archers, and certaine Field Peeces to secure the Court; their Artillery discharged, they presently joyne fight with the Rebels at push of the Pike, who a while stucke to it manfully; in which conflict was the triall of the day: but as their quarrell was trayterous, so their hearts were soone quelled, each one saving himselfe by flight, wherein about twentie of those bemired Souldiers were slaine, and no other cry heard, but downe with the Draggle-tailes.

Wyat returneth from *Ludgate.*

John Stow.

(44) *Wyat*, returned from *Ludgate*, sate downe upon a ftall against the common Inne called *Belsavage*, where he began (as it should seeme) to expostulate what his heady rashnesse had done, and the vaine hopes he had conceived of the Citizens abetments, who seldome take part against the Crowne: he then despairing of further successe, retired backe towards the Court, and was not stayed untill hee came to *Temple-Barre*, where certaine Horsemen comming from the Field, met him full in the face, betwixt whom began some bickering, till lastly *Clarentine*, King at Armes, came to him, and said; Master *Wyat* you see the day is gone against you, and in resisting you can doe no good, but hazard the lives of your Souldiers, and your selfe, to the great perill of your soule. My counsell is, that you were best to yeeld, and perchance you may finde the Queene mercifull, if you stay from further bloudshed.

Wyat yeeldeth himselfe.

February the 8.

(45) *Wyat* hereat somewhat astonied, seeing now his whole designes defeated (though his few Souldiers were bent still to fight) answered the Herauld, Well then, If I must needs yeeld, I will yeeld to a Gentleman: to whom Sir *Maurice Barkley* came presently, and bade him mount his Horse behind, in like manner another tooke up Sir *Thomas Cobham*, and the third *Thomas Knevet*, and so carried them unto the Court, whence in the afternoone, they with the two *Mantels*, and *Alexander Bret*, were committed to the Tower, Sir *Thomas Wyat* wearing a shirt of Malle under a Velvet Cassocke, and the wind-lace of his Dagge hanging about his necke. The next day eleven Gentlemen more, of name and account, were likewise committed to the Tower. In *London* about fifty persons were hanged for *Wyats* conspiracie, and foure hundred more led thorow the Citie with halters about their neckes to *Westminster*, where in the Tilt-yard they were all pardoned by the Queene, pronouncing her mercy from the Gallery above.

400. persons pardoned by the Queene.

Hollinshead. March 15.

(46) But the Capitall offender Sir *Thomas Wyat* arraigned at *Westminster* upon case of high Treason, confessed the inditement, and had judgement of death accordingly, which he suffered upon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, the eleventh of *April* following, his words to the people were these; "Good peo-
"ple, I am come hither presently to die, being there-
"to lawfully and worthily condemned, for I have
"fore offended against God and the Queenes Maje-
"stie; I trust God hath forgiven me, and will take
"mercy upon me; I beseech the Queenes Majestie
"also of forgivenesse (shee hath forgiven you quoth
"Doctor *Weston*) let every man beware how he ta-
"keth any thing in hand against the higher Powers,
"unlesse God be prosperable to his purpose; it will
"never take good effect or successe, whereof, you
"may now learne by me, and I pray God I may be
"the last example in this place. But where it is said,
"and noysed abroad, that I should accuse the Lady
"*Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, it is not so, good
"people: For I assure you, neither they, nor any o-
"ther now yonder in hold, was privy to my rising
"before I began, as I have declared no lesse to the
"Queenes Councell, and that is most true. Then
said Doctor *Weston*, marke here my masters, he saith
that, that which he hath shewed to the Councell in
writing of them, is most true. Whereupon *Wyat* put
off his Gowne, his doublet, and wast-coate, and knit-
ting a kerchiefe over his eyes, with most fervent
prayers, received the stroke of the Axe.

Wyats words at his death.

(47) *Alexander Bret*, and twencie two Kentish persons besides, were executed in divers parts of that County: others were likewise arraigned for the same Conspiracie, as Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and Sir *Iames Croft*, the one quit by his Inquest, the other pardoned of life by the Queene. Many others were suspected as ayders unto *Wyat*, and his enterprise, among whom the Lord *Courtney*, and the Princesse *Elizabeth*, sister to the Queene, were not the least, and therefore both of them committed to the Tower: of which Ladies troubles, innocency; and truth, thus we find related.

Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton* and Sir *Iames Croft* arraigned.

Ladyelizabeths troubles.

(48) These Virgin Princes were not so neerely linked in bloud and nature, as they were separated asunder in affecting Religion, and that being the prime cause for which these commotions were raised, Queene *Mary* much suspected her sister to be a principall mover therein. The jealousie whereof, *Gardiner* of *Winchester* did further inflame, by blowing Conjectures into her eare: so that needs the Princesse must be sent for, then lying sicke at her Mannor of *Asbridge*, even the next day after that *Wyat* rose. The messengers were, *Sir Iohn Williams*, *Sir Edward Hastings*, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, all three Privy Counsellors, with a troope of Horsemen, in number two hundred and fiftie.

Lady *Elizabeth* sore sicke is sent for.

M. Fox A&. and Monuments. 1288.

(49) These comming to *Asbridge* at ten in the night, suddenly ascended into her Privy Chamber, and making it knowne they came from the Queene, had present accesse into her Bed-Chamber; where the said Lady lay very sore sicke: their first salutations were, that they were sorry to see her in that estate, and I am not glad, said shee, to see you here at this time of the night; Madam, quoth they, our Message requires hast, and the Queenes pleasure is, that you shal be at *London* the seventh of this moneth. No Creature gladder to come to her Majestie then I (said Lady *Elizabeth*) being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to attend her Grace, as your selves here see. Indeed (said they) for that we see, we are heartily sorry, but our commission is, that wee bring you to *London* either quicke or dead, whereat shee being greatly amazed, sorrowfully said, shee well hoped their commission was nothing

The conference of the three Counsellors with Lady Elizabeth.

so strait, but they calling for two Doctors of Physicke, demanded whether shee might be remooved with life, and that being resolved, bade her prepare against the next morning, and so left this innocent Princesse very sore perplexed the rest of the night.

Lady Elizabeth as a Prisoner conveyed to the Court.

(50) The next morning approached, and she in no better plight, notwithstanding, was led forth more like a Prisoner than a Princesse, which the people in every place as shee passed, did much lament, and strongly guarded, was so conveyed unto the Court, where for foureteene dayes space, shee comfortlesse continued without sight of friend, the Queene, or any Lords: those onely excepted that attended the dores, which were the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir *Iohn Gage*.

Princesse Elizabeth examined of treason.

(51) Vpon Friday before Palme Sunday, *Gardiner* of *Winchester*, and nine more of the Councell came into her presence, and there charged her both with *Wyats* Conspiracy, and the stirres lately made in the West parts, by Sir *Peter Carew*, and others, which shee most constantly denyed: but in conclusion, they told her it was the *Queenes* pleasure, that shee should forth-with goe to the Tower, the name of which dolefull prison, strucke deepe to her heart. I trust (said shee) her Majesty will be farre more gracious, then to commit to that place a true and most innocent woman, that never hath offended her in thought, word, nor deed. And thereupon instantly defired those Lords to be a meane for her unto the Queene: which some of them promised, and much pitried her case. But about an houre after, came foure of these Lords againe, namely, *Winchester*, the *Treasurer*, the *Steward*, and *Sussex*: with a charge to discharge her of all attendants, saving onely her Gentleman Vsher, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, the Guard was set to Ward in the next roomes; two Lords with Bands of men to watch in the Hall, and two hundred Northerne white Coates in the Garden, thus all was made sure, and shee kept from starting.

The honorable parts of the Earle of *Sussex*.

(52) The next day came unto her two Lords of the Councell, with commandement from the Queene to have her to the Tower, they roundly told her, her Barge was prepared, and that the Tide would tarry for no body: this heavy newes encreased this distressed Ladies pensivenesse, who in most humble wise became Petitioner unto their Lordships, that shee might stay untill the next Tide, which as shee well hoped, would prove more comfortable; but the one of them being more forward in his Commission then the other, flatly told her, that neither Tide nor time should bee delayed. Whereupon her Grace desired thee might write to the Queene: hee againe answered, that he durst not suffer it, neither in his judgement was it convenient: but the other more milder (which was the Earle of *Sussex*) kneeling downe, told her, that her Grace should have libertie to write her minde: sweating as he was a true man, himselfe would deliver it into the Queenes hand, and bring her the answer, whatsoever came of it: which honourable permission was then most thankfully taken, and afterward most highly esteemed in her Princely favours towards that honourable man; but in writing this Letter, or Petition to the Queene, the Tide was turned, and served not to shoot the Bridge with a Barge; therefore it was privily determined, to take the advantage of the next, which with better advisement was againe deferred, for that it fell about midnight, whence rose a feare, that shee might be forceably taken from them before shee came to the Tower: and so with great providence was that danger prevented.

Lady Elizabeth carried prisoner unto the Tower.

(53) The next day being Palme Sunday, served well for their purpose, when as under pretext of devotion, the Citizens of *London* were commanded to carry their Palmes to the Church, whilest her Barge might be passed by without sight, or any suspect. And to that purpose, the foresaid two Noblemen, about nine of the Clocke repaired unto her, shewing that the time was now come, that her Grace must goe to the Tower; to which shee answered, the Lords will be done, I am contented: seeing it is the Queenes minde: and comming into the Garden to take Barge, shee cast her eyes towards every Window, hoping to see some that would pitty her case, but that also failing, shee sighed, and said; *I marvell what the Nobilitie meane, to suffer me a Prince to be led into Captivitie, the Lord knowes whither, for my selfe doe not.*

The severe and hard dealings against the Princesse Elizabeth.

(54) Great haste was made to the Barge, and as much to get by *London* unseene: but the Tyde yong, and not fully come in, the fall of the water at the Bridge was so great, as the Bargemen themselves feared to passe thereunder, and motioned a stay till the streame were more levell, which in no wise would be heard: whereupon they passed the Arch with such danger, as the Sterne of the Boate strucke against the ground; and come to the staires, could not take land without stepping into the water, which this tender, and newly recovered Princesse was forced to doe, in which passage the uttered these words: *I speake before thee, O God, having none other friend but thee onely; here landeth as true a Subject, being prisoner as ever landed at these staires*; to which the severall Lords answered, if it were so, it was the better for her. Shee coming into the gate, a great number of Servants and Warders of the Tower stood to guard her, through whom as shee passed, the poore men kneeling downe, with one voyce, desired God to preserve her Grace, whereof some were rebuked, and others put from their Ordinary the next day.

The constant patience of Lady Elizabeth.

(55) Then passing somewhat further, both faint and uncomfortable, shee rested her selfe upon a cold stone, to whom Master *Bridges*, the Lieutenant then being, said; *Madam, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit unwholsomely*; to whom shee replyed, *Better sit here, then in a worse place; for God knoweth, and not I, whether you will bring me*: At which her sorrowfull and dejected answer, her Gentleman Vsher, a servant most loyall and loving to his Mistresse, among many others brake forth into flouds of teares, (the witnesses commonly of all inward griefe) which the Princesse perceiving, reproved, demanding what he meant, so to discourage her, seeing she tooke him to be her Comforter, and especially knowing her truth to be such, as that no man should have any cause to weepe for her.

A child suspected and forbidden to visite the Lady Elizabeth.

(56) Shee safely bestowed, and the dores made fast with lockes and bolts, was there comfortlesse left in the dolefull prison, where calling for her booke, and her few servants about her, shee fell unto prayers, desiring God to prosper her worke, that she might build upon the rocke Christ: whereby these blustering tempests thus suddenly risen, might not prevaile against her foundation. Meane while the Lords were as circumspect, how she might be kept sure; many among them propounded, that it was most needfull shee should be close prisoner, and a strong guard set to watch her doore; against which the Lord *Sussex* replyed, and said: *My Lords, let us take heede we goe not beyond our Commission, shee was our Kings Daughter, and is (we know) the Prince next in blood, therefore let us so deale with her now, that if it so happen, wee may answer our doings unto her another day.*

The Earle of Sussex most firme for Lady Elizabeth.

(57) Two dayes spent thus in the Tower, and Gods divine service celebrated in *English*, it was commanded to have Masse in her lodgings; and to that end two of her Yeomen were appointed to answer the Priest, which was as unwillingly done, as the devotion was small. Then were the favourites examined, yea, and * some of them with torture, and all to finde a fit knife to cut her innocent throat, that so *Winchester* might wash his white Rochet in her purple bloud; who being Lord Chancellor, and Ruler of the rest, came into the Tower to examine her himselfe, with some others of the Queenes Councell: Shee then brought before them, was demanded

Lady Elizabeth againe examined of Treason.

ded of the talke shee had with Sir *Iames Croft* (a prisoner in the Tower, and then brought to her Presence) concerning her removing from *Ashridge* unto *Dunnington* Castle: My Lords (said shee) mee thinks you doe me wrong to examine every meane Prisoner against me, if they have done evill let them answer for it, I pray you joyne mee not with such offenders; as touching my remoove to *Dunnington*, mine officers, and you (Sir *Iames Croft*) can tell; but what is this to the purpose, might I not, my Lords, goe to mine owne houses at all times? whereunto the Lord of *Arundell* kneeling downe, answered that her Grace said truth, and that himselfe was sorry to see her troubled about such vaine matters: Well my Lords (said shee) you sift mee narrowly, but you can doe no more then God hath appointed, unto whom I pray to forgive you all.

Liberte obtained to walke in the Garden.

(58) No fault appearing, nor offence found, yet was shee still retained in that close and sorrowfull prison, and for want of fresh aire, her health began to be empaired; whereupon the Lord *Shandoys* one of hers Keepers, obtained that shee might walke into the Queenes lodgings, the windowes being shut onely in presence of himselfe, the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen sent her for the same purpose; which favour was further increased by liberty to walke into the Garden, the other prisoners commanded not so much as to looke into the place while her Grace remained therein.

M. Fox. Acts and Mon. 2394.

(59) During which time there usually repaired unto her a little Boy, about foure yeares of age (a mans sonne of the Tower) in whose pretty prattling shee tooke great pleasure; his use was to bring her flowers, and to receive at her hands such things as commonly please Children: which lastly brought a great suspition into the Lord Chamberlaines working head, that by this Child letters were brought betwixt the Princes *Elizabeth*, and the Lord *Courtney*, whereupon the Boy was threatned, and his Father commanded not to suffer him any more to resort to her Grace: which notwithstanding, the next day he did, but the doore being shut, and hee peeping thorow a hole, cried unto her, Mistresse I can bring you no more flowers now.

A Warrant signed to execute Lady Elizabeth.

(60) It was reported (saith *Fox*) if the relation be true, that a Writ subscribed under certaine Councellors hands, was directed for the present death of the Lady *Elizabeth*, which he doth wholly impute unto *Winchesters* vvorking: This sudden charge given for her present execution, sore grieved Master *Bridges* then Lieutenant of the Tovver, vvho forthvvith repaired unto the Queene, to knovv her further pleasure therein: but these being altogether ignorant of any such vvarrant, blamed the doers and gave a contrary command, vvhereby vvas preserved the life of her sister: vvhich hovvsoever (to the distasture of her enemies) it vvas prolonged, yet her State of lives securitie seemed little better, and her fears presently conceived, vvere nothing the lesse: for the Constable discharged, Sir *Henry Bemnifield* a more severe Iaylor vvas placed in his roome, vvho vvith an hundred Souldiers in blevv coates entred upon his charge: at sight vvherefof the fearefull Princesse demanded, vvhether the Scaffold vvhereon Lady *Iane* suffered vvas still standing: or vvhether Sir *Henry* (a man to her altogether unknovvne) made any conscience of murther, if hers vvas committed unto his charge.

Sir Henry Bemnifield his severities and Stery.

Lady Elizabeth commanded to have Masse in her lodgings.

Lady Elizabeth is removed to Woodstocke.

(61) The nineteenth of May her Grace vvas remooved from the Tovver tovvards *Woodstocke*, Sir *Henry Benifield* being her conductor, unto vvhom Sir *Iohn Williams* Lord *Tame* vvas joyned in Commission. The first night shee vvas brought unto *Richmond*, vvhere all her ovvne servants vvere removed from her presence, and the rascall Souldiers set to attend her person; by vvhich severe beginnings, shee much doubted that her dayes vvere neere spent, and in that place her life must take end: vvhereupon calling together her servants, desired them to pray for her; for this night (said shee) I thinke I must die; which lamentable words drew fountaines of teares out of their eyes; and thereupon her Gentleman Vsher went downe unto the Lord *Tame* in the Court, desiring him unfainedly to shew, whether his Lady and Mistresse that night were in danger of death, whereby himselfe and fellowes might take such part as God would appoint. Marry God forbid, quoth the Lord *Tame*, that any such wickednesse should bee intended, which rather then it should bee wrought, I, and my men will die at her foote.

The great fesre of Lady Elizabeth.

(62) With no greater comfort proceeded shee towards *Woodstocke*: Sir *Henry* her Iaylor (as shee termed him) ever carrying so hard a hand in his Commission; that the people who with teares presfed to meet her in the passage, and with prayers saluted her in most loving manner, he both threatned, and drave backe, calling them Traytors, and Rebels against the Queene, and her Lawes; and whereas in certaine Villages Bels were rung as shee passed for joy (as they conceived) of her deliverance, Sir *Henry Bemnifield* tooke the matter so distastfull, that he commanded the Bels to surcease, and set the ringers thereof in the stockes; so that not without cause this loving Lady sent this word unto her poore servants, and well-wishing friends, *Tanquam ovis*, as a sheepe to the slaughter, so am I led: And surely had not the Lord *Tame* beene more comfortable in his place unto this distressed Princesse, her spirit of hopes had beene spent before the conduction of her person had beene accomplished.

The joy that the People conceived of Lady Elizabeths deliverance.

(63) Neither in *Woodstocke* was her liberty much enlarged, nor feares any lesse, shee being inclosed in none of the best lodgings, guarded with Souldiers both day, and night; and although shee had leave into some Gardens, yet were five or sixe lockes betwixt her walke, and her lodgings, and all made fast after her entrance. It was also suspected that the Keeper of *Woodstocke*, a notorious Ruffian, was instigated to kill this innocent Princesse, as also that one *Basset* a Darling of Bishop *Gardiners*, came to *Bladenbridge*, a mile from *Woodstocke*, accompanied with twentie men in privy Coates, earnestly desiring to speake with Lady *Elizabeth*, pretending secret and importunate businesse: but Sir *Henry* her Keeper gone to the Court, had given straight charge to his brother, that none should have accesse unto her before his returne, though they came from the Councell, or Queene her selfe. Whereby that designe was happily lost. What his errand was, I will not determine, but others have conceived it was for no good.

Lady Elizabeth prisoner in woodstocke.

Lady Elizabeth in danger to be murthered.

Elizabeths lodgings on fire.

(64) Another accident also hapned, whether of purpose, or otherwise, I cannot say; but surely it was to the danger of her life: for on the sudden her lodgings were on fire, which began to kindle betwixt the boards, and seeling under the Chamber where shee lay, and was vehemently mistrusted to be purposely done. These and the like feares daily happening, drew the distressed Princesse into many passions, whereof one is reported, that shee sitting solitary at her Prison window, chanced to see a Maide of *Woodstocke* in the Parke milking of Kine, and as shee sate, merrily to sing over her Pale, which strucke this sad pensive Prisoner into a deepe meditation, preferring the Maides fortunes farre above her owne, and heartily wished that her selfe were a Milke-maide, into such distresse was her Princely birth brought, in which comfortlesse thraldome, we will a while leave her, and returne to speake of matters in the Court.

A poore liberty preferred above a Princely captivitie.

(65) Queene *Mary* being now chiefe Pilot her selfe, and set at the helme, of all Soveraigne power, steered the Sterne of her zealous affections; according to her owne liking; when presently upon her Coronation began a Parliament at *Westminster*; and a Convocation in the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paules* in *London*; where shee commanded a free disputation for Religion; without any danger of offence

An. Dom. 1553.

Octob. 18.

* *Edmund Tremaine.*

fence. The Questions to bee controversed, were concerning a Catechisme set forth in King *Edwards* dayes, and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of his Supper. For Popish Transubstantiation stood Disputers Doctor *Moreman*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Chedsey*, Master *Harpsfield*, and Master *Morgan*, Doctor *Weston* Deane of *Westminster* appointed for Prolocutor: For Christs spirituall presence were M. *Haddon*. M. *Elmar*, M. *Cheyney*, M. *Philpot*, and Master *Perne*, these meeting sixe severall daies disputed only upon the last question: but with such disagreement, as lastly Queene *Mary* commanded *Boner* to dissolve the assembly, without any Subscriptions to the assertions premised.

A disputation for Religion.

Decem. 13.

(66) And not long after *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* sometimes Bishop of *Worcester*, were sent from the Tower of *London* unto *Oxford* to dispute upon the said Argument against Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor *Oglethorpe*, Doctor *Rie*, Master *Harpsfield*, and Master *Pecknam*, all *Oxford* men, unto whom from *Cambridge* were joyned Doctor *Tonge*, Doctor *Glinne*, Doctor *Seton*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Sedgewicke*, and Doctor *Atkinson*, Doctor *Weston* againe being Prolocutor: the disputation began upon the sixteenth of *Aprill*, and ended the twentieth of the same moneth, with the sentence of those three Bishops deaths, which through fire gave testimony of their faiths, a yeare and sixe moneths after in the Towne Ditch of *Oxford*: whose disputations, letters, and last ends, are largely set downe by M. *Iohn Fox* in his Acts and Monuments of the Church, unto whom I referre the desirous Reader, lest by enlarging of them, the course of our temporall story should be overmuch interrupted with matters Ecclesiasticall, of those sorrowfull times.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer sent unto *Oxford*.

An. Dom. 1554.

(67) Queene *Mary* intending her marriage with *Spaine*, great feares were conceived that many calamities would follow, aswell to the Church, reformed from abuses, as for the politicke proceedings of the Kingdomes affaires; which as some tooke was prognosticated even from heaven it selfe, by a Raine-bow reversed, the bow turned downward, and the two ends standing upward, as also by two Sunnes shining at one time, and a good distance asunder in the Skies, both which sights appeared in *London* the fifteenth of February.

They are burned.

M. Fox in Acts & Mon. p. 1637

(68) In which Citie a Parliament to that purpose was assembled, wherein by Statute the marriage was confirmed, though with no lesse liking of those times observers, then was the marriage desired which is fained of the Sunne: to hinder whose purpose, the world is said to have made suite unto *Iupiter*, lest having more Sunnes then one, the whole frame of the Globe should bee set on fire. These distastive stomackes *Queene Mary* well perceived, therefore to give them content, shee wrote her Letters into the West, and to *Wales*, charging the Lord President, the Bishops of *Oxford* and *Salisbury*, to intimate the benefit thereof to the whole Land, as much as might be, neither was *London* forgotten, whose Lord Major and Commons were sent for to the Court, and there by the Lord Chancellor told how by this match all the Realme would be enriched, but especially *London* by their trade and traffick with *Spaine*.

An Act. in the 2. of Queene *Mary* cap. 2.

In her Letters sent them signed with her hand.

(69) Vnto *Spaine* were sent the Earle of *Bedford*, and the Lord *Fitzwaters* to conduct King *Philip* into *England*; the Lord Admirall with twenty eight ships securing the Seas the space of three moneths before: all things thus ordered, and *Philip* in a readinesse tooke Barke at *Corona* in *Galacia*, and with a Navie of an hundred and fiftie saile directed his course for his Queene.

(70) Vpon Friday the twentieth of Iuly, hee arrived at *Southampton*, and was the first man of that Fleet that set foot on the shore, which no sooner done, but he drew his Sword, and so bare it naked in his hand as he went. The Earle of *Arundell* Lord Steward of the Queenes house, presented to his Highnesse the *George* and *Garter*, and the Major of *Southampton* the Keyes of the Towne: thither was sent the Lord Chancellor from the Queene, and hee againe sent of his Nobles unto her, who was on the way unto *Winchester*, to welcome him herselfe: towards which City upon Munday following, he set forth, being accompanied with the Marquesse of *Winchester*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Darby*, *Worchester*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, and *Surrey*, the Lords *Clinton*, *Cobham*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Matrevers*, *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Fitzwaren*, and *North*: besides many Knights and gallant Gentlemen. His Spanish traine were the Dukes of *Alva*, an *Medina Cœli*, the Admirall of *Castilla*, the Marquesses of *Burgues*, *Piscara*, *Sarria*, *Valli*, *Aguillar*, the Earles of *Egmund*, *Horne*, *Feria*, *Chinchon*, *Olivares*, *Saldana*, *Modica*, *Eventesalida*, *Landriano*, *Castellar*, the Bishop of *Cuenca*, and others: so that more honourable attendants had seldome beene seene.

The honourable traines of the two Princes.

(71) And surely the Covenants were as honourable for *England* that were agreed upon betwixt them, which were branched into tenne Propositions.

Hollingh. page 1118.

1 First was, that *Philip* should bee stiled King of *England* during the Matrimony, and should assist his Queene in government, but not dispose of any Lands, Offices, Benefices, or Revenues in the Realme.

2 That *Mary* by vertue of this marriage, should be admitted Queene of the Realmes and Dominions of *Spaine* already possessed, as of all others, that were appropriated unto the same, during the Matrimony.

3 That for Dowry shee should receive yearely threescore thousand pound Flemish, if in case she over-lived King *Philip* her husband.

4 That the Issue proceeding of this marriage either male or female in the right of their mothers inheritance, in the Kingdomes either of *England*, or other Dominions depending, should succeed in them according to the Lawes, Statutes, and Customes of the same.

5 That if it chanced *Charles* Duke of *Austrich*, the Infant of *Spaine* to die without Issue, then the eldest sonne of this Matrimony should succeed in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions and Patrimoniall lands belonging unto *Charles* the Emperour, father to the Prince of *Spaine* aswell in *Burgoigne* as in the Low Countries, in the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Luxenburgh*, *Gelderland*, *Zutphane*, *Freesland*, in the Countries of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Namure*, and the land beyond the Iles.

6 That the Dominions of the Low Country, and of Burgundy should be excluded from the Patrimoniall descent of the said Lord *Charles*, notwithstanding his Issue remained, and should be enjoyed by the eldest borne of this marriage without further claime to any other Dominions belonging unto *Spaine*: and the rest of the Children thereof proceeding, to have convenient portions and Dowry assigned them aswell out of those Countries, as out of *England* and the others adjoyned.

7 That if no issue male were borne of this marriage, then the Eldest female should possesse those Dominions, provided that shee should marry a Nobleman, either of the *Low Country* or of the Realme of *England*, otherwise the right of the Succession should remaine in the Lord *Charles*, yet not so cut off, but that shee with the other daughters begot in this marriage, should bee endowed of their fathers Lands and possessions, aswell in *Spaine* as in the *Low Countries*.

8 That for want of Issue by the Lord *Charles*, and of heire male procreated by this marriage, in that case the eldest daughter of King *Philip* and Queene *Mary* should succeed both in the Territories of the Low Countries, as also in the Realmes of *England*, *Spaine*,

Spaine, and the rest, after the nature, lawes and customes of the same.

9 That who so succeeded, either he, or shee, yet should the severall Dominions be governed by the Natives borne in the Realmes, wholly and intirely after the priviledges, rites and accustomed manner formerly used.

10 That a sincere fraternitie, unitie and peace; should bee confirmed for ever betwixt these Nations, so as they should mutually aide each other in all things, according to the strength, forme and effect treated of at *Westminster*, and subscribed unto at *Vtericke*.

(72) As these were agreed upon for the Generall, so other particulars were articuled with the King himselfe, which were as followeth.

1 That he should not bestow the administration of offices or benefices in the Realme of *England*, to any stranger or person not borne unto the English subjection.

2 That his Court should bee replenished with Gentlemen and Yeomen the Natives of the Land.

3 That hee should make no invasion of state against the Lawes and Customes of the Realme, neither violate the Priviledges thereto belonging.

4 That hee should not carry the Queene out of her owne Dominions, without her speciall desire, nor none of her Children without consent of her Nobilitie.

5 That if shee should die issuelesse, hee should Challenge no right in the Kingdome, but should suffer the succession to come to her next.

6 That he should not carry or suffer to be carried out of the Realme, either Iewels, or other things of especiall estimation, but should faithfully keepe them for the profit of the English Crowne.

7 That hee should not suffer any ships, gunnes, Ordonance and other munition of warre to bee conveied out of the Realme, but should see all the Forts and Frontiers of the Land kept, and the same sufficiently stored for their defence.

8 That neither directly nor indirectly, the Realme of *England* should bee intangled with the warres of his Father, and the French King, neither that himselfe should give any cause for the breach of peace betwixt the two Realmes.

Philip and Mary married at Winchester An. Dom. 1554.

(73) Things thus ordered, with consent of all parties, the marriage with great state was solemnized at *Winchester*, upon Wednesday being the 25. of Iuly and Saint *Iames* day, where the Emperours Embassadors presently pronounced, that in consideration of this marriage, their master had given unto his sonne *Philip*, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Ierusalem*, whereupon their Titles by *Garter* King at Armes, was solemnely proclaimed with these stiles as followeth.

The large stile of King Philip and Queene Mary.

Philip and Mary by the Grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith, Princes of Spaine and Cecil, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Millan, Burgundy and Brabant, Counts of Hapsburge, Flanders and Tyroll.

Philip and Mary in great estate passe through London.

(74) And according to the stiles, so was the Majestie of their proceedings, having two Swords borne before them as they went from the Church; with other Emperiall Ensignes of their great Magnificence; which nothing was lessened in their passage through *London*; where English eyes beheld *Philip*, after the affections of their owne hearts, some rejoycing as *Israel*, that *Ieroboams* golden calves should be againe erected, and some sorrowing as *Iudah*, that the Brasen Serpent was not broken, all of them assured, that this *Salomons* sufferance, and his wiveszeale, would build againe the Altars that had beene cast downe.

1. King. 11.

(75) The experience whereof *Queene Mary* her selfe had given, even before shee was crowned, in causing the Latine Service againe to be said, in displacing the reformed Bishops, and in publishing a most straight prohibition against preaching, and printed English Bookes: to all which some-time serving Church-men gave their consents, scandalizing not onely the lives of the Ministers, but also the Scriptures translation, and the just proceedings of King *Edwards* time; against all which, Master *Bourn* in a publike Sermon made at *Pauls-Crosse* (in the presence of the Lord Major and *Bonner* his Master) so liberally inveighed, as that one of his Auditors with more distaste then discretion, and more zeale then Religion, threw a Dagger at him to his great danger, and no lesse feare, and such threats murmured against him by the people his auditory, as had not Master *Bradford* stepped up in his roome, and perswaded them unto quietnesse, it had surely cost the Preacher his life, which caused the *Crosse* the next Sabbath to be guarded by the Queenes Guard whilst the Preacher continued in the pulpit.

August 15. An. Dom. 1553.

A dagger throwne at the Preacher.

(76) And against the like offence was conceived against Doctor *Pendleton*, who in the next yeare after, and in the same place had a gunne desperatly discharged against him: unto such harred their Doctrine did drive them, and unto such sinne the overfervent affectioned lay many times exposed: And no lesse was that Diabolicall device of certaine gidly reformers, who had taught a Maide so to speake in a wall, as her hearers beleeved it was the voice of an Angell, being none other, but most seditious speeches against the Queenes proceedings, the Prince of *Spaine*, the Masse, and Confession. In mockage whereof also a Cat was hanged on a gallowes neere unto the Crosse in Cheape, her head shorne, and wearing a vesture fashioned like unto a Cope, her fore-feet tyed with a round paper betwixt, like unto the papisticall consecrated bread; and in that manner the eighth of *Aprill* was shewed by the Preacher at *Pauls-Crosse*, both to the offence and content of the Spectators; and to deride the ridiculous Idolatries of the time then in use, upon Easter day the same yeare, and in the same Cheape, as the Priest of Saint *Pancrasse* came to celebrate the resurrection, and after the accustomed manner put his hand into the Sepulcher for the Crucifix (there in purposely bestowed) when he used the words of the Evangelist very devoutly: *Surrexit non est hic*, He is risen and not heere: found it so indeed, for that his God was gotten away, and could never after be found.

June 16. An. Dom. 1554.

A gun discharged against the Preacher.

The Spirit in the wall.

A Cat hanged in Cheape.

March 27.

(77) These things (saith *Fox*) caused both the Queene, and Bishops, to conceive an evill opinion of the *Londoners*; as too much favouring of King *Edwards* Reformation, for which cause *Bonner* commanded all Scriptures, printings upon their Churches walles to bee blotted out; and many other injunctions to be inquired after. But from these vaine trifles let us returne to more serious matters in the ensuing History.

M. Fox Act. and Monuments.

(78) Queene *Mary* erecting the Masse, and leaving the title of Supremacy to the Pope, sent for her kinsman Cardinall *Poole* to bee her director in those great businesses, who had beene a long time in forraigne parts, and ever a favorite unto the See of Rome, whose life untill this time, we will briefly run over, so many dependances of story relying upon him.

The life and story of Cardinall *Poole*.

(79) Hee was the sonne of *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, the second child, and only daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, second brother unto King *Edward* the fourth: whose youth was spent in literature at *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; and state increased by King *Henry* his kinsman, in bestowing upon him the Deanery of *Exceter*. Then travelled he into *Italy*, and at *Padua* studied seven yeares, in which time the King having abolished the Pope, he was sent for into *England*, but refusing to returne,

Poole made Cardinall.

was proclaimed Traitor, and his Deanery given to another: which his losse was presently repaied by his holy Father, in making him Cardinall, and imploying him in many Ambassages, both to the Emperour, and French King, with whom he ever dealt against King *Henry*, and solicited others by letters to forsake his friendship and obedience, which his doing brought many into danger, and for which lastly his owne mother lost her Head.

(78) Then was he made Legate of *Viterbion*, where he determined to have led a more quiet life: but *Pope Paul* the third summoning the obtruded Councell of *Trent*, appointed *Poole* with two others to be his Vicegerents: Though indeed this Cardinall was none of the forwardest in the matter of justification, unto whose opinion therein he drew one *Morrel* a learned *Spaniard*, who of purpose was sent to dispute the Popes Doctrine in that Councell.

Poole elected Pope. *Goodman.* lives of Bishops.

(79) But this *Holy Father* leaving his Chaire emptie by death, a faction fell among the Electors, some for the *French*, and some for the Emperour, which last light upon *Poole*, and choose him for Pope. He altogether Imperiall, desired a more orderly Election supposing himselfe so gracious in the eyes of most, that the same would be continued to his greater praise.

(80) But the French faction working upon the advantage, put the rest in minde of the Emperials sacking of *Rome*, the imprisonment, and jests that were made of the Pope, the absence of many Cardinals Electors, whose voyces they knew not, yea, and *Cardinall Caraffa* alleadged particular exceptions against *Poole* the elected, changing him (as *Pasquill* likewise did) with incontinency of body, as also of Heresie, for arguing upon a justifying faith in the Councell of *Trent*, for frequenting company with *Anthonie Flaminius* a knowne Protestant, and since he was Legate, that he never had punished that doctrine with death.

Poole accused by Cardinall *Caraffa*.

(81) But these accusations, were rather to shrub off his faire top, that *Caraffa* himselfe might more eminently be seene, who thought if *Poole* failed, to be their fairest marke; wherein his politicke expectation was farre-over-seene. For the *English Cardinall* so cleered himselfe, that the French *Caraffa* received disgrace, and all their voices went for *Poole* even the same night, which hee againe seemed to dislike of, saying that his election should not bee a worke of darkenesse, and therefore willed them orderly to proceed upon the next day; such assurance had his hopes conceived, that hee thought destiny had beene inforced to set the Papall Crowne upon his Head.

Poole againe chosen Pope.

(82) But whether it were his double delay, or his neglecting to strike when the yron was hot, the Electors change their determination, and choose the Cardinall *de Monte* for Pope, who named himselfe *Julius* the third, and he to congratulate *Poole* for his Backwardnesse, enforced *Caraffa* to aske him forgivenesse before they departed the *Conclave*: *Poole* thus disappointed of the Papall Chaire, retired himselfe unto *Verona*, where in a Monastery of *S. Bennets* (which order he had assumed and was the *Patron*) he made his Residence, as desirous to leade a more contemplative life.

Cardinall *Poole* sent for by Queene *Mary*.

(83) But scarcely was he setled before he heard of King *Edwards* death, and a message sent from Queene *Mary* (who had beene brought up under the Countesse his Mother) for his returne into *England*. Her affection towards him, he knew was very great both for his person, his learning, and religion, and himselfe relied much upon the old familiarity betwixt them, as also of his birth being of the bloud royall; for which causes he fore longed homeward, not doubting but if things stood as he thought, to get a dispensation, to lay off the Hat, and to put on a Crowne.

(84) But the Emperour mistrusting what this Prelate intended, found devices to hold him beyond Seas, untill the match was concluded betweene Queene *Mary*, and his sonne. And hitherto *Cardinall Poole* applauded by the Pope, began now to enter into his frowne, for being in *England*, and Archbishop of *Canterbury*: his old accuser the foresaid *Caraffa* had in the meane while obtained the Papacy under the name of *Paul* the fourth: when as presently he sent Frier *Peto*, whom he confecrated *Bishop of Sarum*, and discharged *Poole* of his Legative power, which doings the Queene tooke so ill, that shee forbade *Peto* to enter the Land, untill a reconciliation was made betwixt the Pope, and Cardinall *Poole* her kinsman. Which man as hath beene said, for soliciting Potent Princes against King *Henry*, in the quarrell of *Rome*, had runne in great displeasure with the English, whereby some Acts of Parliament were made against him: all which were now repealed, and Lord *Reinold Poole* received as an Angell of God, unto whom that honourable house presented a Petition, to be received againe into the bosome of *Rome*.

An. Dom. 1553.

(85) The suit easily granted, and absolution given, all things proceeded at the devotion of the *Romanists*. Images were commanded to be erected againe in the Churches: *Holy Water*, *Pax*, and *Censures*, imploid at the Celebration of their Masses and Mattens: Oyle, Creame, and Spittle, used in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme. Altars furnished with Pictures, Costly Coverings, and the Crucifix thereon solemnly placed: unto whom Lights, Candles, and Tapers, with great adoration were offered, and all to captivate the senses of the zealous Beholder, in which zeale Queene *Mary* her selfe gave a full testimoniall, in restoring againe all Ecclesiasticall livings assumed to the Crowne, saying, *that shee set more by the salvation of her owne soule, then shee did by ten Kingdomes*. A worthy speech verily, and good example of a Prince, but slowly followed of many meane subjects, who in this case doe rather muzzell the mouth of the *Oxe*, that treadeth out their Corne, then suffer such as serve at the Altar, to live by the Altar.

The rites of *Rome* reduced in England.

(86) And surely so well inclined was *Mary* of her selfe, that had not the zeale of her religion, and the authoritie of Church-men overswayed her owne disposition, the flames of their consuming fires had not mounted so high. But woe to the procurer of those sixe Articles, (for which many had died) enacted by King *Henry* the eight, whose rigour in some sort himselfe had both qualified and repealed, which were againe put in practise, especially two, the one of them touching life, and the other losse of goods; which last was the separation of man and wife, the greatest offence to mutuall societie, and naturall affection, as can be committed; and that of life so Tyrannicall, as the Law it selfe may seeme with *Draco* to be writ in blood, and so tyrannically followed, that within the compasse of lesse then foure yeares continuance, there died no lesse for testimoniall of their conscience in this case, then two hundred seventie and seven persons without regard of degree, sexe or age.

The losse of the Queene *Mary*.

(87) In the heat of whose flames were consumed five Bishops, one and twentie Divines, eight Gentlemen, eightie foure Artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants and labourers, twentie sixe wives, twentie widowes, nine Virgins, two Boyes, and two Infants, one of them whipped to death by Bishop *Bonner*, and the other springing out of his mothers wombe from the stake as shee burned, was by the Sergeants throwne againe into the fire: Which barbarous cruelnie, howsoever the Author of *Englands* three conversions, would excuse, as worthy of death; depraving the sufferers, of learning, religion, civill manners, and honesty of life; yet the more charitable of his owne ranke, and profession doe pittie the spilling of so much Christian blood: the greatest point of no greater sinne, then to beleeve *Christs* spirituall body, to be spiritually received in the blessed Sacrament of his Supper.

Iohn Hooper B. of Glo Ro. Farrar. B. of S. Da. Nicio. Ridley B. of London. Hugh Latimer B. of Wor. Tho. Cranmer Archb. of Canterbury.

(88) The

Three conversions.

Doctor Story in Cener. Hollinsh. pag. 1180.

Matth. 13. 29.

John 10. 3.

2 *Tim.* 3. 17.

Rish. Grafton. R. Hollinsh. lib. Fox. Mart.

(86) The rigour thereof that fell from his mouth, who wished many more had so suffered, when the Sword was so drawne, is farre from the precept and sufferance of Christ, that would have even tares grow unplucke, till his harvest were in, and yet if those be his sheepe that follow his voyce, and his word sufficient to make the man of God perfect as himselfe an Apostle hath taught, then were these excusable by their Adversaries testimonies, whose Prolocutor in a Convocation assembled, publikely confessed that these dejected Ministers had the Word, but the Prelates in place the possession of the Sword; which how they then made it drunke with the bloud of Gods Saints, let him that hath the two edged Sword in his mouth, at the great day of triall declare, to whose judgement and mercy I leave them.

(87) Sixty foure more were persecuted for their profession and faith, whereof seven were whipped, sixteene perished in prison, and were buried in dunghils, many lay in captivitie condemned, but were released, and saved by the happy entrance of peaceable *Elizabeth*; and many fled the Land in those daies of distresse, amongst whom most memorable is that of *Katherine* Dutchesse of *Suffolke*, with her husband *Richard Bartu* Esquire, whose Story and troubles happened as followeth.

The flury of Katherine Dutchesse of Suffolke.

(88) This Lady *Katherine* was the onely daughter and sole heire of *Lord William*, Baron of *Willoughby*, and of *Eresby*; and the last wife of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolke* lately deceased; in whose time how shee affected the Papall Profession, in massing, and maskings, was made knowne by cloathing a dogge in a Rotchet, and calling him *Gardiner*: and againe, in the dayes of King *Edward*, *Gardiner* saluting her from his prison window in the Tower, shee told him, it was well with the Lambes now the Wolfe was shut up. These stucke sore upon the Bishops stomacke, who being now risen to bee Lord Chancellour of *England*, and shee in disgrace with the Queene for her match in marrying Master *Barta*, a man too inferiour for her high estate, he thought it a fit time and occasion to requite, and to that end sent for Master *Bartu* her husband, charging him to bee indebted foure thousand pound to the *Queene*, which was owing her by his Ladies late Husband, the Duke of *Suffolke*, unto whom shee was Executrix, but this was onely the traine of a false fire, and the Dutchesse religion the marke he aymed at; for whom Master *Bartu* so wisely wrought, as himselfe was appointed to be her perswader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his meanes he obtained licence to travell beyond Seas, for a debt owing to his Dutchesse by the Emperour.

The Dutchesse misfavourer of the Popish religion.

Hollinsh. pag. 11. 27. lb.

(89) *Bartu* being gone, and Lady *Katherine* secretly to follow, upon the first of *Ianuary* with foure men, two women, and her young daughter, her selfe apparrelled like a Merchants wife, from *Lyon Key* in *London* departed, the morning very mysty, and her heart fraught with feare; for no sooner was she gone, then newes thereof came to the Court, and search made after her, as farre as to *Leigh*, before her Barke could attaine to the place: where being shrowded by a Merchant, under the name of his daughter, shee escaped to Sea; but twice her Ship with contrary windes was driven to the same Shoare, to her great danger, and no little griefe: yet lastly, shee arrived in *Brabant*, where shee met with her Husband; whence (being clad like a frose) they came into *Cleveland*, and at *Santon* seated themselves, till further provision could be made.

Queene Mary commendable in her owne disposition.

Stat. 31. 8. 32. 35. cap 5.

The Dutchesse of Suffolke flith the Land.

(90) But the Townesmen suspecting they were not the Persons they went for, and the Bishop of *Arras* hearing that they were Protestants, purposed with the Magistrate to impeach their Liberties, which *Bartu* hearing of, with his Broe and Daughter, attended onely with two servants, suddenly made away unto *Wesell*, a Towne priviledged with the Stilliard in *London*. In travell they were overtaken by night, the weather was rainy, & the thaigh upon a great frost, made the way more deepe, in which distresse, his two servants he sent to seeke some reliefe, whilest himselfe (the surer on foot) bare the childe; and the Dutchesse to ease him bare his Rapier and Cloake.

(91) Thus passing thorow mire, dirt, and darke night, about seven of the Clocke, all wet and weary, they got unto *Wesell*, where he being suspected to be a Launce-knight, and shee his woman no better then naught, could get no entertainment; the language they had not, the childe cryed pittifully, the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreame, and the raine powred downe, as the cloudes had beene broken. In this distresse, the Church-porch was thought upon to shrowd them from raine, and to that end Master *Barto* sent his two servants to buy Coales and straw: but repairing towards this his cold Inne, he met with two Boyes that understood Latine, of whom hee demanded for the Ministers House, who presently brought him to the place, where he supped. His name was *Pernell*, and had beene in *England*, where, of the Dutchesse hee had received kinde curtesie, and now at *Wesell* imployed his Ministery among certaine *Wallons*, who hearing that the Dutchesse was fled out of *England*, and that at *Santon* shee lived nothing safe, had procured for their abode in *Wesell*, without making knowne who these *English* were, save onely unto the chiefe Magistrate.

The great distresse of the Dutchesse.

(92) Master *Bartu* desiring to speake with the Minister, hee presently came downe, who seeing the Dutchesse so disguised in apparell, and bemyred in dirt, could not speake unto her for teares, and bringing them in with glad hearts no doubt, Master *Bartu* changed apparell with the good man, the Dutchesse with his wife, and their childe, with the childe of the House: and thus were they comforted by this good Preachers meanes.

The Dutchesse fought after to be impeached.

(93) Here they seated not long, but that a sudden watch-word was sent them from Sir *John Mason*, *Queene Maries* Ambassador in *Netherland*, that the Lord *Paget* had fained an errand to the Spaw, and that the Duke of *Brunswicke* with ten Ancients, would passe by *Wesell* for the service of *Austricke*, against the French King, by whom the Dutchesse and her Husband should be intercepted, and delivered unto the *Lord Paget*.

(94) From hence therefore in hast they removed to the Towne *Wincheim* in high *Germany*, which was seated in the *Palsgraves* Dominions, where by his Protection, they continued till their maintenance began to scant, and they also almost fainting under so heavy a burthen, began to faile of all hope. At which very instant (GOD so moving the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of *Vilna*, and the King of *Pole* hearing of their distresse, sent them a safe conduct, under the *Palatines* Seale, with assurance of maintenance, if they would come unto those parts.

God doth help when man doth faile.

(95) From *Wincheim* therefore they forth-with departed, and in Wagon tooke towards *Franckford*, but by the *Landgraves* Captaine were intercepted and set upon in the high way, so that Master *Bartu* was forced to stand at defence, wherein the Captaines Horse was slaine under him, and the cry maintained, that he was slaine himselfe, whereupon *Bartu* by the counsell of the Dutchesse, and swiftnesse of his Horse fled amaine, but was so eagerly followed upon opinion of murther, that hee hardly escaped with life; yet lastly they got into *Poland*, where they were honourably entertained until the death of Queene *Mary*, whose life in the meane while let us returne to relate.

(96) The *November* next following her marriage, the Queene was reported to have beene conceived with child, for joy whereof *Te Deum* was commanded solemnly to be sung, and Processions and prayers made for her safe deliverance. The Queene tooke

An. Dom. 1554. Queene *Mary* bruited to be with Child.

So called by Sir Rich. Southwell a Knight of the house. An. 1. & 2. Philip. & Marie.

her Chamber, the Court was full of Midwives, and Gentlewomen attendants, Rockers were provided, the Cradle prepared, and all made so certaine, that some were punished for making doubt of the contrary. Insomuch that it passed in Parliament, that if God should take away *Queene Mary*, this their young Master comming into the World, should finde himselfe provided for; where it was by Act ordained, that King *Philip* should bee Protector of her Issue, and Governour of the Realmes, untill their Prince, or Princesse should come to able yeares.

Acts an 3 Mon. p. 1643. b.

(97) Howbeit as it should seeme this Spanish King had little confidence in the *English*, for, at his first entrance, he had the Hall doore of his Court continually kept shut, neither any suffered to enter, unlesse his businesse was first made knowne: the Lords having leave to depart *London*, had strait commandement to send all their Harnesse and Artillery to the Tower; which was done, in regard of the maligners of this marriage: yea, and somewhat doubtfull he was also of those, who in shew bare him a faire face; the rather for that * a Nobleman in consultation, had given his counsell to cut off Lady *Elizabeths* head, assuring himselfe, that those so bad minded to their naturall Princesse, could not bee better unto him a stranger: who contrariwise upon this ground so laid the foundation of his true honour, as it gained him love of all true *English* hearts: for from that day he never left to solicite his Queene for the delivery of that innocent Princesse her sister, who still remained a solitary Prisoner in *Woodstocke*, though no proofes could bee brought for any offence.

The feares of King Philip.

* Lord Paget.

King Philip a great friend unto Lady Elizabeth.

(98) At last his suit was obtained, and Lady *Elizabeth* brought unto *Hampton Court*, having not seene the Queene for two yeares before, here she was lockt up, and laid at by *Gardiner* to submit her selfe, till some foureteene daies after, shee was sent for into the Queenes Chamber about ten of the Clocke in the night: which shee no sooner had entred, but falling upon her knees, shee prayed God to preserve her Soveraigne Majestie; protesting her loyaltie and truth to her Person, whatsoever had beene spoken or instigated to the contrary. Vnto whom the Queene somewhat sharply said; *Then you will not confesse your offence, I see; but rather stand stoutly upon your truth; I pray God your truth may so fall out; if not* (quoth the Princesse) *I request neither favour nor pardon at your Majesties hand*: well then, said the *Queene*, you stand so stiffely upon your own loyalty, belike you suppose to have beene wrongfully punished: I must not say so to your Majestie, said Lady *Elizabeth*: but you will then so report to others it seemeth, (said *Queene Mary*) no, and it please your Majesty, said the Lady, I have borne, and must beare the burthen my selfe, I most humbly beseech your Graces good opinion of me, and to thinke me your true Subject, which from the beginning hitherto I have ever beene, and will bee for ever so long as my life lasteth. The *Queene* replying in *Spanish*, said; *God knoweth*: and so they departed; King *Philip* as is thought, standing behind the *Arras*, heard what was said.

Lady Elizabeth brought in presence of the Queene.

The conference of the Queene and Lady Elizabeth.

(99) Some seven dayes after, her *Grace* was discharged of *Bennisield* her laylor, and had leave of libertie, yet so, that Sir *Thomas Pope*, a Privy Counsellor, and *M. Gage* the Queenes Gentleman Vsher, were still her Attendants all *Queene Maries* time: her Gentlewoman Mistresse *Ashley* was sent to the Fleete, and three other waiting Maides unto the Tower; but the death of *Gardiner* immediately following, these stormes grew more calmer, and Lady *Elizabeth* every day more affectionately respected.

Lady Elizabeth discharged of imprisonment.

(100) About this time, *William Constable, alias Fetherston*, a Millers sonne in the *North*, bruited himselfe to be King *Edward* the sixt, but was seconded by none of any esteeme, and therefore the lesse dangerous, or likely to be beleeved. Notwithstanding all diligent search was laid for the Counterfeit; and hee lastly taken at *Eltham* in *Kent*, from whence to *Hampton* Court he was presently conveyed, where his answers were so simple, that he was esteemed as a franticke, and sent to the *Marshall-Sea* for a Lunaticke foole: and from thence in a Cart this counterfeit King (whose Crowne was a paper inscribed with his fault) was brought unto *Westminster*, and from thence whipped to *Smithfield*, whench he was banished into the *North*, and without further punishment was so released: But this *Fetherston* the next yeare (as a dogge returning to his vomit) gave it forth that King *Edward* was alive, whereupon he was againe apprehended, condemned of Treason, and hanged at *Tyburne*.

A Page to Sir Peter Mewtes house.

William Fetherston a counterfeit king Edward.

Thomas Stafford beheaded.

Fetherston executed.

Mar. 10.

(101) Now the expected time of *Queene Maries* deliverance being fully approached, a rumour ranne in *London*, and elsewhere, that a Prince was borne; for joy whereof the Bels were rung, the Bone-fires flamed, Processions made, and some in their Sermons described the beauty of that goodly Boy, and great Prince. At *Antwerpe* also the like triumphs were made by the English Merchants, the Mariners shooting off their Ordonance; for which an hundred Pistolets were sent them from the Lady Regent: but these flying reports proved but wind, which turned the *Vane* shortly into another point; for the truth bursting forth, told for a certaine, that the Queene had never beene conceived, neither indeed was ever like to be: which raised as many doubts, as had beene tales of her deliverance: some affirming, that shee was with Child, but miscarried; some, that shee was deceived by a Tympany: and some that this rumour was spread for a policy: but what the truth was, saith *Grafton*, I referre unto others that know more.

Grimston in the French History. Page 562.

Reports of the Queenes deliverance.

Charles the Emperour resigneth all his Dominions to his sonne King Philip.

The Parson of S. Anne within Aldersgate. Heiuin. Great triumphs for Q. Maries supposed deliverance.

Rich. Grafton.

(102) King *Philip* thus frustrate of his hope for his Heire, upon the fourth of *September* went over the Seas to visite his Father the Emperour, and to take possession of the Low-Countries, where hee stayed one yeare and sixe monethes, to the great griefe of *Queene Mary* his wife, whom as some thought he little affected, and this his long stay made the suspition no lesse. But now returning to *Dover*, he was by his Queene met on the way, and brought through *London*, accompanied with many Peeres of the Realme, as in triumph against a Coronation.

An. Dom. 1555.

King Philip absent from the Queene a yeare and sixe monethes.

An. Dom. 1557. March 18.

(103) In whose absence many conspiracies had beene intended, but their foggy smoakes were utterly extinguished before the fire could burst into flame: for certaine persons plotting to robbe the Queenes Exchequer at *Westminster*, meant with the money to raise warre in the Land; the Leaders into this attempt were *Henry Peckham, John Daniel, Richard Prudall, John Throgmorton, John Dethick, William Stanton, William Rossey, John Beadell*, and *White*, the revealer of the same intendments. These all excepting *White*, were at sundry times executed, and Sir *Anthony Kingston* apprehended for the same, died on the way unto *London*.

The Pope befriended sendeth to France for helpe. John Sleidan.

(104) The like stirres was attempted by one *Cleber* a Schoolemaster, sometime at *Dys* in *Norfolke*, who in the Parish Church of *Tarle*, among a great assembly at the celebration of a marriage, stood up, and read a penned, but traiterous Proclamation against the Queene, perswading the people to take Armes, and to free the Land of wrongs done by strangers.

Conspiracies in Norfolke.

(105) So likewise *Thomas Stafford*, second sonne to the Lord *Stafford*, with other Conspirators against the King and Queene, fearing the just punishments for their deserts, had fled the Land into parts beyond the Seas; from whence attempting still to broach their Rebellions, they sent certaine Bookes and Letters written and printed, full of most slanderous untruths: and now following King *Philip* into *England*, assisted by some *English* and strangers, tooke by stealth the Castle of *Scarborough* in *Yorkeshire*, where he published a most shamefull Proclamation

John Stowes Annals.

Thomas Stafford fitteth Rebellion.

mation against the Queene, trayterously affirming that shee was neither rightfull, nor worthy of raigne, and that the King had given unto his Spaniards the greatest and strongest holds of the Land. But by the prowesse of *Thomas Pearcey*, (prefently created Earle of *Northumberland*) he was surprised, sent to *London*, and there made shorter by the head. All these stirres quieted, new troubles were rather sought for, then minisired, and more losse followed to *Englands* disshonour, then glory had beene gained by this *Spanish* great Match.

June 7.

(106) For the *Emperour* over-worne with the affaires of the world, and wearied with the troubles of turmoyling warres, or rather touched with remorse of conscience, for the infinite miseries brought by him upon *Florence, Naples, Sicilie, Tuscany, Elbe*, and *Calabria*, being perswaded that these mournefull jarres of *Christian Princes*, had given to the *Turke* advantage upon divers parts of *Europe*, hee called his Sonne King *Philip* of *England* unto *Bruxels* (as is said) where, by authenticke letters bearing date the five and twentieth of *October*, hee resigned all his Realmes unto him, commanding all his Estates and Subjects to acknowledge and hold him their lawfull King; and among many other instructions, and most wise exhortations, gave him charge chiefly to hold amitie with the *French*, lest otherwile the warres of those Puissant Nations might oppresse all Christendome.

(107) King *Philip* indeed was much inclined to Peace, and Queene *Mary* his Wife at that time much more, both to hold him with her at home, and to support the Religion which shee had raised, by restoring the Clergy their wonted possessions, whereof much was then held in the Noblemens hands, from whose hard hold, hardly could any thing be wrested; but those in her owne, she freely resigned by Parliament, with this most Christian resolution, and Princely saying: that shee set more by the salvation of her owne Soule, then shee did by the revenues of ten Kingdomes, and so committed the restauration and disposse thereof unto the Pope, and Cardinall *Poole* his Legate, to the great wealth of the Church, and improverishing of the Crowne.

(108) King *Philip* following his Fathers advice, made peace with *France* to continue for five yeares, which no sooner was made, then was againe broken, but most of all to the losse of the *English*: for the Kings did not love, though their weapons were laid downe, and ancient hatred bred daily new discontents: one principall was minisired by Pope *Paul* the fourth, then an enemy unto the *Spaniard*, whom Duke *Alva* had mued up within the walles of *Rome*: His hope of helpe was in *Henry* the *French* King, unto whom he sent a triumphant Haste, with a stately Sword, and thereupon had succour by the *Guize*, who by force made his way open into *Rome*: But the *French* decreasing for want of pay, and the *Spaniard* still raising their Trophees of victory, the Pope thought it surest to hold with the strongest, and so made frustrare his amitie with the *French*.

(109) *Queene Mary of England*, now the *Pope* was for *Spaine*, and *Philip* her husband preparing for *France*, to shew her great love and obedience to both, rather fought an occasion against King *Henry*, then any minisired by him for the breach of peace. Her pretenses were many, as that the *French* King had instigated one *Dudley*, and *Ashton*, unto a new conspiracy, which they consulted upon in his Ambassadours House in *London*, and being revealed, fled into *France*, where they were maintained by an annuall pension. The like shee alleadged against King *Henry* for succouring of *Stafford*, and his rebellious complices, for suffering his Pyrats to molest her Seas, and for want of more, renewed the remembrances of *Northumberland*, and *Wyats* rebellions, who as was alleadged, were supported by him.

(110) These things premised, a defiance was sent into *France*, and was pronounced unto *Henry* at *Rhemes*, by *Clarenceaux* King at Armes. The *French* King loth to heare of these warres, made his answer and preparations accordingly: and Queene *Mary* contrary to promise, entangling her Subjects with the quarrels of the *Spaniards*, with sound of Trumpet in *London* proclaimed warres against *France*. To prosecute which, King *Philip* her Husband passed over to *Callis*, and thence into *Flanders*, where he made provision to enter the field: after whom the Queene sent a thousand Horsemen, foure thousand Footmen, and two thousand Pioners, and the Earle of *Pembrooke* was appointed Captaine Generall, under whom in severall places served Vicount * *Montacute*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, the Earle of * *Rutland*, the Earle of * *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Bedford*, the Earle of * *Leicester*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords, *Howard, De la Ware, Windsor, Bray, Shandoys*, and *Dudley*, with many other Knights of approved valiancy.

A defiance sent into France.

July 6.

An Army sent into France.

* Lieutenant.
* L. Marshall.
* Controll of foote.
* Master of the Ordonance.

(111) These passing the Seas, joyned with King *Philip*, whileft the Dukes of *Savoy*, and *Brunswicke*, the Earles of *Egmond, Horne*, and *Mansfield*, had invaded the *French* confines, and planted a strong siege before Saint *Quintins*; to whose rescue *Monsieur Mountmorancy* Constable of *France*, came with nine hundred men at Armes, as many light Horsemen, seven hundred *Roisters*, twenty two Ensignes of *Lancequenets*, and sixteene Ensignes of the *French*: and thus furnished, he meant to put more Souldiers into the Towne, but in the assay so miscarried, that himselfe was both hurt and taken prisoner with eight Noblemen more, all of them Knights of the Order, any not many dayes after, King *Philip* with his *English* came to the siege, by whose manly prowesse Saint *Quintins* was taken, for joy whereof great triumphs were made in *England*, which long lasted not, through the losse of *Callis*.

S. Quintins taken by the English. August 20.

(112) For this great victory made the English both negligent and careleste, so that the Towne of *Callis*, and the Forts thereabout for defence, were unrespectively regarded, and besides the neglect of supply to those places, the Souldiers thinking all out of danger, stood gazing at the shadow till the substance was lost: for the French being netled, that St. *Quintins* was *Philips*, let slip no occasion wherein was advantage: and the Duke of *Guize* imploying the Constables place, determined to put to proofe an enterprize for *Callis*, which long and many times had beene purposed upon.

The English negligent after Saint Quintins was wonne.

(113) This danger fore-seene, intelligence thereof was sent into *England*, but no supply heard of, first the Master of the Ordonance posted to the Councell, and secondly followed the Captaine of the Castle himselfe, but either by wilfull negligence or lacke of credite with the Queene, and Councell, those businesses in *France* were slenderly regarded, untill the supply was altogether too late. For the Duke of *Guize* with a marvellous celeritie approached the *English* Frontier, under a colour to victuall *Boloigne*, and *Ard*, and upon a little sorry plat of ground, intrenched at *Sandgate*, and thence dividing his Army into two parts, sent the one unto *Ricebancke*, whileft the other laid battery to two Forts at once, both which hee wanne within the space of twelue houres, the Captaine and Souldiers secretly departing to *Callis*. The like succesfe had the *French* against *Ricebanke*, being abandoned by the *English* Souldiers, and left to the *Guize*, and his disposse.

John Hesfield. Sir Ralph Bannerstone.

The English Forts lost to the Guize. January 1.

Newenbridge lost.

(114) Then were Cannons mounted against *Callis* it selfe, and with continuall battery for three dayes together, a breach made in the wall, not farre from the Water-gate, but yet unassaultable, the *English* within so maintained the defence: this then a traine of false fire (for the *French* never meant their accesse that way) whileft all attended to make good the breach, the Duke had planted fifteene double Cannons against the Castle, which once perceived, the *Callizians* knowing their resistance too weake, sto-

Callice besieged by the Duke of Guize.

red Barrels of Gun-powder within the *Keepe*, meaning to blow up the *French* if they there entred, but that deuise failed; having waded through the ditch, their clothes dropping wet, disabled the traine of powder to take fire, so that the *French* got the Castle, with the death of Sir *Anthony Ager*, Marshall of the Towne, his sonne and heire, and fourescoure *English* besides.

Calis surrendred to the *French*.

(117) The *Lord Wentworth* then Deputy of the Towne, seeing all in like danger if meanes were delayed, sent unto the Castle to have a Parley for composition, which the *French* forth-with accepted, and sent our two Gentlemen for pledges, whilest *Iohn Heisfield* Master of the Ordonance, and *Edward Hall* Constable of the Castle, concluded upon these dishonourable Articles, as followeth:

Vnhonourable Articles.

1 That the Towne, the great Artillery, Victuals and Munition should bee yeelded freely to the *French*.

2 That the lives of all the Inhabitants should bee saved, and have their safe conduct to depart.

3 That the Lord Deputy, with fifty others whom the Duke would appoint, should remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransome.

The hard usage of the *English*.

(116) Things thus ordered, the *English* were commanded into the Churches of our *Lady*, and *Saint Nicholas*, where they remained that whole day, the night following, and untill the next day in the afternoone, without either meate or drinke, in which time the Duke of *Guize* commanded by Proclamation, that all Iewels, Plate and Money, to the value of a groate should be laid upon the Altar, and that upon paine of death, a forrowfull offertory towards the *English*, and a great enrichment unto the *French*. Then was the Towne voyded of five hundred ordinary Souldiers (a small Garrison indeed to man such a place) of Townesmen, women and Children, foure thousand two hundred; the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlaine* Captaine of *Ricebanke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captaine of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimston*, *Iohn Rogers*, and others, to the number of fifty were sent prisoners into *France*, untill ransome were paid: And thus the Towne and Forts that were wonne by the victorious King *Edward* the third, and that by no lesse then eleven moneths siege, having now beene possessed by the *English* the space of two hundred and eleven yeeres, was in the compasse of eight dayes besieged, surprized and wonne in the depth of Winter, to the Worlds wonder, and great suspition of treachery, which happened the seventeenth day of *Ianuary*, and in the same moneth were surrendred the strong Forts of *Guines*, and *Hames*, whereby all the *English* footing was lost in the Continent of *France*.

Edward the eleventh from *William* the Conqueror, wonne it: and *Mary* the eleventh from *Edward* lost it.

(117) This winning of *Calis* and the other strong holds, as they were joyous to the *French*, and with *Te Deum*, and Bonefires celebrated with no lesse solemnity, then was that for the recovery of the County *Oye*, and the Fort won from the *English*, *An.* 1347. so was it grievous unto the *English* Nobility, and most of all unto Queene *Mary* her selfe. Insomuch as shee ceased not to travell with the King and Councell how to cover the dishonour of her Raigne, by this losse of *Calis*; and albeit some assayes were made against *Breest*, and Mounsieur *Thermes* the new Captaine of *Calis* taken prisoner by Count *Egmont* Generall for King *Philip* in the *Low-Countries*, yet the maine was neglected, and could not be recovered for any composition, which strucke so deepe a melancholy into Queene *Maries* minde, as she letted not to say, that *the losse of Calis was written in her heart, and might therein be read when her body should be opened.* In which passions shee continued the rest of her Raigne, which never had beene very prosperous, nor greatly pleasurable unto her selfe, after shee had abolished the Gospel, restored the Popes Supremacy, and married a stranger, who was unto her a stranger indeed.

Queen *Maries* sayings for the losse of *Calis*.

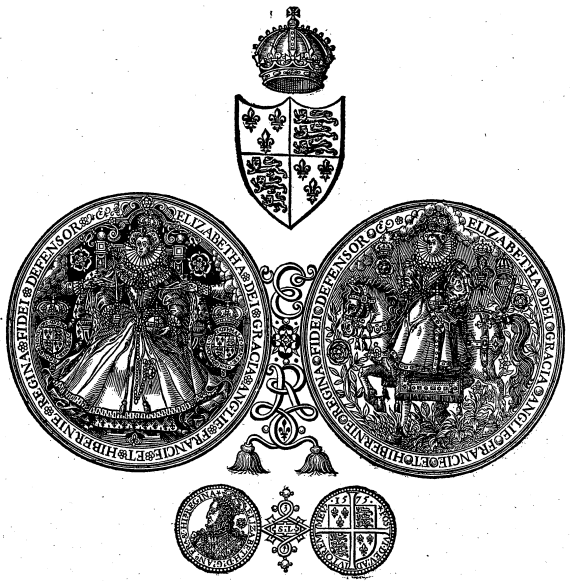
(118) Of all since the Conquest her Raigne was the shortest, onely excepting that of *Richard* the Tyrant, but much more bloudy then was his, and more bloud spilt in that short time of her Raigne, then had been shed for case of Christianity, in any Kings time since *Lucius* the first establisher of the Gospell in this Realme. Her conceptions failing, extreame dearths raging, hurt done by thunders from heaven, and by fire in the royall Navy, forraigne losses, *Calis* surrendered, and King *Philips* keeping from Court, daily augmented Queene *Maries* melancholy, which lastly increasing to a burning feaver, made an end of her life, at her Mannor of S. *Iames* neere *Westminster*, the 17. of *Novemb.* and yeere of *Christs* incarnation 1558. when she had raigned five yeeres, foure moneths, and eleven dayes, and lived forty two yeeres, nine moneths and sixe dayes, whose body lyeth interred in a Chappell in the Minster of S. *Peters* at *Westminster*, without any monument or other remembrance.

Queen *Maries* Raigne most bloudy.

ELIZABETH

Q. *Elizabeth.* Monarch 61.

ELIZABETH QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH CROWNE, SINCE HENGIST THE FIRST SAXON, AND THE LAST BEFORE THE VNION OF THE VVHOLE Iland. Her glorious Raigne, Life, and Acts, with the Treasons and invasions attempted against her Person, and State.



CHAPTER XXIIII.

An. Dom. 1558.

THe Cloud thus set, that threatned more stormes, and a quiet calme happening when the rage was at highest, that wished Sunne then ascended our *Horizon*, whose rayes (as had beene hoped) presently dispelled all foggy Mists from *Englands* faire Skie; which was, the most milde Princesse Lady *Elizabeth*, another *Debora*, and *nursing mother* of Gods Saints, who being then at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, was there first saluted *Queene*, and the same day, with great joy and full consent of both the Houses of *Parliament* (at that time assembled) was solemnly proclaimed Queene of *England*, with all other stiles rightly belonging to that Imperiall Title.

(2) Shee entred her Government upon Thursday the seventeenth of *November*, the same day that her sister *Queene Mary* died, the yeare of Christs assuming our flesh, 1558. and of her owne age, twenty foure yeares, two monethes and ten dayes. From *Hatfield** shee removed unto *Charterhouse* in *London*, *from whence shee was royally attended unto the *Tower*, and all Complements prepared for her *Coronation*.

Queene *Elizabeths* age.

* Novemb. 19.
* Novemb. 28.

The just Proclamation touching Religion.

nation. In which time *Proclamations* came forth, forbidding any man to preach, but by appointment, or to alter any *Ceremonies*, but according to the rites in her owne *Chappell*, as alſo that the *Letanie*, the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* ſhould be read in all Churches in the *Engliſh Tongue*.

Her paſſage through *London*.

(3) All things in readineſſe upon the fourteenth of *Ianuary*, with great triumphes and ſumptuous ſhewes, ſhee paſſed thorow *London* towards *Weſtminſter* to receive the Imperiall Crowne; but before ſhe entred her *Chariot* in the *Tower*, acknowledging that the ſeat was Gods into which ſhee was to enter, and ſhe his *Vicegerent* to weild the *Engliſh* Scepter; in that royall aſſembly with eyes, and hands elevated to heaven upon her knees, ſhe prayed for his aſſiſtance, as *Salomon* did for wiſedome when he tooke the like charge; with a thankefull remembrance unto God for his continued preſervation, who had brought her thorow great dangers unto that preſent dignitie. In which triumphall State as ſhee paſſed thorow the ſtreets of *London*, when the *Booke of God* was preſented unto her at the *little Conduit in Cheape*, ſhee received the ſame with both her hands, and kiſſing it, laid it to her breaſt ſaying, *that the ſame had ever beene her chiefeſt delight, and ſhould bee the rule by which ſhee meant to frame her government.* And to teſtifie her benigne acceptance of the Lord Major, and Citizens approved loves, *ſhee aſſured them that ſhee lacked no will, nor (as ſhee hoped) power to'be to them as gracious a Prince as ever raigned in the Land, and that for the publike good, if occaſion were miniſtred ſhe would ſpend her deareſt blond.*

Queene Elizabeths zealous devotion.

The Bible preſented to Queene Elizabeth.

The religious care of Queen Elizabeth.

(4) The fifteenth of *Ianuary* (being Sunday) the Coronation was ſolemnely performed, and the Imperiall Crowne ſet on her Head by Doctor *Owen Oglethorpe* Biſhop of *Carlile*, the Archiepiſcopall See of *Canterbury* being vacant ever ſince her entrance, by the death of Cardinall *Poole*, who died the ſame day that Queene *Mary* did.

Her Coronation.

Cardinall Poole and Q. Mary di d both in one day.

(5) Preſently there followed a *Parliament*, wherein the Title of *Supremacie* was againe reſtored to the *Crowne*, with the *firſt fruits*, and *Tenths* of all Eccleſiaſticall livings, and the *Booke of Common Prayer* ratified for an uniforme celebration of Gods Divine Service in the *Engliſh* Churches; as alſo thoſe *Acts* repealed that were enacted by *Queene Mary*, in favour of the *Romiſh Religion*. Things thus eſtabliſhed, and libertie given to the Goſpel; many that had fled the Realme in caſe of conſcience, returned, and were provided for according to their worths, and that *Gods Truth* might be eſtabliſhed, (which thing her Princely heart chiefly fought after) a conference was commanded, and begun at *Weſtminſter* the laſt of March, concerning certaine Articles to be diſcuſſed amongſt the Divines. The *Propoſitions* were three,

Sect. prim. Reg. cap. 1. The Regall Supremacy. *chap.* 2.

Queene Maries Acts repealed.

Conference at Weſtminſter, touching Religion.

1 *It is againſt the Word of God, and Cuſtomes of the ancient Church, to uſe a tongue unknowne to the people, in Common Prayer, and the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.*

The Propoſitions to be diſcuſſed. *Iohn Stow pag.* 1084.

2 *Every Church hath authoritie to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies, and Eccleſiaſticall rites, ſo the ſame be to edification.*

3 *It cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Maſſe offered up a ſacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead,*

The Impugners of theſe Aſſertions were,
- *John White* B. *of Wincheſter.*
- *Ralph Bayne* B. *of Lichfield.*
- *Cuthbert Scote* B. *of Cheſter.*
- *Owen Oglethrope* B. *of Carlile.*
- *Thomas Watſon* B. *of Lincolne.*
- *D. Cole.*
- *D. Harpſfield.*
- *D. Langdall.*
- *D. Cheſney.*

The Diſputants on both parts.

The Defendors of theſe Aſſertions were,
- *D. Scorie.*
- *D. Coxe.*
- *D. Sands.*
- *M. Whitehead.*
- *M. Grindall.*
- *M. Horne.*
- *M. Geſte.*
- *M. Elmer.*
- *M. Iewell.*

The conference ended almoſt as ſoone as begun.

These being ſolemnly ſet with many Honourable Counſellors among them, before the *Conference* could well beginne, it was finally ended, and all through the default of the *Biſhops* (as *Stow* hath alleadged) who, firſt pleaded a miſtaking of their directions, and in the next ſitting, utterly refuſed either to write their owne, or to reade the others reaſons, whereby all was undone that was intended, and whereof a part was * imprinted, as is yet to be ſeene.

*By Rich. Iudge. & Iob. Caverdi.

(6) During the time of this *Parliament* a Petition was made unto her Majeſtie for the hope of royall Iſſue, to moove unto her marriage; unto which eloquent Oration delivered by the *Speaker*, ſhee replyed with great thankes for their loving care for "her, and their owne Countrey: but as touching "their requeſt, ſhee anſwered, that from the time, "when firſt ſhee conſidered her ſelfe to bee borne a "ſervitor of God, ſhee happily did chooſe, and in "truth beſt liked a *Virgins* life, from which, neither "Ambition of high marriages, which had been for- "merly offered her by her Prince, nor the grievances "ſuſtained by her, whiles ſhee lived among thoſe e- "nemies, who indignation was death, had hitherto "beene able to divert her: but whether her yeares, "and anſwer could concord together in their judici- "ous minds; ſhee certainly knew not; yet this ſhee "aſſured them, that as then ſhee ſtood ſo affected, "and if that affection changed, her choiſe ſhould be "onely of ſuch a one, as ſhould be as carefull, ſhee "would not ſay, as her ſelfe, (becauſe thee knew her "ſelfe beſt) but as any of them for the Realmes good, "and yet withall ſhee conſidered, that although her "ſelfe, for their welfare (if need were) would not "ſhunne death, yet might her Iſſue (as often happe- "neth to the beſt parents) grow out of kinde, and "prove ungracious. And therefore to leave behind "her a more laſting and gratefull remembrance; ſhee "held it ſufficient, that a Marble-ſtone ſhould de- "clare to poſteritie, *that ſhee a Queene had raigned, "lived, and dyed a Virgin:* and ſo with many thanks "diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. How the firſt was accomplished, we that lived under her raigne have ſeene; but how inſufficient that one ſtone is to containe, and continuate the remembrance of her vertuous, pious, and glorious government, the whole world doth at this day, and ſhall to all ſucceeding ages witneſſe, whileſt the Earth reſts in the Center, and the Heavens have reſtleſſe movings.

Auncester Scotſman.

Queene Elizabeth her reply touching marriage.

Queene Elizabeths ſayings in the Parliament.

(7) For the cauſe of Religion ſhee ſent into *Germany* touching a league defenſive, the Pope troubling the waters of that cleare fountaine, and diſabling her Title with the calumny of illegitimation. In the meane while a peace being on foot betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, Queene *Elizabeth* alſo interpoſed for *England*, wherein the reſtoring of *Calis* was a maine point, whereupon her Highneſſe ſtood, which was thus.

Her firſt actions with forraine Princes.

ex Manuſcript. Henr. Killigrew.

(8) The Earle of *Arundell*, the Biſhop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury* remained Commiſſioners in *France* at the death of *Queene Mary*, upon compoſition for the regaining of *Calis*, and other peeces loſt in the cauſe of King *Philip*: her Majeſtie ſent them inſtructions to continue their demands, and certaine ſure grounds wheron they might worke. The firſt was that the quarrell of warre was not *Englands*, but *Philips* of *Spaine*, in whoſe favour *Queene Mary* his wife againſt the will of her Councell, ſent him aide of her Subjects. And if in caſe the

She claimeth reſtitution of *Calis* from the French.

Ex M.S. The inſtructions of Queene *Elizabeth* ſent to the Commiſſioners.

Proofes that *Calis* was *Englands*.

French ſhould challenge *Calis* as inhereditary unto the Crowne of *France*, to that they ſhould anſwer, that there were many Signiories and places in *France*, whereunto the *Engliſh* might make their juſt claime, and ſome in poſſeſſion ſince *Calis* was Engliſh, which Towne was not onely Lawfully granted, and aſſured from the *French* themſelves unto the Crowne of *England*, but was alſo allowed by Articles of all treatiſes of Peace, for the ſpace of two hundred yeares and more, this evermore ſpecially provided, *that Calis ſhould remaine in the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.*

And the better to impreſſe the delivery of *Calis*, in the mould of the *French*, they were to demand certaine arrerages, wherein their King and Realme had fallen for great ſummes of monies, and debts accruing to the *Engliſh* Crowne: aſwell by the acknowledgement of the mother of King *Francis* then being Regent of *France*, and judgement thereupon given; as alſo by the treatie of *More*, *de dato*, 1525. The treatie of perpetuall peace, *de Dato*, 1527. And the late treaty betweene King *Henry* the eight, and King *Francis*, for the delivery of *Bulloigne*, *de dato*, 1546. by all which appeareth, that there was two Millions of Crownes due, and very little thereof yet paid, the Copies of which Treatiſes and Confeſſion, the ſaid Commiſſioners have with them. Alſo another debt of an hundred thouſand crownes, as appeareth by a Bill of King *Francis* hand. And where alſo there is one perpetuall penſion of fiftie thouſand crownes due, as appeareth by the treaty of perpetuall peace, and one other penſion of Salt, as appeareth by the ſame treatie. All which notwithſtanding, rather then the *French* ſhould retaine *Callis*, her Majeſtie was contented to remit the whole debt and arrerages: but without that, in no wiſe ſhee held it convenient to conclude peace with *France*, and that obtained, ſhee remitted the other Articles to the diſcretion of the Commiſſioners. But the *Engliſh Queene* was no more deſirous to have *Callis*, then the *French* King unwilling to let it goe. Whereupon laſtly it was thus concluded, That *Callis* ſhould remaine *French*, the terme of eight yeares, and thoſe expired, ſhould returne to the *Engliſh* upon forfeiture of five hundred thouſand crownes; the branch of which agreement, from the Latine, and that from the originall, is thus tranſlated.

Great ſummes of Money owed by *France*.

(9) *It is covenanted, agreed, and concluded, that the ſaid moſt noble Lady Queene of England, ſhall ſuffer and permit the foreſaid moſt Chriſtian King of France, his heires and ſucceſſors, to hold, poſſeſſe, and peaceably enjoy from the day of the date of this preſent treaty, untill the terme of eight yeares following, the Towne of Callis, with the appurtinances and appendices belonging to the ſame; and alſo the Port or Haven of the ſaid Towne, with the Tower of Ruyſbanke, and alſo the Towers, Lordſhips, Pillages, and places of Newnambridge, Merke, Oye, Hams, Sandgate, the Tower and Towne of Guiſnes, and all the reſt of that County taken in this laſt warre, and all other Townes, Caſtles, Villages, Lands, Dominions, Territories, Waters, Rivers, Havens, Defences, Forts, and Shores, and generally all places whatſoever ſcituate unto them by the Sea, which ſhe the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath gotten in this laſt warre, and taken by force of Armes, in the raigne of the moſt noble Lady Mary, late Queene of England. And the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, hath promiſed, and doth promiſe aſwell in his owne name, as in the name of the King Dolphin his ſonne, his heires, and ſucceſſors, for which Dolphin, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King hath made himſelfe, and doth make himſelfe anſwerable, promiſing that he will take care of, and effect that the ſaid King Dolphin ſhall approve this treaty, and ratifie it, within two moneths after the date of this treaty, which ſaid terme of eight yeares being complete and ended, the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King his heires and ſucceſſors, ſhall preſently without delay, relinquiſh, deliver, and reſtore, or cauſe to be delivered, and reſtored to the ſaid moſt noble Princeſſe Elizabeth, Queene of England, her heires, and ſucceſſors, or to thoſe that ſhall be thereunto deputed by her, or her heires and ſucceſſors, the ſaid towne of Callis, with the appurtinances and appendices aforeſaid, and all other and ſingular places aforeſaid, and alſo the Towres, Caſtles, and fortreſſes whatſoever in the aforeſaid parts, and alſo the places now of late builded forteſied, or reedified during the ſaid terme of eight yeares; and the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall leave the poſſeſſion of all the ſaid places, and depart from it, and wholly forſake the ſame. So that the moſt noble Lady Queene Elizabeth, her heires and ſucceſſors may peaceably enjoy, and quietly hold the poſſeſſion of them with all the rights, privileges, preeminences, ſuperiorities, recognitions, and all other authorities in the like manner, ſtate, condition and nature, in which the Kings of England have held them, and poſſeſſed them before the beginning of this laſt warre. Provided notwithſtanding, and expreſly covenanted, that the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, his heires and ſucceſſors ſhall not be bound to reſtore or deliver the Townes and Fortreſſes, and places aforeſaid, otherwiſe then in the ſame ſtate, manner, and condition, in which now at this preſent they are, and hereafter ſhall be ſtrenthened and fortified by them, during the ſaid terme, yet ſo notwithſtanding as neither in the time of ſuch reſtitution nor before, that there be not any thing done of ſet purpoſe, whereby the former ſtate of the ſtrengthes, and fortifications which now it is in, or which hereafter added by them, be in any wiſe miniſhed, broken, or overthrowne, but that all things without fraud, be reſtored entire and unimpaired, in manner aforeſaid.*

Queene Elizabeth her reply touching marriage.

Alſo it is covenanted and agreed, that during the terme of the ſaid eight yeares, it ſhall neither be lawfull for the ſaid Chriſtian King, nor for the ſaid moſt fortunate King and Queene of Scots; nor for the ſaid moſt happy Queene of England to innovate, attempt, or enterpriſe by warre any thing againſt each other, or for any one of them againſt the other, or againſt the Kingdomes, propper dominions, and Subjects of each other, either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this preſent treatiſe, &c. And likewiſe if any thing ſhall be ſo innovated and attempted by the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, and moſt happy King and Queene of Scots, or the ſubjects of them, by the authoritie, commandement, and approbation of them, or any of them. Then the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King, and King Dolphin, their heires and ſucceſſors, by ſuch kinde of innovation attempted, upon the deed done, ſhall bee bound and obliged to leave and depart from the poſſeſſion and occupation of the ſaid Towne of Callis, and of all other places aforeſaid on this ſide the Sea, taken of late from the Engliſh, by the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King. And all thoſe things they ſhall deliver and reſtore without any delay to the ſaid moſt worthy Queene of England, in the ſame manner and forme, in which at the ſaid terme of eight yeares, they were promiſed and covenanted to be reſtored: which reſtitution if it ſhall not be ſo made, the ſaid Merchants and pledges ſhall be bound to pay the ſaid penaltie of five hundred thouſand crownes to the ſaid moſt worthy Queene of England, and the covenant notwithſtanding of reſtoring the ſaid Towne ſhall nevertheleſſe remaine in force. Moreover if any of the Subjects of any of the Princes aforeſaid, of their owne authoritie, ſhall endeavour or attempt any thing againſt the ſubjects of either of the ſaid Princes in prejudice of this Treatiſe, he ſhall be puniſhed as an infringer of the Peace, according to the qualitie of the fact.

These covenants notwithſtanding they were ſealed and ſworne unto, yet were never performed at the yeares of expiration, though Merchants were bound, and hoſtages aſſigned to remaine in *England* till the money were paid.

(9) So ſuſpiciouſly had this Towne of *Callis* beene recovered from the *Engliſh*, that the L. *Wentworth* (the Deputie) was indited in *Queene Maries* daies, and now arraigned at *Weſtminſter*; the Marqueſſe of *Northampton* being his Iudge, and Lord Chiefe Steward of *England* for that day; but that Nobleman ſo nobly defended himſelfe, that he was acquitted by his Peeres, and wan a moſt honourable opinion for his many and faithfull ſervices.

(10) Her Highneſſe having thus cleared the

English are from all Papall infection, and eſtabliſhed Peace, the greateſt benefit for the Subject; on the foureteenth of May, being *Whitſunday*, *Divine Service* began to be celebrated in the *Engliſh tongue*, whereby Gods Trumpet might be heard in a perfect ſound, and the prayers of the Congregation uttered with an underſtanding heart. To the end therefore that the *Clergy*, the *Teachers* of others, ſhould not be infected themſelves, the *Oath of Supremacy*, with other Articles, was offered unto them, the refuſers whereof were forthwith deprived, and others ſurrogated that were more loyally affected. In place of *Poole* deceaſed, Doctor *Parker* was conſecrated Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of *Yorke*, Doctor *Young* in ſtead of *Heath*, who refuſed the Oath; and ſo of ſome others: then went forth *Commiſſioners* to ſuppreſſe thoſe Monaſteries reſtored by *Queene Mary*, and to caſt out thoſe Images ſet up in Churches, whoſe ſight having heated the blind zeale of many poore ignorant people in places of Oratory, were now themſelves in the ſtreets conſumed in the fire, at whoſe flames might be ſaid, as in *Iſaiah* touching peeces of like ſtuffe, had beene ſaid: *I am warme, I have beene at the fire.*

Divine ſervice celebrated in the Engliſh tongue.

1 *Cor.* 14.

The oath of Supremacy eſtabliſhed, and ſome refuſed.

Superſtitious Images caſt out of Churches.

Iſaiah 44. 16.

(11) After the reducing of this purer worſhip into Gods Church, the next care the *Good Queene* tooke, was to enrich her Realme, by reducing her Coynes into fine and pure Sterling, and debaſing of Copper monies: cauſing likewiſe great ſtore of Munition, Armour, and Powder to be brought into the Land, and laid up in a readineſſe as occaſion ſhould ſerve, that nothing might be wanting either for the wealth or ſafetie of the ſubject.

Purer Coine brought in.

Martiall proviſion.

(12) But theſe her bleſſed beginnings in *England* were little as it ſeemeth to the liking of the French King, *Whoſe hope* (ſaith *Leſlie*) *by certaine Acts of Parliament made by Queene* Mary *againſt her ſiſter the Lady* Elizabeth *to debarre her from the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, was to eſtabliſh Queene* Mary *of Scotland, who had lately married Prince Dolphine his Sonne, laying her Title from* Margaret *the eldeſt daughter of King* Henry *the ſeventh, linked in Marriage with* Iames *the fourth King of that name, he being the daughter of* King Iames *the fifth his ſonne. And therefore as the neareſt in bloud, and lawfull heire to the Crowne of England, hee cauſed by Proclamation in Paris her Stile to be publiſhed under the name of* Mary *Queene of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and cauſed the Armes of England to be joyned with Scotland, and France, which the Dolphin and ſhee did impale, both in their Seales, Plate, Tapiſtry, and other adornements; which cauſed great troubles* (ſaith he) *betwixt the Kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.*

The *French* King maligneth Queene *Elizabeths* quiet.

John Leſly Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

Queene *Mary* of Scotland her diſcent.

Her claime to the Engliſh Crowne.

The Title and Armes of *England* given to her by the *French.*

The firſt ſeeds of heart-burning betwixt thoſe two great Queenes of *England* and *Scotland.*

The progreſſe of Religion in *Scotland.*

Biſhop of *Roſſe.*

(13) In *Scotland* Religion (as *England* had embraced it) began to be practiſed; Preachers ſpake boldly, and bookes were daily brought thither, which nothing at all commended the Pope, and by them (ſaith the Biſhop) *the people were moved to a ſedition*, which to prevent, the * *Queene Regent* cauſed an aſſembly of the Biſhops and Barons, unto whom the Miniſters preſented theſe Articles.

* *Mary* daughter to the Duke of *Guiſe.*

Articles propounded to *Scotiſh* Biſhops and Peeres.

1 *That their Divine Prayer and publike adminiſtration of the Sacrament ſhould be in the Engliſh tongue.*

2 *That Biſhoprickes and other Eccleſiaſticall Benefices ſhould be beſtowed upon qualified men.*

3 *That ſuch perſons enjoying the profits, ſhould performe their duties and preach the word to the people.*

4 *That none ſhould be admitted in time to come, into the Miniſtery, unleſſe his life and learning were anſwerable to that excellent calling.*

(14) To the two firſt, the Biſhops alleadging the Cuſtomes of the *Romane Church*, would in no wiſe conſent, leaving every man at libertie *privately* to pray in what language he beſt liked; and the election of their Biſhops to the preſcription of the *Canon Law*, and to the appointment of their *Queene*. For the two latter, they affirmed, no better order could be preſcribed then that of their *Common Law*, which impoſeth upon them, aſmuch as was required; and thereupon they began to put the ſame in execution, commanding all that had charge of ſoules to fit themſelves to their functions, otherwiſe to looke for no favour from deprivation, after the terme of five moneths. Which was (ſaith the ſame Author) *the principall cauſe, that a great number of young Abbots, Priors, Deacons, and Beneficed men, did aſſiſt the enterprize, and practiſed devices for the overthrow of the Catholike Religion.*

The *Scotiſh* Biſhops anſwere.

(15) True it is, that at the Preaching of *Iohn Knox*, and other Miniſters affecting Reformation, not onely the Images, Altars, and other like things of abuſe, were caſt downe and burnt, but alſo the Charterhouſe of the Friers at *Perth* deſtroyed, which was the faireſt Abbey in the Realme of *Scotland*, then followed the overthrow of the Monaſteries of Saint *Andrewes*, of *Stone*, of *Striveling*, and of *Linlithaw*; which over-heady proceedings cauſed ſuch ſtirres in the Land, that the *Lords of the Combination* encamped at *Couper*, to abide battle againſt the *French* (who came into *Scotland* to impeach their purpoſes) had not the travels of ſome Noblemen prevailed on either part.

Many Scotiſh Abbots, Priors, &c. advance true Religion.

Stirres in Scotland raiſed by ſome heady proceedings.

(16) The *French* King, thus over-buſie about *Scotlands* ſtate, was overcareleſſe of his owne, when (at ſolemnizing the marriages of his daughter and ſiſter) he would needs be a *Challenger* at Tilt, ſeconded by the Duke of *Guize* and *Ferrara*, which triumphant joy was ſuddenly clouded with a ſad Cataſtrophe. For to runne his laſt (and indeed his laſt) courſe in favour of his *Queene*, hee ſent a Lance to the Earle of *Montgomery*, with a command to have him enter the Tilt; but he excuſing himſelfe from running againſt his Majeſtie, alleadged, that fortune the day before, afforded him not to breake one ſtaffe, and that now (as he feared) ſhe would put him to a ſecond ſhame, but the King, deſtiny ſo enforcing, and his dare fully runne, ſent him a ſecond command, which *Montgomery* very unwilliagly obeyed, and breaking his Lance upon the Kings Cuiraſſe, a ſplinter thereof, his Beaver being ſomewhat open, ſtrucke him ſo deepe in the eye, that thereupon ſhortly hee ended his life.

The *French* ſend forces into *Scotland.*

Iſobel his daughter married unto Philip 2. King of Spaine, Margaret his ſiſter married unto *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of Savoy. Iune 30. 1559. *Iohn Stowe.*

(17) After whoſe death, *Francis* his ſonne, and ſecond of that name, at the age of ſixteene yeares ſucceeded him in the Crowne of *France*, having by the marriage of Queene *Mary*, the title of *Scotland* annexed to his others. He hearing of the troubles raiſed there, in caſe of Religion, ſent *Mounſieur de la Broche* to ſtrengthen the Field, and the Biſhop of *Amiens* to aſſiſt the Queene *Regent*, with his faire reaching and inſeeing councell. Surely the preparation to withſtand them was great, and the Combinators many that ſtood for Reformation, as namely, one *Duke*, fourteene *Earles*, and eleaven *Lords*, beſides other of name and account; but knowing their Adverſaries forces, and ſeeing thoſe ſtrangers to poſſeſſe divers of their Townes and Forts, to the oppreſſing of the Kingdome under forraine ſubjection, they were enforced to become Petitioners unto Queene *Elizabeth*, for aide to expell the *French*, who ſought the ſubverſion of the Realmes State.

King Henry of France killed in Tilting.

Francis the ſecond King of *France.*

He ſends forces to Scotland.

(18) The Magnanimous Queene, nothing fearing the threats of that Potent Nation, nor liking ſuch neighbours as formerly profeſſed to rob her of her right, and now under pretence of ſuppreſſing the *Scots*, were not unlikely to attempt an invaſion upon her Realme; (for ſo the *Almans*, hired by the *French*, were told they ſhould doe) gave them aſſiſtance upon Articles aſſured; whereof one was, that they ſhould hold faithfull concurrence with *England* during the life of the *French* King, and one yeare after. For the performance whereof, five young Gentlemen were ſent into *England*, and the Duke of *Norfolke* into the North, who from *Barwicke* diſpatched the Lord *Gray of Wilton* for Generall into *Scotland*, accompanied with many worthy Captaines, ſixe thouſand foot, and one thouſand two hundred and fifty horſemen; theſe comming to *Salt-Preſton*, were

Paul. Emyl. The Queene Regent dieth.

The Scotiſh Nobles crave Queene Elizabeths aſſiſtance. Hollinſh.

Queene Elizabeth aſſiſteth Scotiſh Lords.

The French King yeelds over his Dominions to the Popes protection. Hollinſh. 10. pag. 161. Holinſh. Hiſt. p. 870. The Pope unable to aſſiſt the French King.

Iohn Leſly.

The French King ſeekes for peace with Q. Elizabeth.

The Lord *Grey* Generall of the *Engliſh.*

The Queene Regent deſires conference.

The French diſſuade the intended parley.

The French aſſiſt the Engliſh.

The Engliſh and French encounter.

The Engliſh mocke their Enemies.

were ioſtully received of the Scotiſh Lords, who there in Councell decreed what was to be done.

(19) From thence they marched toward *Leiterike*, where a Trumpet from the Queene Regent met them with a ſafe conduct for Sir *James Croft*, and for Sir *George Howard*, with ſixe other Gentlemen to accompany them unto her preſence in the Caſtle of *Edenborough*; unto which the Generall and the Scotiſh Lords agreed, with an abſtinence from Armes during the conference. But the French (the meane while) under the command of *Monſieur Doiſell* iſſued forth of *Leith*, and in good array tooke the field, which when the Lord *Gray* perceived, he ſent an Harold unto them, willing them to depart till the Engliſh were returned, according to the order betwixt their Regent and him; but they returned him anſwer, they were on their Miſtreſſes ground, which they meant to make good, and thereupon diſcharged a whole volley of ſhot upon the Engliſh Army.

(20) The Allarum thus given when leaſt it was expected, a cruell skirmiſh began, wherein dyed of the French about ſevenſcore perſons, the reſt were enforced backe into *Leith*, and many of the Engliſh both hurt and ſlaine. Whereupon they intrenched the *Crag*, and planted their Ordonance againſt *Leith*, upon whoſe Steeples the French had mounted their great Cannons, whence their Bullets flew amaine; and ere long a bold attempt was undertaken by them, who with fiftie Horſemen, and five hundred Harquebuſiers iſſued out of *Leith*, and aſſayled the Engliſh new trenches with ſuch valour, as they entred, and a while poſſeſſed the ſame; where they tooke *Maurice Barkeley* priſoner, won his Enſigne, cloyed the touch-holes of three great Peeces, and ſlew no ſmall numbers of their reſiſters.

(21) The Engliſh by this time had armed themſelves (for this aſſault was unexpectedly given) and Captaine *Vaughan* with his bravely entred the Trench, who being ſeconded by Captaine *Sommerſet*, *Reade*, and *Arthur Grey*, recovered the ſame with ſome ſlaughter of men, the Ordonance from *Leith* diſcharging upon them, to the great annoyance of their honourable ſervice; and now being Maſters of what was loſt, they cleared the great Ordonance which the French had ſtopped, and caſt a new Trench along by the old Chappell, whence with their great Peeces they beate downe the Steeples of Saint *Anthony*, and Saint *Nicholas* in *Leith*, and diſmounted the Peeces that therein lay levelled againſt them.

The Engliſh mocke their Enemies.

(22) In the full courſe of which diſſentions, the Queene Mother, *Regent of Scotland*, (a Lady of excellent endowments of minde) conſumed with thoughts, diſpleaſures, and melancholy, departed this life in *Edenborough* Caſtle: the Lords waxing ſtronger, and *Leith* much weaker through extremity of famine, and the French King, (the onely pillar on whom their ſtrength did conſiſt) not able to aſſiſt them. Who being brought daily into feares, through new tumults ariſing, and increaſed in his owne Countrey of *Amboyſe*, was forced (ſaith *Leſlie*) to yeeld up all the Dominions, both of *France*, and of *Scotland*, unto Pope *Pius* the fourth, to be at his command and defence; but his Holineſſe fearing his owne tottering eſtate, like a wiſe man, that meant to warpe no more then hee could well weave, ſuffered King *Francis* to ſeeke for other redreſſe, which he did from her, that was more willing and better able to give him content.

Peace concluded betwixt *England* and *France*.

(23) For ſending his Ambaſſadors unto Queene *Elizabeth*, whoſe noble ſpirit himſelfe had firſt provoked, deſired her peace to be had with *Scotland*, and that Commiſſioners might be appointed to meete with his in that Realme; alledging that it was unfitting to a Soveraigne to ſue to his Subjects, as hee was over them by his marriage with their onely Queene. Her Princely minde ever forward to aſſiſt the afflicted, and now deſirous to ſave Chriſtian bloud, diſpatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecill* her Principall *Secretary*, with Doctor *Watton* Deane of *Canterbury*, one of her ſacred Councell, eminent for his ſingular prudence, and formerly imployed upon like affaires in *France*.

Commiſſioners of *England* and *France* meet in *Scotland.*

Articles of Accord.

(24) Theſe falling in conference, concluded finally upon certaine Articles, whereof thoſe that concerned *England*, were theſe: That neither the King of *France*, nor his Queene of *Scotland*, ſhould thence-forth uſe the Armes or Titles of *England*, or *Ireland*, and that all Letters ſealed with thoſe Armes ſhould be called in within ſixe moneths ſpace; that both the *Engliſh* and *French* ſhould depart *Scotland*, ſome few excepted, employed upon occaſions, and that a generall pardon ſhould be enacted by Parliament, concerning all ſuch as had beene in theſe ſtirres. Which Parliament was affembled at *Edenborough* in Auguſt following. Theſe things accomplihed, an Ambaſſage of thankes was ſolemnly addreſſed unto *Queene Elizabeth* by the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and the young Laird of *Lethington*, with proffer that the Earle of *Arran*, the greateſt Lord in account among them, ſhould bee at her diſpoſe for marriage, which (as they well hoped) would be to her ſelfe.

An Ambaſſage of thanks to Q. Elizabeth.

(25) With the like conceived hope the yeare before, *Iohn* Duke of *Finland*, ſecond ſonne to *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, was ſent to her by his Father, to treate a marriage for his elder brother *Ericus*, who was moſt honourably entertained, but diſmiſſed without all hope of his ſuite. Notwithſtanding, *Guſtavus* being dead, *Ericus* now raigning King of *Sweden*, having impriſoned his brother *Iohn*, ſolicited her Majeſty the ſecond time, but to his diſhonour as it fell out, for his ſuite rejected in the Engliſh Court, he attempted to match with the youngeſt daughter of *Philip Landgrave* of *Haſſia*, who hearing that he had twice received deniall in *England*, denied him alſo with ſome diſgrace, giving his daughter unto *Adolfe* Duke of *Holſt*, Vncle unto *Fredericke* King of *Denmarke*, at that time enemy to *Ericus*.

Ericus ſonne to the King of *Sweden*, ſeekes marriage with Q. Elizabeth. *Thuanus* 24. *vocatur* Conſentius. *Adolfus Moſcouram.*

(26) The Peace ſcarcely was concluded betwixt *England* and *France*, when *Francis* the young King was taken away by death, and another pupill King crowned, even *Charles* his younger brother, and ninth of that name, who was guided altogether by the Regency of the Queene Mother, and moleſted with the civill diſſentions betwixt the Princes of *Guize* and *Conde*. For whoſe reconciliation Queene *Elizabeth* ſent Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*; unto which her endeavours, howſoever the French gave countenance in Court, yet on the Seas they tooke her Merchants ſhips, impriſoned the men, and ſeized their goods, no other cauſe alledged but that they were Huguenors.

An. Dom. 1560. *An. Reg.* 2. *Francis* the young French King dyeth. *Charles* the ninth ſucceeded his brother. Queene Elizabeth laboureth to ſettle peace in *France*. The *French* ſeize on Engliſh Merchants.

(27) Theſe miſdemeanors, *Englands* great Queene tooke not well; yet did ſhee not ſo much blame, as pittie the young and over-ruled King, brought to ſuch a ſtraight, that hee was neither able to defend the authority of his owne Lawes, nor to uphold the leagues made with other Princes. But moſt eſpecially the cauſe of Religion (the onely pretended motive to all theſe diſturbances (together with the ſolicitations of the French themſelves (as from *Roan*, *Deip* and *Newhaven*) moved her Majeſty firſt to ſet forth her grievances publikely in print, and next to ſend aide unto *Monſieur Vidame*, Captaine of *Newhaven*, againſt ſuch as ſought to ſubvert both Religion and the Eſtate.

The *French* grievances ſet forth by the Engliſh.

The Engliſh ſupport Religion in *France.*

(28) Theſe landing in *Normandy*, were with great joy received into the Townes of *Newhaven*, *Roan*, and *Deip*, which were willingly ſurrendred into the Engliſh Queenes poſſeſſions (the onely Cloud-pillar that ſtood betwixt Gods choſen Iſrael, & the bloud-ſeeking Amalekites in this wilderneſſe of *Sin*,) with this reſervation by the Queene her ſelfe inſerted, *no way to prejudice the Kings Soveraigne authoritie, nor the eſtate of the Realme*; ſo upright was ſhee, notwithſtanding their late unjuſt intruding upon her right and

An. Dom. 1562. in Septem.

Ibid. de Scotis.

Ambroſe Dudley Earle of *Warwicke* Generall of the Engliſh.

title, and her owne juſt and ancient title to thoſe forraine parts, eſpecially to *Normandy*.

(29) The Generall of theſe Engliſh ſo ſent, was the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, Earle of *Warwicke*, who following his charge before gone to Seas, arrived at *Newhaven* the nine and twentie of *October*, where his Commiſſion was proclaimed, and oath taken, unto whom ſtrengths of Scotiſh men were ſent him from *Diep*, whereof Monſieur *Montgomery* was preſently made Governour, having loſt *Rohan* unto the King of *Navarre*; though the unfortunate King bought the victory with his owne death, as he viewed the weaker parts of the Citie.

(30) To withſtand the Engliſh thus ſetled in *Normandy*, the Count *Rheingrave* was ſent, and in familiar conference told the Earle of *Warwicke*, that hee was come to be his neighbour; but proved indeed ſo covetous an encroacher, as laſtly he diſpoſſeſſed the Earle of the Towne. For albeit that many manly feates were therein performed by the Engliſh, and the place ſtored with prizals of wines; yet wanting freſh victuall, but eſpecially freſh water, which the enemy had cut off, the calamities were great, and much more augmented by a contagious peſtilence, that ſlew many more then did either famine or ſword; ſo that the *Engliſh* having poſſeſt the Towne for eleven moneths ſpace, now were conſtrained to ſurrender it upon compoſition, bringing thence many ſicke Souldiers that dangerouſly infected *England* with a long continuing plague.

Newhaven ſurrendred.

The plague brought into *England* from *Newhaven*.

(31) Times motion in *England* now moved onely with the benefit of peace, and no act memorable to commit unto Hiſtory; let us ſupply this Interim with looking a little into the ſtate of Religion in *France*; as we have ſeene, and ſomewhat touched the proceedings thereof both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Goſpell ſpreading farre in that faire Continent, the impugners tooke occaſions to raiſe many ſtirres, and all in ſhew to race out new hereſies, as they accuſed and called the reformed doctrine. For which cauſe the French Townes burning in the flames of ſeditions, the Proteſtants bloud was thought fitteſt to quench them, and the rapines committed upon chaſte wives and Virgins, was pretended to be canceld by a marriage wrought and contracted betwixt two Princes of the bloud: which were *Henry* of *Bourbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, a favourer of the Goſpell, and *Margaret* of *Valois* the third Daughter of King *Henry* the ſecond, and Siſter unto King *Charles* now raigning, a Princeſſe much devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe muſt be the Birds to bring others to the Net, and one of them laid for, to be caught in the ſame ſnare.

The State of Religion in *France*.

The Eſpouſals of *Henry* of *Bourbon* and *Margaret de Valois* ſolemnized with bloud.

(32) Thus much was plotted by the Marſhall of *Ceſſe*, and the *Maſter of Requeſts*, with the device no doubt of ſome in higher place, who wrought the Queene of *Navarre*, under the pretence of great affection, that the French King bare unto her; and the *Chaſtillon* Admirall (a moſt zealous Proteſtant) under an intent of imployment for the defence of the Low-Countries, againſt the King of *Spaine*. This match indeed ſeemed to confirme a publike concord, onely the Popes diſpenſation muſt be had, by reaſon of pretended conſanguinitie of the parties, the one being petty Nephew, the other Grand-child of *Francis* the firſt King of *France*. And the Queene of *Navarre* made ſome ſcruple of the Ceremonies for the celebration, place, and Church; but civill reaſon overſwaying all difficulties, the Theater muſt be *Paris*, as the Capitall City, and the marriage acted without any change of Ceremony, or of royall forme.

The plotters and pretences of the marriage

The ſcruples of the Queene of *Navarre*.

(33) *Chaſtillon* the Admirall was formoſt at Court, where the Papals gave him place, and to take from him all jealouſie or miſtruſt, the King countenanced him ſo much, that hee repayed his loſſes ſuſtained in the warre, grants him the revenues of his brother the Cardinall *Chaſtillon*, that lately fled and dyed in *England*, treates with him familiarly, gives him a place in his Privy Councell, and ever honours him with the plauſible name of Father; inſomuch as the people began to murmure that King *Charles* not onely favoured the *Huguenots*, but was now become a *Huguenot* himſelfe. And the Admirall for his part thinking all upright, to that end moveth the King to treate a Peace with the Queene of *England*, to the prejudice of the *Spaniards*: with theſe motives among others; that *Elizabeth* was unmarried, and *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* had no wife, the dignitie of ſo high an alliance was honourable for the Duke, and the qualitie of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by the Queene; he having in his young yeares purchaſed great honour and reputation.

John Stowe.

(34) The charge of this meſſage was committed to Marſhall *Mountmorency*, both to have his abſence at Court, the better to worke what was intended, and to ſtay her Majeſty by vertue of that peace, from attempting any thing againſt *France*, in favour of the Proteſtants. The Foord thus founded by the well-meaning Admirall, ſeemed the more ſafely paſſable: for the two Queenes of *England* and *Navarre*; the firſt of them granting the *Peace* ſo deſired, and the other without all jealouſie repayred to the French Court; where eighteene dayes after her arrivall, of a quotidian Fever ſhee dyed, though others ſaid, not without ſuſpition of poyſon, by the perfume of a paire of Gloves preſented unto her.

Some ſticke factions ſtrengthen ſorreigne rebellions.

A match wiſhed betwixt Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*.

(35) Soone after, the marriage was ſolemnized upon a high Scaffold, built before the Church dore of *Our Lady* in *Paris*; and foure dayes ſpent in Playes, Feaſts, Dancing, and Maskes: all which were but traines and introductions unto what was intended: for the Admirall departing the Kings preſence with all complements of amitie, as hee paſſed from the *Louure*, and in reading a Petition, was with a Harquebuſſe levelled out of a window, ſhot into the left arme, and dangerouſly hurt. At which traiterous attempt, the King and Queene mother ſeemed to be greatly perplexed, viſiting him with all expedition, and for his further ſafety, commanded all his favourers (the Proteſtants) to be lodged, neere about him. But the night now approached, *Coſſeines* brake into his Baſe-Court, and three of his Company entring his Bed-chamber, with their weapons barbarouſly murthered him, whoſe goared body at *Guizes* command, they caſt out of the Window, *Guize* himſelfe wiping the bloud from his face, acknowledged him to be the man. His head they cut off, and preſented to the Queene-mother, and ſhee balming it, ſent it to her *Holy Father* for an aſſurance of the death of his moſt capitall enemy.

The raiſing of *O-Neales* Family. * That is, The great *Con*.

An Ambaſſage for peace with Q. *Elizabeth*.

Con O-Neale a right *Iriſh*.

The Queene of *Navarre* dyeth.

The marriage of *Bourbon* and Lady *Margaret* ſolemnized.

King Henry the eight crucified *O-Neale*.

The Admirall woundedwith ſhot.

The Admirall barbarouſly murthered.

The Title of *Tir-Oen* firſt granted. *Combina in Hiernia, de O-Neilis.*

Shan O-Neales cauſe of rebellion.

A gratefull preſent ſent to the Pope by the Queene-Mother.

(36) The Pallace Clocke ſtrikes the Watch-word unto the Alarum, when the other armed troupes ſlie to the Admirals lodging, cut off his hands, dragge his martyred Carkaſſe through the ſtreets, and laſtly hang it up by the feet at *Montfaucon*. And with the like hellish fury the bloudy faction, oppreſſed the *Proteſtants*, both in the Citie and Suburbs, ſparing neither ſexe, condition, nor age, through whoſe ſtreets nothing was heard but ghaſtly horrour, armes, horſes, and death, with the pitifull ſhreikings of the Innocents, crying (but alaſſe in vaine) for mercy. On the other ſide, the ſhoutes of the murtherers prevailed, ſaying, that this one day ſhould end the quarrell, which neither Pen, paper, decrees of Iuſtice, nor open warre for twelue yeeres together could ever doe. Lamentable was the ſpectacle of thoſe ſacred and maſſacred carkaſes ſtrewed in the ſtreets, the pavements, Market places, and Rivers dyed with their bloud, and that Sabbath made direfull, and to the Papiſts infamous, with the bloudy pollution of ten thouſand Innocents, in the ſtaine whereof we will leave them, and returne our ſtile againe for *England*.

The Maſſacre of the French Proteſtants.

(37) As theſe civill ſeditions were on foot in other parts, ſo *Ireland*, too too rebellious, fought under the ſhelter of *Shan O-Neale*, to ſhrowd themſelves from the obedience of *Queene Elizabeths* government,

Iriſh Rebellion under *Shan* (that is) *John O-Neale*.

Stat. Chron. lib. 11. cap. 16.

ment; a man cruell by nature, and claiming an inheritary right of the Province of *Vlſter*, as the *O-Neales* formerly had done of all *Ireland*. For in the troubleſome times of *Robert Brus*, when his brother *Edward* named himſelfe King of *Ireland*, *Donald O-Neale*, rowſed out of his larking holes, in his miſſive letters unto the Pope, ſtyleth himſelfe *King of Vlſter, and in right of inheritance, the undoubted Heire of all Ireland*. But his glorious ſhew being clowded before it was ſeene, his poſterity puld in their hornes like ſnailes, untill the fire-brands of Civill diſſentions betwixt the Houſes of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* gave light to their footing, whileſt the *Engliſh* left *Vlſter* unto their cuſtody, and followed in *England* the faction which they beſt favoured.

(38) At which time, *Henry O-Neale* began to bee great by marrying the Daughter of *Thomas*, Earle of *Kildare*; as afterward alſo his ſonne * *Con-More*, *O-Neale*, marryed the Daughter of *Girald Kildare* (his Mothers brother) both of thoſe *Kildares* being Deputies of *Ireland*. From the bed of theſe Coſen-Gemanes, iſſued *Con O-Neale*, ſurnamed *Bacco*, becauſe he *halted*; who was ſo right *Iriſh*, that he curſed all his poſterity, in caſe they either learned the Engliſh language, ſowed wheate, or built them Houſes, leſt the firſt ſhould breed converſation, the ſecond Commerce of ſuſtenance, and with the laſt they ſhould ſpeed as the Crow, that buildeth her neſt to bee beaten out by the Hawke.

(39) But King *Henry* the eight, with whom was no dallying, ſetting his tallons faſt on *Kildare*, in whoſe rebellions *O-Neale* had engaged himſelfe deepe, ſo over-dares this envying Iriſh bird, that he flyes into *England*, ſues to the Eagle, renounceth the name of *O-Neale*, and puts his whole eſtate into the Kings hand. Whoſe humble ſubmiſſion ſo ſatisfied this crowned bird, that his life was delivered out of his claw, and letters Patents granted under the Great Seale of *England*, to hold his revenewes in Fee of the King, together with the Title of *Earle of Tir-Oen*, to him and to *Matthew* his falſe reputed ſon, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, at what time the ſaid *Matthew* was created Baron of *Dungannon*.

(40) *Shan O-Neale*, (with whom wee began) the eldeſt legitimate unto this *Con-Bacco*, ſeeing himſelfe diſherited, and a baſtard preferred before him, ſuddenly ſet his heart againſt his Father, as alſo againſt *Matthew* his high honoured and halfe-reputed brother, whom hee never left till hee had murthered, and purſued his Father with ſuch irreconcileable hatred, as he ſtript him out of Houſe and all, and never left, till for want and griefe, the old man pined away.

(41) *Shan* then choſen, proclaimed, and inaugured *O-Neale*, by an old ſhooe caſt over his head, ſeized upon his Fathers inheritance, and with all diligence fought after the ſonnes of *Matthew*, to ſecure himſelfe of that which he had got. *Brian* the eldeſt he cauſed to be ſlaine by *Mac Donnel Totan*, one of the *Oneals* race, but *Hugh* and *Cormack* by meanes of the Engliſh eſcaped his hands. Thus ſeated in *Vlſter*, hee began to tyrannize over the great men of that Province, accounting them his Subjects, as in his anſwers unto the Engliſh Iuſticiar, expoſtulating with him upon that point, he laid his Title.

Shan O-Neales title to Vlſter.

(42) That hee was the undoubted ſonne and heire of *Con-Oneale*, borne of his lawfull wife, and that of *Matthew* his ſuppoſed brother, was the ſonne of a Blackeſmith, borne in *Dundalke*, and unto the age of fifteene yeeres had beene ſo reputed and taken; that then he was obtruded upon *Con*, by the ſaid Smiths wife, whom he had formerly kept for his Concubine, with an intent to intervert the inheritance and honour of the *O-Neale* another way. That his ſurrender unto King *Henry* of *England*, was of no validity, conſidering that *Con* had no longer therein then his owne life, neither could that lawfully be done without the conſent of the Nobles of *Vlſter*, by whom he had beene elected *O-Neale*. That himſelfe was by Law both of God and man, the onely true Heire, being the firſt begotten ſonne of his Father, lawfully borne in Wedlocke, choſen, declared and proclaimed *O-Neale*, by the generall conſent of the Peeres and People of *Vlſter*, and that according to the ancient Law *Taniſtry*, whereby a man at his full yeeres is to be preferred before a boy, and an Uncle before a Nephew, whoſe Grandfather ſurvived the Father; and laſtly, that he had done nothing, but what he had ſufficient authority to doe, and which his anceſtors had not uſed before him to doe.

The Law Taniſtry in Ireland, what it is.

(43) His title thus pleaded and paſſed without oppoſition, hee preſently fell into other outrages; for *O-Rayly* hee overthrew in the Field, tooke *Caileigh O-Donel* Lord of *Tir-Conel* captive, caſt him and his children in priſon, carried away his wife, and in adultery begat baſtards upon her, ſeizing upon lands and goods at his pleaſure, and bare himſelfe as abſolute King of *Vlſter*.

Shan O-Neales outrages.

(44) Theſe his doings *Thomas* Earle of *Suſſex* (the Lord Deputy) ſought to redreſſe, whoſe preparations ſo ſtrangely terrified him, that by the counſell of *Girald* Earle of *Kildare*, he came into *England*, and caſt himſelfe proſtrate at Queene *Elizabeths* feet, and upon his ſubmiſſive behaviour and promiſed allegeance, with her gracious favour returned home, where for a while in his dyet and apparell, he conformed himſelfe to all kind of civility, yea, and did ſome office of ſervice in driving the *Scots* out of *Vlſter*, ſlaying their Leader *Mac Conel*, and in protecting the poorer ſort from the violence and oppreſſions of the Nobles. In which his doings hee drew upon himſelfe their hatreds and complaints; and he whoſe nature could digeſt neither, full furious for revenge upon *Mac-Guir*, Lord of *Fermanagh*, fired *Armach*, the *Metropolitane* City, laid ſiege unto *Dundalke*, and harried the Countrey on every ſide.

Thomas Earle of *Suſſex* ſubdues *O Neale*.

O-Vealer ſubmiſſion to the Queene.

O-Neale doth ſome good Offices.

O-Neale againe falleth off.

(45) Againſt whom Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, came in perſon himſelfe into the Field: and *Edward Randolph*, a renowned Coronell, with ſeven Enſignes of Foot, and a Cornet of Horſemen, encamped at *Derry* by *Logh-Foil*, that ſo hee might charge the backe of the Rebell, which *O-Neale* well perceiving, haſted with his forces to remove: where *Randolph* in a pitcht field entred battell, and there manfully fighting with honour, loſt his life, but gave the *O-Neale* ſo great an overthrow, as never after he was able to make Head againſt his Soveraigne, and in many other Skirmiſhes was ſo foyled, as hee evidently ſaw his owne dreadfull downefall. Wherefore hee minded once more to ſue for the Queenes mercy, and with a halter about his necke, intended to humble himſelfe to the Lord Deputy, for his favour and mediation unto her Majeſty.

An. Dom. 1565. Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

O-Neales power broken.

(46) But making *Neale Mackever* (his Secretary) ſecret to theſe his deſignes, was by him counſelled to try Fortunes favor yet another way; the occaſion well fitting, and the perſons of great hope (if hee could faſten amity with them) which were the wilde *Scots*, who held their ſtanding Summer-Campe in *Clancboy*, under the conduct of two Brethren, *Alexander* * *Oge*, and *Mac Gillaſpie*, whoſe father and brother this *Shan O-Neale* had lately ſlaine, in an overthrow given to the *Scots*. For the furer gaining of whoſe favour, he ſent before hand *Surley-boy*, *Alexanders* brother, whom he had taken and retained priſoner a long time, and ſoone after, himſelf with the wife of *O-Donel* (whom adulterouſly hee kept) repairing unto them, was kindly welcommed and entertained in a Tent; where after their Cups, they fell to a brawle about *Iames Mac-Conell*, (*Alexanders* brother) whom *Shan* had ſlaine, as alſo about the honeſty of his ſiſter, whom he had married and caſt off, for the love hee bare unto *O-Donels* wife. Whereupon after a ſignall given, in heate of revenge, *Alexander* and his brother with many wounds hacked *Shan O-Neale* to death, afew of his followers eſcaped their (words by flight; by whoſe death *Vlſter* recovered their wiſhed peace,

He thinketh of ſubmiſſion.

O-Neale diſcredited from ſubmiſſion by his Secretary.

* That is, *Alexander* the youngeſt.

Shan O-Neale ſlaine.

An. Dom. 1567. *Calls* demanded of the French King. *April* 28. 1567.

after a grievous diſtaſture of oppreſſion and warres, in which let us a while leave them, and returne to the affaires of *England*.

(47) The time now expired for retention of *Callis* ſo ſore thirſted after, and ſo thirſtingly kept; *Queene Elizabeth* preſently ſent unto *Charles* the *French* King, to demand the delivery according to covenants. Hee ſet in eſtate, accompanied with the Queene mother and others, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had audience, and the Title controverſed among them as followeth. The *Queenes* Letters read, and attendance given what would more be ſaid: Sir *Thomas Smith* (for he was the man) demanded in Her Majeſties name, the Towne of *Callis*, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Caſtle, and Towne of *Guine*, and generally all ſuch Caſtles, Townes, and places as had beene taken by his Father *Henry*, the late *French* King in his laſt warres, from *Mary* late Queene of *England*, her Majeſties ſiſter: which in a Treaty of peace made at *Caſteau* in *Cambrenſis* the yeere of Chriſt 1559. was agreed upon, that his Soveraigne, *Queene Elizabeth*, ſhould permit the ſaid *French* King and his ſucceſſors to poſſeſſe, and peaceably to enjoy the ſaid Townes, Caſtles, and places, the ſpace of eight yeeres, and thoſe expired, the ſaid King *Henry* covenanted for himſelfe and ſucceſſors, to deliver the ſame intirely unto the *Engliſh*, which being compleat and ended, the ſecond of that preſent moneth *Aprill*, himſelfe with Sir *Henry Norris* her Majeſties Ambaſſadors; upon the third day of the ſame moneth, demanded in her name the poſſeſſion thereof accordingly, but could not attaine, or get ſpeech, either with Lieutenant, or Governour. Whereupon they were inforced to make repaire to his Majeſty, whom hee doubted not but would accompliſh the performance, and likewiſe keepe perpetuall amity with his Soveraigne Lady and Miſtreſſe.

The Townes Governours ſhould not be ſpoken with.

(48) King *Charles* but young, and altogether governed by the Queene mother, having well learned his leſſon, made preſent anſwer, *That Callis was his, and that none had right thereunto but himſelfe*, neither ſhould any deliver it to any other, *and that the Treaty*, named by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, *did wholly geve it him*. Whereunto Sir *Thomas* replyed, That neither Her Majeſty, nor Counſell did ſo take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being ſo plaine, and manifeſt. *Why, Maſter Smith, quoth the Queene-mother, I marvell the Queene your Miſtreſſe would now ſend for ſuch a purpoſe, and eſpecially you, who knoweth none better, how all things paſſed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Callis, and all her rights in thoſe places divers wayes. As firſt by invading the Kings Subjects in Scotland, then moſt manifeſtly at New-haven, where the King, my Sonne, was faine with an whole Army to recover it; and in the ſaid Treaty was an Article as hath been diſputed, that if the Queene of England ſhould invade any part of my Sonnes Dominions, ſhee ſhould forth-with loſe her right in Callis.*

King *Charles* ſpeech to the Ambaſſadors.

Objections againſt the Queene of *England*.

(49) Madam, ſaid Sir *Thomas*: King *Henry* and his ſucceſſors were bound to loſe *Callis*, if they invaded *England*, and yet did King *Francis*, brother to the King here, doe it by the way of *Scotland*, as is moſt manifeſt, after the ſaid Treaty at *Caſteau*, not onely in aſſuming the *Armes and Title of England and Ireland*, but contrary to the Articles of Peace, which concluded that both *Engliſh* and *French* ſhould depart *Scotland*: which incontinently her Majeſty performed, in revoking thence her Lieutenant, Captaines, and Soudiers: whereas contrariwiſe *Monſieur D'oiſell* their Chiefeaine abode therein ſtill, and the French power daily augmented under the conduct of *Monſieur de Martigues*, and *de-la-Broſſe*, and alſo by another great Commander, whoſe Navy was diſperſed by tempeſt, and whoſe ſtrength his ſhipwracke did teſtifie, in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Norway*, and *Denmarke*, by the loſſe of Armour, Men, and Munition: to let paſſe * *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, then in preparing to invade *England*; and *Lantzknights* likewiſe hired in *Saxony*, and the Land of *Lunnenburge* to aſſiſt the *French* in that enterpriſe, when theſe *Almans* according to their nature loath to take Seas, and deſirous to know whither their ſervice intended, were told, they ſhould no further then *Scotland*; and to the Land adjoyning, which was plentifull of gold, ſilver, and all kind of wealth, and where no *Alman* Souldier had made ſpoile for the ſpace of an hundred yeeres before, and to ſome of them in plaine termes it was told, that they ſhould into *England*; which was likewiſe ſignified unto her Majeſty, both from her neighbour Princes, warning her Highneſſe to take good heed unto Her ſelfe, as alſo by letters intercepted, that declared their intents, whereof ſhee did not onely admoniſh *Monſieur de Seure* then Ambaſſador in *England* for *France*, but alſo by her Ambaſſador to the *French* King, praying him to deſiſt from ſuch attempts ſo prejudiciall to her Highneſſe, and ſo directly againſt the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter, the ſaid *de Seure* made a Proteſtation in Print, the anſwer whereunto is likewiſe printed in Engliſh, French, Italian, and Latine, wherein many appeare the Hiſtory of that time. And ſince Her Majeſty hath had a more manifeſt proofe by men which are yet alive. For when the moſt part of the French power was arrived in *Scotland*, the Queene-Mother *Mouſieur de Oſſell*, and *Mouſieur de Martigues*, called the Scotiſh Lords with their Forces unto *Aimouth*, beſides *Barwicke*; where they declared, that their minde was to invade *England*; and to give to the King and Queene the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh Crown of which they now had the *Titles* and *Armories*. But the Lords of *Scotland* upon conſultation, made anſwer, That they had often attempted to invade *England*, but they never got any good thereby; further affirming, it was againſt the peace newly concluded and ſworne: ſo neere was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of peace at *Edenborough*, wherein the number of French Souldiers were to bee leſſened; the Stile and Armes of *England* left downe, and the treaty of *Caſteau* renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were Commiſſioners, authorized by the French King under his Great Seale: which teaty when it was ſigned with all the Commiſſioners hands, the Queene my Soveraigne for the love of peace, being contented to ſeale and ſweare; the ſaid King *Francis* did refuſe them both, ſith which refuſall Her Majeſty doth, and hath alwayes taken that the right of *Callis*, both propriety and poſſeſſion, was devolued unto her by reaſon of the attempt, and hath demanded it divers times, yet was content to ſtay the time of compoſition; which now being cleerely expired, it muſt needs be hers, and cannot juſtly be denied.

The French charged with hard dealing.

Callis forfeited by Covenant.

Monſieur d' Valoce.

The Romane religion a chiefe cauſe of theſe Warres.

The Scotiſh Lords too wife to be led by the French

The French King refuſeth to ſweare to the peace.

(50) *Why* (ſaid the Queene) *all this while you have ſaid nothing againſt the King my Sonne, why hee ſhould forfeit it: he hath done nothing: and is the bearing of your Armes ſo great a matter with you? you beare the Armes and ſtile of Ours, and ſo doe many beare others Armes alſo.* No Madam, ſaid Sir *Thomas Smith*, the bearing of the Armes is not ſo great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the King your ſonne did not forfeit it, yet the right being once loſt from *France*, and accrewed to the Queene of *England*, how ſhould it goe from her againe? *All this while* (ſaid the Queene Mother) *you ſpeake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his Wives right, and there you muſt aske your amends, and not here; you here what my Sonne ſaith, and every man ſeeth the right is his, your Queene hath forfeited it, and therefore I marvell my good ſiſter will ſtand in it, or ſend to demand it.* This is the anſwer, ſaid Sir *Thomas*, which I ſhall carry to the Queene my Soveraigne. That's *Nay, ſaid the King, I will talke with my Councell, and then ſhall you have a reſolute anſwer.* Then were the Engliſh Ambaſſadors defired to abſent themſelves a while, and within an houre after were ſent for againe.

Queene Mother.

Sir Tho. Smith.

The Scotiſh Lords ſcandalized.

Queene Mother.

Sir Thomas.

King Charles.

(51) The

The cauſe for *Callis* debated before the *French* King & his Councell.

(51) The King ſet in Counſell with the *Queene Mother*, the Dukes of *Anion*, *Alanſon*, *Monpencier*, *Aumale*, and *Nevers*, the *Cardinals of Bourion and Chaſtillon*, the *Biſhops of Orleance and Lymoges*, *Monſieur de Valence & others*, the *ambaſſadors* of *England* were placed in the middeſt: unto whom the *Queene* ſpake and ſaid, *Monſieur L' Ambaſſador, I pray you ſay your minde before the King and his Councell here aſſembled*: which Sir *Thomas Smith* preſently did in the ſame forme as he had done before, adding with all, that this demand was grounded upon the lapſe of the time, by which without all controverſie after eight yeares *Callis* was due to the *Queene* of *England*, and that by right, both the proprietie, and the poſſeſſion thereof was inveſted unto her long age, by the forfeiture made by the attempt in *Scotland*, by the commandement and conſent of *Francis* the ſecond to invade *England*, ſeeing the King did not ratifie the treatie made at *Edenborough*.

Monſieur de *Valence* ſaid the *Queene Mother*, *I pray you anſwer that*, whereupon he ſtanding up ſaid, *my ſelfe was ſent to that treatie of peace, and am glad to heare Monſieur L' Ambaſſador confeſſe that the hearing of the Engliſh Armories was but a ſmall matter, and yet was that the chiefeſt thing imputed by their ſide, as for the men of warre, they were not above five thouſand at the moſt, ſent indeed becauſe of a rebellion (for ſo muſt I terme it in plaine termes) then riſen there. But the Engliſhmen were above fifteene thouſand that came againſt them at Petty-Lith. There was ſent thither alſo the Biſhop of Amiens with the Popes Bulles to reduce them againe to the Religion Romane. And as touching theſe matters I ſpake with your Queene as I came through England, and offered her as much at the firſt as was done in that Treaty, if ſhee would breake the League betwixt her and the Scotiſh Lords, which were Rebels. But ſhee ſaid ſhee could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was ſigned with my hand and others: there ſhould have come into France certaine Scotiſh Lords to have agreed and ſworne to certaine Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was ſore ſicke, and could not attend them, who ſhortly after died and ſo the Treaty was not ratified. And hee being dead, the King that now is, had nothing to doe to ratifie it: for the matters therein touched Scotland, and their Queens doings and titles, which appertained nothing at all unto him.*

Monſieur d' Valoce.

The Conſtable.

Queene Mother.

Monſieur chancellor.

Sir Tho. Smith.

(53) To whom Sir *Thomas* replied and ſaid, I am not ignorant that the Article ſaith, *Armis inovare, attentare aut moliri*, and doe not take *Armis* to ſignifie *Armories*. But the *Armes* that I meant to weigh the moſt, and the attempt with them done was the Armed men, as the good *Captaines* whom I named *D' Oiſel*, *Broſſe*, *Martignes*, and *others*, their *Enſignes* and *Companies*, marry the *Armories* and *Titles* did diſcloſe the intent and meaning. And if there had beene none other but them which the Biſhop brought, and none other munition but the *Popes Bulles*; Queene *Elizabeth* ſhould not have needed to have armed ſo many *ſhips*, nor ſent ſo many *Souldiers* to have let their enterpriſe, nor would ever have complained of it: but it was farre otherwiſe as I have declared. As for the league you ſpeake of with the Rebels of *Scotland*, I thinke there was none, and the event did ſhew what Rebels they were. But this I thinke, they were as weary to have ſo many of you there, as we were as weary to have you ſo neare us. And therein I thinke the Queenes Majeſty and they did agree. And to excuſe the refuſe of the ratification, by the not comming in for the Scotiſh Lords, hath ſmall reaſon to beare it: ſo the Treatie made betwixt the *French King* then, and the *Queene of England*, might have beene ratified notwithſtanding, whatſoever was betwixt him and the *Scotiſh* Lords his Subject: for our fact and peace did not ſtand upon their doings, which *Treaty* becauſe it was not ratified, I ſay, the *Queene my Soveraignes* title to the poſſeſſion of *Callis*, by reaſon of that attempt, ſtandeth whole and entire unto her. But ſir ſaid he (ſpeaking to the *King*) to ſay the truth I have no commiſſions, nor any commandement or authoritie to diſpute or anſwer in theſe matters, but onely to demand *Callis* and the other *Fortreſſes*, and *places* according to the *Treaty*, which is ſo plaine, that to mine opinion, there need be no controverſie. And if there be any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. But becauſe you and the *Queene* have charged mee that I know ſo much of the matter, as I cannot deny ſomewhat I doe, as having beene at the doing of a great deale and the diſpute; Somewhat I muſt, and may ſay for my ſelfe, leſt it ſhould be thought that there were nothing to be ſaid. Marry as I ſaid, as *Commiſſioner* from the *Queene* my *Soveraigne*, I have nothing to ſay, but the demands onely, the matter being plaine and in the right judgement, without controverſie, and alſo that I ſee no perſon here but ſuch as be parties, and no competent perſon to be Iudge of the controverſie. *Whereunto the Conſtable replied and ſaid, Who ſhould be Iudge of that which is the Kings but himſelfe? it is his, and none could take or give it to any other but himſelfe: With that the Queene Mother asked Monſieur Chancelier, Why he did not ſpeake.*

Queene Mother.

(54) Who after ſome pauſe, began a long and well compoſed Oration, the ſum whereof was this: *That the preſent Kings right to Callis was long before any claime could be made thereunto by the Engliſh, which was not much above two hundred yeares, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had beene the inheritance of France none can deny, as being upon the Continent thereof, and not upon any Engliſh ground. King* Edward (*quoth he*) *wee grant won it, and your father (noble King) rewan it to his Crowne. But the Engliſh will ſay they have poſſeſſed and enjoyed it many yeares: Why ſo they did Aquitaine, Caſcoigne, and Guyen, and other dominions beſides, which they claimed by our* Elianor, *the repuduate of the King of Franſe, who was inheritrix unto it: indeed ſome titles they had, yet ſo as they held them of the Crowne of France: for the whole, which is Gallia, appertaineth to you for our King: and ſo doth Callis which is of no great antiquitie that I can reade of: for Countie Bologne was the firſt that did incloſe it, being afore but a Burgard, as the moſt part of the Townes of France then were. At the buſtell of Creſſy, dolorous to us, King* Edward *of England after nine moneths ſiege, by compoſition had it ſurrendred, the poore inhabitants pardoned of life at the great ſuit of his good Queene, elſe had they driven every mothers ſonne, and ſo with white wants in their hands were expelled the towne: To whom the King of France was ſo mercifull, that hee commanded of every thing wacant, they ſhould be the firſt provided for. And I thinke when your Father King* Henry *tooke it, the Engliſh were likewiſe ſo ſerved. Theſe claime two hundred yeares poſſeſſion, the others before them, above five hundred yeares: thus God doth to puniſh, or to eſſay his ſervants. And although the Engliſh claimed Caſcoigne, and Guyen, by ſucceſſion of* Elianor, *although Normandy by one* William: *and Poyctier by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of* Philip *de Bell: yet to Callis they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your Father againe recovered it. But ſome will ſay, by the peace at Bretigny, they have right; I ſay no; for every man knowes what exceptions were taken at that peace: and ſome, that ſo long a poſſeſſion makes a preſcription; I ſay no, for Preſcription is among private men, but among Princes, preſcription cannot ſtand, and yet theirs was not much above two hundred, ours above eight hundred yeares. But to you Monſieur L' Ambaſſadour, I will ſay, that at the peace of Troes in Champaigne, where your ſelfe and Monſieur Throckmorton, both of you moſt able in ſuch affaires and nothing therein done, I doubt not without the Queene and Councels conſent: no one word was ſpoken of Callis, which chiefly was the cauſe of the warre; ſo that all ſtandeth cleare for all which was then talked upon, and is a plaine confeſſion, that they did acquit their right thereunto. This Article I ſay is tranſlativus in the peace of Caſteau in Cambrenſis, and is no more, but ſuch as forgetfulneſſe, or becauſe*

K. Ed. 3 the firſt that won *Callis*.

What *Callis* had beene.

The French Kings compoſition upon the ſurrender of *Callis*.

Among Princes Preſcription on availeth not.

A pretty deviſe to debarre right.

* An Addition to the Hiſtorie of Forreſt Treatie written by Sir *Thomas Smith*

An. Dom. 1567. *Calls* demanded of the French King. *April* 28. 1567.

after a grievous distasture of oppression and warres, in which let us a while leave them, and returne to the affaires of *England*.

(47) The time now expired for retention of *Callis* so fore thirsted after, and so thirstingly kept; *Queene Elizabeth* presently sent unto *Charles* the *French* King, to demand the delivery according to covenants. Hee set in estate, accompanied with the Queene mother and others, the *English* Ambassadors had audience, and the Title controverfed among them as followeth. The *Queenes* Letters read, and attendance given what would more be said: Sir *Thomas Smith* (for he was the man) demanded in Her Majesties name, the Towne of *Callis*, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Castle, and Towne of *Guize*, and generally all such Castles, Townes, and places as had beene taken by his Father *Henry*, the late *French* King in his last warres, from *Mary* late Queene of *England*, her Majesties sister: which in a Treaty of peace made at *Casteau* in *Cambrensis* the yeere of Christ 1559. was agreed upon, that his Soveraigne, *Queene Elizabeth*, should permit the said *French* King and his successors to possesse, and peaceably to enjoy the said Townes, Castles, and places, the space of eight yeeres, and those expired, the said King *Henry* covenanted for himselfe and successors, to deliver the same intirely unto the *English*, which being compleat and ended, the second of that present moneth *Aprill*, himselfe with Sir *Henry Norris* her Majesties Ambassadors, upon the third day of the same moneth, demanded in her name the possession thereof accordingly, but could not attaine, or get speech, either with Lieutenant, or Governour. Whereupon they were inforced to make repaire to his Majesty, whom hee doubted not but would accomplish the performance, and likewise keepe perpetuall amity with his Soveraigne Lady and Mistresse.

The Townes Governours whould not be spoken with.

(48) King *Charles* but young, and altogether governed by the Queene mother, having well learned his lesson, made present answer, *That Callis was his, and that none had right thereunto but himselfe*, neither should any deliver it to any other, *and that the Treaty*, named by the *English* Ambassador, *did wholly give it him*. Whereunto Sir *Thomas* replyed, That neither Her Majesty, nor Counsell did so take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being so plaine, and manifest. *Why, Master Smith, quoth the Queene-mother, I marvell the Queene your Mistresse would now send for such a purpose, and especially you, who knoweth none better, how all things passed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Callis, and all her rights in those places divers wayes. As first by invading the Kings Subjects in Scotland, then most manifestly at New-haven, where the King, my Sonne was faine with an whole Army to recover it; and in the said Treaty was an Article as hath been disputed, that if the Queene of England should invade any part of my Sonnes Dominions, shee should forth-with lose her right in Callis.*

King *Charles* speech to the Ambassadors.

Objections against the Queene of *England*.

(49) Madam, said Sir *Thomas*: King *Henry* and his successors were bound to lose *Callis*, if they invaded *England*, and yet did King *Francis*, brother to the King here, doe it by the way of *Scotland*, as is most manifest, after the said Treaty at *Casteau*, not onely in assuming the *Armes and Title of England and Ireland*, but contrary to the Articles of Peace, which concluded that both *English* and *French* should depart *Scotland*: which incontinently her Majesty performed, in revoking thence her Lieutenant, Captaines, and Souldiers: whereas contrariwise *Monsieur D'oisell* their Chiefe raine abode therein still, and the French power daily augmented under the conduct of *Monsieur de Martigues*, and *de-la-Brosse*, and also by another great Commander, whose Navy was dispersed by tempest, and whose strength his shipwracke did testifie, in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Norway*, and *Denmarke*, by the losse of Armour, Men, and Munition: to let passe * *Britaigne* and *Normandy*, then in preparing to invade *England*; and *Lantzknights* likewise hired in *Saxony*, and the Land of *Lunnenburge* to assist the *French* in that enterprise, when these *Almans* according to their nature loath to take Seas, and desirous to know whither their service intended, were told, they should no further then *Scotland*, and to the Land adjoyning, which was plentifull of gold, silver, and all kind of wealth, and where no *Alman* Souldier had made spoile for the space of an hundred yeeres before, and to some of them in plaine termes it was told, that they should into *England*; which was likewise signified unto her Majesty, both from her neighbour Princes, warning her Highnesse to take good heed unto Her selfe, as also by letters intercepted, that declared their intents, whereof shee did not onely admonish *Monsieur de Seure* then Ambassador in *England* for *France*; but also by her Ambassador to the *French* King, praying him to desist from such attempts so prejudiciall to her Highnesse, and so directly against the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter, the said *de Seure* made a Protestation in Print, the answer whereunto is likewise printed in English, French, Italian, and Latine, wherein many appeare the Hiftory of that time. And since Her Majesty hath had a more manifest proofe by men which are yet alive. For when the most part of the French power was arrived in *Scotland*, the Queene-Mother *Monsieur de Oisell*, and *Monsieur de Martigues*, called the Scotish Lords with their Forces unto *Aimouth*, besides *Barwicke*; where they declared, that their minde was to invade *England*; and to give to the King and Queene the possession of the English Crown of which they now had the *Titles* and *Armories*. But the Lords of *Scotland* upon consultation, made answer, That they had often attempred to invade *England*, but they never got any good thereby; further affirming, it was against the peace newly concluded and sworne: so neere was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of peace at *Edenborough*, wherein the number of French Souldiers were to bee lessened; the Stile and Armes of *England* left downe, and the treaty of *Casteau* renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were Commissioners, authorized by the French King under his Great Seale: which teaty when it was signed with all the Commissioners hands, the Queene my Soveraigne for the love of peace, being contented to seale and sweare; the said King *Francis* did refuse them both, sith which refusall Her Majesty doth, and hath alwayes taken that the right of *Callis*, both propriety and possession, was devolued unto her by reason of the attempt, and hath demanded it divers times, yet was content to stay the time of compositions; which now being clearely expired, it must needs be hers, and cannot justly be denied.

Answers to the Present objections.

* An Addition to the Treaty of a Peace by Sir *Thomas Smith*

The French charged with hard dealing.

Callis forfeited by Covenant.

Monsieur d' Valence.

The Romane religion a chiefe cause of these stirres.

The Scotish Lords too wise to be led by the French.

The French King refuseth sweare to the peace.

(50) *Why* (said the Queene) *all this while you have said nothing against the King my Sonne, why hee should forfeit it: he hath done nothing: and is the bearing of your Armes so great a matter with you? you beare the Armes and stile of Ours, and so doemany beare others Armes also.* No Madam, said Sir *Thomas Smith*, the bearing of the Armes is not so great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the King your sonne did not forfeit it, yet the right being once lost from *France*, and accrewed to the Queene of *England*, how should it goe from her again? *All this while* (said the Queene Mother) *you speake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his Wives right, and there you must aske your amends, and not here; you here what my Sonne saith, and every man seeth the right is his, your Queene hath forfeited it, and therefore I marvell my good sister will stand in it, or send to demand it.* This is the answer, said Sir *Thomas*, which I shall carry to the Queene my Soveraigne. That? *Nay, said the King, I will talke with my Councell, and then shall you have a resolute answer.* Then were the English Ambassadors desired to absent themselves a while, and within an houre after were sent for againe.

Queene Mother.

Sir Tho. Smith.

The Scotish Lords scandalized.

Queene Mother.

Sir Thomas. King Charles.

(51) The

The cause for *Callis* debated before the *French* King & his Councell.

(51) The King set in Counsell with the *Queene Mother*, the Dukes of *Anion*, *Alanson*, *Monpencier*, *Aumale*, and *Nevers*, the *Cardinals of Bourton* and *Chastillon*, the *Bishops of Orleance* and *Lymoges*, *Monsieur de Valence & others*, the ambassadors of *England* were placed in the middest: unto whom the *Queene* spake and said, *Monsieur L' Ambassador, I pray you say your minde before the King and his Councell here assembled:* which Sir *Thomas Smith* presently did in the same forme as he had done before, adding with all, that this demand was grounded upon the lapse of the time, by which without all controversie after eight yeares *Callis* was due to the *Queene* of *England*, and that by right, both the proprietie, and the possession thereof was invested unto her long age, by the forfeiture made by the attempt in *Scotland*, by the commandement and consent of *Francis* the second to invade *England*, seeing the King did not ratifie the treatie made at *Edenborough*.

Monsieur d' Valence said the *Queene Mother, I pray you answer that, whereupon he standing up said, my selfe was sent to that treatie of peace, and am glad to heare Monsieur L' Ambassador confesse that the bearing of the English Armories was but a small matter, and yet was that the chiefest thing imputed by their side, as for the men of warre, they were not above five thousand at the most, sent indeed because of a rebellion (for so must I terme it in plaine termes) then risen there. But the Englishmen were above fifteene thousand that came against them at Petty-Linh. There was sent thither also the Bishop of Amiens with the Popes Bulles to reduce them againe to the Religion Romane. And as touching these matters I spake with your Queene as I came through England, and offered her as much at the first as was done in that Treaty, if shee would breake the League betwixt her and the Scotish Lords, which were Rebels. But shee said shee could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was signed with my hand and others: there should have come into France certaine Scotish Lords to have agreed and sworne to certaine Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was fore sicke, and could not attend them, who shortly after died and so the Treaty was not ratified. And he being dead, the King that now is, had nothing to doe to ratifie it: for the matters therein touched Scotland, and their Queens doings and titles, which appertained nothing at all unto him.*

Sir Tho. Smith:

(53) To whom Sir *Thomas* replied and said, I am not ignorant that the Article saith, *Armis innovare, attentare aut moliri*, and doe not take *Armis* to signifie *Armories*. But the *Armes* that I meant to weigh the most, and the attempt with them done was the Armed men, as the good *Captaines* whom I named *D' Oisel*, *Brosse*, *Martignes*, and *others*, their *Enfignes* and *Companies*, marry the *Armories* and *Titles* did disclose the intent and meaning. And if there had beene none other but them which the Bishop brought, and none other munition but the *Popes Bulles*; Queene *Elizabeth* should not have needed to have armed so many *Ships*, nor sent so many *Souldiers* to have let their enterprise, nor would ever have complained of it: but it was farre otherwise as I have declared. As for the league you speake of with the Rebels of *Scotland*, I thinke there was none, and the event did shew what Rebels they were. But this I thinke, they were as weary to have so many of you there, as we were as weary to have you so neare us. And therein I thinke the Queenes Majesty and they did agree. And to excuse the refuse of the ratification, by the not comming in for the Scotish Lords, hath small reason to beare it: so the Treatie made betwixt the *French King* then, and the *Queene of England*, might have beene ratified notwithstanding, whatsoever was betwixt him and the *Scotish* Lords his Subject: for our fact and peace did not stand upon their doings, which *Treaty* because it was not ratified, I say, the *Queene my Soveraignes* title to the possession of *Callis*, by reason of that attempt, standeth whole and entire unto her. But sir faid he (speaking to the *King*) to say the truth I have no commissions, nor any commandement or authoritie to dispute or answer in these matters, but onely to demand *Callis* and the other *Fortresses*, and *places* according to the *Treaty*, which is so plaine, that to mine opinion, there need be no controversie. And if there be any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. But because you and the *Queene* have charged mee that I know so much of the matter, as I cannot deny somewhat I doe, as having beene at the doing of a great deale and the dispute; Somewhat I must, and may say for my selfe, lest it should be thought that there were nothing to be said. Marry as I said, as *Commissioner* from the *Queene* my *Soveraigne*, I have nothing to say, but the demands onely, the matter being plaine and in the right judgement, without controversie, and also that I see no person here but such as be parties, and no competent person to be Iudge of the controversie. *Whereunto the Constable replied and said, Who should be Iudge of that which is the Kings but himselfe? it is his, and none that the Queene Mother asked Monsieur Chancelier, Why he did not speake.*

No Commission to argue the title but to demand *Callis*.

The Constable.

Queene Mother.

Monsieur Chancellor.

(54) Who after some pause, began a long and well composed Oration, the sum whereof was this: *That the present Kings right to Callis was long before any claime could be made thereunto by the English, which was not much above two hundred yeares, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had beene the inheritance of France none can deny, as beeing upon the Continent thereof, and not upon any English ground. King* Edward (*quoth he*) *wee grant wan it, and your father (noble King) rewan it to his Crowne. But the English will say they have possessed and enjoyed it many yeares: Why so they did Aquitaine, Gascoigne, and Guyen, and other dominions besides, which they claimed by our* Elianor, *the repudiate of the King of France, who was inheritrix unto it: indeed some titles they had, yet so as they held them of the Crowne of France: for the whole, which is Gallia, appertaineth to you sir our King: and so doth Callis which is of no great antiquitie that I can reade of: for Countie Bologne was the first that did include it, being afore but a Burgard, as the most part of the Townes of France then were. At the battell of Cressy, dolorous to us, King* Edward *of England after nine moneths siege, by composition had it surrendred, the poore inhabitants pardoned of life as the great suit of his good Queene, else had they died every mothers sonne, and so with white wands in their hands were expelled the towne: To whom the King of France was so mercifull, that hee commanded of every thing vacant, they should be the first provided for. And I thinke when your Father King* Henry *tooke it, the English were likewise so served. These claime two hundred yeares possession, the others before them, above five hundred yeares: thus God doth to punish, or to essay his servants. And although the English claimed Gascoigne, and Guyen, by succession of* Elianor, *although Normandy by one* William: *and Poytier by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of* Philip *de Bell: yet to Callis they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your Father againe recovered it. But some will say, by the peace at Bretigny, they have right; I say no; for every man knowes what exceptions were taken at that peace: and some, that so long a possession makes a prescription; I say so, for Prescription is among private men, but among Princes, prescription cannot stand, and yet theirs was not much above two hundred, ours above eight hundred yeares. But to you Monsieur L' Ambassadour, I will say, that at the peace of Troes in Champaigne, where your selfe and Monsieur Throckmorton, both of you most able in such affaires and nothing therein done, I doubt not without the Queene and Councels consent: no one word was spoken of Callis, which chiefly was the cause of the warre; so that all standeth cleare for all which was then talked upon, and is a plaine confession, that they did acquit their right thereunto. This Article I say is* transitivus *in the peace of Casteau in Cambrensis, and is no more, but such as forgetfulnesse, or*

The Constable.

Queene Mother.

K. Ed. 3 the first that won *Callis*.

What *Callis* had beene.

The French Kings compassion upon the youthfull of *Callis*.

Among Princes Prescription availeth not.

A greate deffence to debarre right.

because all small things cannot bee mentioned in conference. But Callis was the chiefe point, which being omitted, I say by meaning it was acquitted. But now to your reasons Monsieur L'ambassador; the Article for the losse of Callis at that treatie was forced in by you the English, who of all nations bee the most wary, and circumspect in making their peaces. Whereupon the Queene of England, layeth to us a suspition, a jealousie, a conjecture, a guesse, that a King of France would have invaded England. But every suspition must not make a breache: for so whensoever any Prince should Arme his men upon just occasion, his neighbours might say it was against him. And so doe you English lay guesses against the late King Francis the second. But the Queene of England with open face invaded the Kings Realme, with a goodly pretence to keepe the townes to the Kings use, yet when all was reduced into their due obedience, shee would keepe the towne of Newhaven as a pledge for Callis, by which deed shee hath lost all her right in Callis, God indeed hath made a naturall separation betwixt you and us, a sure wall of defence, Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos: So that naturally you ought to have nothing but peace and amitie with ours. But doe not thinke Monsieur L' Ambassador that I say this as fearing what you can doe, for there was never any King of France since Charlemaigne *so great as the King is now, had so many men of warre, so ready, and so good Souldiers: and yet his Highnesse doth desire the amitie of the Queene of England, and the love of that nation: of which there is the more hope if all these prestences and demands were cancelled, and Callis forgotten, which hath beene the continuall picke-quarrell betwixt these two Realmes. You never read Monsieur Smith, that the French ever invaded England, I speake it not to your dispraise which are English, but to your praise; yet this I thinke, had there not beene so easie a descent, so convenient a place, and so ready, for you to make warre here, yeewould not (as I suppose) have come hither so often and troubled our Country, nor the amitie betwixt you and us; And I dare boldly affirme and gage any thing, that the Queene of England shall gaine more by continuall peace with us, then shee shall due by Callis, and therefore your Queene must leave off these demands, and quarrels, and come to a perfect peace with us, which shall be more profitable for both the Realmes: and this I dare assure you, here is no Councellor among us that dare once open his mouth to render you Callis, for my part, I will not be one to move or assent thereunto. Nor I, said the Constable, and so all the rest.*

The French haue rather made faults then lee faults.

A faire shew to feare the English.

Callis a continuall pick-quarrell.

The Constable.

(55) Then quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, *Monsieur Chancelier*, mee thinkes you fetch your Title very farre to have *Callis*, and howsoever the possession, was come by, by and by the right is his in possession, then by your reason all our disputation is in vaine, and it maketh no matter, *bonâne an mala fide possideat*, the *King* once in possession, as a thing returning to his primer estate *postliminio* or gotten of the enemy, yee admit no contract, or latter treatie, so as it doth appeare, yee upon that which was thought of some men, and alwaies spoken, that what promise soever was made, the *French* would never render *Callis* againe to the *English*, but keepe it still, *per jus, nefasque*: this reasoning passeth all answer, for whatsoever the *Queene of England* had done *quàm Sanctè*, how ever she had kept her treaty of this eight yeares, though ye could object nothing against her, yet shee should never have had *Callis* restored; to this kinde of reasoning and to that, that no man dare moove the King to render it being due, I cannot answer; but to this that toucheth my fact in the making of the Peace in *Champaigne*, where I must confesse, and am not ashamed, that was a Minister, I doe not yet acknowledge that either I am worthy to bee accounted so wise as you would make mee, nor our Nations always so circumspect in making Treatises with you your owne Writers averring otherwise, and give you the praise therein against us. But for the point wherein you touch us, that the peace at *Troes* should bee *novatio contractus*, and wee should thereby acquit our right of *Callis*, it is *Antistrophon*, and turneth a great deale better upon you. For if because our talke was of our right to *Callis*, by reason of the attempt in *Scotland*, you of the forfeiture of it by reason of the descent to *Newhaven*, neither condiscending to other, and not concluding thereupon, we did agree upon that *Peace*. And if that *Peace*, doth make *novationem*, then the forfeiture of our right by keeping *Newhaven*, which you impute to us, is wiped away, novated and cleansed by this *Peace*, and our right which was not yet in *esse*, & *cujus dies nondum venit*, remaineth still. So as it toucheth you rather then us, and by this meanes have you nothing to say against us, but we still our right against you. But the truth is, as *Monsieur Le Connestable* here can tell, who was partly the occasion that we came to it; for when this was contended, that *Callis* was already due unto us, you, that we had forfeited it, so that we could enter into no other Article of peace, why said you; have not wee the wit to make a peace, and make no mention of *Callis*? neither to speake of it one way, nor other: your times not yet come to aske it, let us live in peace in the meane while, and each *Prince* have right such as it is, reserved; whereupon you *Monsieur le Ambespine* vvere one of the first that came with us, and you know what passed.

Sir Tho. Smith.

The French cause that Callis was not mentioned in the peace.

(56) *Tea (saith he) but we would never grant that it should be put in, that you should have Callis:* you say true (said Sir *Thomas*) nor wee that the *Queenes Majesty* should acquit it, nor the hostages neither. But in the end when it came to the Conclusion, as the Bishop of *Orleans*, and *Monsieur Bourdin* can tell, it was agreed, that expreslly the right be reserved, aswell to that, as to any other thing, not expressely there mentioned: *Omnes alia petitiones & demand & familiter exceptiones, & defensiones* as appareth by the Treaty. And as touching *Newhaven, Monsieur Chancelier*, note in it two things. The one the first entry, the other, the keeping after the peace agreed upon amongst your selves. As for the first entry, I deny that our men of warre made any invasion or came by force. But being requested and desired aide of a great number of Noblemen, and other who were in perill and danger. And whether did they like invaders (I aske for all the time that they were not assailed) spoile any, or robbe any; no, they tooke not an henne or an egge, but they paid for it: I, if any complaine I offer to pay it: This is no invasion, nor no hostilitie: but the act of a friend, and at their requests and pursuits, whose doings sir, aswell for matter of *Armes*, as for other things done in that tumult, you have declared by *Edict* to have beene done *à bon fin et pour vostre service*, which may truly be said, for by their meanes and defence, a great number of your good Subjects aswell men as women, aswell *Captaines* as *Souldiers* of whom *Monsieur le Chancelier* did now boast, as of other not Souldiers, are saved now to doe you service, which else should have beene a prey and spoile to them which sought but the ruine of halfe, or third part at the least of your Realme. For the conservation of whom, yee in part may thanke the *Queene* my *Mistresse*. And this for the first descent of our men. Now where *Monsieur Chancellier* saith, that the *Queene* my Mistresse changed her pretence, I still doe say shee kept her first protestation. That shee would appropriate no *Land Towne*, nor *Fortresse* of the *Kings* to her, nor shee did never claime *Newhaven* as hers, but comming peaceably into it, having beene at great charge and cost, it was both wildome and reason all other being satisfied and content, shee should at the least have some reason offered her in her right to *Callis*. And otherwise she did not hold *Newhaven*, which thing was manifestly declared at *Gallion*, where *Articles* were drawne not unreasonable, and the matter so farre forward, that they were signed with my hand, and tarried but for power and Commission to affirme them. But the mortalitie and pestilence growing so great in *Newhaven*

The conditions referred.

No hostilitie attempt in entring Newhaven.

The benefit accruing unto the French by the side of the English.

Pellig. comin.

Newhaven, gave too much advantage, which was taken; and the reasonable dealings in this matter broke off; other meaning her Majesty had none.

(57) *No said the Constable, what meant such preparation, and provision? I cannot skill of things; but in that Art wherein I have beene brought up and exercised all my life, I can skill a little. There was such a number of Horse harnesse for the Cart: such a number of Artillery, such provisions of Gammons of Bacon, Cheese and other things, and above five thousand men, that I am sure went out of it, besides all those that were dead; can you make mee beleeve that all this was for Newhaven alone? No Monsieur (said hee) I know what belongeth to a Towne of Warre. Tea, said another, and the Ships also that came. Nay said the Constable they came to late. Why, said the Queene-mother smiling, will you make us beleeve that all that preparation was for Newhaven alone?*

The King of Scotland barbarously murthered.

The Queene of Scotland oppressed by her owne Subjects.

(58) Wilsedome would, Madam, quoth Sir *Thomas Smith*, because the sea and winde doe not serve at all times, that there should be good store for all manner of provision. *No, no, (said she) there was a further meaning, but as you have quitted Newhaven, so must you quit Callis, and let us be friends; never talke more of these demands, nor of the sums of money for which he had Hostages. All is gone from you quite. Your Queene in comming to Newhaven, hath quitted all. Shee must forget that matter cleane, and let us be friends still. The King my sonne doth offer as much friendship as need to bee, but as for Callis, ye must never speake of it.* It is hard, Madam, said Sir *Thomas Smith*, for a man to forget his right, or not to remember a wrong offered. *Nay; no wrong said she; you have heard what Monsieur Le Chancellier hath said, and what all these of my sonnes Counsell doe say.* Madam (quoth hee) it is for the most part seene that men be partiall in their owne causes, I doe assure you, that the Queene my Soveraigne doth thinke that shee hath as good right to *Callis* as to any Towne in *England*: and so doe all her Counsell: and whatsoever yee have heard, I am able to say for her right even out of hand, but they a great deale more. But Sir, quoth Sir *Thomas*, is this finall answer I shall have? *Tea said the King*, That yee will not render *Callis* unto her *Majesty* according to the Treaty, nor pay the five hundred thousand Crownes which is for the peine.

Queene Mary of Scotland arriues in England.

Queene Elizabeth hollisteth the Scots in her behalfe. Buchan. lib. 19.

(59) *No, said the King, I will keepe them both according to the Treaty*: well then said Sir *Thomas* I have no more to say, but to bring this report to Her Majesty, which I shall bee sorry to doe: and thereupon himselfe, and Sir *Henry Norris*, rose up to depart, doing their obeisance. *But you take not your leave, Monsieur L'ambassadors for altogether said the Queene.* Yes forsooth said Sir *Thomas. Doe you intend to come no more at court?* No Madam, except the *Kings Majesty* doe command me. But I am sorry to carry this answer so precise; and that there is so little regard of the *Queene* my *Soveraignes* right. *No right said the Queene for if there were any, the King my sonne would be loth to offer her any wrong: yee have heard all the reasons, I marvell that you will take upon you, you that are learned to defend so unjust a cause.* Ah Madam (said hee) I see well, it is true on your part, that men bee blinde in their owne causes and advantages. *Surely (quoth shee) the Queene (my good sister) shall have more advantage thus as it is, then to demand Callis. And I pray you persuade her.* I Madam, against her right? *You must not say so, I pray you commend me heartily to the Queene, my good sister, and desire her to keepe the amity and love which is betwixt her and my sonne, and I shall bee ready to doe her what service or pleasure I can, quoth the Queene: and so said the King.* Thus this conference ended, and *Callis* kept still by the *French*.

The Popes ill-flumments reuiuified discontents in the *English* towards their Soveraigne.

The Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland* in Rebellion.

(60) Now as these distastures fell betwixt *England* and *France*, and these broken Covenants ministred occasions to set each against others: So at the same time, the affaires of *Scotland* was carried with so violent a motion as set the Lords at dissentions, and the land in civill sedition, so as not onely outrages were committed upon the best Subjects, but even upon the vertuous King and Queene themselves, him they shamefully murthered in a most barbarous manner, and her they tooke prisoner, forced her to resigne government, and lastly to flye into forraine parts for succour. But knowing that this Subject is to be writ with a farre more noble pen, and our extant relations from uncertainety and suspected reports, we will surcease to intermeddle in the particulars of that Queenes affaires, excepting onely in such etercourses of State, as are woven in ours, and cannot otherwise be avoyded without maime of History; this onely in generall.

Mortoun a Papisticall Priest advanceth the Rebellion with Papall Bulles.

An. Dom. 1569. The Earle of *Northumberland* sent for to the Court, disobeyeth him selfe.

(61) *Mary* Queene of *Scotland* having imbarked her selfe for *France*, where shee well hoped to finde many friends: by contrary windes (accompanyed with sixteene pertsons) landed at *Workinton* in *Cumberland*, and from thence was conveyed to *Carlile*, to *Bolton* Castle, and lastly to the custody of the Earle of *Shrewsbury*. Whose troubles and misfortune, Q. *Elizabeth* both pittied and sought to redresse, writing in her behalfe unto the Regent of *Scotland*, and blaming the Lords of the many wrongs done to their *Queene*, which indeed were intollerable to royall authority, and such, as other Princes could not but seeke to redresse, and revenge; notwithstanding such was the distasture of those distempered Lords; or the frownes of those fatall times, that in *England* shee remained ever after during her life.

Nove. 14.

(62) As the jelousies grew great betwixt these two great Queenes *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, by the working instruments of the *Pope*, and forraine Princes; so by the like meanes, were the like discontenes bred and nourished in some of the greatest *English* Peeres towards their Soveraigne, whose *Peace*, under pretext of Religion, they irreligiously disturbed. Among these, the first in ranke, time and disloyalty, were the two Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, who with *Leonard Dacres*, *Nevil*, *Norton Tempest*, *Danby*, and others, purposed on the sudden to have surprized the Earle of *Suffex*, the Queenes Lieutenant of the North in his house at *Cawood*; but therein prevented, they were enforced to keepe secret their intents, till some fit occasion should chance to bee ministred. They had in readinesse against the rising certaine *English* Priests, *Morton* and others, with *Bulles* and instruments of absolution, reconciliation, and taking of Oathes to the Pope and his doctrine, which was not so secretly done, but that *Queene Elizabeths* vigilant Counsellors had an inkling thereof.

(63) *Thomas Piercy*; (so was *Northumberlands* Earle named) lying at his Castle of *Topcliffe* in *Yorkeshire*, had gone so farre in his intended purposes, as hee could not returne; who being sent for unto the Court, strucke great amazement and sudden feare into the other conspirators hearts: and his owne guilty minde was much more distracted, upon notice that some forces were approching for his apprehension; whereupon all affrighted, he rose from his bed, and caused the Bels to bee rung in a most confused manner, so that the Townesmen raised, all sought to defend and follow him their chiefe Lord.

(64) The nest thus broken before the birds could well flye, he departed to *Branspeth*, where hee met with *Charles Nevill* Earle of *Westmorland*, and his following consorts; who joyning in Councell, made no conscience to undoe many true subjects, and innocent men: For abusing the *Queenes* name in their Proclamations and Commissions, they commanded the Countrey to follow them in Armes; sometimes pretending the safety of Her Majesties person in danger (they said) by Treasons in worshoring their former Religion, which if themselves should neglect, other forraigne Princes (said they) would doe, to the no little perill of the Realme.

The pretences of the Rebels.

(65) In this zeale they hasted to *Durham*, with as forward an intent as *Ieroboam* did to *Bethel*, to set up

2 King. 12. 33.

The outrages of those rebels. Ier. 36.

up his *golden Calves*, where they rent and tare the Bible, in as great a contempt, as *Ioachim* did the rowle that *Ieremy* wrote: at *Darington* they besprinkled their host with holy water, for feare of spirits, and at *Rippon* heard Masse, to forward their Treason, with the assistance of that Propitiatory Sacrifice. Whence, with Banners displayed, they entred *Borow-brigge*, old *Norton* being their *Ancient*, whose Ensigne was the Crosse, and five wounds of our Lord.

The strength of the Popish Rebels.

(66) From thence they went to *Tadcaster*, *Wetherby*, and *Bramham Moore*, where they mustered sixteene hundred Horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, intending therewith to march unto *Yorke*. But their minds altering, they fell upon *Barnards* Castle, which after eleven dayes resistance, was yeelded unto them: which fortunate entrance did so animate their rebellious conceits, as that in their letters sent to their favourers, they daigned their Soveraigne no better stile, then *Elizabeth the late Queene*, *pretended Queene*, and *no Queene* indeed: as likewise did the Countesse of *Northumberland* in her Letter sent unto *Stuckley*, and * others of the faction, in farre worse termes.

The Rebels faincinelie towards their Soveraigne. M. S. of Parliament. * The Duchesse of *Feraras*, &c. They are proclaimed Traitors.

(67) These things divulged, and their rebellions still going on, *Proclamations* came forth denouncing them *Traitors to their Queene, and Countrey*; and the Lord *Scroope* Warden of the *West-Marches*, with the assistance of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and other Gentlemen of the Countrey, kept the Castle of *Carlile*, while Sir *Iohn Foster* Warden of the *Middle-Marches*, accompanyed with Sir *Henry Piercy*, exercised their manly resistance against these proud Rebels.

The Earle of *Sussex* leades against the Rebels.

(68) To withstand their still-growing outrage, *Thomas* Earle of *Sussex* (her Majesties *Lieutenant Generall* of the North) gathered some forces; whose Lieutenant for the footmen was *Edward* Earle of *Rutland*: and for the Horsemen, was *Henry* Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Warden of the *East-Marches* *William* Lord *Eure* leading the rereward. These followed the enemy to *North-Allerton*, *Croftbridge*, *Alke*, *Durham*, *Newcastle* and *Hexam*, even close at their heeles; whose power was so weake, and purse so empty, (being defrauded of an hundred thousand Crownes, promised them by the Pope to maintaine the Rebellion) as that those Rebellious heads entred conference with *Edward Dacres* at *Naworth*, of their desperate estate, being both monielesse and powerlesse to withstand the puissance of the Lord Generall, now on their backes, as also the Earles of *Warwicke*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Ferrers*, *Willowby*, and *Howard*, approaching very neere them, even at *Borow-brigges*. No other succour their consultations could pitch on, then by flight into *Scotland*, unto those Lords that there stood out for the Romish.

His Holinesse promiseth treasure to advance the Rebellion.

The Rebels desperate estate.

The chiefe Rebell flie into Scotland.

(69) So the night following they put it in practise, not bidding their intrapped traine once farewell, which as sheepe without a Shepheard, stood gazing at their owne destructions, whilest *Sussex* surprized them without any resistance. Vpon whose ringleaders, Iustice so seized, that at *Durham* dyed, by Marshall Law, an *Alderman*, a *Priest*, and sixty sixe *Constables*, and in the Country for a great Circuit, a great number of such as were forwardest in the Action.

The remaining ringleaders executed.

(70) Not warned by these successes (which usually prove unhappy, in such disloyall attempts) *Leonard Dacres* of *Harlesey* began to gather head against; whose ayders were the more resolute, in revenge of their friends executed; and women also became stout Souldiers in quarrell of their husbands, all forward enough, and too forward to mischiefe. These upon a More neere unto *Naworth*, to impeach the *Lord Hunsdon* that made thitherward; had set downe their battell in a triangle forme, where they continued a long and most desperate conflict, but in the end were forced to give backe, and *Dacres* to flye from his slaine, wounded, and scattered people, towards *Scotland*, the then-Refuge of Traiterous transfugers.

Leonard Dacres renaueth the Rebellion.

An. Dom. 1570. Febr. 22. The Rebels enterbite themselves.

(71) *Scotland* thus harbouring those disloyall *English*, and their owne Lords divided into severall factions, some of them sought to conceale, and some to apprehend these guilty Earles; so that *Westmorland*, was shifted away into *Flanders*, but *Northumberland*, taken by the *Regent*, and committed to Custody, was afterwards sent into *England*, where having beene attainted by Parliament, upon the twenty two of *August* was beheaded at *Yorke*: using liberty of speeches, in avowing the *Popes* Supremacy, denying subjection unto his Soveraigne *Queene*, affirming the Realme to bee in a *Schisme*, and other obedient Subjects, no better then *Hereticks*. *Charles Westmorland* his consort, a person utterly wasted by looseneese of life, even by Gods just judgement, in the time of his rebellion, was bereaved of children, and afterwards wandring in forraigne parts, had his body eaten with ulcers of lewd causes, as is most constantly reported. But from these temporall proceedings (being the Domestick effects of a forraigne cause) let us a while behold the spirituall flourish of the Popes leaden sword, unsheathed at *Rome*, to enspirit and enflame such traiterous dispositions against *Englands Queene*.

Northumberland sent into England and beheaded. *Tho. Randol.* An. Dom. 1570.

Execution of Iustice, &c.

Westmorlands end.

(72) *Nicholas Morton* an Englishman, made Bishop by *Pius Quintus*, that Pontificall and surly Pope of *Rome*, who now having turned the Key of his Consistory, and set wide open the dores unto the complaints of his Clergy, against those Christian Princes that urged subjection to their positive Lawes (a Note indeed ill founding in the eares of his sons) amongst others, this puppet Bishop, commenced a feined suite and plea against *Queene Elizabeth*, whom thereupon *Pius* (like a *transcendent Iudge*) deprived from all Princely authority, as one uncapable either of Crowne, or Government, and with the curse of his impious mouth, sent forth his *Bull* to goare her *Majesty*, like to those of *Bashan*, that encompassed *David*, the tenour whereof (if the words corrupt not the ayre, and the inke the eyes of the beholders) shall stand for ever as a *Pillar of Salt*, and Monument of shame to that *man of sinne*; the transcript whereof, taken from the originall it selfe, is as followeth.

The Popes instruments and endeavours to ruinate Queen Elizabeth.

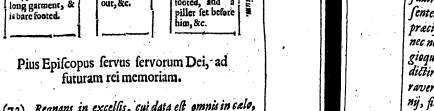
Stowton commenceth suit against Q. Elizabeth before Pope Pius Quintus.

Pii Papæ 5. Pontificis Maximi Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabetham, prætensam Angliæ Reginam, & ei adhærentes Hæreticos.

Psal. 22. 12.

Quà etiam declarantur absoluti omnes subditi à iuramento fidelitatis, & quocunque alio debito, & deinceps obedientes Anathemate illaqueantur.

The Bull of *Pius Quintus* to dethrone Queene Elizabeth.



Pius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

(73) *Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cælo, & in terra potestas, unam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet, Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano Pontifici, in Potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes & omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, dissipendat, plantet, & ædificet, ut fidelem populum mutua charitatis nexu confrictum, in unitate spiritus contineat, salumq; & incolumem suo exhibeat Salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos ad prædictæ Ecclesiæ gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus*

intermittimus, omnia operâ contendentes, ut ipsa unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author, ad probandam fuorum fidem & correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictari permisit) integra conserveretur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit, ut nullus jam in orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessima doctrina corrumpere non tentarint, admiscendo (inter cæteros) flagitiorum Servâ Elizabetha, pretensâ Angliæ Reginâ, ad quam veluti ad Asylum omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Hæc eadem, Regno occupato, Supremi Ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusque præcipuam authoritatem atque jurisdictionem monstruose sibi usurpans, Regnum ipsum, jam tunc ad fidem Catholicam, & bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit. Vsa namq; vera Religionis, quam ab illius defertore Henrico octavo olim eversam, claræ memoriæ Maria Regina legitima hujus sedis præsidio reparaverat, potentâ manu inhibito, secutisq; & amplexis hæreticorum erroribus, Regium Concilium ex Anglicâ Nobilitate confectum diremit, illudq; obscuris hominibus hæreticis complevit, Catholicæ plebi cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores adsq; impietatum administros reposuit. Missæq; sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, celibatum, ritusq; Catholicos abolevit. Libros manifestam hæresim continentes to Regno proponi, impia mysteria & instituta ad Calvini præscriptum à se suscepta & observata, etiam à subditis servari mandavit. Episcopos Ecclesiarum, Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesijs & Beneficijs ejecere, ac deillis & aliis rebus Ecclesiasticis, jin hæreticos homines dispensere, deq; Ecclesiæ sanctis decernere ausa, Prælatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve eius præceptis, sanctionibusq; canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; pleroſque in nefarias suas leges venire, & Romani Pontificis authoritatem, atque obedientiam obmurare, seque (olam in temporalibus & spiritualibus Dominam agnoscere inreiurando coegit; pœnas & supplicia in eos qui dicto non essent audientes impoſuit, eaſdem ab ijs qui in unitate fidei & prædictâ obedientia perseverarunt, exegit; Catholicos Antistites, & Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula conjecit, ubi multi diuturno languore & tristitia confecti, extremum vitæ diem miſere finierunt. Quæ omnia cum apud omnes nationes, perfidia & notoria sint, & gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationi, defensioni, aut tergiversationi relinquatur; Nos, (multiplicantibus aliis atque aliis super aliàs impietatibus & facinoribus, & præterea fidelium persecutione, Religionis que afflictione, impulsu & operâ dictæ Elizabethæ quotidie magis ingravescente) quoniam illius animum ita obstirmatum, atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modò piæs Catholicorum Principum de sanitate & conversione preces, monitoresque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de causâ Nuncios, in Angliam trajicere permiserit, ad arma Iustitiæ contra eam de necessitate conversâ, dolorem lenire non posſumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere cujus majores de Republica Christiana tantoperè mervêre. Illius itaque authoritate ſuffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Iustitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apoſtolicæ potestatis plenitudine declaramus prædictam Elizabetham hæreticam, & hæreticorum fautricem, eique adhærentes inprædictis, Anathematis sententiam incurriſſe, eſſeque à Christi corporis unitate præcisos. Quinetiam ipſam prætensa Regni prædicti jure, nec non omni & quocunque Dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam, item Proceres, subditos & populos dictiregni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, à juramento hujuſmodi, ac omni prorſus Dominij, fidelitatis & obſequij debita perpetuo absolvimus, & privamus; prout nos illos præſentium authoritate absoluimus, & privamus; eandem Elizabetham pretensô jure Regni, aliisq; omnibus ſupradictis. Præcipimusque & interdicimus universis & ſingulis proceribus, ſubditis, populis, & aliis prædictis, ne illi eiusve monitis, mandatis, & legibus audeant obedire. Qui ſecus egerint, eos ſimili anathematis ſententia innodamus. Quia verò difficile nimis eſſet præſentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre, volumus ut earum exemplis, Notarij publici manu, & Prælati Ecclesiastici, eiusve Curiæ ſigillo obſignata, eandem illam prorſus fidem in judicio, & extra illud, ubique gentium faciant, quam ipſæ

præſentes facerent, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini. 1569 Quinto Calend. Martii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno quinto.

The same in English.

The declaratory sentence of the Vniversall Bishop, *Pope Pius* the fift, against *Elizabeth* the pretended Queene of *England*, and against the Hereticks that take her part.

Wherein also all her subjects are declared to be absolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and any other duty whatsoever, and besides, they that doe obey her, are pronounced accursed.

Pius the servant of the servants of God, for remembrance hereof in time to come.

(74) He that raigneth above; to whom is given all power in Heaven and Earth, hath committed in fulneſſe of power to be governed, one holy Catholike and Apoſtolike Church (where-our is no salvation) to one onely in Earth, namely, *Peter* the Prince of the Apoſtles, and to the Romane Bishop the Succeſſor of *Peter*. And him alone hath he made Chiefe over all Nations and Kingdomes, who may roote out, destroy, scatter, waſte, plant, and build: that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutuall Charity, might be kept in the vnity of the Spirit, and presented in health and safety unto their Saviour. For the undergoing of which office, we being called by the goodneſſe of God to the government of the ſaid Church, doe refuſe and omit no paines, labouring by all meanes that this unity and Catholike Religion (which the Author thereof for the triall of the faith of thoſe that be his, and for our correction and amendment, hath ſuffered to be toſſed with ſo great afflictions) might be preserved whole and entire. But the number of the wicked hath ſo much encreaſed in power, that now there is no place in the World left, which they have not attempted to corrupt by moſt wicked Doctrine; among the reſt, *Elizabeth* the ſervant of ſinfulneſſe, the pretenſed and unlawfull Queene of *England*; with whom, as in a Sanctuary the moſt wicked Perſons of all doe finde a refuge. This Queene, ruling the Kingdome, and monſtrouſly uſurping to her ſelfe the place of the ſupreme Head of the Church throughout all *England*, and the chiefe authority and juriſdiction of the ſame, hath revoked againe to miſerable ruine this very Kingdome, which was in a manner recovered againe to the Catholike faith, and good devotion. For the uſe of the true Religion (which the moſt lawfull Queene *Mary* of famous memory, by the helpe of this Seate had repayred, being before by the Apoſtata *Henry* the eight, overthrowne) now by ſtrong hand reſtrained, and the errours of Heretikes imbraced and followed; ſhee hath removed the Councell of State that conſiſted of the Engliſh Nobility, and filld the ſame with obſcure hereticall fellowes; ſhee hath oppreſſed the Profeſſors of the Catholike faith, and hath ſet up wicked Preachers and Miniſters of impieties. Shee hath aboliſhed the Sacrifice of the Maſſe, Prayers, Almes, difference of meate, ſingle life, and Catholike rites. Shee hath commanded Bookes to bee ſet forth containing manifeſt Hereſie, and her ſelfe uſing and obſerving wicked Rites, and Inſtitutions, according to *Calvins* preſcription; hath alſo commanded them to be obſerved by her Subjects. Shee hath preſumed to caſt out Biſhops of Churches, Rectors, and other Catholike Prieſts, from their Churches and Beneficeſ, and to diſpoſe of them and other Eccleſiaſticall livings among Hereticall men; preſuming alſo to judge of Church matters, ſhee hath forbidden the Prelates, the Church and people, that they ſhould

not acknowledge the *Romane* Church, nor that they obey his Precepts and Canonicall Injunctions; she hath compelled many to yeeld to her wicked lawes, and to forsweare and abjure the authority and obedience of the *Roman* Bishop, and to acknowledge her by their Oath, the onely Governour in temporall and spirituall matters; shee hath imposed penalties and punishments upon those which were not obedient to her command, and hath exacted the like upon them which perfevered in the unity of the Faith, and in the aforesaid obedience; shee hath cast into prison the Catholike Governours and Rectors of Churches, where many, laden with daily languishings and sorrow, have wofully ended their lives. All which things, for as much as they are notorious and manifest to all Nations, and so approved by the most grave testimony of very many, that no way is left them for excuse, defence, or evasion: Wee moved by the impieties and mischiefes that more and more multiply, besides the grievances of the faithfull, the affliction of Religion which groweth daily more intollerable by the meanes and working of the said *Elizabeth*, whose minde is so hardned and indurate, that shee hath not onely contemned the godly prayers and admonitions of Catholike Princes for her health and conversion, but also hath not suffered the messengers of this See to come into *England* to her about this businesse, We, I say, moved by these causes, have of necessity betaken our selves to the weapons of Iustice against her, not being able to refraine from griefe and sorrow, that we must needs punish such a one, whose Ancestors have so well deserved of the Common-weale, and of all Christendome. Being therefore strengthened with his authority, who hath pleased so fet us in this supreame Throne of Iustice, though unfit for so great a burthen, wee by the fulnesse of our Apostolike power, doe declare the foresaid *Elizabeth* an Hereticke, and a maintainer of Heretickes, and those that take her part in the things aforesaid, to have incurred the sentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the unity of Christs body. And moreover that shee is deprived of the pretenced right of her said Kingdome, and also from all Rule, dignity, and prehemminence whatsoever, and also her Nobility, Subjects, and people of the said Realme, and all other which have sworne unto her, by any manner of meanes, are absolved for ever from such Oath, and from all duty of Empire, fidelity, and obedience, in such sort as we doe absolve them by the authority of these presents, and deprive the said *Elizabeth* of the pretended right of the Kingdome, and of all other things aforesaid. And wee doe command and forbid all and singular of the Nobility, Subjects, People, and other aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her admonitions, commands, nor lawes. Whosoever shall doe otherwise, we doe enwrap them in the like curse. And because it were too difficult a matter to beare these presents to every place where there is need, we will that the Copies of them being signed with the hand of the publike Notary, and Ecclesiasticall Prelate, or with the Seale of his Court, have the same credit and authority in Court, and without it with all Nations every where, that the presents themselves should have if they were exhibited. Given at *Rome* at Saint *Peters*, in the yeare of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1569. the fift of the Calends of *March*, and of our Papacy the fifth.

Ifai.59.5. The fruits and effects of the Popes Bull.

(75) The webbe thus woven by these Spiders of *Rome*, and the Cockatrices Egge hatched into a Serpent, many were imployed to patch up this garment of iniquity, and Spirits sent abroad to corrupt *Englands* sweet ayre; the one sort, plotters of invasions to lay the Land waste, and the other, conspirators against her annointed person. The chiefe of either in this place, (omitting the order of Annals) that they may ranke together without interruption of berter narrations, and not infect the Paper in more places then one, I will here lay downe; assuring my selfe, that many more attempts were plotted, then ever were displayed. For the thunderbolt of curses throwne frow that *Iupiter of Rome*, denounced her Majestie uncapable either of Crowne or Kingdome, tooke such rootes in the hearts of these Locusts, that they both armed themselves openly to battell, and secretly sought to imbrue their barbarous hands in their Princes bloud.

Apoc.

(76) For this brutish Bull, calved in the Popes Consistory (or rather Cow-house) and now able to travell from *Rome*; in *London*, and at the West end of *Pauls*, first put forth his hornes, being there hung upon the Bishops Palace Gate, by a lewd person imployed as an Herauld from the Pope. *Moreton* an old *English* fugitive, (as hath beene said) had procured it: brazen-faced *Sanders* in his writings maintained it, *Bristow* in his Motives approved it, *Northumberland* and *Nevil* had put it in practise, *Iohn Felton* had divulged it, the two *Nortons* supported it, and many after-followers assaied to execute it; all which like Serpents bitte the bosomes wherein themselves lay, but never could hurt her, the *Lords beloved and holy Annointed*, who in peace and glory came to her grave, in a full age, as a Ricke of Corne into the Barne in due season.

The Popes Bull hanged up at the Bishop of *Londons* gate.

Iob 5. 26.

(77) The Marshalls, besides them in the North, were *Iohn Throckmorton*, *Thomas Brooke*, and *George Redman*, with others, who intended with sound of Trumpet and Drum, to proclaime their divellish designe at *Harleston* Faire, in the County of *Norfolke*; their shew being for the suppression of Strangers, but their maineend, to make a strange alteration in the State; whereby they hastened their owne ends, suffering a death due to Traitors.

Patrons and abettors of the Bull. *Sand. de visibil. Monarch. Brillow. Apologet.*

An. Dom. 1570.

Execution of egregious Traitors.

(78) But more dangerous were those Conspiratours, which secretly plotted to bring in *forraigne powers*, or publikely by their writings animated men thereunto, defaming the faire face of *Englands* Religion, and deforming the body of *Elizabeths* Government; in which kinde *Sanders* and *Bristow*, two *English* fugitives, were the *Iannes and Iambres that withstood Moses*; *men of corrupt mindes, and enemies to the Faith*; *Traitors, headly, and high minded, having a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof*, as the Apostle prophesied, that in *the last dayes such should arise*: both of them approving *Pius Quintus* his proceeding about her *Majesties* deprivation, and justifying the wicked in their Rebellions, contrary to the Doctrine of that Apostle, whose Chayre they pretend to uphold. From which sinke of iniquity, issued those corrupt streames, that became bitter as wormwood, the taste whereof brought many to their untimely, but well-deserved deaths: among whom, first was *Felton*, the two *Nortons*, *Kenelme Barne*, and *Edmund Mather*; not long after whom, followed Doctor *Story*, who may not bee forgotten in our Story.

Secret instruments to draw in forain enemies into the Land.

2 Tim 3.8.

2 Pet. 2. 13.

Apoc 8.11.

(79) This man by birth was *English*, though an Alien in heart, by profession a Civilian, and Doctor of the *Canon Law*, a persecutor of Gods Saints in the dayes of the last Queene, and in this Queenes raigne, a turbulent inveigher against the Religion established in the *English* Church. For which being apprehended and committed to prison, hee found meanes of escape, and in *Antwerpe* received Commission under Duke *D'Alva*, to search all Ships comming thither for *English* Bookes; not forgetting his tyranny wherein he had beene trained, nor to further trayterous policy and great attempts to bring in *forraine powers* for *Englands* overthrow. But the pit that he digged, he fell into himselfe, and the destruction prepared for others, light on his owne pate; for one *Parker* an *English* Merchant, loyally affected to his Prince trading to *Antwerpe*, laid his faire faire to catch this foule Bird; causing secret notice to be given unto *Story*, that in his Ship were store of Heretical Bookes, with other intelligences, which might stand him in steed.

Iustice executed upon certaine Traitors.

Doctor *Story*

His imprisonment and flight.

(80) The Canonist conceiving that all was Cock-sure,

Cock-sure, hasted to execute his Commission himselfe, where with lookes very bigge upon the poore Mariners, each Cabbin, Chest, and Corner, above board were searched, and some things found to draw him further on; so that the Hatches must be opened, which seemed to bee unwillingly done, and great signes of feare was shewed by their faces. This drew on the Doctor to descend into the hould; where now in the Trap, the Mouse might well gnaw, but could not get out: for the Hatches went downe, and the Sayles hoysed up, which with a merry gale were blowne into *England*, where ere long hee was arraigned, and condemned of high Treason, and accordingly was executed at *Tyburne*, as hee had well deserved.

His arraignment and execution An. Dom. 1571. *Sherwin, Campion &c. Sanders* his miserable end.

(81) To the like end came *Sherwin*, *Campion*, *Kirby*, with others seditious Trumpetters of this infamous Bull, and *Sanders* the Irish Legate, the greatest maintainer of his goaring authority, though he escaped the Barre of Iustice, yet was found out by a raving *Phrensie*, as he wandred succourlesse in the waste Mountaines of *Ireland*, wherein lastly he miserably dyed. But to leave these poysonous tongue-men and libellous Pen-men to register their owne shame, and feare their consciences with the brand of sinne; let us discover those other daring and swording Monsters, who actually imployed themselves to lay either violent hands vpon her Majesties person, or the Land open to *forraigne Invasions*.

Somervills Treasons. An. Dom. 1583. Execution of Iustice. The progresse of his attempt. *Hall's Semin. ry prisoners. Somervile.*

(82) The first of them (or first manifested) was *Iohn Sommervile* of *Elsowe* in *Warwickeshire*, a furious young man, who like a tempest that threatned destruction, came ragingly forward towards the Court, with intent to murther the Queene; the progresse of which attempt summarily was thus. Keeping his *Whitsontide* with *Arden*, (his Wives Father) he was there so wrought by *Hall* a Seminary Priest, as hee conceived a desperate rage against her Majesty, holding it a matter (seeing there was no hope of alteration during the life of the Queene) meritorious to make her away; to which bloudy resolution, he was further instigated by his wicked wife. Whereupon returning home, he grew much perplexed, having many feares and conflicts in himselfe, which caused his Wife to write unto *Hall*, to come and strengthen the man with firmer resolutions. But he, busied elsewhere with the like purposes, by Letter excused his not comming, yet therein advised him to goe forward, promising he would assist him with his prayers to God for his good successe.

Somervile conflicts of minde.

Halles animasing of him.

(83) This Letter received, he grew fully resolved to actuate the designe, and hasted his journey amaine towards *London*, who no sooner departed, but that his wife sent *Halles* Letter unto her Mother, and shee presently made it knowne to *Arden* her Husband, which Letter he caused to be burnt, as soone as himselfe was called in question. But *Sommervile* discovered by the way, was indited in *Warwicke*, and those his Associates condemned of high Treason in *London*; *Sommervile* confessing his intent, said, that he had been moved thereunto by his wicked spirit, and by the inticements of certaine seditious persons, his Kinsmen and Allies, together with the often reading of pernicious Bookes, published against her Majesty. This desperate Ruffian committed to *Newgate* after his condemnation, most desperatly strangled himselfe to death; an example of Gods severity against such sonnes of disobedience.

Somervile and thereof confessed. Treason.

Doctor *Story*

His implacable disposition.

His implacements beyond the Sea.

(84) Of which litter in the dayes of this blessed *Deborah*, not so few as *one hundred and twenty* of knowne *Iesuites* and *Seminaries* scrawled like frogs, through her faire soyle, croaking, and spawning their doctrine to recall obedience to the Pope, and disswading the Subjects from the allegiance unto their Queene: Of this number fifty three with pardon of life were banished the Land, and the rest as Traytors dyed for conspiracy against her person, and breach of the Law in that case enacted for the indemnity of the State. To shrowd themselves and their Disciples from that danger of Law, at the suite of *Campion*, *Persons*, *Haywood*, and *Hart*, a dispensation was given to the *Camelion Catholikes*, from the rigorous extent of the foresaid Bull: so that most of these *Seminaries* imploied for *England*, cast off their *Serpentine Skinnes*, and shewed themselves abroad in the attire of *Gallants*, the more safely to vent their envenomed drugs; and to keepe their Coules from preaching at the Gallowes.

The number of Iesuits and Priests in the Raigne of Queene Elizabeth.

(85) To which end faculties were granted to *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campion*, untill they could make their party strong in *England*; which faculties were engrossed on this wise;

Petatur à Summo Domino nostro, explicatio, &c.

Let there be desired of our most high Lord an explication or meaning of the Bull declaratory, made by Pius *the fifth against* Elizabeth, *and such as doe adhere, or obey her: Which Bull the Catholikes desire to be understood in this manner, that the same Bull shall always bind her and the Heretikes, but the Catholikes it shall by no meanes bind, as matters doe now stand or be, till hereafter, when the publike execution of that Bull may be had, or made.* And in the Conclusion thus, *The highest Pontiffe granted these fore-said Graces to Father* Robert Parsons, *and* Edmund Campion, *who are now to take their way into England the fourteenth day of April, in the yeare of our Lord, 1580. being present, the Father Oliverius, Manarke assistant.* And though the one of these *Spyders* spunne his Webbe so in corners, as he could not be found, yet was the other swept downe by the hand of Iustice, and drew his last threed in the Triangle of *Tyburne*. After whom others, as some likewise before them, ploughing with the same Heyfer, and sowing the furrowes with the same feed, reaped their harvest with no better increase, then tares or darnell could yeeld, as was seene by their successes.

Faculties granted by the Pope to his adherents.

The Romanists hire to the Pope.

The Popes grant to his Agents.

Rob. Persons.

Edmund Campion.

(86) Wherein *Cuthert Mayne* in *Cornwall* had (before this time) borne a part, who armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an old Copy for a new Iubile, with some other Writings, maintaining the authority of *Rome*, disswaded the naturall subjects from their due obedience, delivering divers *holy Graines* (as he termed them) by which, he that had such should be knowne to be sure of that side, and thereby to bee defended in the bloudy day, as by his inditement standeth upon Record, and confessed under his owne hand.

An. Dom. 1577. *Cuthert Maynes* Treason.

The vertue of holy Graines.

(87) *Nelson*, *Hanse*, *Lacies*, *Briant*, *Cotam*, and a great number of others, were all of them employed to draw the hearts of the Subjects from their Soveraigne, and to prepare way to an intended Invasion. And lest Massing Priests should be wanting to make easie the scrues of their winding devices, when their Cobwebs were woven, *Thompson* brought *Holy oyle* to be-smeare their shaven Crownes; *Hemford* a dispensation of *Pius Quintus* his Bull, not to extend to the *Catholikes untill opportunity served*; and *Haydocke* was doubly imployed, both to prepare aides to assist the enterprize, and to note the fittest landing places for forraigne forces, which himselfe sent word to Doctor *Allen* he had done.

Nelson and other instruments of Rebellion.

Thompson.

Hemford.

Haydocke.

(88) But *Iohn Payne* a Priest, stepped yet somwhat further, in practising the death of her Majesty, who with *fifty Resolutes*, furnished at the Popes charge, was appointed violently to assayle her, being slenderly guarded, as shee tooke her recreation abroad. These, and such others are the men that are made *Martyrs* in the Popes Bead-rolle, as *chosen vessels* to suffer for the *Romish* cause, of which number *Sanders* was not worthy to be, as himselfe Doctor-like signified in his Letter unto *Allen*, which here I insert, according to the Originall, to shew what honest hearts he, and his Mates did beare towards their Native Country.

Payne.

The Popes holy Martyrs.

To the Right Worshipfull Mr. Doctor Allen
Iesus, S. P. in Domino.

A Letter of *Sanders* unto Master *Allen.*

(89) *Yours of the seventh of Iune came to my hands*

E.Reg.27. A dispensation obtained from the rigour of the Bull.

*to greater comfort, then the succesſe that followed could maintaine. O pitifull change of things, the more need of peace within, to withſtand ſuch troubleſome perſecutions as you there have ſuffered. I am not worthy to partake them: they are for more choſen veſſels. GOD grant you all there to know your owne bleſſing, and to thanke God of it. I had as much before my eyes long before, and ſtill thinke that wee ſhall have no ſteady comfort but from GOD: a x A A, not o x. Therefore I beſeech you to take hold of the Pope, for the King of Spaine is as fearefull of warre, as a Childe of fire: and all his endeavours are to avoid all ſuch occaſions. * A will give two thouſand, when you there ſhall be content with them. If they doe not ſervе to goe to England, at the leaſt they will ſervе to goe into Ireland. I thanke you heartily for the favour you have ſhewed to Gibbons brother, it ſeemeth to be a bleſſed brood, for Gods ſake continue your favour ſtill that way, albeit I feare me your Seminary will againe fall to diſperſion. I have none other thing in this World ſo at the heart, as to be with you: nor can I get leave to depart hence. Therefore if it ſo fall that it bee no hinderance for you to come hither, loſe not the occaſion.* Vale in Chriſto Ieſu viſcera mea, ego te fruar in Domino, qui te in æternum tueatur. *From Madrill the 6. of November, 1577.*

Secret Characters.

* *A.* Seemeth to ſignifie the Pope.

(90) By this we ſee, what plots were intended for the ſubverſion of *England*, and what fruites thoſe *Italianate Fugitives* brought forth; but as men cannot gather grapes from the *Thrones*, neither doe finde the figges on the *Thiſtle*; ſo let theſe *brambles* bring forth their owne berries, and let their hands bee pricket that ſeeke to plucke them; as indeed they did theirs, of whom we are to write; whereof *Francis Throgmorton*, a Gentleman well educated, and of a good wit, was one; who weary of longer delay, after ſo many yeeres plotting, and conſulting of an Invaſion, reſolved to be the man himſelfe, to bring the matter to an iſſue.

Luke 6.43. Matth. 7.16.

The long conſultation about an Invaſion, draweth towards an iſſue. *Throgmortons* Treaſons.

An. Dom. 1583. See the diſcovery of Treaſons. His deſigne and proſecution of it.

(91) This man ſollicited by *Barnardine Mendoza*, the Spaniſh Leager-Ambaſſador lying in *London*, undertooke a moſt dangerous deſigne againſt his dread Soveraigne, and native Country, which was, to bring in a *forraigne Army*, and *to alter Religion*, with alienation of the Crowne and State. His imployment was to ſound the Havens for entrance, and to collect a Catalogue of the names of ſuch great men in every County of *England*, as ſtood for the Papall cauſe, unto who *Charles Paget* (masked under the names of *Nope* and *Spring*) was joyned for an aſſiſtant. *Sir Francis Englefield* in the Low-Countries, and others elſewhere had vehemently ſollicited the King of *Spaine* to attempt *Englands Invaſion*, and the *Duke of Guize*, undertooke to be the principall leader, conditionally that *Rome* and *Spaine* would beare the charge of the warre.

Charles Paget.

Sir Fr. Englefield.

(92) For compaſſing this plot, *Throgmorton* (for his part) had plotted a chart of the Havens and Harbours of *England*, and gathered his Catalogue of Catholike aiders, which hee preſented unto *Mendoza*. In this his Survey no place was held fitter to land theſe forraigne powers, then was *Arundel* in *Suſſex*, both for the neere cut from thoſe parts of *France*, where the *Guize* meant to muſter his men, as alſo for the opportunity of aſſured perſons, to give them aſſiſtance, as they did preſume. The want was onely Money; for which, meſſengers were employed unto *Rome* and to *Spaine*, whoſe returne was daily expected with bagges and Bils of Exchange, as they wiſhed and well hoped, which conſidently was aſſured by *Barnardine Mendoza*, promiſing that the King his Maſter would beare halfe the charge of the enterprize.

Arundel the harbour appointed for landing.

Barnardine Mendoza.

(93) The Treaſon thus forwarded, and ready for execution, the *Watchman of Iſrael*, who ever waked for the defence of his *Annointed*, and walled her *Vineyard* with his owne protection, ſhooke out the fruite of this ill-conceived feed from the huske, before it was ripe. For *Throgmorton* ſuddenly apprehended, and his Study ſearched, the Catalogue of *Romanized* Gentlemen of every Shire, and the Havens for landing of *forraigne power*, were therein found: with certaine Pedigrees touching the title to the *Engliſh Crowne*, and ſome infamous libels publiſhed beyond Seas againſt her Majeſties Perſon. But a certaine Casket covered with greene velvet, was cunningly conveyed from under a bed, and carried to the *Spaniſh Ambaſſador*, wherein many things lay hid, that never after came to light; as alſo a letter which himſelfe was then writing in Ciphers, hee conveyed from the ſight of the ſearchers: all which himſelfe confeſſed, and with his owne Pen wrote the whole Conſpiracy, for which, after judgement he moſt worthily dyed.

Throgmorton apprehended.

Throgmorton confeſſeth the whole conſpiracy.

(94) Not warned by theſe, *William Parry* (as hee named himſelfe) a man of a profuſe waſtfulneſſe, riot, and prodigality, having conſumed two Widdowes wealths, and wounded his Creditor, by committing Burglary, was for the fact condemned to die, but fued and obtained his pardon of life by the compaſſioned mercy of *Queene Elizabeth*, which he, ungratefull man, fought to requite, by vowing her death, that ſaved him from his. For travelling into foraigne parts, and there obtaining the title of a *Civillian Doctor*, he fell from his naturall alleagiance (as riotous Malecontents uſually doe) and reconciled himſelfe unto the See of *Rome*, then having frequent acquaintance and conference with certaine Ieſuiticall Prieſts, was finally inſpired with a helliſh reſolution to kill her, who had given him life.

An. Dom. 1584. Parries Treaſon. M. Hugh Hare in the Temple.

Parry formerly had his life by the Queenes pardon.

(95) Whereunto hee was further inſtigated by *Benedicto Palmio*, a Father Ieſuite, *Chriſtofero de Salazar*, Secretary to the Catholike King, and *Thomas Morgan* an Engliſh Fugitive, *Annibal à Codreto* his Confeſſor, approving the divelliſh deſigne; and *Ragazzoni* the Popes *Nuntio*, promiſing that this Catholike ſervice ſhould be remembred at their Altar. Two things were yet wanting, to ſtrike up this Cataſtrophe, which were the Popes approbation, and his Abſolution from all his ſinnes: to procure which, *Cardinall Como* was imployed, who ſo effectually followed the buſineſſe, that both were ſhortly procured, and ſent him into *England* with a warrant to proceed in his Holineſſe Name.

Parries letter to the Lords of the Councell.

The inſtigators of his divelliſh attempt.

(96) Thus armed from *Rome*, his promiſes on Earth, and his vowes in Heaven, the worke ſeemes meritorious, and the Queene muſt die: to effect which, no ſitter way could be found, then to faine himſelfe a falſe Traytor indeed. For having private acceſſe to her preſence, was heard at large, that hee was the man who had undertaken her death, which to found the deepe waters, and to beare fayle with the faireſt, he promiſed to doe, with no intent, as he conſtantly affirmed, to act that impoſed charge, but onely to diſcover thoſe who laid for her life. Her Highneſſe (whoſe piercing underſtanding was not eaſily blinded, or beguiled with words) ſeemed ſo doubtfully to interpret his confeſſed fact (which yet ſhee kept ſecret from her peereſt Counſellors) that he in great feare departed; as how can a conſcience ſo clogged, but feare? Whereupon his late letter from *Como* he ſhewed; which ſeeming alſo to be little eſteemed, and his ſuit to be Mr. of S^t. *Katherines*, utterly rejected, confirmed more deſperatly his reſolution to kill her: and often having weapon, preſence, place, & opportunity, purpoſely thought to performe it, but ever was daunted when he beheld the glory of her preſence, and Majeſty in her face, wherein to his ſeeming, the Image of God, in her his Vicegerent, was portrayed, commanding him obedience, and threaning deſtruction to thoſe who intend violence againſt his holy Annointed.

Parry ſhewеth the Queene Cardinall *Comos* Letter, granty incenſed with denyall of his ſuit for S. *Katherines*.

The Majeſty of Queene *Elizabeths* preſence often daſhed Parries attempts.

(97) This *Synons* part thus failing, he ſought to undermine the walles yet another way; his vowes reſting in Heaven, were holy motives (forſooth) to his helliſh act, and *Allens* Booke redoubling his former reſolutions (wherein every word was a warrant for his prepared minde, and every line taught, that Kings might be deprived, excommunicated, and violently

Parry animated by *Allens* Booke.

Sir Edmund Breſt.

Parries Treaſon deteſted.

Sir Francis Walſingham the prime man of that age for intelligences of State.

Parries Treaſon confeſſed under his owne hand.

M. Hugh Hare in the Temple.

Parries letter to the Lords of the Councell.

Fabra. 25.

Violently depoſed, in caſe of the religion of *Rome*) upon theſe ſpurres hee poſted to a worthy Gentleman, whom he ſuppoſed as diſcontented as himſelfe, opening his Treaſons for the bringing in of *forraigne invaders*, ſolliciting his aſſiſtance, and threatning with dagge, or dagger to kill the Queene.

(98) The Gentlemen, loathing this horrible intent, revealed the Treaſon unto two principall Privie Counſellers, and they unto her Majeſty, who committed his examination unto Sir *Francis Walſingham* her principall Secretarie, a man of exquiſite judgement, integrity and induſtry in all ſtate affaires and intelligences; the Treaſons then found out, and confeſſed by himſelf, were divulged by his voluntarie pen, and ſubſcribed unto with his own hand, with many other circumſtances unknowne before and againe were ſeconded by another letter, written to the Lords of the Counſell, which heere out of the Originall, I have inſerted.

(99) *My Lords now that the conſpiracy is diſcovered, the faults confeſſed, my conſcience cleared, and minde prepared patiently to ſuffer paines due for ſo hainous a crime: I hope it ſhall not offend you, if crying, Miſerere, with the poore Publican, I leave to deſpaire with curſed Caine. My caſe is rare, and ſtrange, and for any thing I can remember ſingular: a naturall Subject ſolemnely to vow the death of his naturall Queene, (ſo borne, ſo knowne, and ſo taken by all men) for the reliefe of the afflicted Catholike, and reſtitution of Religion. The matter firſt conceived in Venice, the ſervice (in generall words) preſented to the Pope, continued and undertaken in Paris and laſtly, commended and warranted by his Holineſſe; digeſted and reſolved in England, if it had not been prevented by accuſation, or by her Majeſties greater lenity and more gratious uſage of her Catholike Subjects. This is my firſt and laſt offence conceived againſt my Prince, or Country, and doth (I cannot deny) containe all other faults whatſoever. It is now to bee puniſhed by death, or moſt graciouſly (beyond all common expectation) to bee pardoned. Death I doe confeſſe to have deſerved: life I doe (with all humilitie) crave, if it may ſtand with the Queens Honour, and policie of the time To leave ſo great a Treaſon unpuniſhed, were ſtrange; to draw it by my death, in example, were dangerous. A ſworne ſervant to take upon him ſuch an enterprize, upon ſuch a ground, and by ſuch a warrant, hath beene ſeene in England. To indite him, arraigne him, bring him to the Staffold, and to puniſh his offence, can doe no good. To hope that hee hath more to diſcover then is confeſſed, or that at his execution he will unſay any thing he hath written, is in vaine. To conclude, that it is impoſſible for him in time to make ſome part of amends, were very hard and againſt former experiences. The queſtion then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (leſt the matter bee miſtaken) upon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though partiall) I will deliver you my conſcience. The caſe is good* Queene Elizabeths; *the offence is committed againſt her ſacred perſon; and ſhee may (of her mercy) pardon it without prejudice to any. Then this I ſay in few words, as a man more deſirous to diſcharge his troubled conſcience, then to live. Pardon poore* Parrie, *and releeve him: for life without living is not fit for him. If this may not bee, or be thought dangerous or diſhonourable to the Queenes Majeſty (as by your favours I thinke is full of honour and mercy) then I beſeech your Lordſhips (and no other) once to heare mee before I be indicted, and afterwards, if I muſt die, humbly to entreat the Queenes Majeſty to haſten my triall and execution: which I pray God with all my heart, may proove as honourable to her; as I hope, it ſhall bee happy to me. Who will, while I live (as I have done alwaies) pray to* Ieſus Chriſt *for her Majeſties long and proſperous raigne. From the Tower the 18. of February. 1584.*

W. Parry.

(100) And according to this his laſt requeſt, his inditement was framed, and arraignement performed at *Weſtminſter*, where he pleaded himſelfe guilty & had judgment of a Traitor, Which accordingly was executed in the Palace at *Weſtminſter* upon the ſecond of *March* following; where (whether for feare of prejudicing, and diſcrediting the Romaniſts cauſe, or by whatſoever other perſwaſion) he impudently denied, that he ever had an intent to kill the Queene, notwithſtanding all his owne former confeſſions, witneſſe of the fact, and other cleare evidences of truth; among which, the letter received from Cardinal *Como* is not unworthy to be here annexed, whoſe tranſlation from the originall, written in the *Italian* tongue, is as followeth.

W. Parrie executed.

denied his own confeſſions.

(101) *Sir, his Holineſſe hath ſeene your letter of the firſt, with the aſſurance included, and cannot but commend the good diſpoſition, and reſolution, which you write to hold towards the ſervice and benefit publike: wherein his Holineſſe doth exhort you to perſevere, with cauſing to bee brought to effect that which you promiſe. And to the end you may be ſo much the more holpen by that good ſpirit which hath moved you thereunto, his holineſſe doth grant you plenary indulgence, and remiſſion of all your ſinnes, according to your requeſt. Aſſuring you that beſides the merit that you ſhal receive therefore in heaven, his Holineſſe will further make himſelfe debtor to acknowledge and requite your deſervings, by all the beſt meanes he may. And that ſo much the more in that you uſe the more modeſty, in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and honorable determinations, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my ſelfe unto you heartily, and wiſh all good and happy ſucceſſe. From* Rome *the xxx. of* Ianuary 1584.

Cardinall *Como* his letter to *Parrie*.

At your diſpoſing

N. Card. of Como.

(102) Had not then her Majeſty juſt cauſe to complaine, as ſhee did? when in the honourable aſſembly of Parliament, ſhee openly profeſſed, that *ſhee knew no creature breathing, whoſe life ſtood hourely in more perill then her owne; and that even at the firſt entrance into her eſtate, ſhe entred into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wreſtle with many, and mighty enemies.* And yet, in confidence of her celeſtiall Protector, and of her owne innocency, ſhee often ſeemed ſomewhat too remiſſe and neglective in the care of her ſelfe, and life, as appeared manifeſtly by her proceedings with this laſt Traitor, in keeping his conference of that importance, from the knowledge of her Counſellers, and often admitting privately his acceſſe, though he had told her, he was the man appointed to worke her death. And indeed ſuch was this Princeſſe Magnanimity, that in an apparant danger, as great, though not ſo traiterous as this, ſhee ſhewed a reſolution of courage farre above her ſex, when being in her Barge upon *Thames* to take the aire, accompanied with the French Ambaſſador, the Earle of *Lincolne*, and others, a Servitgman in the Court from his Caliver diſcharged a Bullet, and ſhot the waterman, within ſixe foote of her ſeat, (the ſecond to her Bale) through both the armes; whereat all other being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, ſhe threw him her ſcarfe, and with words of comfort bad him be of good cheere, he ſhould not want, for the bullet was aimed at her, though it hit him; and with ſuch reſolute courage bare it out, as all preſent, admired. Neither ſo onely, but knowing afterwards that it was done caſually at randome, ſhee both pardoned the party of his life, when hee was to die, and commanded his Maſter to retaine him againe into his ſervice.

Eu Paris in An. 1585. The hazards & troubles that attend Crownes.

Queene Elizabeth her undaunted confidence.

Thomas Appleyrre ſhot at the Queens Bargeman. 1579. July. 17.

The Queen pardons the offender.

(103) And indeed, of ſingular clemency, and in-bred lenity was this Lady, that ſhee never heard mention of the capitall (though never ſo deſerved) puniſhment of offenders, even of ſuch as had ſought her owne death, but it bred a kind of horrour and ſorrow in her; whereby, had not her Counſels ernеſtly iuculcated the neceſſity of ſuch exemplary Juſtice, many dangerous attempters had eſcaped their due

Her ſingular clemency towards offenders.

*D.of C.C. in Oxford.

due punishment. Which moved her to say, being once questioning with a * great Divine of *Oxford*, about bookes meeteſt for Princes to ſtudy on, that *her Reading of* Seneca de Clementia, *had done her much good, but ſome would perſwade her, it had done her State as much harme.* But for her love to her people in generall, and tender care over the poorer ſort, or any waies oppreſſed, it was incomparable; whoſe eares were not onely open at all times to their complaints, and her hands ready to receive their petitions; but her manner was alſo to commend their cauſe unto her counſell and Iudges, giving theſe and the like earneſt charges; *Have care of my people, you have my place: doe you to them that which I ought to do, they are my people, yet every man oppreſſeth and ſpoileth them without mercy. Themſelves can neither helpe themſelves, nor revenge their quarrell: See unto them, I pray you, ſee unto them, for they are my charge, them therefore I charge you with, even as God hath committed them unto me. I care not for my ſelfe, my life is not deare unto mee, my care is for my people; I pray God my Succeſſor bee as carefull for them; and ſurely they which might know my cares for my people, may likewiſe conceive, that I take no great joy in wearing the Crowne.*

Her gracious love to her people in generall.

Her earneſt commands to her Counſellors and Iudges.

(104) What heart then could conceive ſo great miſchiefe, or hand could bee ſo barbarouſly violent, as to worke the deſtruction of ſo loving a *nurſing Mother*, but onely thoſe *obdurate and venemous Vipers*, which eat forth the way from the wombe of their owne conceptions; Or rather thoſe ſting tailed Locuſts, ariſing with *foggy ſmoake* from the bottomleſſe pit, who to reare up their *Dagon*, or great *King Abaddon*, caſt downe Princes with the wings of their warre, and execute their damnable doctrine in the murthers of the Lords annointed; whereas *David* durſt not touch *Saule*, though he was abjected by God.

Apoc.9.2

An. Dom. 1585. Henry Piercy E. of Northumberland.

(105) Thoſe Proſelites ſo unceſſantly, yeere by yeere, proſecuted the *Romane cauſe*, that many of them thereby deſervedly came to their deaths: amongſt whom was *Henry Piercy Earle of Northumberland*, gone ſo farre in ſuch diſloall enterprizes, as being upon ſuſpition of Treaſon committed to the Tower of *London*, the laid violent hands upō his owne life, by diſcharging a Dagg, charged with three bullets, under his left pappe, wherewith hee pierced his heart, and preſently dying, was by a Iury found guilty of his owne death. The Treaſon laid againſt him (beſides the former of the inſurrection in the *North*, by himſelfe confeſſed, and by the Court fined at five thouſand Markes) was, that he had beene privy to the Plots of *Throgmorton*, for the bringing in of *Forraigne powers*, to the deſtruction of the Queene and Realme; which truth being revealed by other conſpirators, hee ſo deepely apprehended, as in that deſperate manner hee prevented his further iudgement.

A violent death

Out of the Record.

(106) In the ſame place (though after the *Spaniſh* attempt for Invaſion *Anno* 1588. which purpoſely wee yet paſſe over, to avoide interrupting of particular mens Treaſons and deſignes) *Philip Earle of Arundell*, and Sir *Iohn Perot* late Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, both of them condemned of high Treaſon, by courſe of nature ended their lives; the one feeking to eſcape the Land, was firſt fined at ten thouſand pounds, and afterwards found guilty of a higher offence, had ſentence of death: the other likewiſe, *for plotting with Spaine, to open their way in to Ireland*, gave way to the Law to take hold on his life.

Philip Earle of Arundle dieth in the Tower. Sir Iohn Perot dieth.

An. Dom. 1589.

An. Dom. 1592.

(107) Neither were theſe great ones drawne alone into the confederacie of *Romes* irreligious purpoſes, but others alſo, thirſting for *Englands* deſtruction, of leſſe quality or place, had parts appointed to be actors in the Scene: which parties themſelves ſhall now enter the Stage, even fourteene in number; whereof *Anthony Babington* Eſquire, was the Principall, the other were *Chidioke, Tichborne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abington, Thomas Salisbury, and Edward Iones* Eſquires, *Iohn Savage, Robert Bernewell, Henrie Dun, Iohn Traverſe, Iohn Carnocke*, and *Richard Gage*, Gentleman, and *Iohn Ballard* a Seminary Prieſt; for can there be any conſpiracies hatched without them? The plot was the more dangerous by how much the more ſecretely carried, and the parties reſolute to venture therein unto death, whereof ſixe undertooke to murther the *Queene*, and *Savage* bound himſelfe for her death.

An. Dom. 1586. Babington & his fellowes Treaſons.

(108) The ſhew muſt be againſt the preciſe *Puritans*, whoſe *chiefe* or * *head* in the Low Country, not onely threatned (as was pretended) the deſtruction of all Romiſh Catholikes, but alſo to uſurpe the Crowne from the Queene; and therefore for the ſecurity of both, they were thus enforced to make ready for armes. Their aiders in *England* were many, as *Babington* beleeved, who wrote that the *Weſt parts*, the *North parts*, all *Wales*, the Countries of *Lancaſter, Darby*, and *Stafford*, were in great forwardneſſe, and had given fidelity to give aide to the enterprize. That *Lord Pierey* could doe much in the *North, Arundel* in the *South*, and the *Lord Paget* in the heart of the Land, though two of them were then in Priſon, and *Paget* in *Spaine*; their onely want was of a *Nobleman* to leade them, whereof they were deſtitute, as *Babington* complained, unleſſe it were *Weſtmorland*, and he out of the *Realme*.

Babingtons letter.

Their proceedes * Earle of Leiceſter.

(109) Their forraigne aſsiſters were many and ſtrong, eſpecially *Spaine*; as *Mendoza* aſſured them. The Ports were appointed where the Invaders ſhould land; and once landed, ſhould bee ſeconded from all parts by the Italianated *Engliſh*, as they vainly hoped; the *Statiſts* ſurpriſed which held not for *Rome*; the faith reſtored that had been abandoned, and the uſurping Competitor (for ſo they termed the *true annointed Soveraigne*) diſpatched by murther, themſelves the onely men marked (if ever) now to redeeme the Land from the ſervitude and bondage which Hereſie had brought, with the loſſe of thouſands of ſoules. Theſe were their gloſes upon *Pius Quintus* his alleaged Text, and the *faire vizards* that hid their *foule faces*, whom *God* himſelfe unmaſked to their following ſhame.

The falſe imaginations which Traitors have of abettors & friends.

Their forraign aſsiſters.

(110) For *Ballard* being ſent to *Mendoza*, to ſignifie all things now in a readineſſe, and ready to embarke himſelfe for *France*, was ſuddenly apprehended; and part of the conſpiracy diſcovered. Whereupon *Babington*, with *Charnock* and *Savage*, enters a new reſolution, which was immediately to kill the Queene, whereas of their bounty it had beene ordered before, that hee ſhould live untill the *Invaſion*, which was appointed to be in *September* following. But being intercepted before he well wiſt, hee was committed to Cuſtody, yet ſo as he went abroad with his Keeper, from whom he ſhortly made his eſcape, and thinking to recover the Seas, diſguiſed himſelfe like a Labouring man, ſtaining with wall-nut-tree leaves his hands and face, which ſhadowed neither his ſhame nor ſinne, neither yet could hide him from the eye that called him to account; for being deſcryed and brought backe to *London*, hee was with curſes of the people committed to the Tower, whence he could not ſo eaſily ſtart.

Ballard a Seminarie.

(111) The other conſpirators, hearing of theſe their confederates ſucceſſe, diſperſed themſelves and plaied leaſt in ſight, yet were they found out, indited and brought to their trials, all of them confeſſing their Treaſons without any torture. Yet at their arraigenment (perſwading themſelves belike, that what they did by papall warrant, could not be called Treaſon,) they pleaded not guilty, which the Iury upon manifeſt proofes finding otherwiſe, they worthily received iudgement of death, and died accordingly in *Lincolnes Inne fields*, even in the place where they had often conferred for the execution of their Treaſons.

Babingtons diſvelish reſolution.

Iuly.

(112) The neſt of conſpirators thus broken in *England*, and their ſhares ſtill failing though never ſo craftily laid, was a ſore corſive to the *Engliſh* fugitives

Apoſtate.

tives in other forraigne parts; eſpeciall to the Ieſuites, whoſe griefes were as great, as is the paine of a *Scorpion* when he hath ſtung a man. Among whom *Ianes Frances* a perfidious Traitor, and baſe Laundreſſe ſonne, ſeeing the *Catholiks* thus caſt downe and their caſe deſperate, if treaſons were thus prevented and puniſhed, pronounced this *maxime* out of his unwaſhed mouth, that the State of *England* then was, and would be ſo ſetled, as unleſſe *Miſtris Elizabeth* (for ſo he termed his dread *Soveraigne*) were ſuddenly taken away, all the Divels in Hell would not be able to prevaile againſt, or ſhake it. And *Stanley* that transfugous Champion for *Spaine* and *Rome*, ſo impatient was of theſe unproſpered proceedings, as he hired *Patrick Cullen*, an Iriſh Fencer and Ruffian, to undertake the death of the Queene; which hee did for the ſumme of thirty pounds, but had no more for his money then the reward of a Traitors death, which deſervedly he ſuffered at *Tyburne*.

Ianes Francis. Proceeding againſt Traitors.

Stanley.

Patricke Cullen. * An. Do. 1592.

(113) To accompany and ſecond theſe treaſons of *Cullen*, *Creſſewell* the Legier Ieſuite in *Spaine*, writ his traiterous booke under the name of *Philopater*, as after him *Cowback* alias *Parſons*, another Ieſuite, and Rector at *Rome*, did the like, under the name of *Doleman*, concerning titles of the Crowne; both ſo full of falſhood, treaſon, and impudency, as (though the Authors be unnamed,) whoſoever looketh on the brats, will eaſily know their Fathers by the reſemblance.

Creſwels Philopater.

An. Dom. 1592. Rob. Parſons.

(114) This deſperate deſigne failing, another as divelliſh was aſſaied to bee practized, wherein no Engliſh man was yet knowne to have had any hand, the Actors being onely *Spaniards* and *Portugals*, the one ſolliciting by promiſes of great rewards, the other undertaking to worke the death of the Queene; which was contrived, that poiſon ſhould be given her in Phyſicke; a deſigne indeed moſt feizible and inevitable, had not that helliſh hand been ſtaied by a heavenly. *Rodericke Lopez* was the Phyſitian, a Doctor of that profeſſion and a *Portugall* by birth, in eſpeciall truſt and practiſe for the ſtate of her health.

An. Dom. 1594. Lopez his treaſon.

(115) Hee a fit inſtrument to act without ſuſpect, received for an *earneſt*, a *Iewell of gold*, of good valew, garniſhed with a great *Diamond*, and a large *Rubie*, from *Chriſtopharo de Moro*, a ſpeciall Counſellor of the King of *Spaine*, whoſe luſtre ſo dazelled his eies, as the practiſe of treaſon poſſeſſed his heart, and upon farther payment of *fifty thouſand Crownes* hee covenanted to take away her Majeſties life, in a potion given her upon pretence of health. For the aſſurance of which money, *Manuel Andrada*, the bringer of the *Iewel*, conferred with the *Conde de Fuentes* at *Callis*, and *Stephano Ferrara*, a *Portugall* alſo, deale likewiſe by letters with *Stephano Ibarra* the Kings Secretary at *Bruxels*, to make the ſame ready: *Lopez* himſelfe aſſuring them the deed ſhould bee done, when the money was paid, which daily was promiſed and daily expected; the onely ſtay pretended was, that *King Philip did not well like*, that ſo baſe a perſon as *Andrada* was, ſhould bee employed in ſo waighty a cauſe.

The firſt hatching inſtigators. *Chriſtopharo de Moro.*

Manuell Andrada Conde de Fuentes.

Stephano Ferrara.

(116) Whereupon *Ferrara* of better repute with the King, received bils of exchange for the money, delivered by the *Counte Fuentes*, and from the ſaid *Counte*, *Manuell Lewis* another *Portugall*, was preſently ſent into *England* to conferre with *Ferrara*, and they both with *Lopez*, who faithfully promiſed upon the payment of the money to performe the villany. At which very inſtant Gods mercy did bring to light the conſpiracy, through the continuall vigilancy of ſome Lords of the Counſell, in which number never any Prince had more, *Sapient, Sedulous*, Provident, and experienced Sages, then *Shee* had.

Queene Eliz. moſt carefull Counſellours.

Lopez put to triall.

(117) And to make experiment of his intendments, *Lopez* was appointed to give the Queen Phyſicke, who made ready the potion, and brought it to her preſence. But her Majeſty knowing what hee leaſt ſuſpected, told him, hee muſt goe miniſter to the Lord Treaſurer, *Cicill*, who at that preſent had more need of Phyſicke then her ſelfe; whereupon *Lopez* with double diligence repaired unto him, ſignifying his comming was to miniſter his Lordſhip Phyſicke, ſo commanded him by the Queene: yea marry ſaid the old man but what is your Phyſicke? a purge and it pleaſe your honour ſaid *Lopez*: a purge Maſter Doctor ſaid the L. Treaſurer, I thinke I muſt become a Phyſitian to Purge you, and thereupon he apprehended him for a Traitor, who ſtood ſo perplexed with feare, that his preſence was ſcarce tollerable for the ſmell. Then other Doctors of Phyſicke were called, for to examine the ingredients, who eaſily found that the potion was poiſon, for which hee was indicted and arraigned at Barre, where hee pleaded not guilty, and his *two Conſorts* by long circumſtances ſought to ſave their lives, yet their former confeſſions ſubſcribed with their own hands, gave ſufficient teſtimony of their guilts; for which at *Tyburne* upon the ſeventh of *June* they ſuffered death.

Lopez apprehended of treaſon.

Febru 28.

(118) *Stephano Ibarra* thus failing of his purpoſe, by theſe Portugall fals, ſought yet to raiſe the fabricke of his wicked intents, upon the reſolutions of ſome *Engliſh fugitives*; among whom none were held more fit then *Edmund Yorke*, and *Richard Williams*, ſouldiers by profeſſion, and two deſperate Champions for the quarrell of *Rome*; unto whom *Hugh Owen* an Engliſh Rebell, and *Spaniſh Penſioner*, ſhewed an aſſignation, under that Secretaries hand, *of foure thouſand Crownes* to bee given them for to murther their Queene; and for aſſurance that the ſame ſhould be forth comming, the aſſignation was delivered in *Depoſito*, to *Holt* an *Engliſh Ieſuite*, who producing the Sacrament, and kiſſing it, tooke ſolemne Oath to pay the mony as ſoone as the fact was done.

Stephano Ibarra.

Yorke and williams treaſon.

Owen.

(119) To forward this enterprize, three ſeverall conſultations were held at *Bruxels*, wherein *Holt* late as Preſident, and *William Stanley* Proteſtor for this divelliſh deſigne, animating *Yorke* by his uncles example, to be conſtantly reſolved as a man ordained for his Countries good, and though many had miſcarried in attempting the Act, yet that it was meritorious and eaſie to be done. *Thomas Throgmorton, Michaell Moody, Charles Paget, Henry Owen, Edmund Garret*, and the two divine Doctors, *Gifford* and *Worthington* were principall ſpeakers in this impious *Parliament*, all of them eager to egge on the two undertakers, & to joyne to them a third man, named *Young*, whoſe taske ſhould be to kill the greateſt Counſellors, as ſoone as the Queene ſhould be dead. The laſt that ſpake was *Holt the Preſident*, who after he had miniſtred theſe Traitors their oathes, in threatning wiſe, menaced to take from the *Engliſh* this high and acceptable ſervice, and to employ therein Strangers, who were farre more worthy: and ſo ſent the two former into *England* with his bleſſing, which nevertheleſſe could not ſave them from the Gallowes: their purpoſes were to get entertainement of ſome great Courtier, the better to effect what they intended, and to ſeeme men of ſome note for intelligence, ſent from *Callis* to procure their paſport, but the vigilant eye of the *Engliſh State* had found out their treaſons before (and bringing them afterwards to their trials, they were found guilty, judged, and died like traitors.

Conſulters about furthering the treaſon.

Young.

(120) The laſt publike attempter, that aſſaied the Queenes death, was *Edward Squire*, a Scriviener of *Greenewich*, who by deputation had emploiment of a purveyor in the Stable, but being in wite above his vocation, and carrying his ſailes above his fortunes; put himſelfe in action for Sea in the laſt voyage that *Sir Francis Drake* made into the Indies. Embarked he was in a ſmall ſhippe, called the *Francis*, who loſing the Fleete about *Guadalupe*, was taken by five Spaniſh Frigots, and with other brought Priſoners into *Spaine*: where falling in acquaintance with *Richard Walpoole* an *Engliſh fugitive*, by order a Ieſuite, in great credite, and vicar Generall to *Perſons*

Edward Squires treaſons.

An. Dom. 1597. Walpoole the Ieſuite.

in

in his absence, was by him observed to bee of more capacity then commonly was found in a man of his quality, or education; for yeeres, mature, and passed his middle age; for carriage well advised, and resolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his eminent danger.

Squire a fit subject to worke upon.

(121) Vpon him *Walpoole* therefore meant to worke, conceiving for his purpose two speciall advantages: the one, that comming into *Spaine* a Prisoner, and not a fugitive, his returne into *England* would be without suspect; the other, that *Squire* had beene employed in the *Queenes* stable, and therefore had liberty of free accesse: But the more to involue what hee intended, hee subtilly caused *Squier* to be apprehended by the *Inquisition*, and put prisoner into the *holy House*: where mollified by distresse, hee got his heart into his hands, so that of a Neuter he became a fixed Romanist.

(122) This first assay prooving effectuall, for an introduction to his further intendments, he fell into the old song; whose burden was the tyrannies vsed, and the persecutions exercised in *England* against the poore Catholikes; vpon how few persons the English State did stand, and how easily those props were to be removed, if any devoted would put to their hands. *Squier* who wanted no wit to perceive whereat he aymed; first, gaue some slight signification, and after a more serious protestation, that he was the man, that would sacrifice himselfe and his service in the cause.

Walpoole projects the killing of the *Earle* of *Essex*.

(123) The good Father having thus got him into the circle, began then the charme: *It were* (said he) *no doubt a worke meritorious to kill the Earle of Essex; but vnum necessarium, one thing is necessary*: And then told him plainely, that he meant to put a fervice vpon him of great worth, and reward; which he might accomplish without any evident perill of life, because it was to bee done not immediately vpon her person, nor in her presence, neither yet in doing it (though hee were seen) should bee endangered, being acted as hee would prescribe; and that was to impoyson the pommell of the Queenes saddle, at such time as thee should ride abrode, the pommell being the place, whereon thee would rest her hand, and her hand not unlikely to touch her mouth or nostrils, would give accesse to the forcible poison, This, said he, might easily be performed, he having familiar acquaintance in the Quirry, yea and that very safely; but if otherwise, and *immediate death happened, he should be assured, that for the exchange of this present and transitory life, to enjoy the state of a glorious Saint in heaven.*

He teacheth how to poyson the Queens Saddle.

Walpoole hellish consultations.

(124) Which *Syrens* song ended, and *Squier* invegled; confessions, vowes, promises, receit of the Sacrament, and all confirmed the resolution of the divellish attempt; and to prevent varying from this Center, *Walpoole* told him, *that now hee stood in the state of damnation, if hee did not his uttermost endeavour to performe his vow*, bidding him remember, *how that the sinne of backslyding did seldome obtaine pardon; and if he did but once make doubt of the lawfulnesse or merit of the act, it was enough to cast him head-long downe into hell*; and if he did conceive any difficulties, he wished him to consider *what it availed a man, to win the whole world, and to loose his owne soule.*

His ghostly Counsels.

His Fatherly benediction.

(125) *Squier* thus armed (though not with the complete Armour of the Apostle) fell downe in confession before this *Iesuites* feet; whom hee lifted vp, hugd him about the necke with his left arme (such were *Squiers* owne words) and crossing him with his other hand, mumbled a few words in Latine, and then distinctly in English spake thus; *God blesse thee, and give thee strength my sonne; bee of good courage, I pawne my soule for thine, and thou shalt have my prayers dead, and alive.* Thereupon delivering vnto him the poyson, directed how it should be vsed; and shewed him the nature of the confection; which was, to bee put into a double bladder, and when it was to bee employed, to bee pricked full of holes, and so pressed out vpon the pommell of the Queenes saddle; the operation whereof was such, that vpon his hand hee must have a thicke double glove, least the poyson thereof should infect himselfe; whose vigour also was such, as neither continuance of time; nor subtilty of ayre could checke or un-vertuate the strength: And that the matter might bee carried without all suspect, an exchange was accepted of two Spanish prisoners in *England*, for *Rowles* and *Squier* to be released from *Spaine*.

The use and force of the poyson.

(126) Thus himselfe poysened in heart; and minding to poyson others, being monied by the *Iesuite*, arrived in *England*, not long before the expedition for *Cadiz*; which action (as hee thought) fitted him well, and thereupon made suite and obtained it, to attend the *Earle of Essex* in his owne ship; as well to be absent when the poyson should worke on *her Majesty* (which he meant to bestow before his departure) as to have opportunity thereby, to poyson the *Earle* himselfe. Occasion being given by the Queenes riding abroad, and her Horse made ready, and attending in the Stable-yard, thither *Squier* repaired *full of evill spirits*; and laying his hand upon the pommell of her Saddle, bruised out the poyson in the bladder saying cheerfully, *God save the Queene*; with no better affection then *Ioab* bare to *Amasa*, when with his hand he tooke him to kisse him, but with his sword struck him to the heart. His part thus plaid, *Gods wonted and wonderfull protection beganne*, who vnder his Canopy or wings of mercy had ever shadowed her from the stroke of danger, for albeit the * season was hot, and the veines open to receive any maligne tainture, yet her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand felt no more hurt, then *Pauls* did, when hee shooke of the Viper into the fire.

So many and so continually were the conspiracies.

Squier preacth for the Queens safety, when he attempts to poyson her. 1. Sam. 20. 9.

* In Iuly.

Act. 28. 5.

(127) The deed thus done, without all mistrust, *Squier* taking the remaine of the poyson, within sixe daies after departed to the Sea, and had his entertainment in the *Earle of Essex* his owne Ship, where seeking to finish his *divellish desigme* betwixt *Faial* and *Saint Michaels*, bestowed his confection vpon the pommels of a wodden chaire, wherein the Earle usually fate at meales: which in like manner (the Lord so working) tooke not effect, to the no little admiration of *Squier*, though very well satisfied, that the default was not his, but rather in the poyson it selfe; and his vow now discharged (as he thought) he slept the more quiet.

Many more conspiracies then ever came to light.

Squiers endeavour to poyson the Earle of *Essex* going to *Cadiz*.

(128) *Walpoole* the Iesuite over-tickled with ioye of his hoped successe, and not able longer to keepe secrecy, imparted his treasons to his companions in *Spaine*, who together with him daily expected the issue thereof, but all things silent, and no newes of the *Catastrophe*, they changed their opinions, and held *Squier* for a false brother, when as also their longing hearts beganne to feare, lest the maine cause would bee mard, being cast into so bad a mould. Whereupon a consultation was called, and the Sicophant condemned in the highest degree, whose end must be speedily wrought, or else those Catholike proceedings would surely come to wracke; for that he knowing much, would (as was feared) reveale much more; and therefore it was politikely concluded, that one should be let slip from them into *England*, to give information of *Squiers* treasons.

Squiers misfortunes successe.

Squier misinformed to be false brother.

(129) This man to have the more credit, brought two letters in his budget, the one he affirmed, himself had stolne out of a *Iesuite* study, & the other brought from another person, both which indeed were found to bee counterfeit; and *Squier* for the present reputed an honest man. Yet because the matter was tender, and touched neer the quicke, *Squier* was sent for; and examined; at first hee denies all, but comming to circumstances; something was found, hold taken, and the Traitor committed to Prison; who left alone, beganne to bethinke him how farre his Confessors Confession might extend, and therefore by good Counsell (the truth withall working) he

A counterfeit messenger sent from the Iesuites.

Squier voluntarily confesseth his treason.

he disclosed the Treason, and how far he had therein gone, which indeed no man had knowledge of but himselfe, and this confessed at the Tower, without torture, and at the Barre with remorse of conscience, he had his sentence of death, which he accordingly suffered.

The first motive to the State to make sharpe lawes to prevent Treasons.

1 Sam. 20. 3.

(130) Had not then the *wise Statists* of the Land, cause to enact such Lawes as they did; to set the shaking Sword in the entrance of this *faire Eden*, and to stop out the wilde Boare that would lay the Vineyard waste? their *Queene* and lamp of Glory, having thus often and narrowly escaped extinguishing, by as many hands of murthering *Priests* and *Iesuites*, as *Dauid* had pursuers of his life, when to *Ionathan* he complained, that *there was but a step betwixt him and death?* So that iustly in a conference of Parliament, for meanes to be had against the many conspirators, daily levelling at her royall heart, one of good repute, having experience of their desperate designes, in the open Assembly, with a feeling affection, thus uttered his minde: *that every night when hee awaked, he feared to heare some newes of desperate mischiefe, and protested before God, he never saw the light of the day, but that he feared before the Sun-set, to heare of some strange attempt.*

(131) For as the Pope had denounced under his Buls, an absolution to him that would dethroane *Elizabeth, Englands faire Queene*: so were there many foule minded Proselites, that reputed her bloud as an acceptable sacrifice, which many times they sought to offer unto their God: but hers and our God, *the Watchman of Israel, neither slumbred nor slept in protecting her Person, as the apple of his eye*; whose just defence, her innocency, and their bloudy guilts, have often divulged to the whole world; never any Prince escaping so many dangers, as this most *milde and maiden Queene* in her daies had done, and many more no doubt were put in practice, which lay groveling in darkenesse, and never came to light, and as the *workes of darkenesse*, so let them lie, and let us hasten to our former, and farre more pleasing Subject. Having therefore from the yeare 1570. made our digression, for the closer relation of all those treacheries together; let us thence pursue the ensuing occurrents of her raigne and life.

Parl. in An. 13. Eliz. Reg. April. 2.

(132) In *Anno* 1571. and thirteenth of her most happy Raigne, that the State might be stayed upon an approved succession, a Parliament was called, and therein thus was enacted: *For the avoiding of contentions, and seditions spreading abroad titles to the succession of the Crowne of this Realme, to the disturbing of the quiet of the Realme: Be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that whosoever shall hereafter during the life of our said Soveraigne Lady, by any Booke, or worke printed or written, directly and expressly declare, and affirme at any time before the same bee by Act of Parliament of this Realme established and affirmed, that any one particular person, whosoever is he, is, or ought to be the right Heire and successor to the Queenes Majesty that now is, (whom God long preserve) except the same be the naturall issue of her body: or shall wilfully set up in open place, publish, or spread any Bookes or Scrowles to that effect; or shall print, binde, or put to sale, or vtter any such Booke, or writing wittingly: that he, or they, their Abettors and Counsellors, and every of them shall for the first offence suffer imprisonment of one whole yeare, and forfeit halfe his goods, whereof the one moity to the Queenes Majesty, the other moity to him or them that will sue for the same, by bill, action of debt, plaint, information, or otherwise, in any of the Queenes Majesties Courts, wherein no essoyne or protection shall be allowed: And if any shall essoomes off and therein, then they, and every of them, their Abettors, and Counsellors shall incurre the paines and forfeitures which in the Statutes of provision, or premunire are appointed and limitted.*

(133) Notwithstanding, these sharpe threats, and seeming set edge against such offenders, and disturbers of State, yet was the prosecution thereof executed with a more soft temper: for not any one person (resting there onely without further attempts) felt the weight of that imposed fine: so milde was the disposition of this Maiden Queene, and so inclined to mercy, though necessitie required more strict Iustice in those rebellious, and Papall times.

(134) But that Pen of *Sanders* which enviously hath written, and those Romanists that suspiciously have glozed upon the words of that Parliament, *the Naturall Issue of her Body*, as intended for an unlawfull Bed, let be accursed, and them accounted for shameleese Recorders of State passages, who oprobriously seeke and search into the thoughts of farre better Subjects, and by their selfe-wicked imaginations, doe blot the faire proceedings of that Honourable Assembly, and as much as in them is, defame the vertues of that Virgin Queene: whose chaste remembrance among her many other Princely parts, is celebrated through the whole World, and ever shall be.

(135) But she being the *Maule* that beate downe ther *Dagon*, and the *Lyon* that met their crooked *Serpent* in his way, those *Wizards* teeth were set on edge with untruths, and their tongues as sharpe *Razors* whetted unto slander: for which let themselves expect, and we attend what reward shall be given unto such false tongues.

Pfalme 120.

(136) Nor was *Scotland* free from their treacherous attempts, when at the same time their *Regent* was slaine by the shot of an Harquebuse, as he rode through *Lithquo*, mistrusting no danger. And a roade made into *England* in time of peace, by some discontented Scotish, who carryed great booties with them into *Scotland*: to recover which, *Sussex* the Earle Generall, and Lord *Hunsdon*, Governour of *Barwicke* followed, and in *Tividale* did much hurt to the Inhabitants.

Walter Stot. Tho. Kyr.

(137) New troubles thus arising, as well for the death of the Regent, as for the under propping of the then falling Pinacles of the Church of *Rome*, the Land full of factions, and all in civill broyles, the English Queenes aide was sent for, by some of the Lords, who with their helps, prevailed in winning and demolishing many strong and faire Castles. And the *Earle of Lennox* sent into *Scotland* by her Majesty, was first made *Lord Gevernour*, and after *Lord Regent*, by the election of their three Estate, who afterwards was as traytorously murthered, as the other before him had beene, which caused great troubles in *Scotland*; yea, and some Nobles of *England* were not exempted from the same.

The Earle of Lennox Regent of Scotland.

He is murthered.

(138) For *Lord Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolke*, intending some favours for the Scotish cause, proceeded so farre therein, as the letter of the Law tooke advantage of his life, to the great sorrow and laments of very many. For being a man filled with favour, both of his Prince, and of the People, Fortune at length made him a Ball for her banding; who first from *Burnam* besides *Windsor* was brought to *Westminster*, and thence by water was left Prisoner in the *Tower*, where hee remained from the eleventh of *October*, unto the fourth of *August* following, and then was removed to the *Charter-House* neere *Smithfield*, where he abode thirteene moneths space; till lastly he was sent backe againe into the *Tower*, where, upon the Hill, and ordinary Scaffold, he penitenly suffered death.

The Duke of Norfolkes troubles.

The good esteeme of the Duke.

Released out of the Tower.

The Dukes end. June 2. An. Dom. 1572.

(139) In this yeare of Christs nativity, 1572. the eighteenth of *November*, appeared a strange Starre or Comet Northward, in the Constellation of *Cassiopeia*, even at the backe of her Chayre; which with three chiefe fixed Starres of the said Constellation, made a *Geometricall* figure losing-wise. This Starre in bigneese at the first appearing, seemed bigger then *Iupiter*, and not much lesse then *Venus*, when shee seemeth greateest. It never changed place, but was carried about with the daily motion of the Heavens, as all fixed Starres commonly are; and was observed by the greatest *Mathematicians* to have beene in place celestiall farre above the *Moone*, otherwise then

ever any Comet hath beene seene, or naturally can appeare, nor the like from the beginning of the World did ever appeare, unlesse it were that which at Christs Nativitie was seene, unto which Starre indeed *Philip* of *Mornay*, *Lord of Plessie*, doth compare it. *Tru. Christ. Relig. Chap.* 34.

Duell or combat for title of Lands.

(140) About which time, a strange case (which we will insert, rather *to shew* the course of *Iustice* and *mercy* of the *Queene*, then for any other great use in Story) happened at the Common-Law Barre: where *Simon Lowe*, and *John Kyme* were *Plaintifes*, for a certaine Mannor and demaines in the *Isle of Harty*, adjoyning to that of *Sheppey in Kent*, wrongfully *possest* (as they alleaged) by *Thomas Paramour*, against whom they brought *a Writ of right*: the *Defendant offered* to maintaine his Title by *Combate*, which the *Plaintifes accepted*, and brought their Champions before the Iudges to the Barre. For *Paramour* was *George Thorne*, of a bigge and broad set, who cast downe his Gauntlet as *Challenger*, to iustifie *Paramours* right, which was taken up by *Henry Naylor* Master of Defence, a man proper and slender, and not very tall, who appeared *for Lowe and Kyme*, to make good their claime.

The two Champions.

The place of Combate.

(141) The place appointed for Combate, was in *Tuttle-fields*, where a Plot of ground of one and twenty yards square, was doubly rayled, and without the West-square a Stage for the Iudges, representing the *Court of Common Pleas*, behind the which two Tents were pitched, the one for *Thorne*, and the other for *Naylor*, the field with Scaffolds on every side for People to see: All things thus ready, and the day drawing on, her Majesty (who ever abhorred all bloud-shed) tooke the matter into her owne hands, and gave command, and directions for the Parties agreement, with a surcease from all further suite, which could not well be, unlesse the Champions appeared in field; who altogether ignorant of what was determined, upon the day affigned appeared in place, *Thorne* was there first, who was brought to his Tent by *Sir Ierome Bowes*; then came *Naylor*, having the Gauntlet borne before him upon a Swords point, a Truncheon (Taper-wise) typt with horne, about an elle long, and a shield of hard leather carryed after him; and so was conveyed to his Tent by *Sir Henry Cheiney*.

Iune 18. An. Dom. 1571.

The manner of their entring lists.

(142) The Court set, and the Combatters called, *Naylor* entred the lysts, being led by the hand by *Sir Ierome Bowes*, where making his obeysance, he came to the Barre, and there held up his Shield. Then was *Thorne* brought into the lysts by *Sir Henry Cheiney*, and with like reverence hee held up his Shield. Whereupon an Oath was ministred to the *approver*, the Tenor whereof hee spake as followeth. *Heare this, you Iudges, that I have this day neither eate, drunke, nor have upon me either bone, stone, ne grasse, or any enchantment, sorcery, or witch craft, where through the power of the Word of God might bee inleased or diminished, and the Divels power increased: and that my appeale is true, so helpe me God, and his Saints, nad by this Booke.*

The oath ministred to the Challenger.

(143) Then was *Proclamation* made in her Majesties Name, that no Person of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition there present, be so hardy to give any token or signe, by countenance, speech, or language, either to the Prover, or to the Defender, whereby the one of them may take advantage of the other, and no person to remove, but keepe still his place: and every person to keepe their staves and their weapons to themselves; and suffer neither the said Prover, nor Defender to take any of of their weapons, or any other thing that may stand either to the said Prover or Defender any availe, upon paine of forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, and imprisonment of their bodies, and making fine and ransome at the Queenes pleasure. But when all these Ceremonies were ended, the Lord Chiefe Iustice stood up, and forbade the proceedings, alotting *Paramour* the Lands, with the satisfying of the *Plaintifes*, and thereupon commanded *Naylor* to give *Thorne* againe his Gauntlet, which he unwillingly did; and so the Combate being ended, we may have leave to proceed.

The Law and manner of a Combat.

The Combat ended before it begun.

(144) Peace flourishing in *England*, to the no great liking of the *Seminaries* that often sought to disturbe it: the *Regent* of *Scotland* craved aide of her Majestie, for the defence of the *young King*, and the Country, endangered at that time with civill broyles. Shee as tender in her affection, as hee dutifull in his alleageance, sent him *fifteene hundred men*, whereof *Sir William Drury*, Knight Marshall of *Berwicke*, was Generall. These comming to *Edenborough*, lay battery to the Castle, with no lesse then *thirty Cannons*, and were as valiantly resisted by the *Scotish* within, but for want of fresh water, and no aide to be expected, the Souldiers sicke, hurt, over-wearied, and divided in opinion, *Lord Peterot* being let downe from the wall, by compostition the Castle was surrendred, to the use of the *young King*, whereupon the *English* returned to *Berwicke*.

An. Dom. 1573.

The Queene sends ayde to the Regent of Scotland.

Edenborough Castle surrendred.

(145) This time of *Elizabeths*, like unto that of *Augustus*, when the Temple of *Ianus* stood (for the most part) continually shut, made *London* like *Rome*, to be most magnificently repaired, and with many *stately edifices* adorned, among which, for beautie and commodious use, none is more famous then the *Royall Exchange*, (so named by her Highnesse) whose Founder was Sir *Thomas Gresham* Knight, Agent to her Majestie, built for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whose Trafficks were great, and in these times of peace, extended their Navigations into the farthest, (and till then, unsearched) parts of the World.

The Royall Exchange built.

(146) For the searching and unsatisfied spirits of the *English*, to the great glory of our Nation, could not be contained within the Bankes of the *Mediterranean* or *Levant Seas*, but that they passed farre, towards both the *Articke* and *Antarticke* Poles, enlarging their trades into the *West* and *East Indies*: to the search of whose passage, that worthy Sea Captaine Sir *Martin Furbusher*, made Saile into the *North-East-Seas*, farre further then any man before him had ever done, giving to these parts the name of *Queene Elizabeths foreland*.

English renowned navigations.

Sir Martin Furbushers navigations. An. Dom. 1576. Queene Elizabeths foreland.

(147) The next yeare hee attempted thirtie leagues further, when finding *Gold Ore* (as was thought) and taking a man, woman, and child, of the *Savage Contaynes*, he returned into *England*; but as his gold proved drosse, so these lived not long, neither turned that discovery to any great profit, though it was againe the third time affaied by himselfe, and since by other most *famous Navigators*; the *North-west* by Englishmen being lately descried, to bee Seas more safe, and the passage of farre better hope.

Trade with Turkes and Muscovites.

Mr. I. Sa.

(148) Among these *Sea-Worthies* our *famous Vlisses*, *Sir Francis Drake* is the first in the ranke, who the yeare of *Christ Iesus* 1577. and fifteenth of November, set saile from *Plimmouth* in a Fleet of *five Ships*, and one hundred, sixty foure men, who having put of *Cap de Verd*, in the beginning of *February*, hee saw no land, til the fifth of *April* following, being past the line, thirtie three degrees of latitude, and in the 36. degree entred the River *Plate*; whence hee fell with the *straite of Magellan* the one and twentie of *August*, which with *three of his Ships* he passed, having cast off the other two as impediments unto him, and the *Mariegold* tossed from her Generall after passage, was no more seene; but the other whereof *Master Iohn Winter* was Captaine, shaken also off by tempest, returned through the straits, and recovered *England*, only *the Pellican* whereof himselfe was Admirall, held on her course to *Chily*, *Coquimbo*, *Cinnano*, *Palma*, *Lima*, upon the West of *America*, where he passed the line the first day of *March*, and so forth till hee came to the *Latitude* 47. thinking by those *North-Seas* to have found passage to *England*. But fogs, frosts and cold winds forced him to turne his Course

Sir Francis Drakes Ship kept as a Monument.

Sir Francis Drakes voyage. An. Dom. 1577. 79. Hollust in English voyages.

Francis Drake passeth the Straits of Magellan.

The 13. of February they came to Lima, in the degree 11. 50 minutes. An. Dom. 1578.

Course South-West from thence, and came to anchor 38. degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey presented unto him his networke Crowne of many coloured feathers, and resigneth therewith his Scepter of government unto his devotion, his people so admiring our men, that they facrificed unto them, as to their gods. This place for the glory of *England*, he named *Nova Albion* according to her ancient name; and at his departure reared a Monument to witnesse what there had beene done, which was a plate of brasse fixed in an eminent place, wherein was engraven her Majesties name, and her right to that province, as freely given unto her deputy both by King and people. Wherein also was written the yeare and day of their entrance, and of the lands deliverance; under which plate he put her Majesties picture and armes in a peece of Siver to retaine the memory of this service unto posteritie. From thence the fourteenth of *November* he fell with *Ternate* one of the *Iles of Molucco*, being courteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came unto the *Iles of Celebees*, to *Iava Major*, to the *Cape Buona Speranze*, and fell with the Coasts of *Guinea*, whence crossing againe the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence into *England* upon the third of November and yeare of Salvation 1580, after he had beene at Sea with such fortunate successe the space of three yeares lacking twelue daies. The small vessell wherein this admirable voyage was performed, was at her Majesties commandement, laid up in the docke besides *Deepeford*, where it remaineth as a monument of *Englands* great fame, unto this day; and the worthy Generall honoured with Knighthood, being the first that by travell encompassed the *Earth*, and saw the wonderous workes of God in those great deepes.

(149) The Seas thus knowne, *our Merchants* began to trade with the *Muscovites*, and *Turkes*, whose priviledge for Trafficke the *Great Sultan* sent them, confirmed under his Regall Seale, and at their Ambassadors request (without direction from her Majesty) made peace with the King of *Poland*, as by his owne letters sent unto our Queene is apparant; the Coppy whereof being delivered unto mee by him who had beene Deputy Ambassador in *Constantinople*, I have here inserted translated word for word as followeth.

The Sultan Muraht his Letters to her Majestie.

(150) *Most glorious, and in brightnesse most splendant woman, and of women the chiefest Prince of the mighsie followers of Iesus. Queene of the most famous Kingdome of* England, *most excellent* Elizabeth, *most sapient Governesse of all the affaires of the People, and Family of the* Nazarites, *the most pleasant Spring of brightnesse and glory, the most acceptable Cloud sweet showers, the heire and Lady of perpetuall happinesse, and blessednesse, of the most famous Kingdome of* England, *to whom all distressed suters doe flocke for reliefe. We wishing from GOD the mighty Creator, a most fortunate increase of all the affaires of your Excellency, and happy successe; and offering eternall vowes and praises worthy of our mutuall and perpetuall familiarity and league, and declaring the premisses, and that which followeth with singular decentnesse: Wee give you to understand most friendly, that certaine yeares passed, we had continuall warres with Casulbas, Prince of Persia, in right of our People, by reason whereof wee would not make warre upon other parts, whereby certaine thieves in the parts of* Polonia, *called* Cosackes, *and other wicked persons lurking in those confines, daily troubled and grieved our Subiects: now the Persian being vanquished, and by the power of the Almightie Creator, matters in those parts being compounded, wee determined to punish the said persons lurking in* Poland, *and other parts; and by the* Beglerby *of* Greece *our Army being ioyned, and sent with our charge by a Prince of* Tartaria, *in the yeare last passed, a part of the Kingdome of* Polonia, *was on our behalfe troubled, and wasted, and the said* Cosackes, *and other wicked persons were punished accordingly to their deserts, which the King of* Poland *seeing, and sending two messengers to our blessed Port, to inquire, finde out, and punish in full punishment, signified so much unto us, and required our acceptations of his present; but we would not allow his Petition, but had fully determined againe to send our Army against the said King of* Poland; *but the Ambassador of your Majestie remaining in our blessed Port, interposing himselfe, and signifying that he did assist your Excellency with Corne, Gun-powder, Masts, and other things, necessary for warre, out of the confines of* Polonia; *now when as the Kingdome of* Polonia *by our meanes was troubled, and your Ambassador declared unto us your singular and peculiar pleasure, the same his declaration and intercession was unto us gratefull and acceptable, and your Excellency to whom we owe all favours and honour. We wrote our Letters to the King of* Polonia *on this manner; that the said factious wicked persons and* Cosackes *should be found out and fully punished, but if on the behalfe of your Majesty, a loving league of peace had not beene sollicited for the King of* Poland, *we would not by any meanes have entred League with him, but onely at your request we have shewed this grace to the said King and his Subiects, and sith our familiarity is mutuall and perpetuall, we thinke it convenient that your Majesty joyning your selfe with the Kingdome of* Polonia, *doe not leave to continue warre with the King of* Spaine, *who so long time hath kept warre against you; and if your Majesty be not grieved to write unto us by some trusty man, we vow, by the aide of the Omnipotent Creator, that all necessary things shall be on our part finished and ordered, that a speedy dispatch may be made into* Spaine, *wherein for our parts no assistance shall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt. Given in our Royall Seat at* Constantinople, *in the yeare of* Iesus, *1590, and of our Prophet* Mahomet *998, in the moneth called* Sadele, *the xij.*

Sadel.

But from these farre travels, long and chargeable adventures, let us returne to our neerer home proceedings, under the Government of our prudent *Queene Sheba*.

(151) *Gregory*, of that name the thirteenth, and stout stirring man of *Rome*: seeing *Pope Pius* his thunderbolts fall short of the marke whereunto they were aimed, thought it necessary to raise that begun foundation, (though with ill burnt bricke, and bad tempred morter) as that his mounted Cannons from the height, might reach and command where the other had left: To which purpose he sollicited *Philip* King of *Spaine*, after his fortunes had set him in *Portugall Anno* 1582. to undertake warre against *Queene Elizabeth* either directly, or underhand, in favour of the Irish Rebels, unto which charge he offered not only his holy blessing, and spirituall treasure, but also to acquit him of the fruits of the *Archbishopricke of Toledo*, long retained in his hands, whilest the Archbishop remained suspended, and the King received some millions of Crownes, which the Pope claimed to belong unto the See of *Rome*. But *Philip* not yet ready to attempt upon *England*, joyned with him for the conquest of *Ireland*; the one sending fixe hundred men under the command of *Thomas Stukely*, whom he had lately stiled Marquesse of *Ireland*, (a profuse and defamed person throughout all *Christendome*, flying out of *England* for his many Piracies, and now imploied to follow the consecrated *Standard* of the Church;) the other, bearing all the charge, with an addition of three hundred Spaniards, sending money with them to wage foure thousand men more; and the more to kindle the flames of Rebellions, *Doctor Sanders* (the Arch-Rebell and English Fugitive) was sent from the Popes holy side.

An. Dom. 1583.

Pope Gregory incites the King of Spaine against England.

Spanish Hist.

The Pope and King of Spaine send supply unto the Irish rebels.

The Stukely and a band of Spaine attempt Ireland.

(152) These landing in *Ireland* and Countie of *Kerry*, upon a Promontory shooting it selfe into the *West-Sea*, raised their consecrated standard, built their Fort *Del-Ore*, and with many threats gave forth that

The Spaniards fortifie in Ireland.

Desmond well hoped to be sole King of *Ireland*.

1 King. 20. 11.

The Lord *Grey* Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Spaniards slaine by Lord *Grey*.

All the Irish as well women as men slaine at *Del Ore*.

James Desmond slaine by a common Souldier.

An. Dom. 1573. *Walter* Earle of Essex, in *Ireland*.

The name or title of *O-Neale* forbidden.

Turlogh a tyrant against his neighbours.

Baron *Dungannon* got imployments of the Queene.

He is made Earle of *Tir-Oen*.

the Country should shortly know wherefore they were come: and *Desmond*, a man desperate to evill, put in action by papall authoritie, had laid his hopes no lower (by these aides now arrived) then presently to become the sole King of *Ireland*, as *Benhadad* boasted over *Israel* before his harnesse was put on.

(153) To salute this puppet King, and to welcome these papals with such entertainment as his martiall sword would allow, *Arthur* Lord *Grey* Baron of *Wilton*, then *Deputy of Ireland*, hasted to *Dingle*, and so to *Del-Ore*, where he had them to sir sharpe a banquet, that all the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Biscayes*, notwithstanding their bragging bravadoes yeelded their weapons at the first brunt, and upon the points of the adversaries, died without mercy; the Captaines, Coronell, Secretary and few more reserved for ransome. The Fort they had stored with money, Bisket, Bacon, Oile and Wine, sufficient to hold out the space of sixe moneths, and furnished with powder, shot, and armour sufficiently for two thousand men: with them all the Irish as well women as men died; and *Desmond* driven into extreame want, fearing the pricke of every thorne, and the shadow of every bush, notwithstanding he was armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an enchanted ring sent from the Popes owne finger hung about his necke, yet could he not keepe his traiterous head upon his shoulders; when like a wolfe wandering in the woods for his prey, was in a poore Cottage wonded by a Souldier rushing in upon him, and being knowne was presently cut shorter by the head. But with his end, ended not the troubles of *Ireland*, especially those parts of *Vlster*, that lay most remote from *England*.

(154) And whereunto, *Walter Earle of Essex*, accompanied with the Lord *Rich*, and others, had formerly made an expedition, aswell to reduce those wilde Irish unto a more civill life and respective obedience unto the English Crowne, as to winne them to the knowledge of Christ, whom they most ignorantly worshipped. But the death of this Nobleman hapening before his intendments could bee accomplished, left that to be followed by others which himselfe had begun.

(155) The troubles of which Province we have partly touched unto the death of *Shan O-Neale*, whose Seginories by Parliament were invested into the Queenes hands, and a Law enacted, that from thence forth no man should assume the name or title of *O-Neale*. After which some small blasts of peace breathed upon those parts; till shortly *Turlogh Leinigh*, a brothers sonne of *Con-More* the Grandfather of this *Shan*, by a popular election tooke that stile upon him, a man stept farre in yeares, which made him more quiet, and much the rather for feare of *Shan O-Neales* sonnes, but especially of *Hugh Baron of Dungannon* the sonne of bastard *Mathew*, unto whom he had given his daughter in Marriage, and the said Baron had lately repudiated and cast off.

(156) This *Turlogh* was most obsequious and serviceable to Queene *Elizabeth*, stirring no troubles to the *English*, though to his neighbours the *Irish* he proved most sterne: For, *O-Donell* he disquieted, the *Scots* of the *Islands*; he molested, and in an incounter slew *Alexander Oge* the slayer of *Shan O-Neale*; and indeed became so fearefull, that his sonne in law *Hugh*, lay hid from him in his owne Country, and lastly escaped his hands into *England*, where to raise himselfe from his obscure estate and condition, hee got command of a troupe of Horse, with a pension of a thousand markes by yeare from the Queene. Whose service against the Rebellious *Desmond*, was so well performed and accepted, that he obtained the place and title of Earle of *Tir-Oen*, pleading the Letters patent of King *Henry* the eight, granted to his Grand-father, and his heires males, where of himselfe was the sonne of *Mathew*, created *Baron of Dungannon* by the same King. Thus growne unto greatnesse, old *Turlogh* upon certaine conditions, resigned unto him the Government of *Vlster*, where shortly combining himselfe with the men of most might, they together associated their strengths to defend the Romish religion, for that was the mantle that ever covered their hatched rebellions.

(157) The first *Champion* that founded the Alarum was *Mac-Guyre* a man of a turbulent spirit, thrust forward by *Guaran* a Priest, whom *Pope Vrban* the second had ordained Primate of *Ireland*, commanding him in the name of God to fight there the *Lords* Battaile, affuring him by his Apostolicall warrant, of most fortunate proceedings, and happy successe. But see how this great Prophet was deceived; for by the valour of Sir *Richard Bingham*, *Mac-Guyre* was discomfited, and the primate Priest slaine in the field.

Mac Guyre.

Guaran bought his primacy at a deere rate.

(158) The Confederacie thus broken, *Mac-Guyre* set himselfe for open rebellion; whom *Tir-Oen* in shew of his dutifull obedience pursueth, and was so forward in service; that he received a wound. in his thigh to his no little honour. Whereupon he became of greater respect in the *English* Court, and more enhaunsed in his owne esteeme; so that he feared not to exhibite Complaints against the *Lord Deputy Sir William Fitz-Williams*, the Marshall, whose sister hee had married, and the Garrisons souldiers that Guarded those parts. But the *Deputy* recalled, and *Sir William Russell* appointed in his place; as if all quarrels had beene quite forgotten, he came unto the new Lord Deputy, and exhibited an humble submission upon his knees, wherein he dolefully expressed his inward griefe, in that her Majestie had conceived some indignation against him. His absenting himselfe from the State, he confessed was disagreeable to his obedience, albeit to be somewhat excused by the hard measure (as he alledged) of the late Deputy, and Marshall, that were combined for his destruction. Hee acknowledged that the Queenes Majestie had advanced him in title, dignitie and great livings, and himselfe unworthy of any, but rather dishonour and ruine, if hee should become ungratefull unto so good a Princesse. With these & the like complements of his true heart and meaning, he posseſt the Counsell of *Ireland*, that albeit *Sir Henry Bagnall* the Marshall was presēt, and charged him with many subornations of *Mac-Guyre*, the Primate, the beſiege of *Inis-Kellin* and others, hee was by them dismissed and sent home, to the great discontent of the Queene, and disquietnesse of the Land, as afterward followed, and in course of time and story shall be declared.

Tir-Oen good service against *Mac Guyre*.

Tir-Oen grown very bold.

Sir William Russel Lord Deputy.

Tir-Oen Dissimulation.

(159) Long before these last *Irish* troubles, (as you may obserue in the relation of some former attempts against the Queene) the brands of dissention were blowne into flames, betwixt *Queene Elizabeth of England*, and *Philip* the second of that Name, King of *Spaine*; whose first breaking forth was in the *Netherlanders* cause, the one persecuting, and the other defending the Religion that those people profest; and thus it began. In the yeare of Grace 1575, *Don Lewis*, Governour of those Low-Countries for the said King, sent his Agent unto *Queene Elizabeth*, desiring her to banish such of them as repayred to *England*, onely flight, and their religion, all the cause alledged against them.

Edw. Grimston in hiſt. Nether. bb.10.

The Spanish hostility with *England*.

Don Lewis sent to have the *Netherlanders* banished out of *England*.

(160) Her answer was short, and nothing acceptable, that thee held it unworthy the Majesty of a Prince, to chase away those poore exiled and scattered *Netherlanders*, that were fled into her Dominions, for the safetie of their lives, and to avoid the Spanish tyranny, exercised onely in case of their consciences. And yet the forbade some men of speciall note, as also such as bare armes, to enter *England*, upon condition that *Westmorland* should bee banished the *Low-Countries*, with such other Rebels as had fled to the *Spaniard*. But the Clergy intending to bring their *Spanish* Inquisition into those parts, the Prince of *Orange* entred conference with the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, touching the defence

Pag. 622.

Conference among the States how to withstand the *Spanish* Inquisition.

Edw. Grimston. lib. 10. pag. 619.

The Emperour the French King the Queene of *England* in election for defence.

Objections against the Emperour.

Objections against the *French* King.

Queene *Elizabeth* chosen to be the defender.

The reasons alleaged to have *Elizabeth* their governour.

The States of the Low-Countries sent to the *English* Queene.

Don John made governour of the Low-Countries.

The States sue againe to the Queene.

The Queene sollicited by the Spanish King to the States. *Edw. Grimston. lib. 10. pag. 621.*

fence of their professed religion, and the preservation of their distressed Countries, unable of themselves (as was alleaged) long to defend themselves, and therefore it was thought fitteſt to choose them a Protector.

(161) This passing for currant among the Counsellors of estate, three were in name, *the Emperour, the French King*, and *the Queene of England*; for they were past all hope of any assurance with *Spaine* Yea of these in choise, some excepted against, as neither safe nor convenient to be yeelded unto. Against the Emperor was alleaged the diversities of religion, the small union of those *Germane Princes*, and having their hands full to keepe their owne at home, would bee the lesse able to assist with helpe abroad. The *French* (they feared) had wasted their money the onely meanes for warre) with their owne civill dissentions; if not, yet might they hardly bee trusted, as witnessed the cruell massacre lately committed. *England* then was the Pillar to which they must leane; their Queene the greateſt of all Christian Princes, their Navy the Commandresse of the Seas, and their people professing the same Religion with them, the sureſt band of Christian society: further it was alleaged that the Realmes of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* desired it, the County of *Emdem* and the Hanse Townes in the East intreated for it, *Brabant* and *Flanders* sought it; yea and the rightfull Title of the *Princesse Elizabeth*, issued from the *Earles of Holland*, and *Zeeland* by the *Lady Philip*, daughter to *William* the third of that name, *Earle of Henault* and *Holland*, did warrant it.

(162) Thus then concluded, the States were sent unto *England*, and made the end of their comming knowne to the *Queene*; who wisely weighing into what a Labirinth shee should enter, fought rather the safety of her owne, then to consent to their motion; for *Spaine* shee well knew would storme at the Vnion, and *France* bee in great jealousie to have such a neighbour; shee therefore promising to bee a mediator unto the King of *Spaine* for their peace; and after some complements of Princely entertainements, with thankes for their offer, and sufferance to carry with them many voluntary English souldiers, let them depart: whose deniall made knowne, was nothing welcome to those distressed Provinces.

(163) Long after this, *Lewis* the Governour lived not, whom *Don Iohn of Austria* (base brother to King *Philip*) succeeded; who at first made shew of most favourable affection, yet so, as urging their subjection to *Spaine*; and obedience to the Apostolicall See of *Rome*. Neither would hee come to their Counsell, without Hostages delivered, and most of their troupes to guard his suspecting person, esteeming them *Lutherans* and *Heretikes*, in whom was no trust.

(164) These mooved the States once more to sue to Her Majesty, that by her meanes, with peace they might enjoy the ancient Priviledges of their Provinces, and the freedome of their owne consciences against the Inquisition and Tyranny of *Spaine*; and indeed so lamentably deplored their case, that the pitty-full *Queene* sent into *Spaine*, to desire the King in commiseration to withdraw these extremities from the distressed. But *Philip* deafe on that eare, and *Iohn* planting his Garrisons with suspicious intents, *Elizabeth* began to looke to the maine, sending the King word, Shee liked not that his Souldiers should bee Her bad neighbours, and the *Governour* notice, that shee would not suffer the Christian *Netherlanders* to be tyrannized by his *Spaniards*. And thereupon caused the value of forty thousand Angels in Bullion, unminted (in part of an hundred thousand pound sterling promised) to bee sent unto *Brussels*, receiving the States obligations for the same: where also were confirmed certaine conditions betwixt Her and them.

(165) This mooved *Don Iohn* to such conceits, that he intended to doe wonders in *England*, by interposing himselfe in the Scottish affaires, yea, and by the destruction of *Queene Elizabeth*, whereto he is said to have got the *Popes* good furtherance. But whether by poyson or discontents, this great conceited Monarch left the Crowne of *England* where it gloriously stood, and laid his owne head in the grave of death.

John de Serres. pag. 889.

(166) And indeed so glorious was *Elizabeths* fame, growne now more potent by the Low-Countries engagements, that the wise Statists of *France*, feared their owne Starre would bee dimmed at the presence of Her bright Sunne. For *Henry* their King, though he made great shewes to doe much, both in the Church and Councell of State; in feasts, in maskes, and in treading the measures of dances, dallied out both day and night in unmeasurable delights: and yet the Clergy to hold in their owne hands the raines of Church government, with Bels, Bookes, and Beads, founded forth the zeale of his religious piety in the eares of their auditories: And to manage all remporall affaires at their owne dispose, the *Queene Mother*, and the *Guize* laid loose the bridle in his owne necke, not abridging his pleasures with their graver advices. But left the *English Maiden Queene* should be a maule to the Churchmens Maſſings, or disturbe these State-guiders by claime (as thee had done) of Her owne right in *France*; the marriage motioned nine yeeres before, betwixt their Kings brother *Francis Valois Duke of Anjou*, and *Elizabeth England's faire Queene*, was againe sollicited, in hope by this match to make her wholly theirs, the better to establish their peace: and so effectually was the sute mooved, and so acceptably heard of Her Majesty, that the *Mounsieur* came over in person to wooe Her himselfe; though to the little liking of many Nobles, and great discontent to the Commons, as (amongst other appearances) was made knowne by a booke written against it, for which by reason of some personall and over-lavish passages) the * Inditer lost his hand. But whether Her Majesty affected not marriage, or disliked the man, or else out of Her tender care not to give the least griefe or distaste to Her Subjects, after most Princely and magnificent entertainement Shee let him depart without any promise of a nuptiall knot.

The States of *France* now what daunted at Queene *Elizabeths* great greatneſſe.

A marriage solicited.

An. Dom. 1581. *An. Reg.* 24. *French Valois* comes into England about a marriage with the Queene.

* *will. Stubbe.*

His departure.

(167) The fame of this *Duke* was very renowned, and much the more by the *English Queenes* favours; in so much, that the distressed united Provinces, after they had declared *Philip of Austria* (then King of *Spaine*) by his too violent Government against their priviledges (whereunto hee had sworne) to bee an enemy unto their state and peace, and therefore upon breach of covenants, to have falne from his interest among them, chose this hopefull *Mounsieur* to be their Protector, as a Prince most powerfull to defend their cause; of whose triumphes and *French* trecheries there, let *Serres* and *Petit* report for me.

Edw. Grimston. lib. 10. pag. 619. King *Philip* adiudged enemy to the States. *Mounsieurs* election for Protector of the States. *pag. 779. Seve. pag. 981.* See the History of *France* and *Nether. p. 823.*

(168) He dying in *France* (penitent and sorrowfull for what he had done) and *William of Nassau Prince of Orange* (by an Edict from *Spaine* proclaimed a Traytor, his Lands and goods given to them that could bring him either dead or alive, with a further reward of twenty five thousand Crownes annuall) was first dangerously wounded in the face with a Pistoll, and at last murthered with the like shot by the base hand of an odious traytor at his Court in *Delft in Holland*: whereupon the oppressed Provinces once more sued for relieſe, both to her *Majesty of England*, as also unto *Henry the French King*.

Ed. Grim. Hiſt. Nether. p. 714.

The Prince of *Orange* murthered.

The Provinces againe sue for helpe.

(169) Shee much disliking the cruelties of *Spaine*, whose hands were thus dipt in the bloud of this Prince, commended their cause unto King *Henry* by an honourable * Ambassage. But hee finding himselfe overmastered at home, and in danger of the *Guize* and the league; himselfe without forces, and their growne very strong; recommended their distresses unto *Queene Elizabeth* by his owne Ambassadors

* Earle of *Derby* by Ambassadour into *France*.

An. Dom. 1585.

basſadour promiſing her by the faith of a King, aſſiſtance for thoſe *Netherlanders* reliefe: and the like requeſt hee made unto the King of *Navarre* in their behalfes. Hereupon their *Procurators* were ſent into *England*, with full Commiſſion to diſpoſe of their Provinces at the *Queenes* pleaſure.

Conſiderations why it behoved to aſſiſt the Low-Countries

(170) Her Councell then aſſembled to conferre of the buſineſſe, many waighty conſiderations amongſt them were mooved, and laſtly concluded, that her Majeſty ought to accept of the offer. The defence of *Gods goſſpell* was the firſt motive, ſhe being the nurſing mother of *Chriſts* diſtreſſed Saints: The *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, that without reſpect had perſecuted her Subjects contrary to right, was too cruell to bee tollerated: *Philips* Army with flying colours ſent lately into *Ireland* upon gift made unto him by the Pope, with a purpoſe of the like enterprize for *England*; bewrayed their intents; and laſtly the hard meaſure that was to bee expected for *England*, if the *Spaniards* ſeated in theſe neere *Netherland Provinces* was to be prevented. Theſe important reaſons for her owne State, and pitty of theirs, mooved her *Majeſty* to become their *Defender*, but would in no wiſe take the Title *of Soveraigne Lady* thereof, which they would have conferred upon Her, and Her heires.

Saunders and *Creyghtons* letters.

Elizabeth taketh upon her the defence of the Low-Countries.

(171) And thereupon Articles being drawne, (to the number of thirty) Sir *John Norris* (a renowned Marſhall man) was appointed *Generall* of five thouſand foote, and a thouſand Horſemen *Engliſh*, all retained at her Majeſties pay during the ſaid warres; which monthly amounted to twelve thouſand five hundred, twenty fixe pound ſterling, accounting 56. dayes to the moneth, according to the Contract. For which monies ſo diſburſed, the Townes of *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, with *two Skonces*, and the *Caſtle of Ramekins* in Holland, were delivered to Her Majeſties uſe in pledge, untill the money were repayred: theſe Covenants were dated at *Nonſuch* the tenth of Auguſt in *Anno* 1585.

Sir *Iohn Norris* Generall.

Great ſummes of monies diſburſed, for which certaine holds were delivered.

(172) This protection, undertaken by the *Queene of England*, was very ill taken by King *Philip of Spaine*; neither better digeſted by the Pope his holy Father, as was ſhewed in two *lying libels* publiſhed againſt Her: where amongſt other things, ſhee was taxed with *Ingratitude* towards King *Philip*, who in the raigne of Her ſiſter, was ſaid to have ſaved her life, and that treacherouſly ſhe had fought the death of the Prince of *Parma* the preſent Governour in thoſe parts under the ſaid King, unto which impudent ſlanders ſhee made anſwer in a booke printed both in Engliſh and French, ſhewing the ſhamefull untruth of thoſe impoſturous lyers, and the reaſons that led her to aſſiſt thoſe poore diſtreſſed States, whereof theſe were a part.

Loud-lying libels againſt her Highneſſe.

Printed by *Chriſtopher Barker*. An. Dom. 1585. *An. Reg.* 27.

(173) The naturall ſcituation of thoſe Countries, lying directly oppoſite to *England*; the neereneſſe, commodious havens, and commerce of thoſe people with the *Engliſh*, even when they were ſeverall; and not yet united together, as of late yeeres they have beene, by inter-marriages, and reduced under the governments of the Lords that ſucceeded in the Dukedome of *Burgundy*; betwixt whom, and the *Engliſh* Kings, hath beene a continuall league, as alſo betwixt the naturall Subjects of both Countries, both of commerce for Merchants, as all other ſpeciall bonds of mutuall amity. For teſtimony of which there are extant ſundry Authentique treatiſes and tranſactions for mutuall commerce, intercourſe and ſtraite amity of ancient times; as betwixt King *Henry the ſixth*, and *Philip* the Second Duke of *Burgundy*; which was revived by Duke *Charles* his ſonne (Father to the King of *Spaines* Grand-mother, and husband to the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter to King *Edward the fourth*) and againe confirmed by King *Henry the ſeventh*, and the *Arch-Duke Philip*, Grand-father to the King of *Spaine*. And of later yeares betwixt King *Henry the eight*, and *Charles the fifth*, Emperour of *Almaine*, Father to *Philip* now King of *Spaine*. In all which treatiſes it was at all times ſpecially contained in expreſſe words, that the naturall people and Subjects of either ſide ſhould ſhew mutuall favours and duties one to the other: But now *Philip* of *Spaine* departing the Low-Countries, and appointing Spaniards, Forreiners and Strangers, men exerciſed in warre, and delighted in blood to bee chiefe Governours of all the ſaid Low-Countries, contrary to their ancient Lawes and cuſtomes, who upon ambition, and for private lucre have violently broken the Liberties, as the people alledge; and in a tyrannous fort have baniſhed, killed and deſtroyed within the ſpace of a few moneths many of the moſt ancient and principall perſons, of the naturall Nobility, have brought in inteſtine warres, made the Country in a manner deſolate by famine, ſword, and other exactions. So that the people are forced for the ſafety of their lives to ſeeke the protection of other forraine Lords, or rather to yeeld themſelves wholly to the ſoveraignty of ſome mighty Monarch, as not onely by the ancient Lawes of their Countries they may, but even by ſpeciall priviledges granted to the people by ſome of the Lords and Dukes of the Provinces as they doe affirme, whereby they are free from their former homages, and at liberty to make choice of any other to be their Prince, and head.

(174) Beſides theſe reaſons concerning them, the practiſes of *Bernardin de Mendoza* (Lieger-Ambaſſador in *England* for *Philip* King of *Spaine*) who by the directions of *Francis Throgmorton*, contrived to bring in a forraine power to the deſtruction of *Englands* eſtate, it was not onely held a worke of piety to defend theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians, but alſo a neceſſary policy to ayde the Low-Countries Proteſtants with *Englands* ſupply, the better to impeach theſe dangerous deſignes. And how joyous her protection was to theſe Provinces, the delivery of *Fluſhing* with the Caſtle of *Ramekins* unto Sir *Philip Sidney*, and the *Brill* unto Sir *Thomas Cecill*, appointed by Her Majeſty the Governours thereof, is witneſſed by the letters of Prince *Maurice* himſelfe, wherein he ſignified the great joy and hopes that hee conceived, and his willing ſurrender of the ſame towne *Fluſhing*, being his patrimoniall inheritance.

Bernardin Mendoza the Spaniſh Lieger Ambaſſador practiſeth an invaſion.

The joy conceived at *Fluſhing* for the Protection.

(175) Things ordered thus among theſe great Potentates, *Robert Dudley* Baron of *Denbigh*, was the man, whom the *Queene* appointed to bee Her *Deputy Generall*, honourable by birth, being the Duke of *Northumberlands* ſonne, by creation Earle of *Leiceſter*, and of the Order of the Garter, gracious in the eye of his Soveraigne, and ſufficiently ſorted with all courtly complements, who being accompanyed with a gallant traine of Earles, Barons, and other great Perſonages of *England*, landed in *Zeeland* the nineteenth of *December*, and thence was honourably convayed unto *Den hage* in *Holland*, where hee was inſtalled, and the States tooke their oath to the *Queene*, which no ſooner was accompliſhed, but that a ſuſpition began to ariſe; upon this occaſion.

The Earle of *Leiceſter* ſent into the Low-Countries.

An. Dom. 1587.

(176) The States having drawne inſtructions of Counſell for their Countries affaires, preſented the ſame to their new made Governour, whoſe anſwer was, that ſuch inſtructions would proove limitations, which his authority now being abſolute, could no wayes indure: they greatly miſtruſting whereat hee did ayme, bewailed the miſeries whereunto their Country ſeemed to be brought, yet they ſuffered him to chooſe his Counſellors of Eſtate, and to ſtampe his owne Armes both in their great and Counter-Seale: which when the *Queene* their aſſiſter underſtood, ſhee was offended both with them and him, ſuppoſing her ſelfe to bee drawne further then ever ſhee intended, or that thee had yeelded unto in the *Declaration*, where her ſelfe had granted to bee their *Ayder*, but never would grant to bee the *Soveraigne* of thoſe Countries.

(177) Things

Troubles in traffickes upon the ſeas.

(177) Things thus paſſing betwixt *England* and the *United Provinces*, the Engliſh Marchants Ships and goods were arreſted in *Spaine*, which cauſed many to leave the trade of Merchandizing, and to become men of Warre on the Seas, where alwayes the Spaniard, whoſoever wanne, went to the worſt. But on the Land, the Prince of *Parma* held Play; for whoſe further ſafety Pope *Sixtus* the fift ſent him a conſecrated Sword with a Hatte, and to his men of Warre the Apoſtolicall bleſſing, with eternall life for them that ſhould dye in the Catholike Romiſh faith.

A conſecrated Sword ſent to Prince *Parma*.

(178) Another feare was blowne into the Netherlanders eares, which ſore troubled them though without all cauſe, for it was divulged by ſiniſter reports, that Queene *Elizabeth* meant to make peace with the King of *Spaine*, without either mention or regard for the ſafety of her united Confederates. Shee touched in honour, whereof ſhee was ever jealous, wrote her letters to Prince *Parma* in anſwer of his, that had mentioned the ſame, and to theſe doubtfull Netherlanders, to aſſure them the contrary, both which were dated from *Richmond* upon one, and the ſame day.

The feares of the diſtreſſed Netherlanders.

July 19. An. Dom. 1586.

(179) Now *Leiceſter* not liking to lye ſtill, and doe nothing, made his preparation for *Zutphen*, which being in want of victuals, the Prince of *Parma* ſought to ſupply, to intercept which, Sir *Iohn Norris* was ſent, and to the ſaid ſervice came the Earle of *Eſſex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *William Stanley*, and Sir *William Ruſſell*, in all two hundred horſe, and fifteene hundred Musketiers and Pikes: the *Parma* having ſeven hundred horſe, and two thouſand foote, appointed with the like defence.

A conflict at *Zutphen*.

(180) The day being darke through great foggy miſts, the *Spaniard* whileſt their Wagons made forward, ſtayed in a place of advantage neere unto *Zutphen*, upon whom the Engliſh were entred before they were aware, and were entertained with a furious charge of ſhot, which notwithſtanding they abode, and ſo valiantly followed the skirmiſh, that they overthrew a cornet of horſe, and tooke *Creſpier* the Captaine thereof priſoner, and after him Count *Hanniball Gonzaga*, another Cornet alſo they put backe and ſlew. But in this the day was made unfortunate, that the worthy Sir *Philip Sidney* as hee changed his horſe, was ſhot by a Musket above the left knee, which ſo ſhivered the thigh-bone, that the Bullet could not bee recovered, of which wound hee dyed five and twenty dayes after, to the no little griefe of her Majeſty, and many others, for the great hopes they had of that worthy Gentleman, in whom were compleat all vertues and valours that could bee required or reſiding in man.

Sir Philip Sidney ſhot with a muſket, whereof he dyed.

(181) Good ſervice done upon the Sconces neere *Zutphen*, ſo that that Towne ſeemed to bee blocked up; his *Excellency* (ſo did they now enſtile the Earle) made *Rowland Yorke* the Governour thereof, and over *Deventer* Sir *William Stanley*, to the great diſcontents of the Eſtates, for that *Yorke* had beene a double Traitor in ſervice, and *Stanley* before time had ſerved the *Spaniard*. Other grievances alſo they then began to complaine of, and by petition to his Excellency fought the redreſſe; but hee minding for *England*, with faire words held them in expectance untill ſuch time as hee ſhould returne againe.

Yorke and Stanley made governours of townes.

Ed. Grimſt. Hiſt. Netherl. Pag. 9. 11. The States miſtruſt, and Leiceſters pride.

Grudges and grievances at Leiceſters doings.

(182) The State-Souldiers fotnd themſelves aggreeved, that they werenot dealt with according to cuſtome, degrees or deſert, (as that the Sergeant ſhould bee advanced to bee Enſigne, the *Enſigne* Sergeant Maior, and ſo upward) they venturing their lives to winne reputation. And the Earle of *Hollocke* held himſelfe much wronged, in that Sir *Edward Norris* upon words ſpoken at Table, ſent him a letter of challenge to fight with him body to body; the Earle then lying ſicke of a wound received at *Zutphen*, which hee diſdainefully tooke, as being his unequall, and partly imputed it to the ſufferance of his Excellency. But more neerely touched the loſſe of *Deventer* and *Sconce* at the *Zutphen*, traiterouſly ſold unto the *Spaniard* by Sir *William Stanley*, and *Rowland Yorke* Engliſhmen, whom *Leiceſter* had left there at his departure. Theſe things drove the Councell of State into many jealouſies, that the Engliſh intended as the French had done.

Stanley and Yorke traiterouſly ſell their Townes.

(183) The occaſion that mooved the *Lord Generall* to returne into *England*, was for his preſence in Parliament, wherein was handled the waighty cauſe of that great Princeſſe *Mary* Queene of *Scotland*, whoſe untimely death and unfortunate end was finiſhed at *Fotheringhay* Caſtle in the County of *Northampton*, to the great diſcontent of her Majeſty, as was manifeſtly ſeene * to all her people, by the griefe ſhee conceived, and high diſpleaſure ſhe tooke againſt the forward * Actor, both in caſting him into the Tower of *London*, and never admitting him after into her preſence, or his place. The body of the deplored Queene was ſolemnely interred in the Cathedrall Church of *Peterborow*, where it remained under a Hearſe of blacke velvet. But by his Majeſties appointment was thence removed unto the Collegiat Church of Saint *Peters* in *Weſtminſter*, and in the moſt magnificent Chappell of King *Henry the VII.* interred under a Princely Monument of white marble, with her picture according to life artificially imitated by ſculpture.

An. Dom. 1587.

Febr. 6.

* Yet *Saunders* (in his *Schiſma Anglic.*) unprudently forgeth that the Queen her ſelfe upon was through vilely drawne with her white Cambrick ſleeves.

* Secretary *Daviſon*.

(184) In this abſence of *Leiceſter* every ſeverall Capraine tooke upon him the place of a *Generall*, whereby many deſperate ſervices were attempted, and great robbery by their Souldiers committed, ſo that it was feared all would come to ruine. To prevent which, a *Counſell for State* was aſſembled at *Don hage*, where *Maurice Naſſau*, the young ſonne of *William* Prince of *Orange* was elected their *Governor*, and the Provinces ſworne unto him, with a reſervation had unto Her Majeſty; when alſo a great complaint was ſent into *England*, which to examine, the Lord *Buckhurſt* was ſent into *Holland*; at whoſe doings *Leiceſter* tooke offence, but eſpecially againſt Sir *Iohn Norris* (that renowned Leader) whom to the great diſlike of the States, he cauſed to bee recalled, and ſent into *Ireland*.

Maurice Naſſau choſen governour of the Low-Countries.

Sir *Iohn Norris* ſent into *Ireland*.

July 6.

(185) *Leiceſter* the Lord Generall hoping to recover his wel-nigh loſt reputation, landed in *Zeeland*, gallantly accompanyed, where hee made a forward ſhew of great ſervice; but ſuch was the ſucceſſe, that *Sluce* was ſurrendred, and the occaſion thereof partly imputed to him; when alſo began many factious abettings betwixt the Eſtates and his Excellency, ſo that ſome Townes utterly rejected his government, and hee againe ſought to ſeize upon ſome other.

Sluce ſurrendred.

Ed. Grim. Hiſt. Netherl.

Pag. 979.

(186) The care of preventing further miſchiefes, moved her Majeſty hereupon to recall the Earle of *Leiceſter* into *England*, well knowing that a Kingdome divided could not long ſtand: who on his returne, ſhee commanded to reſigne his government of the *Netherlanders* into the hands of the Generall Eſtates, which was performed by act, ſigned under his hand, and ſent unto them: which reſignation received, was preſently proclaimed through all the Provinces, to the end that every man might know himſelfe diſcharged of his oath to the Earle of *Leiceſter*.

Leiceſter diſcharged of his government in the Low-Countries.

(187) Now *Philip* King of *Spaine* eſpying theſe diſſentions, thought it a fit advantage for him to worke upon, having a long time projected an attempt for *England*, and at that time preparing a mighty Navy upon the ſeas. To caſt therefore a myſt over her Majeſties eyes, and to drive all jealouſies out of her head, hee importuned by all meanes the Realmes unto peace. She meaſuring other Princes by her owne true meaning, and peaceefull diſpoſitions, gave eare to his guileſull lullaby, without ſuſpition of any ſnake to bee hid in ſo floury a garden; and therefore ſent to the Eſtates to underſtand their reſolution for an univerſall peace, proteſting

Spaine contrives warre under the falſe profeſſers of peace.

Q. Elizabeth deſirous of peace.

sting that if they stood out, she would withdraw her whole forces from thence.

The Low Country States feare to heve peace with Spaine.

(188) They, like themselves answered with a bold deniall, neither thought they that shee could have any peace with him that was head of the *holy League*, and persecuted the exercise of the reformed Religion, whose policy (as they feared) was but to detract time, till his sea-provisions were better ripened, as indeed the sequell soone proved. The terrour of this prepared, and *Invincible Navy* (as the *Spaniards* termed it) spreading it selfe wide, and menacing fearefull stormes both unto the English and Flemish; the Estates like provident respecters of themselves, and thankefull men to their Protectresse, prepared their Ships of warre to assist her Majesty, and pressed a thousand sailers of the Netherlanders for her service on seas.

The Dutch prepare against the Spaniards.

An. Dom. 1588. Feb. 15.

(189) During this brute of the Spanish proceedings, Commissioners were sent out of *England* to conferre upon conditions of the pretended peace with the Duke *Parma*, Lieutenant for the King of *Spaine*, who for that purpose came to *Ostend*. For her Majesty were assigned *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, *William* Lord *Cobham* Warden of the Cinque ports, with Sir *Iames Croft*, and others. For King *Philip*, were *Maximilian* Earle of *Aremberg*, Governour of *Antwerpe*, *Monsieur Richardot* President of *Artois*, and Counsellor of State, besides other Civilians. These stayed at *Bruges*, and by messages too and fro much time was spent for precedency of place, where they should meet, and what hostages should bee given for security of sides; yet lastly, the English had the priority, and the place was *Ostend*.

Commissioners for the pretended peace.

Variance for precedency.

(190) The demand of the Queene was, to have a surceasse of Armes, with a present and undelayed truce, mistrusting the Kings preparation at Sea. The sending away of forraine souldiers out of the Low-Countries for *Englands* safety. A restitution of such summes of money as the Queene had lent unto the Estates, which the King had promised by his Edict made at *Brusels*. That the Netherlanders might enjoy their ancient liberties and priviledges, nor bee governed by a stranger, but by a Native Prince. That the Religion might bee permitted for two yeeres at least. And lastly, that the Articles of Pacification of *Gaunt*, and other like Treaties might bee observed. And these being concluded; the Townes shee possessed should bee delivered upon such reasonable conditions, as all the world should witnesse shee tooke them not to her owne use, or commodity, but onely upon a necessary defence and assurance.

The Queenes demands.

(191) To these the *Spaniards* replyed, that touching their preparation for Sea, they did assure them it nothing concerned *England*. To send away their Souldiers, their King could not resolve; untill that the Netherlanders had submitted themselves unto him. Concerning their priviledges, it appertained nothing to the Queene, neither should shee prescribe to the King a Law. And so farre was hee from tolerating Religion, that hee would not heare thereof, otherwise then hee had allowed unto other Townes that had submitted unto his obedience: and the like answer made they for the Pacification of *Gaunt*.

The Spanish shifts and answers.

(192) The propositions further urged, and answered with dilatory delayes, *Pope Sixtus* the fift (the prime man in the intended Tragedy) observing well the time, among other beasts sent forth his Bull to thunder out bolts against *Englands* Queene, confirming the Excommunications of his two Predecessors, and depriving Her Majesty from all Princely dignity; for whose finall dispossession, hee then ordained his Catholike Sonne *Philip* of *Spaine*, commanding all Her Subjects, upon paine of his curse, (oh fearefull bugge-beare) to ayde and assist the *great, noble, and invincible Army*, prepared to that end under the command of the Duke of *Parma*. And *Allen* an Englishman, an eager Trumpeter to this exploit, now purposely made Cardinall by the Pope (to shew his Holy affection to the English Nation) would not lye idle, but set himselfe on worke to write a Booke exhortatory to the Nobility of *England* and *Ireland*, to rouze them up to the execution of the Popes sentence against their Soveraigne, in assisting King *Philip*, who was made the whip in his Holinesse hand, and the Duke of *Parma* who was appointed the chiefe Commander in that action, which Booke (fraught with all impudency of divellish slanders against her sacred person) was printed at *Antwerpe* in *Anno* 1588.

The Popes Bull sent forth against England.

Cardinall *Allens* trayterous libell.

(193) This Bull and Booke comming to the Queenes knowledge; She sent unto *Parma* (who had gained the reputation of some Princely vertues) to deale plainely with her; if so, then meant she no longer to continue the treaty of peace: but he with many Courtly complements denyed his authority, neither had seene (as he said) any such prescripts. Moreover the English Commissioners pressed the conditions, purposely to find some footsteps of this close-carried designe, when at last it burst forth in these termes, that the King of *Spaine had kept fifty thousand men in pay almost a whole yeere to lye still and doe nothing, to his great charge by the meanes of that treaty*. At which very instant, these their hidden traps and toyles apparantly shewed themselves, when the Seas were turretted with such a Navy of ships; as Her swelling waves could hardly be seene, and the Flagges, Streamers, and ensignes, so spread in the winde, that they seemed to darken even the Sunne, which put the English Commissioners in some suspition and feare, having no hostages for their safe returne.

Sent to Prince *Parma*.

Parma denyeth his authority.

The Spanish purpose made knowne by themselves.

(194) This *Invincible Navie* long in preparing and now in readinesse, was furnished with all provisions of warre, and with many bravadoes spread their sailes for *Englands* invasion, guided by the *Provinciall Generals*, whose names the numbers of Vessels, Ordonances, Sailers, Souldiers, and Slaves, as I find them recorded, in this ensuing Table are inserted.

A Table

A Table containing the provisions of the Spanish Armado.

Leaders.	Provinces.	Galliases & Gallions	Ships and Hulkes.	Pinaces & Carviles.	Great Ordonance.	Saylors.	Souldiers.	Gally Slaves.
Duke Medina Sidonia.	*Portugall.*	10.	2.		300.	1300.	3300.	
Diego de Mandrana.	*Portugall.*	4.			20.	360.		888.
Iohn Martinez de Richald.	*Biscai.*	10.		4.	250.	700.	2000.	
Michael de Oquendo.	*Guypusco.*	10.		4.	310.	700.	2000.	
Pedro de Valdez.	*Andoluzia.*	10.		1.	280.	800.	2400.	
Martin de Vertendona.	*Italy.*	10.			310.	800.	2000.	
Diego Floris de Valdez.	*Castile.*	14.		2.	380.	1700.	2400.	
Iohn Lopez de Medina.	*Medina.*		23.		400.	700.	3200.	
Hugo de Moncado.	*Naples.*	4.			200.	460.	870.	1200.
Antonio Buccado.	*Mendoza.*		22.		193.	574.	488.	
The totall Summe of this Preparation.		72.	47.	11.	2843.	8094.	18658.	2088.

The wonderfull and great provisions in the Spanish Armado.

(195) Admirable (as ye see) was the provision of this mighty Armado, and so confident was the *Spaniard* that *England* should pay the whole shot, that no coft of any thing was at all spared; of bullets for great shot were two hundred and twenty thousand; of powder foure thousand and two hundred kintals, every kintall containing a hundred weight; of lead for bullets one thousand kintals, and one thousand and two hundred kintals of match; seven thousand Muskers and Calivers, ten thousand Partizans and Halberts, with murthering Peeces, double Canons, and field Peeces for Campe; with store of furniture for carriages, Mules and Horses, so that they were sufficiently provided both for Sea and Land. Bread and Bisket was baked, and Wine laid aboard for sixe moneths provition; sixe thousand and five hundred kintals of Bacon, three thousand of Cheese, besides flesh, Rice, Beanes, Pease, Oyle, and Vinegar, with twelve thousand Pipes of fresh water, store they had of Torches, Lanthornes, and Lampes, Canuas, Hides, and Lead to stop-leakes, whips, and butchery knives; for what use wee may imagine. In a word, by the report of *Don Diego Piementell*, the Army was two and thirty thousand strong, and cost the King of *Spaine* thirty thousand Ducats every day.

Their Regiments.

(196) In this Army were five regiments of old Spanish Souldiers, of the *Tertias*, of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and the *Terceraes*, commanded by five Masters *Del Campo*; The first was *Don Diego de Piementell*, a Knight of the Order of *Saint Iohn*, brother to the *Marquesse* of *Taveras*, and Cousen to the Earle of *Benevent* and *Calvi*. The second Colonell was *Don Francisco de Toledo*, brother to the Earle of *Orgas*: the third, *Don Alonzo de Luzon*: the fourth, *Don Nicholas de Illa*, or *Patritio Anselmo*: and the fift, was *Augustin Mexia*, brother to the *Marquesse de la Garda*, who was afterwards made Governour of *Antwerp*; each company having in his regiment two and thirty companies, besides the *Castilians* and *Portugals* bands, each of them having their peculiar Governours, Captaines, Officers, Colours, and weapons.

Their great strength in men.

Their General.

(197) The Generall of this mighty army, was *Don Lodovicus Perez, Duke of Medina Sidonia, Baron of S'. Lucas*, of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Admirall was *Don Iohn Martinez de Richald*, the Marshall *Don Francisco Bovadille*: and the chiefe Counsellers for the warre, were *Diego Piementell*, *Ploris de Valdez*, *Pedro de Valdez*, *Michael Oquendo*, *Don Alanzo de Lieva*, *Don Diego Maldonado*, and *Don Georgio Manriquez*. *Don Martin Alorcon* was ordained Vicar Generall for the holy Inquisition, in whose traine were a hundred Monkes and Iesuites: and Cardinall *Allen* was appointed the *Superintendent* of all Ecclesiasticall matters throughout *England*; who fearing to bee overtaken with time, translated *Pope Sixtus* his Bull into English, that it might be the sooner published upon the arrivall of the *Spanish* Fleete into that Kingdome. Of voluntary adventurers, were an hundred twenty foure Noblemen, and Gentlemen of great account; all of them furnished at their owne charges: among whom was the Prince of *Ascoli*, *Alonzo de Leiva*, the Marquesse of *Pennafiel*, the Marquesse *de Ganes*, the Marquesse *de Barlango*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Count *de Telluas*, and divers other Marquesses and Earles of Honourable Families of *Mendoza*, *Toledo*, *Pacheco*, *Cordovat*, *Cuzma*, and *Manriques*, neither was there any Noble House of *Spaine*, but had a son, brother or nephew in the voyage, in hope of revenewes & riches in *England*.

The Admirall Marshall and Counsellers.

Vicar Generall of the Inquisition. Cardinall *Allen*.

The voluntaries in this voyage.

(198) Nor was the Duke of *Parma* slacke in the businesse; who lying in readinesse to joyne his forces with this Navy, set many thousands on worke to build ships, to dig and deepen Rivers for sayle from *Antwerpe* to *Gaunt*, and to *Bruges*, lading three hundred small Boates with Munition and victuals; as also prepared seventy others flat bottomed, every one able to beare thirty Horses for transportation, with Bridges ready made to ship and unship them. Two hundred more were made of the like fashion, though not so big, and lay ready in the Haven of *Newport*; at *Dunkirke* lay thirty seven ships of warre, wherein store of pyles were bestowed, sharpened at the end with yron pykes, to pile up the mouthes of Rivers; and at *Gravelling* he had provided twenty thousand empty Caskes, with Cords, and other furniture fit to make floating Bridges to stop up the Havens. Hee likewise had shipped great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with all

The Duke of *Parma* his preparation.

Edward Grimstons in History of Holland. Pag. 1000.

Duke Parma his Forces.

other furniture for Horse; and Horses also for carriage, with Ordonance, and other provisions of warre.

(199) Neere unto *Newport* hee had lying under the command of *Camillo*, thirty Companies of Italians, two of Wallons, and eight of *Burguinois*, every Company being an hundred men. At *Dyxmew* he mustered fourescore Companies of Netherlanders, threescore of Spaniards, threescore of high Dutch, and seven of rebellious fugitive English, whereof Sir *William Stanley* was Generall; at *Corricke* also were foure thousand lodged, and at *Watene* nine hundred Horse, over whom the Marquesse of *Guast* was Commander. And to this Land-service came the Duke of *Paitrana*, supposed to bee the Spanish Kings base sonne: the Marquesse of *Bourgon*, one of the Archduke *Ferdinands* sonnes, *Don Vespasian Gonsagua* of the House of *Mantua*, a great Souldier, who had beene Viceroy of *Spaine*, *Don Iohn de Medices* Bastard of *Florence*, *Don Amedeus* bastard of *Savoy*, with many others of the like estate.

The Noblemen employed in this *Armada*.

(200) Neither must you thinke, that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope of *Rome*, did in any wise neglect his diligence and devotion to this intended invasion; whose helping hand was shewed, in sending forth his *Crusado* (as hath beene used against the Turkes) and publishing a safe passport for his *Philippians* to enter into *England*. Who also for the furtherance of the enterprise, undertooke to contribute a *million of gold*, the halfe presently, and the other when any notable Haven in that Land should bee wonne; with this *proviso* notwithstanding (most wisely inferred) that hee should hold the English Crowne as feudatory unto the See of *Rome*; in earnest whereof, he bestowed upon him his Apostolicall benediction, and the Title of the *Defender of the Faith*: so liberall was he, both in his temporall and spirituall largesses, and so forward was *Philip* to catch at *Elizabeths* still flourishing Crowne. But her undaunted heart in this present danger, as another *Ezekiah*, sought unto the Lord, whose Annointed servant shee was, and who ever had beene her onely defendant. And for preventing those long threatned stormes, shee sent *Charles Howard*, *Lord Baron of Effingham*, *High Admirall of England*, unto the Seas, where the *Lord Henry Seymer* kept betwixt *Callis* and *Dover*, seconded by the Ships of united *Provinces*, in league with the *Queene*.

The Popes *Crusado*.

His contribution.

(201) The *French King*, who ever honoured and admired *Queene Elizabeths* great and gracious vertues, having more particular intelligences that this great preparation was made against *England*, gave speedy and secret notice thereof to her Majesty; whereupon shee commanded the generall Forces of the Realme in their severall Shires to be mustered, trayned, and put in readinesse for the defence of the whole; which accordingly was done, and whereof the *Lord Robert Dudley*, Earle of *Leicester*, and Steward of her Household, was appointed Lieutenant. *Tilbury* in *Essex* was the place for the Campe, whereunto were appointed 15000. Horsemen, and twenty two thousand of Foote, and to guard her Majesties Person, out of the severall Counties of the West, East, and South parts of *England*, were selected two thousand, three hundred, fifty two Horsemen, and thirty foure thousand and fifty of Foote; her selfe in courage farre surmounting her Sex, as another *Zenobia*, or rather *Deborah*, led forth the Lords Hoast against this great *Sisera*, and her Souldiers valiant for warre, and apt for battell, Men skilfull to handle Speare and Shield, both for courage and quicke dispatch, might well be compared unto those Gadites that came to ayde *David*, whose faces were like to the faces of Lyons, and were compared to Roes in the Mountaines for swiftnesse.

The French King gives notice to the Queene of the preparation.

The Queenes Forces at *Tilbury*.

Chron. f. 2. 32.

(202) The *Invincible Navy*, and terror of *Europe*, as the Papals both termed, and tooke it to be, having all things prepared, loosed Anchor from *Lisbon*, upon the nineteenth of *May*, and made unto the Groine in *Gallicia*, it being the nerest haven to *England*, whence hoysing sayles with great hope and pride, bent their course thitherward: but suddenly the Heavens hating such hostile actions, powred downe revenge, by a sore and unexpected tempest, which drave the Duke of *Medina*, the chiefe Generall backe againe into the *Groine*; eight other of their ships being dispersed on Seas, their masts broken and blowne over-board; besides three *Portugall* Gallies which fell upon the Coast of *Bayon* in *France*, and were set upon by their owne slaves, whereof *David Gwyn* an *Englishman* was the first, who with fellowes both *French* and *Turkes*, freed themselves by the slaughter of many *Spaniards*, among whom, *Don Diego de Mandrana*, was one.

An. Dom. 1588.

A Tempest scatereth the invincible Navy.

(203) *Charles Howard*, *Lord Admirall*, hearing for certaine that their Fleete was ready to hoyse up their sayles, had sent the worthy Sir *Francis Drake*, who was constituted his Vice-Admirall, unto the West parts, with sixty sixe shippes well appointed, whither himselfe also following with speed, and joyning his Fleete, their number amounted to one hundred shippes, whereof fifteene were *Victuallers*, and nine *Voluntaries* of *Devonshire Gentlemen*; many a serviceable man returning backe for lacke of imployment or place. These from *Plymouth* resolving and * assaying to put forth to Seas, were so met with the wind, that past the *Sillies* they could not attaine, and thence also were forced by tempest into the Haven, (from whence they lanched) to refresh their ships and Companies; where lying at Ankor, the scouts at Sea had descryed some sayles of the *Spaniards*, which had beene likewise distressed by the stormes; but before these could be hoysed, the wind came about, and brought them to the *Groine*, where the rest lay in Harbour.

Sir Francis Drake Vice-Admirall of the English.

* May 30.

June 6.

(204) Intelligence spreading that the *Spaniards* were in want, their great shippes dispersed, the rest storme-shaken, and their men by multitudes dying with the pestilence; the *Lord Admirall* meant to use the advantage upon the first North-winde, which came about the eight day of *July*, and bare his sayle almost within sight of *Spaine*, when suddenly it changing into the *South*, and hee wisely fore-seeing, that the enemy might passe without his discovery, that the Seas might be stormy, and his Fleete windbound, and that whilest they thus lay abroad, their service much better might bee employed at home, hee therefore presently returned, and ankored his Fleet in the Haven of *Plymouth*, suffering his men to relieve themselves on Land.

July 8.

(205) But the *Spaniards* ships new rigged, and their wants supplyed, their King still hote on his former resolutions, instantly urged and haftened his Chiefetaines to put againe to Sea, which accordingly was done upon the eleventh of *July*, weighing their Ankors at the *Groine*, where with brave shewes, and ful sayles they came into the Channels of the narrow Seas, where they cast ankor, and dispatched certaine small Pinaces unto the Duke of *Parma*, to signifie their arrivall and readinesse, and to command him in the name of the King to forward his charge for that service.

The Spaniards againe set forth

(206) The English Fleete being in Harbour, and many men on shore, Captaine *Thomas Fleming* (some say a Pyrate) descryed the *Spaniard* upon the point of the *Lizard*, the wind being then South and by West: Hee haftening to *Plimouth*, made relation thereof unto the *Lord Admirall*, the newes was more fearefull, for that it was sudden, the Queene having received intelligence for certaine, that this great *Armada* would not come forth that yeere, their Bulkes being so dispersed and bruised, and their wants and sickenesse so great, upon which rash reports (a dangerous matter in State affaires,) so confident shee was, that shee sent for foure of her tallest Royall Ships, to bee brought againe unto *Chattam*; but *Flemings* unexpected discovery hindred that purpose, and all hands were set on worke to warpe out the Ships, the wind blowing hard, and hindering the same.

The English have notice of their approach.

They set forth from Plimouth

(207) The next day about noone, this terrible Fleete

July. 20.

Fleet was descryed by the *English*, who with a *South-west* wind came forward amain, and (as seemed) they made for *Plimouth*. But whether their Commission were otherwise, or for that they saw the *English* Ships out of the Harbour, they passed by towards *Callis*, well hoping about those Coasts to meete with Prince *Parma*, by whose wafting that way, the *English* got the wind, and eftsoones gave them chase, and encounter, where fire, smoake, and ecchoing Canons began the parley, and Bullets most freely enterchanged betwixt them, were messengers of each others minde.

The English affaile the Spanish.

July 21.

(208) The next day the two Fleetes fought within Musket shot, where the English Admirall fell most horely on the Vice-Admirall of *Spaine*, at which present they well perceived their owne overfights; their great Shippes (like Castles) powerfull to defend, but not offend, to stand, but not to move, and therefore farre unfit for fight in those narrow Seas: their enemies nimble, and ready at all sides to annoy them, and as apt to escape harmes themselves, by being low built, and easily shot over. Therefore they gathered themselves close in forme of a halfe Moone, and slackned their Sayles, that their whole Fleete might keepe together. Notwithstanding, one of their great Gallions, wherein was *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Vasques de Silva*, *Alonzo de Sayas*, and other Noblemen, was fore battered by the *English* shot; in avoyding whereof, shee fell fowle upon another shippe, and ere shee could be cleared, had her fore-mast broken off, which so hindred her sayle, that shee was unable to keepe way with the Fleet, nor they of courage to succour these Lords, but left both ship, and them, in this sudden, and unlooked for distresse. But night comming on, and shee lagging behind, the *Lord Admirall* supposing neither men nor Mariners to bee left within board, and fearing to loose sight of the *Spaniards*, past by, and followed the Lanthorne, which he tooke to bee borne by *Sir Francis Drake*, but that renowned Knight, busied upon five great Hulkes, pursued them amaine, which being haled, were found to be Easterlings, and thereupon freede from his further harmes.

A Gallion distressed.

July 22.

(209) The next day following, *Sir Francis Drake* espying this lagging Gallion, sent forth a Pinnace to command them to yeeld, otherwise his Bullets should force them without further favour; but *Valdez* to seeme valorous, answered; that they were foure hundred, and fifty strong; that himselfe was *Don Pedro*, and stood on his honour, and thereupon propounded certaine conditions. But the Knight sent his reply, that hee had not leisure to parley, if he would yeeld, presently doe it, if not, he should well prove that *Drake* was no dastard; whereupon *Pedro* hearing that it was the *fiery Drake*, (ever terrible to the *Spaniards*) who had him in chase, with forty of his followers, came on board *Sir Francis* his ship; where first giving him the Conge, he protested, that he, and all his, were resolved to die in defence, had they not fallen under his power, whose valour, and felicity was so great, that *Mars*, and *Neptune* seemed to attend him in his attempts, and whose generous mind towards the vanquished, had often beene experienced, even of his greatest foes. *Sir Francis* requiting his *Spanish* complements with honorable *English* curtesies, placed him at his owne Table, and lodged him in his owne Cabbin. The refidue of that company were sent unto *Plymouth*, where they remained eighteene moneths, till their ranfomes were paid; but *Sir Francis* his Souldiers had well paide themselves with the spoyle of the shippe, wherein were 55. thousand Ducats of gold, which they shared merrily among them. The same day *Michael de Oquendo*, Admirall to the *Quadron Guypuscoa*, and Vice-Admirall to the whole Fleete, suffered no lesse distaster, whose ship being one of the greatest Gallions, fell suddenly on fire, all the upper part of the shippe, and most of the persons therein consumed, howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold was all saved, and the rest of the scorched *Spaniards* with the hulke brought into *Plymouth*, to the great joy of the beholders.

Don Pedro yeeldeth himselfe.

(210) Vpon Tuesday the twenty third of *July*, the *Spaniards* approaching right against *Portland*, the wind came about into the North, as fit as could be wished to further their designes; but the *English* agill, and fore-seeing all harmes, recovered the advantage thereof from the *Spaniards*, and continued that day from morning till night, in battering those vast wooden Castles with shot both great and small; which forced them for their further safety, to gather themselves close into a roundell, their best and greatest Ships standing without, securing the battered and lesse. On this day the foarest fight was performed: wherein, besides other remarkeable harmes, a great Venetian ship, with some other smaller, were surprized, and taken by the *English*. July 23.

(211) The foure and twenty day of this present Moneth, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galliasses, and the *English* ships, the *Spaniards* having the advantage, theirs being rowed, and our sayles unfilled, by reason of the calme, which notwithstanding they fore galled the enemy with *chaine shot*, therewith cutting asunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage, to their no little annoyance. But wanting powder, which so freely they had spent, they sent men on Land for further supply, which misinterred diflikes (if not suspitions) to many, that we should thus want upon our own Coast. In which Interim, a *Councell* was called, wherein it was decreed that the *English Fleete* should be divided into foure Squadrons, and those committed to foure worthy *Captaines*, and most skilfull Navigators, whereof the Admirall in the *Arke Royall* was chiefe, *Sir Francis Drake* in the *Revenge* led the second, Captaine *Hawkins* the third, and Captaine *Frobisher* the fourth. Other most valiant Captaines there were in her Majesties Shippes, as the Honourable *Lord Thomas Howard* in the *Lyon*, the *Lord Sheffield* in the *Beare*, *Sir Robert Southwell* in the *Elizabeth Ionas*, Captaine *Baker* in the *Victory*, and Captaine *George Fenner* in the *Galeon Leicester*. July 24.

(212) The five and twenty of *July*, the *Spaniards* were arrived against the *Isle of Wight*, where was a terrible encounter, each shooting off their whole sides, and not above six score yards the one from the other; till at length the *English* so battered thes *paniss* high Turrets, that they were forced once more to secure themselves in a roundell, and the foresaid Generals so worthily beare themselves in this conflict, that the *Lord Admirall* bestowed the Order of Knight-hood upon the Lords *Howard* and *Sheffield*, Master *Iohn Hawkins*, *Martin Frobisher*, and others. And yet (by the *Spanish* brags) a false rumour was spread in *France*, that *England* was wholly conquered by the *Spaniard*. July 25.

(213) Their Fleet making forward about Sunset, the 27. of the same Moneth, came against *Dover*, and anchored within sight of *Callis*, intending for *Dunkerk*, there to joyne with the Duke of *Parma* his Forces, without which, they well saw, they could doe nothing. The English Fleete following up hard upon them, cast anchor so neere, that they lay within Culvering shot. Where the *Lord Henry Seymer* united his to the Lord Admirals Ships. Meane-while the Duke of *Medina* sent unto *Parma*, to bid him make ready his long expected forces; with which messengers many Noblemen of the *Spaniards* went on Land, among whom was the Prince of *Ascoli*, the Kings base sonne, who so well liked his shipping, that he made no great haft against from thence: wherein he was onely fortunate; for that his Gallion was cast away upon the *Irish* coast, and never returned to salute *Spaine*. July 27.

(214) Duke *Parma* hearing the best of this voyage, makes all things ready that lay in his charge; whose hopes were so fixed for *Englands* Conquest,

that the glittering *Diademe* upon *Queene Elizabeths* head, dazeled his ambitious eye, being assured by Cardinall *Allen*, that he was the man designed to be crowned therewith, and who, from the Pope, and *Spaine* should hold that Kingdome himselfe. Wherefore thinking his Coronet of the *Low-Countries* Government, would but trouble the *English* Crowne, and both too weighty to be worne upon one Head, hee committed that charge unto Count *Mansfield* the elder, and making his vowes unto Saint *Mary* of *Hall* in *Henault*, was already in conceit no lesse then a King. But soone the date of his raigne was expired, and his swelling tyde fallen into a low shallow ebbe; for the day following in his march towards *Dunkerke*, he heard the thundring Ordonance ring the passing peale of his stile, and title, and the same evening had newes of the hard successe of the *Spaniards*, the hoped advancers of his dreamed fortunes.

The Fleete disanchored from *Calis* by stratagem.

(215) They lying then at anchor neere *Calis*, to joyn their powers with *Parma's*, were forced thence by a politike stratagem thus: Their ships, as Castles pitched in the Seas, had their bulkes so plancked with great beames, that bullets might strike, and sticke, but never passe through, so that little avayled the English Canon, except onely in playing on their masts, and tackling; whereupon, by her Majesties advice, and appointment, eight of the *English* shippes were discharged of men, and filled with Gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and other combustible matter; their Ordonance charged with bullets, stones, chaines, and the like; which upon Sunday, the eight, and twenty of *July*, at two of the clocke after midnight, were let drive with wind, and tyde among the Spanish Fleete, whose Pylots returning, and their traines taking fire, such a sudden thunder-clap was given, that the *Spaniards* affrighted in the dead of the night, were stricken into a horrible feare, lest all their ships should bee fired by these; which present mischiefe to avoid, in great perplexity, they hasted to cut their owne Cables, the time being to short to weighe up their Anchors; and hoysing their sayles, did drive at randome into the Seas, in which haste and confusion, the greatest of their Galliasses fell foule upon another ship, and lost her Rudder, so that guidelesse shee drove with the tyde upon a shelve in the shoare of *Calis*, where shee was assaulted by the *English*.

July 28.

A Gallie taken.

(216) This Galliasse was of *Naples*; her Generall *Hugh de Moncado*, who fought the more valiantly in hope of present refcue of the Prince of *Parma*; but *Sir Amias Preston* gave so fierce an assault, that *Moncado* was shot dead with a bullet, and the Galliasse boarded, wherein was many a *Spaniard* slaine, and a number of the rest leaping into the Sea, were drowned; yet *Don Antonio de Matiques*, a principall Officer, had the hap to escape; and was the first man that brought into *Spaine* the welcomes of this now vincible Navy. This huge Bottome, manned with foure hundred Souldiers, and three hundred slaves, had in her also fifty thousand Ducats of the Spanish Kings treasure, a booty well fitting the English Souldiers affections; who having ransacked all, and freed the slaves from their miserable fetters, went about to set that vessell of Emptinesse on fire; but *Monsieur Guordon*, the Governour of *Calis*, fearing some danger to the Towne or Haven, would not permit them, but discharged his Ordonance against such as assayed it.

July 29.

(217) The morning after this their miserable hap, ranging themselves againe into order, they approached over against *Greveling*, where once agayne the *English* getting the winde, the *Spanish* were thereby deprived of the Conveniency of *Calis* roade, and kept from supply out of *Dunkerke*; in which Port had rested their full hope of support. Notwithstanding, they were forced to passe by, and so followed by the *English*, that their Shippes discharged upon them from morning till night, the conflict proving dismall to the invincible *Armado*; for therein a great Gallion of *Biscay* perished, the Captaines thereof to avoid ignominy, or to bee accounted valorous, desperately flew each others; in which distresse also two other great shippes presently sunke. The *Saint Philip*, and *Saint Matthew*, two *Portugal* Gallions were so torne with shot, their tacklings spent, and their bulkes rent, that the water entred in on all sides; in the former of which, was *Francis de Toledo*, being Colonell over two and thirty Bands, who taking his course for the Coast of *Flanders*, the leake was so great, that he with others, committing themselves to the Skiffe, arrived at *Ostend*, and the ship, with the residue, were taken by the *Vlisshingers*.

A Gallion taken.

(218) In the *Saint Matthew* was embarked *Don Diego Pimentelli*, Count Mayster, and Colonell also of thirty two Bands; whose ship, though very strong, was so pierced with shot, that her Leakes could not be stopt, which knowne, the Duke of *Medina* sent his Skiffe for him, and some others, to save themselves from their eminent danger. But he, upon a Spanish brave, refused so to doe, assaying each way to free himselfe like a Souldier; but not able to keepe sayle with the Fleete, hee forth-with made toward the Coast of *Flanders*, where being espyed by five men of warre, was met with, and required to yeeld, which lastly hee did unto Captaine *Peter Banderveffe*, who carried him into *Zeland*, where, for a trophy of Victory, his Banner was hung up in the Church of *Leyden* in *Holland*, whose length reached from the very roofe unto the ground: and another Ship of lesse burthen, coasting also for *Flanders*, was cast away on the sands.

(219) The *Spaniards* now finding their BVENVENIDA unto *England* farre other then they expected, were content to couch their Fleete close together, not seeking to assayle, but to defend; and the winde comming to the *South-west*, in the same order passed by *Dunkerke*, whom the English still followed. But lest *Parma* should play upon advantage, the Lord Admirall dispatched the Lord *Henry Seymer*, with his Squadron of small shippes, unto the Coast of *Flanders*, to second those *Hollanders* which there kept watch under the conduct of *Iustin Nassau* their Admirall: whose Navy consisted of thirty five Shippes: furnished with most skilfull Marriners, and old experienced Souldiers, whereof twelve hundred were *Musketiers*, whom the States had culled out of the Garrisons. Their charge was, to stop all entrance into their Havens, or entercourse with *Dunkerke*, whither Duke *Parma* intended, though his men were unwilling, hearing how their friends were welcome at the Sea; onely the English fugitives, about seven hundred, under the command of that treacherous Knight, Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to bee the first that should assault *England*.

The Spaniards cast their horses into the Sea.

The Hollanders Aides.

The Duke of *Medina* disgraced for his faccellesse sayle.

(220) But the Armado being now passed the place of their expected supply, and having gotten more Sea-roome for their huge bodied Bulkes, * spread their maine sayles, and made away as fast as winde, and water would give them leave, more fearing the small Fleete, and forces of the English, (though nothing in number like unto them) then standing upon termes of honour, either of their chieftaines or *Invincible Navy*. But surely if they had knowne the want of powder that ours sustained, (a fault unexcusable upon our owne Coasts) they no doubt would have stood longer to their tacklings: but God in this, as the rest, would have us to acknowledge, that wee were onely delivered by his owne gracious providence, and Arme, and not by any policy or power of our owne.

English fugitives prove the most desperate enemies.

* July 30.

(221) The *Vincible Armado*, holding on their way, the *English Admirall* followed, lest they should assay to put into *Scotland*; but the winde comming faire, and feare of more encounters, with all their sayles spread, they betooke themselves to flight, leaving *Scotland*

The Spanish Armado flyeth.

Scotland on the West, and bending toward *Norway*; ill advised (but that necessity urged, and God had infatuated their counsels) to put their shaken, and battered bottomes into those blacke & dangerous Seas; neither was the Climate healthfull for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, over-beaten, and tyred with wants, being now entred the degree of Latitude 57, from whence the Lord *Admirall* returned, leaving some Scouts to descry their successe.

August 2.

The Spanish consultation.

(222) The *Spaniards* now cleared from those their haunting spirits, consulted most seriously what was to bee done: the Popes credit was to bee respected, who had predicted this voyage to fortunate successe; the wrath of King *Philip* was to be feared, his great expences thus lost; the adventurers loosers, if the voyage should bee left, the glory of the *Spaniards* laid in the suds, the Invincible Navy in the ebbe of her fame: and *England* still *England*, not lorded by the *Spaniard*, if they thus without further attempt should returne into *Spaine*. But with all, five thousand of their Souldiers were slaine; multitudes of sicke, and maimed lay on their hands, twelve of their greatest ships were sunke, lost, and taken, their Cables, Masts, and Saile, cut, rent, and broken, with the English shot, their anchors left, where the fired Hulkes forced them, their victuals failing, and fresh-water all spent; their enemies no lesse fierce, and undauntable, then fortunate: and their long expected friend, the Duke of *Parma* thought ever preparing, yet still forestalled by the *Dutch*, most firme Allies unto the Queene: these circumstances wisely ballanced, the voice went currant for speeding into *Spaine*.

(223) But knowing that *Scotland* (whose *religious King* was fast knit in affection, and blood unto Queene *Elizabeth*) would yeeld them no comfort, and hopelesse also that *Norway* would give them any supply, they cast all their Mules, and Horses over boord for sparing of their fresh water: then framing their course to sayle about *Cathenes*, and the coasts of *Ireland*, so proceeded between the *Orcades*, and *Isles of Farr* unto the 61 degree Northward, whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his best stored ships tooke Westward over the maine Ocean towards *Biscay*, and so arrived safely in *Spaine*, where for his *Welcome*, hee was deposed from all his authority, forbidden to come at the Court, and commanded to bee private. Neither could hee thus give satisfaction for his bad successes, albeit hee imputed it to the treachery of his Mariners, their ignorance, and small experience of those Northerne Seas, the want of succours from the Prince of *Parma*, the tempest, shipwrackes, and *all fortune*, but not a word of the *judgements of God* upon this Gyantlike attempt to enslave all *England* to the mountaines of *Granada* or to the mines of *Peru*.

John Serres hist. France.

The successe of some ships on the Irish coasts.

(224) The residue of his shippes, about forty in number, fell neerer with the coast of *Ireland*, intending for *Cape Clare*, where they well hoped to water, but the winds contrary, and tempests storming upon those dangerous Seas, many of their shippes perished upon the shoares of *Ireland*, and among other a Great Galliasse, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was a Commander, and two other of *Venice*, both ships of great burthen, besides thirty eight more, together with most of the Spaniards conteined within them. Those that got cleare of the dagger, put forth to Sea, whereof some with a strong West winde were driven into the channell of *England* where part of them were taken by the English, others by men of *Rochel* in *France*, and some arrived at *Newhaven* in *Normandy*. In so much, that of *one hundred thirty foure shippes*, which had set saileout of *Lisbon*, onely fifty three returned to *Spaine*: of the foure Galliasses of *Naples*, but one: of the foure Gallies of *Portugall*, but one: and of the ninety one Gallions, and great Hulkes from divers Provinces, onely thirty three returned, fifty eight being lost: in briefe, there were missing of their whole fleet, foure-

The Summ of the Spaniards losse.

score, and one vessels, and of the thirty thousand souldiers, thirteene thousand, five hundred, and odde. Of prisoners taken in *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low Countries* were two thousand, and more. In *England*, *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Don Vasquez de Sylva*, and *Don Alonzo de Seyes*; and others were kept for their ransome: in *Zeland*, *Don Diego de Pimentell*, and in *Ireland*, *Don Alonzo de Lucon*, *Roderigo de Lasse* and others of great account: to conclude, there was no famous or worthy family in all *Spaine*, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

(225) Thus were these Sea-services effected: as for the Land, preparations were made throughout the Kingdome, but the main forces lying encamped at *Tilbury* under the command of the Earle of *Leicester*, thither her Majesty in person upon the ninth of August repaired, full of Princely resolution, and more then feminine courage, whose lovely presence and imperiall speeches, as thee passed like some *Amazonian* Empresse through all her Army, were so acceptable, and gratious, that Her soldiers, full fraught with manly spirit, yet received an accesse of hardnesse from so alacrious a patterne in their *Maiden Queene*: and they perceived so well the love of their Prince, and thee saw what it was to have the love of her subjects, that the harmony of both their affections was admirable, both of them professing resolution, and willing to sacrifice their lives in that most rightfull quarrell. But the *God of Hosts* having now prevented their forwardnesse, without losse of English bloud, eft-soones the Campe was dissolved: and not long after *Leicester* ended his daies, having been a Peere of great estate, but lyable to the common destiny of most *Great ones*, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few speake well of after their death.

Earle of *Leicesters* death.

(226) The Land thus delivered by the arme of the Omnipotent, and the Bore put backe that sought to lay *Englands* fayre vine-yeard waste, *Queene Elizabeth* (who ever held ingratitude a Capitall sinne, but especially towards her Almighty protectour) commanded solemne thankes-giving to bee celebrated unto the *Lord God of Hosts*, at the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Pauls* in her chiefe City of *London*, which accordingly was done upon Sunday the eight of September, where eleven of the Spanish Ensignes (the once badges of their bravery, but now of their vanity) were hung upon the lower battlements of that Church, as palmes of praise for *Englands* deliverance; a shew no doubt more acceptable to God, then when their spread colours did set out the pride of their shippes, threatning the bloud of so many innocent, and faithfull Christians.

Queene *Elizabeths* thankfullnesse to God.

(227) The next day, the Faire being kept in *Southwarke*, these faire flagges were spread upon *London-Bridge* to the great joy of the beholders, and eternall memory of Spanish purposes, as irreligious as unprosperous. But the solemne day assigned to be kept holy throughout the land, was the *nineteenth of November*, being Tuesday, which accordingly was then done, and would to God had so continued still, being no lesse for our deliverance, then was that *Purim* for the Iewes, which they instituted to be kept holy throughout their generations.

Esther. 9. 26.

(228) Queene *Elizabeth* therefore, to bee her selfe an example unto others, upon the Sunday following, being the foure, and twentieth of November, repayred from the Pallace of White-Hall in *Westminster*, through the streets of *London* in great Estate: and came accompanied with her Nobility unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint *Paul*, where dismounting from her Chariot at the West-doore, shee humbled her selfe upon her knees, and with great devotion, audibly praised God, acknowledging him her onely Defender, who had thus delivered the land from the rage of the enemy. And after the Sermon ended, wherein none other Argument was handled, but onely of prayse, and glory to bee rendred

Q. *Elizabeth* commeth to Paules Church.

rendred unto God, her Majesty her selfe with most princely, and Christian speeches exhorted all the people to their due performance of those religious services of thankefulnesse unto God, like unto another *Iosuah*, *David*, and *Iosias*. The *Zelanders* also to leave a *Memoriall* of their no lesse gratitude to God, then faithfulnesse to the Queene, caused a new *Coyne* of silver to bee stamped, having on the one side the *Armes* of their Country engraven, with this inscription, *Glory to God alone*, and on the other side, the portraicts of great ships, under stiled, *The Spanish Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came, went, and was*, *Anno* 1588, Wherein they alluded to that quicke worke of *Cæsar*, * *Veni, vidi, vici*, which wee have sene also excellently described in devise, whereon the one side, the *Spanish Fleet* had inscribed *veni*, the *Sunne*(the eye of the whole world) *vidi*, and the *English* Navy, *vici*, In other coines also were stamped ships fleeting, & sinking, and in the *reverse*, *Supplicants* upon their knees, with this Motto, *Man proposeth, God disposeth*, 1588. To the like effect also the Hollanders stamped the remembrance of this *Armada* in their monies, after the example of the Ancient, whose use was to inscribe their *victories* upon their *Coines*, of which kind were those with *Spanish shippes*, having this *Word*, *Impius fugit nemine sequente*.

The Zelanders thankfulnes to God.

* I came, I saw, I conquered.

(229) Neither did the *Dutch* alone participate the triumph of this glorious successe, but all other Nations also congratulated the same; which universall joy being excellently expressed in this ensuing *Ode*, by a * Stranger of eminent *Piety*, and *Learning*, and translated into all the chiefe Languages of *Christendome*; we will here annex the same, as the Close, and Epilogue of this *Tragico-Comedy*, to bee perpetuated unto all ensuing posterities.

* *Theodorus Beza ann.* 1588. and in his Epistle before his Comment on *Iob.*

An. Dom. 1589.

Straverat innumeris Hispanus Classibus æquor,
Regnis iunctурus Sceptra Britanna suis,
Tanti hujus rogitas quæ Motus causa? Superbos,
Impulit Ambitio, *vexit* Avaritia.
Quàm bene te Ambitio, mersit vanissima ventus:
Et tumida tumidos vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene Rapteres Orbis totius thesros
Mersit inexhausti justa vorago Maris!
At Tu, *cui venti, cui totum militat Æquor,*
Regina, O Mundi tutius una decus:
Sic regnare Deo, perge, Ambitione remotâ,
Prodegaſie opibus perge juvare Pios;
Vt te Anglı longùm, longum Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta Bonis, tam metuenda Malis.

Spaines King with Navies huge the Seas bestrewd,
To Augment with Englishs *Crowne his Spanish sway,*
Aske yee, what cauſ'd this proud attempt? t' was lewd
Ambition *drove, and* Avarice *led the way.*
It's well; Ambitions *windy puffe lies drownd*
By winds, and swelling hearts, by swelling waves,
It's well; *those Spaniards who the* Worlds *vast round*
Devourde, devouring sea most justly craves.
But Thou, *O Queen, for whom* Winds, Seas, *do warre*;
O Thou, Sole Glory of this Worlds wide Masse:
So raigne to God still, from Ambition *farre,*
So still with bounteous aides the Good *imbrace*;
That Thou; *England long, long may' England* Thee *enjoy*
Thou, Terrour of all Bad, *thou* Good *mens Ioy.*

(230) The Thunderclappe of this Spanish Armado thus past, and the *invincible* vanquished, as the attempt, and Issue was open to the eyes of the world, so the due consideration thereof was rooted in all true English hearts; whereupon the *Nobles*, and *Comminalty* being then assembled for Parliament, this course was at length thought fitteſt, that the proud Castilian should bee requited upon his owne coasts. And first it was determined to aide *Don Antonio* the expulsed King of *Portugall*, whose title was apparantly farre more just, then either *Philips* for *England* or *Stukeleys* for *Ireland*; both which Kingdomes they had in hostile manner invaded: and this the rather was resolved on, for that the Spanish King was endevouring to repaire his dishonour by repairing his Fleete, and Forces for a new expedition against *England*.

Consultations for attempts on Spaine.

Don Antonio King of *Portugall* flyeth to Queene Elizabeths protection.

(231) This *Don Antonio* among other Competitors claimed the Crowne of *Portugall* after the decease of King *Henry*, as sprung from King *Emanuel* by his sonne *Don Lewis* the Infant; but alleaged by the *Philippians* to have been his *Bastard*. Against which accusation *Don Antonio* had sentence for his legitimation by the Bishoppe of *Angra*, and every way sought to rubbe off that scandalous imputation. His conditions were such as well besitted a Crowne, hee being a Prince of greater spirit then person, and yet of rare modesty, and humility, seasoned with a dispositionvery devout, and religious, whereby hee came to bee in farre better favour, and esteeme then *Philip* of *Spaine*; for which cause hee was first made *Defender* of the Realme by the Governours, and afterwards accepted *King* by the people, whereto he was in a manner enforced, seeing himselfe environed with many drawne swords in midst of a furious multitude.

Philip prepareth for a new expedition.

Don Antonio his Title.

His conditions.

(232) But *Philip* as more ambitious, so more strong in men, and munition, made warre into *Portugall*, and by his *Generall*, Duke *Alba*, put this new King unto flight; after which fortune, himselfe enters *Portugall*, where hee proclaimed *eight hundred thousand Crownes* to him that could bring him *Don Antonio* either alive or dead. But such was their love unto this unfortunate Prince, that eight moneths hee kept in Portugall disguised, and had conversation, and conference with many, yet was never betraied; but not able to hold up his side, the Governours (as is the fashion of the world) daily falling to his stronger, after many conflicts, and much lamenting their miserable estate, left the Spaniard (who then gaped for nothing but Kingdomes to possesse the Governement of *Portugall*.

K. *Philip* accompts the Crowne of *Portugall*.

Portugall poleſſed by the *Spaniard*.

(233) *Antonio's* kingly stile thus ended before it was throughly begunne; *Philip* had subjections offered him *avid*, and in such fort, as some that seemed *Competitors*, yeelded him their rights, among whom *Katherina* Dutchesse of *Cragansa* was one: yea and Pope *Gregorie* himselfe (with the Prior of *Crato*) who had hitherto sided with *Don Antonio*, knowing it was fureſt to hold with the strongeſt, sent *Philip* his Apostolicall allowance, the better to put on his New-gotten Crowne; exhorting him to thankfulneſſe, for theſe his prosperities; and moving him earnestly to make warre against *England* with proffers of assistance as wee have said.

(234) *Don Antonio* thus driven out of his Kingdome, for succour repaired unto the Court of *France*; where, of the Queene Mother, a pretended Competitor for the Portugall Crowne, hee was both favoured, and aided at Seas for the Isles of *Terceres*: but such was his destiny in his Sea-fights also, (the *Peruan gold* being no lesse powerfull then the Spanish Canons) that eight of the talleſt French Ships were lost, and two thousand men slaine; among whom was the Lord *Philip Trosly* the *Generall*, whose death was so Taken, and the expedition so censured, as the Portugal Captaines were reputed for Cowards, imprisoned in *France*, and many of them charged with corruption, and treason: so that all his hopes were now in the wane, and no further assistance could bee expected of the *French*.

King *Antonio* leaues aide from *France*.

His losses at Sea

(235) The poore Prince thus dejected in *France*, knowing the universall report of Queene *Elizabeths* great fame, obtained leave of her Majesty for access unto her sacred presence, whose *Court* had ever beene a famoused *Sanctuary* to all oppressed Princes, or distressed Estates: where shewing his right to the *Portugall* Crowne, and clearing the objections touching his *Bastardy* (which imputation in sundry languages hee refuted in Print to the publike view of the world) received now comfort to bee set in his kingdome

K. *Antonio* repaires for aide to Q. Elizabeth

Kingdome, *England* having so just an occasion to warre against *Spaine*. Among whom once more he assayed to try the favour of Fortune; his Petition to the Queene being onely this, that she would but land him safe in his Country, and amongst his owne People, of whose assured love and readinesse to receive him as their King, and thence-forward to defend him and his just Title, he nothing doubted. So honest and reasonable a suit could not but finde favour with so gracious a Queene: whereupon provision being made for the Portugall voyage, he embarked at *Plimouth* in April, whence sixe of the Queenes Ships, and twentie more of warre (besides many other ordained for transportation) spred their Sailes under the conduct of the ever-feared Sir *Francis Drake*, and the most valorous Sir *John Norris Generall* for the land service, with *eleven thousand souldiers, and twentie five hundred Mariners*. These * landing in a Bay of *Galicia*, neere unto the *Groine*, in their March were met and encountred within halfe a mile of the Towne, but their enemies were soone forced to retire unto their Gates.

Succours are afforded him.

An. Dom. 1589. The Portugall voyage.

*arth. wing faild, * April 20.

(236) The next day Generall *Norris* having viewed the advantage, resolved to attempt the place by a scalado, and to land some Artillery, to beat the Ships and Gallies which did play upon their troopes, which was effectually performed; and the Gallies forced to abandon the Roade, the Base-towne was surprized, and in three severall places entred, where the Inhabitants with a great cry tooke into the high Towne, but some prevented, escaping the fury of the sword, fled to the Rockes, where they were found and slaine to the number of five hundred. Among theſe fo hid, *Don Iuan de Luna*, a man of great command, was one, who the next morning came forth, and yeelded himselfe to the Generals devotion. *Iuan de Vera*, a Commissary of victuals was likewise taken, who confessed that there was in the Towne *three hundred thousand Ducats of silver*, and order given for the baking of three hundred thousand of Bisket, that the Towne was stored with two thousand Pipes of wine, a thousand Iars of Oyle, three thousand Kintals of Beefe, a great quantitie of Beanes, Peaſe, Wheat, and Fish, and of Match and Harquebuizes three Barkes were brought thither not long before. All which (hee confessed) were for a new voyage against *England*. And indeed such store of wines was there found, as the English Souldiers using little moderation in drinking, did not onely lay themselves open to danger from the upper Towne, but by distemperature so inflamed and infected their bloud, that it caused a great mortalitie and infection in the whole Army.

The Groine surprised. Infection through intemperate drinking of wine.

(237) The Base-Towne thus gotten, a fudden refcue of two thousand men so resolutely came to the very Gates, as though no contrary power could possibly keepe them from entrance, but in the first brunt of resistance, they were content to make their heeles the safe guardians of their heads, of whom yet many were cut short by the English purſuers. With the like feare the Shippes in the Road were fraught, whose Souldiers over-charging the great Ordonance of a great Gallion, abandoned her Board, and set her on fire, which for the space of two dayes burned in most terrible wise, so that of fiftie great peeces but sixteene were found whole, the reſt broken and melted, and so brought away by the English; but the higher towne strong both by scituation and sufficiency for resistance, resolutely held out, onely intreated by Parley to have faire Warres. And being built for the most part on a hard rocke, one place was found mineable, where the Generall the fourth day of this siege set men on worke, who bedded their powder somewhat too short of the wall, whereby that designe tooke not the suppoſed effect. But this error reduced, another as great was committed, for the Miners against set on worke, came right under the Wall, but somewhat wide of a great Tower thereupon built, so that when the blaſt of powder brake forth, it overthrew but a part of the same, and left the other standing tottering and shaken, which being not regarded, in the heat of assault fell suddenly upon the English, and slew Captaine *Sydenham* with thirtie Souldiers besides, to the great astonishment of the rest there imployed, not knowing the cause whereof it came; but rather suspecting it a Strategem of the Towne; and the rest of the rubbish lay so loose under foot, that the Assaulters could have no sure standing to make their fight.

The Enemy put to flight.

(238) Whiles these things were in doing, the Generall had certaine notice that the *Conde de Andrada* had assembled an Army of eight thousand strong, which was but the beginning of another more strong, levied under the *Conde de Altemira*; the former, not passing sixe miles off, and both of them intending the rescue of the *Groine*: To prevent which, Sir *John Norris* with nine Regimens * met them, and presently fell to a hot skirmish, whose brunt the enemy not able to endure, tooke over a bridge, built upon a Creeke of the Sea, at the further foot whereof their Campe lay very strongly entrenched. Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonell *Sydney*, the Captaines *Hinder*, *Fulford*, and *Barton* entred the bridge, whose further end was barricaded with barrels, where comming to push of pike and sword, Sir *Edward* was grievously hurt in the head, Captaine *Hinder* received five wounds in the head and face by the Sword; Captaine *Fulford* hurt in the left armе with a shot, and Captaine *Barton* hurt in the eye. Notwithstanding, the Generall so seconded the encounter, as the Guard was overthrowne, and the whole Army put into rout, of whom our men had the Chase fully three miles in foure fundry wayes. What the slaughter was, is uncertaine, but suppoſed to be great; besides others that were found hid in Vineyards and hedges, and two hundred put to sword that had taken into a Cloister. In this service the *Kings Standard* was taken, some plate and rich apparell found in their Campe, and the Country for three Miles compaſſe set on flaming fire; the *Generall* making his retreat with the *Kings Colours* and *Armes* displayed before him, to the great honour of the English.

The enemy encountred. * May 6.

The English are victors.

(239) Thus returning unto the *Groine*, and wanting Cannons to batter the walles, the English fired the base-Towne, embarked from thence, and put againe to Sea. But the windes being contrary, many affaies were made before the Fleet could recover the Burlings, in which paſſage *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, with *M. Walter Deureux* his brother, accompanied with others, * came to the Fleet; which Earle having put himselfe into the Iourney against the opinion of the world, or well-liking of the Queene, seemed unto the Sager fort to hazard his fortunes; but other more stirring spirits, held it the great advancement of his reputation; whereof I thinke I may say, as *Tacitus* said of *Vespasians* employment in *Britaine*, *That there was laid the first foundation of his future esteeme.*

May 8.

The Earle of *Essex* ariueth to the Fleet. * May 13.

Corn. Tacitus.

(240) The Fleet thus encreased, they landed on *Portugall*, even under shot of the Castle of *Peniche*, where the Sea growing high, many were in perill of drowning; for most of them waded to the waſt for the Shoare. Of this Towne and peece, *Conde de Fuentes* had the command; who with five Companies of *Spaniards* fallied out against the English, and made their approach close to the Sea-side; whereupon the Earle of *Essex*, with Sir *Roger Williams* divided their men into two Troupes, the one keeping the Sands along the Shoare, and the other over the sand-hills made towards the in-land. Which the enemy seeing, hasted to the encounter, and came unto fight, even within push of Pike; but were so entertained, as they had no great liking, but presently turned their backs, and fled further then the English had reason to follow. The Towne they left undefended, of that it was entred without any resistance,

The enemy put to flight.

Peniche in *Portugall* taken.

resistance, and the Castle summoned the same night; the Captaine whereof was *Antonio de Aurid*, a Portugall, who demanding, and being satisfied, that *Don Antonio* was present, gave up the peece, with the munition therein. Vnto this place some Friers and other poore of the Country, came to welcome their King, promising him (in the name of the rest) a sufficient supply both of Horse and Foot, which notwithstanding was never performed.

The attempt for *Lisbon*.

(241) Here it was thought fit that the wounded and sicke should remaine, with sufficient provision, and seven Companies of Foot to guard the ships and Castle; and the maine Army to march over land unto *Lisbon*, the *Metropolitane* of *Portugall*, accounted the strongest Fort in the World, and whosoever held that, might (in their esteeme) make head against the mightiest Monarch in the Earth; whither likewise Sir *Francis Drake* (*Generall* of the Sea-service) promised to come, if the injury of weather did not hinder him. The March undertaken, *Tarres Vedras* made some shew of resistance, but presently upon the approch of the English, that Castle was abandoned, and left to the possession of *Don Antonio*; whose hopes hereupon began to enlarge, thinking the whole would stand for his claime; but therein was not a little deceived; for victuals growing scarse in the Army, the Country did not supply them according to expectation, neither came in any of strength. Notwithstanding the English Army from *Vedras* marched to *San Sebastian*, thence to *Lores*, and lodged the fift day at *Alvelana*, three miles from *Lisbon*, where many of their Souldiers perished by drinking in two places of poysoned standing waters, as also in eating of honey, purposely left in the houses, and spiced with poyson, as it was thought.

Spanish history.

The *English* approach *Lisbon*.

(242) The five and twentieth of May, the English Army came unto *Lisbon*, whose Suburbes were found abandoned, houses of provision for corne and victuals fired, and none left to defend but a form of old folkes and beggars, crying in the streets, *Viva el Rey Don Antonio* and about midnight they within the Towne set fire on their houses that stood within upon the wall. The English wearied with the six daies march, want of victuall, the last nights watch and many of them weake, were desirous of rest; where the enemy having advertisment, in the dead of the night sallied out of the Towne; and made their assault in three severall streets, but chiefly upon Colonell *Brets* Quarters, who being at rest (as most of the Army were) with what hast was possible, put himselfe, and his in Armes, and so throughly made head, that he was slaine in the place, Captaine *Carre* with the like resistance and valour ended his life; Captaine *Carfey* wounded to Death; Captaine *Cave* hurt, but not mortally. The others found not their attempts so easie, but were put to a suddaine and foule retreat; insomuch as the Earle of *Essex* (full of high spirit, and not youthly bloud) had them in chase to the very gates of the *high towne* and (as it was truly reported) the enemies losse did triple the English, aswell in quantitie, as in men of qualitie.

A Sally on the *English*.

Essex pursueth the enemy to the very Gates.

(243) Meane while Generall *Drake* with his whole Fleet was come to *Cascais*, and possessed the towne without any resistance, for the inhabitants at the discovery of his Navie, fled with bagge and baggage into the mountaines, which the *Generall* perceiving, sent unto them a *Portugall Pilote*, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so as they would accept of their rightfull King, and minister necessaries to the Army which he had brought. Which offer they joyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of the Towne, to signifie their loyaltie to *Don Antonio*, and their honest affection to his Army, whereupon *Sir Francis* immediately landed his Companies, but not without perill of the Castle, which being guarded by the Spaniards, held out against him for their King.

Drake inpossesseth *Cascais*.

(244) At *Lisbon* the Portugals had promised to aid *Antonio*, with three thousand horse, besides other supplies from the Duke of *Braganza*, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, and others, at a day perfixed, and now altogether past, by reason (as it seemeth) that the Spaniards having chiefe command in all places, they were unable by any meanes to make head. Whereupon the unfortunate *Antonio* seeing the time expired, and but fortie Horse come, nor of foot sufficient to furnish two Enfignes, grew almost hopelesse, yet assayed he to perswade a stay before *Lisbon* for nine dayes more: but the Towne being strong, and the English declining (for there was the first apparant shew of sicknesse among them) the Portugals backward, and of base resolutions, ready to obey any so themselves may be rich: and the Generall having already done more then was promised, lest they should hazard the honour which hitherto had beene got, denied his request, and gave present order to returne to *Cascais*, himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the stand, that was made in the high street, till the whole Army was drawne into the field: at which time, the King (even herein of kingly disposition towards his Natives) made request to save the suburbes from spoile; which if the English had ransacked, they had beene the richest Army that ever returned to *England*. But now ready to depart *Lisbon*, the noble *Essex* in the courage of his Martiall bloud, ranne his Speare and brake it against the Gates of that City: demanding aloud, if any *Spaniard* mewed therein, durst adventure forth in favour of his Mistresse to breake a staffe with him. But those Gallants thought it safer to court their Ladies with amorous discourses; then to have their loves written on their breasts with the point of his English Speare.

Don Antonio his Princely compassion.

(244) Being now come to *Cascais*, intelligence was brought by a Frier, that the enemy was marched unto Saint *Iulina* with a strong power to encounter the English, unto whose Generall, the Generall *Norris* sent a Trumpet, promising to meete him the next morning if hee durst abide his comming, and withall gave him the lie: the Earle of *Essex* also sent him a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie, or else sixe, eight, or tenne, to trie single combate, whereat this *Spaniards* combe was so cut, as in the night, before battell, in great feare and perturbation he dislodged, and returned to *Lisbon*, not answering the Challenge, but threatning to hang the Messenger, who followed him even to the very Gate. Then was the Castle of *Cascais* rendred upon condition, that the men of Armes should depart with bagge and baggage; which peece in part, by the Order of the Generall, was blowne up by mine. During which time threescore Hulkes laden with Corne, Masts, Cables, Coppes, and Waxe, being the Spanish Kings provision were taken going to *Lisbon*.

The Castle of *Cascais* rendred.

Sixty Spanish Hulkes taken.

(245) The English having thus farre proceeded, put againe to Sea, when, unlooked for, and in a great calme, nine Gallies fell in the winde of their Fleet, and so plaid upon a straggling Barke of *Plimouth*, that Captaine *Calverly*, his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners, abandoning the vessell, betooke them to their Boates, whereof one, (in which the Captaine and Master were) was over-runne by the Gallies, and they both drowned. Two other Hulkes also stragling from the Fleet, were set upon by the Spaniards; in one of which, Captaine *Minsham* fought to the last, and very valiantly after his ship was on fire; but whether fired by himselfe or the enemy, could not be judged; the calme being so still, as no succour could be sent from the Fleet, to their great griefe.

(246) Thus continuing seventeene dayes on board, many of the dead souldiers were cast into the Sea; and the whole now consisted of two thousand men, who comming to *Vigo*, found every street fenced with a strong Barricadoe, and but only one man in the Towne; the Inhabitants making toward *Bayon*

as

as fast as they could drive; then was both the Towne and all the Countrey for seven miles compasse set on a flame. Which fervice thus performed, *Sir Francis Drake* with the Queenes Ships safely * arrived at *Plymouth*, and upon the second of *July* following, arrived *Sir Iohn Norris*, having both of them performed the parts of worthy Generals.

The English arrived at *Plymouth*. *Iune 21.

John Speed. The State of *France*.

(248) Whilest these Realmes were at variance each against other, the *French* were not quiet among themselves, the King somewhat voluptuous, but excessively prodigall towards his favourites; the Nobilitie ambitious, misstruthfull, and disloyall, the Clergy turbulent, and undutifull, bending all their force and thoughts against the Plantation of the Truth. To unite friendship therefore, some league had beene made, for confirmation whereof, the three Estates were assembled at *Bloys*. For the Clergy appeared *one hundred thirty foure Deputies*, among whom were foure Arch-bishops, one and twentie Bishops, and two Generals of Orders: for the Nobilitie came one hundred and fourescore Gentlemen, and for the third Estate an hundred fourescore and eleven Deputies, all of them Lawyers and Merchants. Vpon the first sitting, and before these best wits of *France*, King * *Henry* made a solemne Oration to perswade union, full of lively affection, true magnanimity, and pregnant reasons, delivered with such an admirable eloquence and grace, as it ravished the eares of all present, besides the opening of the propositions; the which, *Mantelon*, the keeper of the Seale, for him further prosecuted: after him, *Reynauld de Beaulme*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, Patriarke, and Primate of *Aquitaine*, spake in the same argument: and lastly, *Michaell Marteau*, Provost and President for the third Estate, confirmed, and consented to all that had beene said. Whereupon an Oath of union was taken, to binde the King, them, and all their Posterities, the fundamentall Lawes and liberties of *France* onely reserved.

An. Dom. 1588. Octob. 17.

* *Henry* 3.

An oath of Vnion in *France*.

(249) This notwithstanding, the *Leaguers*, to hit the marke whereat they aymed, daily divulged and buzzed the *French Kings* disgraces, and all to install the *Guize* in his Throne; the Papists wrongs were grievously expostulated, their Churches burnt, and Altars prophaned, the People oppressed with impositions and Subsidies; Places of Iudgement set to sale, and spirituall Benefices to him that would give most: the Offices at Court, they alledged, were managed by men of meane ranke; the Noblemens services neglected, and unrewarded. All these, and more, were complained of, and all to make the King base in the Peoples eye, the *Guize* himselfe the while temporizing with both, as diswading the King to subject his authoritie unto their complaints, and at the same present perswading the other, to be vehement in their pursuits.

The Guizians practises.

An. Dom. 1588. Novem. 4.

(250) Among their other practises, one was against the King of *Navarre*; whom the Clergy condemned for an *Heretike*, the chiefe (as they termed him) of the relapse; excommunicated and deprived him of the Government of *Guienne*, and of all other dignities, as being unworthy of successions of Crownes or Realmes. But *Henry*, with *Festus* thought it unreasonable, to condemne this Prince without hearing, and therefore desired to have him againe summoned, and againe to be sworne to the *Vnion*.

Acts 25.

(251) To this motion was answered, that the Cardinall of *Bourbon* his Vncle had once obtained absolution for him; that the *Queene Mother* had many times assayed to winne him, many learned Doctors had beene sent to reclaime him: but all in vaine. For, from the Cradle (said they) he hath beene brought up in this new Heresie, hath beene condemned by the Councell of *Trent*, received againe into grace by the Consistory, is againe fallen into the error which he abjured, and is now an Heretike, relapsed, unworthy of obedience, stnworthy of respect, and unworthy to be prayed for: for the holy See of *Rome* hath declared him a Schismatike, excommunicated him as uncapable of succession, and therefore must the Estates of *France* ratifie the Popes sentence; and King *Henry* must thereunto subscribe, if not, the Duke of *Guize*, who was Master of the Castle, and carried the keyes at his owne girdle, would dissolve the Assembly, and lay all the blame upon his Majestie.

Henry King of Navarre pronounced uncapable of the Crowne of *France*.

(252) Thus then (by the purpose of man) the first Prince of the bloud, and the onely remainder, after so many sisters and cousens of *Anjou*, *Alencon*, *Eureux*, *Berry*, *Bourgeyne*, *Angoulesme*, and *Orleans*, and which onely succeeded that of *Valois*, was now deprived of the succession which Nature gave him, without calling, or hearing of his justifications.

(253) To further this *Guizian* enterprize, his followers buzd into the heads of the multitude, that it was the Kings Climactericall yeare, and so many presumptions were observed, as it was told the King in plaine termes, that the Duke of *Guize* would surprize him. Whereupon, hauing remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of revenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition; at last, by the lightening, supposing a thunder-clap would follow, he sought timely to prevent the danger, by taking away his life, that intended the blow. Which was not so secretely carryed, but that the designe was discovered, and a scrowle laid under *Guize* his Napkin as he sate at dinner, wherein it was written, that *his life was in danger*: but hee, as one confident in his owne power, wrote in the same scrowle these words, *they dare not*; and threw it from him under the Table. Other advertisements he had, (if we may beleeve the additions of *Serres*) from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Lorraine*, and *Savoy*, that a bloudy Catastrophe should dissolve this Assembly, their Almanacks had observed it, and it was generally predicted for *Saint Thomas* day.

(254) But the Duke bearing himselfe bold upon his owne greatnesse, neglected all motives, and very presumptuously spake to the King, complaining that the affaires of *France* inclined from bad unto worse, uncurable, and almost growne desperate, wherefore, the charge he had received, he would againe give up, and retire into the Countrey, lest other mens sinnes should be imputed his.

(255) The King, who had resolved on his death, gave him good words, with promise of amendment what in him lay, and held him with familiar discourses, and favourable countenance, untill a fit time should be offered; which was the three and twentieth of *December*, when the Lords sitting in Councell, and entring consultation, the *Guize* was called for unto the King, who as he lifted up the Tapestry into his Cabinet, was charged upon by the Guard, and with their Swords and Partizans presently slaine; the King avouching, that thence-forth hee would rule alone. And not long after, the Cardinall of *Guize*, brother to the Duke, dranke of the same Cup, at the commandement of the King.

John Speed.

(256) This death of the *Guize* and Cardinall, caused the King to be exceedingly hated of the Papals, whose Preachers branded his reproaches in their Pulpits, incensing the People to open rebellion, and as Furies of Hell heaped an Iliad of curses upon the heads of the Executioners. In *Paris* the Kings furniture, and in the *Lowre* his Pictures were broken, his Armes beaten downe, his Images dragged through the streets, his great Seale defaced, and his royall name blurred with many opprobrious termes. Yea, and the Colledge of *Sorbon* as forward as any, concluded by a publike * Act, *That the people of France were free from the Oath of Obedience and Fealty, which they stood ingaged in unto* Henry *of Valois, that lawfully, and with a good conscience they might arme themselves against him, receive his revenues, and imploy it in their warres for his overthrow.*

* Dated Ian. 7.

(257) Contrariwise the Duke of *Guize* was extolled to Heaven, Orations made of his commend-

The praises attributed to the *Guize*.

able exploits in *Hungary* against the Turkes, as *Iarnac* against the Protestants, at *Poitiers*, at *Montcontour*, at *Vimorry*, and at other places; in a word, such were the intestine troubles of *France*, as the King sent for *Henry* King of *Navarre*, to helpe quench the flames of civill sedition, which were mounted so high, as that the Leaguers prevailed against the Lords of Parliament, prophaned Churches, violated Virgins, and defiled their Christian profession with streames of bloud. And to fill up the measure of their impious iniquity, a *Iacobin* Frier, by name *Iames Clement*, when the King had besieged *Paris*, (the head City of this rebellion) made vowes to kill the Tyrant (as he termed him) to free that holy City from *Senacheribs* siege; with which resolution he went to Doctor *Bourgoine*, Prior of his Covent, and imparted this damnable project to him, to Father *Commolet*, to other Iesuites, and to the heads of the League, all of them incouraging him to this Divelliſh deſigne, with promiſe of Abbeyes and Biſhoprickes, if he eſcap'd, and if he dyed in the action, to be made a Martyr, and have place in Heaven above the Apoſtles.

A Iacobine Frier undertaketh to kill the King.

An. Dom. 1589.

(258) Thus furniſhed with bleſſings for this curſed act, upon the firſt of *Auguſt* the Monke went to *Paris*, and had private acceſſe to the King to deliver a Letter, pretending ſome matter of importance; but as the King read it, the Diabolicall Inſtrument with a Knife from his ſleeve, wounded him in the bottome of his belly, and there left the knife, which the King drew forth, and with the ſame ſtrucke this *Iacobine* above the eye: their ſtrugling being heard, many haſtily came in, who ſeeing the King wounded, and all in goare bloud, in their rage ſtabbed the Monſter to death, and not many dayes after, King *Henry* dyed of the wound.

(259) Whereupon *Charles* Cardinall of *Bourbon*, a younger brother to *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, and Vncle unto *Henry* then the preſent King, was proclaimed *Lieutenant Governour*, yea, and gold and ſilver coyned with his picture and ſtile of *Charles* the tenth, King of *France*. Howbeit, *Henry* King of *Navarre* was proclaimed of the Army, whoſe right was before the Papall Prelates, and whom the laſt *Henry* by his laſt will ordained to be his Succeſſor. Notwithſtanding onely in reſpect of his Religion, being a profeſſed Proteſtant, the Leaguers made ſuch head againſt him, that hee was enforced to ſue unto that *Generall Sanctuary* of Princes, *Queene Elizabeth* for her aide, who ever favouring the progreſſe of the Goſpell, and knowing *Navarres* claime to be above all other (of that Nation) for the *French* Crowne, and that the *Spaniard* was ſetting foot into *France*: firſt, ſent him twenty thouſand pound ſterling, with Powder, Munition for warre, and certaine ſhips alſo to ſerve at his command; and cauſing a generall muſter to be taken in moſt of the Shires in *England*, ſent foure thouſand Souldiers furniſhed, from every of them into *France*; to which ſervice the Citizens of *London* ſet forth a thouſand very well appointed, and ſerviceable men: the Generall of all which Forces, was the noble *Peregrine Bertu Lord Willoughby*: whoſe want ſhe againe ſupplyed with three thouſand foot, which were ſent into *Britaine*, under the conduction of *Sir John Norris*, that ſonne of *Mars*: theſe joyning with the *Prince Dombes*, Lord Generall of that Province, performed many worthy exploits for the *French King*.

Lord Willoughby Generall of the aide for France

Septem. 21

An. Dom. 1591.

(260) But *Parma* being entred *France*, and the * Pope with the Cardinals fulminating his Excommunication againſt *Henry*, and his adherents: *Queene Elizabeth* (who never was daunted with ſuch flaſhes) ſent into *France Robert Earle of Eſſex*, for her Lieutenant Generall over foure thouſand Footmen, and two hundred Horſe, (beſides many Pyoners) all of them to bandy for the King againſt his enemies the *Leaguers*. The Earle, though young, yet full of valour, was followed with many voluntary Gentlemen, whoſe countenances well ſhewed the courage of their hearts: Theſe landing in *Normandy*, laid ſiege unto the ſtrong *Roan*, in aſſault whereof his brother *Walter Deureux* was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot, to the exceſſive griefe of the Earle, and others, being a Gentleman trained up, both by Academicall and Martiall education, unto very great hopes and expectation.

Gregory 14.

Earle of Eſſex Generall of aide to France.

Walter Deureux ſlaine before Roan.

(261) But King *Henry* finding many rubs in his way, the Leaguers ſtill increaſing their ſtrengths from *Rome*, and *Spaine*, and the Crowne of *France* laid at ſtake for him that threw moſt, thought it good policy (though proved to him in the end diſaſterous and fatall) to temporize with the predominating faction; and therefore leaving the Religion wherein he had beene bred, fell to that of *Rome*, which ever till then he had reſiſted, and after great ſuite made to the Pope, was laſtly abſolved by the *Holy Father*, who heaped whole ſtreames of bleſſings upon his ſacred head, himſelfe ſwearing to defend the Romiſh faith againſt all impugners: ſo that now all ſides ſatisfied, without contradiction; *Henry* of *Navarre* was crowned King of *France*. Onely the *Spaniards* were unwilling to leave that faire Countrey, fortified in *Britaine* upon the River, over againſt *Breſt*; whence after much ſlaughter, *Generall Norris* forced them, though with the loſſe of ſome *Engliſh*, and life of Captaine *Furbiſher*, Commander of the Fleet.

Spaniſh victory. Henry King of France forſaketh his Religion.

An. Dom. 1593. July 25.

(262) The *Leaguers* not liking *Navarres* advancement, miſtruſting that his converſion was fained, and temporary, as being but a ſtep, the eaſier to mount the Royall Throne: by treaſon laid waite for his life, and croſt what they could his countenance at *Rome*; whileſt the *Spaniards* imployed all their wits for the worrying of *France*, and ſo farre perſiſted in their deſignes, as King *Henry* by Proclamation denounced warre againſt *Spaine*, and *Philip* in like manner proclaimes warre againſt *France*; in which ſtate they ſtood, during the life of *Erneſtus* Archduke of *Auſtria*, brother in Law, and Nephew unto King *Philip*, whoſe Governour hee then was in the *Low-Countries*.

Warres proclaimed betwixt France and Spaine.

(263) After whom ſucceeded his brother *Albertus* the Military Cardinall, and Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, who no ſooner was made Governour in place of his Brother, but that hee prepared againſt the *French* and United Eſtates: and to make his aſſayes, he firſt began with *Callis*, a thing long before projected by others in his place; that Towne being a Sea-port of great importance, as the Engliſh found it whileſt it was theirs, and the loſſe thereof great, as *Queene Mary* and her wiſe Statiſts both tooke it, and felt it.

Callis ſurpriſed.

(264) At this time the Garriſon was ſmall, and the Governour negligent, undiſcreet, and unfortunate, though having notice from *Netherland*, that the *Spaniard* meant her ſiege; ſo that *Ricebanke* left unmanned, and in great ruine, was entred upon by the Cardinall, and ſuch as reſiſted, driven into the Towne; where, with the Inhabitants he grew to a compoſition for the ſurrender, *Pyſdoſſein* the Governour never interpoſing therein.

An. Dom. 1596.

(265) *Callis* thus turning *Spaniſh*, and the *Spaniards* ſtill intending for *England*, *Elizabeth* ſollicited the *French* King, and proffered her aide for recovery of that Peece; but he empoveriſhed by warre, ſought to re-gaine his loſſes rather by ſome faire conditions of peace, then to depend upon the dependancies and hazard of Armies: at which reſolution, our Noble *Zenobia* was nothing well pleaſed, and therefore to prevent the practiſes of *Spaine*, began to make good againſt them, and prepared another expedition to Sea. But dealing more Prince-like then *Philip* had done by her (who made faireſt pretence of peace, when he was hoteſt in preparing warre) ſhee cauſed to be publiſhed and Printed a *Declaration* of the juſt cauſes moving her to ſet forth her Navy, for the defence of her Realme, the Tenor whereof we thinke not unfit to be here inſerted.

Queene Elizabeth ſollicited by the French King, and proffereth aide to recover Callis.

(266) *To all Chriſtian People, to whom this Declaration*

The Declaration touching the ſetting forth of a Navy.

tion ſhall come to be read or heard, greeting: We Robert, Earle of Eſſex *and* Ewe, *Vicount* Hereford, *Lord* Ferrers *of* Chartley, Bourchier, *and* Lovaine, &c. *and* Charles *Lord* Howard, *Baron of Effingham, Lord High Admirall of* England, &c. *Having the charge of a Royall Navy of Ships, prepared and ſent to the Seas, by the moſt excellent Princeſſe, the Lady* Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. *Do give all men knowledge, that the ſaid Navy under our charge is by her Majeſty prepared, and ſent to ſerve on the Seas, for defence of Her Majeſties Realmes, Dominions, and Subjects, againſt ſuch mighty Forces as were are advertiſed from all parts of Chriſtendome, to bee already prepared by the King of* Spaine, *and by further proviſions of men and ſhippes daily ſent for, are to bee mightily increaſed, to invade her Majeſties Realmes, as herestofore in the yeere of our* LORD, 1588. *was attempted, (even when there was a Treaty continued by both their Commiſſioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then ever before in his time was ſet to Seas: though by Gods goodneſſe, and the valiance and wiſedome of her Noble and faithfull Subjects, the ſame was notably made fruſtrate. And becauſe Her Majeſty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, ſaving with the King of* Spaine, *who hath this many yeeres moſt unjuſtly profeſſed openly great enmity by divers actions, both againſt Her royall Perſon, and Her People, and Countries, without any juſt cauſe firſt given on Her Majeſties part: Therefore we the ſaid Earle, and Lord Admirall, doe aſſertaine all perſons, that we are moſt ſtraitly commanded by Her Excellent Majeſty, to forbeare from offending in this our voyage of any manner of Perſons of what Nation ſoever, except the ſaid Kings Naturall Subjects, or ſuch other borne Strangers, as ſhall give to the ſaid King manifeſt ayde with Men, Shippes, Artillery, Victuall, and other warlike proviſions for invaſion of Her Majeſty. Which Her Majeſties commandement wee meane dutifully to obſerve, and doe therefore give ſtraite charge to all perſons, that ſhall ſerve in this Navy underneath us, upon paine of extreame puniſhment to obſerve the ſame; yet to avoyde all occaſions that may breede queſtion, who they are, being not the King of Spaines Subjects, that ſhall be charged by us, to bee manifeſt ayders for the furniſhing and ſtrengthning of the ſaid Kings Forces, provided either by Land or Sea, to attempt any invaſion of Her Majeſties Countries: Wee doe for the liquidation of this doubt, earneſtly in Gods name, require and charge all perſons, that are not the ſaid Kings Naturall Subjects, and yet that have given him ayde with their ſhippes, victuall and munition as is above ſaid, to withdraw all their ſaid ſhips prepared for the warre, and all their proviſions of hoſtility out of any Havens of* Spaine *or* Portugall, *or from the company and ſervice of the Kings ſhips againſt our Navy; and therewith to returne either to their owne Countries, or if they ſhall like to come to our Navy, to whom, in the reverend name of Our Soveraigne Lady the Queenes Majeſty, Wee doe promiſe all Security, both for their perſons and goods, to be uſed and defended as friends and to ſuffer all their Shippes and proviſions, that were taken by the King of* Spaine, *or intended for his ſervice, or that ſhall be by the Owners withdrawne from his ayde, to remaine in their free diſpoſitions, ſo as the ſame be uſed in all ſorts as friends, and not as enemies to the Queenes Majeſty, and to us her Generals: and if any ſhall upon knowledge of this Her Majeſties moſt honourable Order, and of our promiſe (to obſerve the ſame as favourably as Wee may) willingly and manifeſtly refuſe to accept this our offer, and ſhall not endeavour themſelves to performe this reaſonable requeſt, tending to their good and liberty; Wee ſhall then bee juſtly moved, as by the law of Armes Wee may, to take and uſe all ſuch ſo refuſing this our offer, as manifeſt ayders of the King of* Spaine *with forces to invade Her Majeſties Dominions, and ſo manifeſt enemies: and in ſuch caſe of that refuſall, if any harme ſhall happne by any attempt againſt their Perſons, Shippes and goods, by any our Navy, for the ayding of the ſaid King, there ſhall bee no juſt cauſe for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their Naturall Princes and Lords to ſollicite reſtitutions or amends for the ſame. And*

for the more notification hereof, Wee have thought good to have the Originall hereof to bee ſigned with our hands, and with our Seales, to bee ſent by any that will require the ſame in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch and Spaniſh, and have alſo cauſed the ſame to bee diſtributed into as many Ports of Spaine and Portugall as conveniently might bee, for the better knowledge to bee had in the ſaid Ports, as alſo in all other Ports under his ſubjection.

R. ESSEX.
C. HOWARD.

An. Dom. 1596.

(267) Theſe things premiſed, ſeventeene of Her Majeſties *Ships Royall*, three of the Lord Admirals, foure and twenty of the *States* Shippes, Merchants, Men of Warre, and Victualers above one hundred, in all to the number of *one hundred and fifty Saile*, in the beginning of *May* met at *Plymouth*, where ſuch Lawes were ordained for the true ſervice of God, and Iuſtice in the Army, as it ſeemed rather a Regiment of Civill Academians, then a Rendevow of Souldiers: and Her Majeſty likewiſe in the Court, as *Hezekiah* in the Temple, opened Her heart unto the Lord in this wiſe.

Laws ordained for the Army.

2 King. 19. 15.

Moſt omnipotent Maker, and Guider of the Worlds Maſſe, that onely ſearcheſt and fadomeſt the bottome of our hearts conceits, and in them ſeeſt the true Originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foreſight doeſt truely diſcerne, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor deſire of bloud-ſhed, nor greedineſſe of lucre, hath bred the reſolution of our now-ſet out Army, but a heedfull care and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over-ſurety of Haven, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them: thoſe being the grounds wherewith thou doeſt inſpire the minde; wee humbly beſeech thee with bended knees, proſper the worke, and with beſt fore-winds guide the journey, ſpeed the victory, and make the returne the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their ſame, and ſurety to the Realme; with the leaſt loſſe of the Engliſh bloud. To theſe devout Petitions, Lord give thou thy bleſſed grant.

A Prayer made by Queene Elizabeth for the proſpering of Her Navy.

(268) The whole Fleete was commanded by *Charles Lord Howard, High Admirall*, ſhipped in the *Arke-Royall*, and Lord *Robert Deverous*, Earle of *Eſſex* and *Ewe*, in the *Due-Repulſe*; both of them joyntly Her Majeſties *Lieutenants Generall* for this ſervice, by Sea and by Land. The *Vice-Admirall* was the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſhipped in the *Miſanore*; and the *Rere-Admirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the *Warre-Spight*; and for the *States* was Admiral, *John Van Duvenwoord* who ſerved in the *Neptune*, a Shippe of foure hundred Tunnes, and accordingly the whole Fleete was divided into five ſquadrons, with a commandement that every ſquadron ſhould attend his Admirall, and every one of theſe had his Vice-Admirall aſſigned. Of the firſt, was Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lyon*; of the ſecond, Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Raineborn*; the third *Nicholas Parker*, in the *Non-Pareile*; the fourth, *Robert Croſſe*, following Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in the *Swift-ſure*: and the laſt, was *John Gerbrantſon*, Vice-Admirall of the *Hollanders*.

The Engliſh Commanders in the Fleete.

The Dutch Commander.

The Vice-Admirall.

(269) For the Land-ſervice beſides the Generals, were Sir *Francis Vere*, Lord Marſhall: Sir *John Wingfield* Campe-Maſter Generall: Sir *Conniers Clifford*, Sergeant Maior, Sir *George Carew*, Maſter of the Ordinance: *John Bucke* Provoſt Marſhall: *Oliver Lambert*, Quarter-Maſter, and *Roger Aſtley*, Secretary. The Colonels of the Army were the Earle of *Suſſex*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrat*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, and Sir *Edward Wingfield*, of the *Volantaries*, and for the *Dutch*, was the Count *Lodowicke*, in all about *ten thouſand Men*. The private Councell for this expedition being ſelected, certaine inſtructions were ſent ſealed to every Ship, with a commandement to the Captaine, not to breake them open, till ſuch time as they came to the South-Cape, unleſſe they happened to bee ſevered from the Fleete by

Officers for Land ſervice.

stormе or miſchance; but if taken by an enemy, then to caſt them over-bord.

The voyage to Cadiz.

(270) Thus ready for Seas, upon the firſt of Iune a warning Peece being ſhot off, all weighed Anchors, and with a gallant ſhew, and full ſailes followed the Lord Admirall; but the wind ſcanting before they paſt *Cornwall*, they were enforced backe into the *Sound*, where ſtaying two dayes, upon the third, the winde came about, and with a proſperous Gale brought them to Cape *Saint Vincent*, where an *Iriſh* Barke was met with from *Cadiz*, which ſignified the ſtrength of the Towne, and the ſhipping that lay in the Bay, to wit, twenty Gallies, ninety Sailes of Ships, whereof five were of thoſe great Gallions, which are called the *Kings twelve Apoſtles*, (all doubtleſſe the *ſonnes of Thunder*) two great Galliaſſes, three Frigats, three Argoſies, twenty Biſkaines; the reſt were *Merchants* ſhips, rich and of great burden, whoſe ladings were munition, coyne, oyle, wine, waxe, ſilke, cloth of gold, and quickeſilver; ſome bound for the Indians, ſome for *Britaine*, ſome for *Lisbon*, and ſome for other places. Newes moſt acceptable unto the *Generals*, who haſting thitherwards, upon Sunday the twentieth of Iune, aſſayed at the *Friery of Saint Sebaſtian*, on the weſt ſide of *Cadiz* to land their men, but the place ſtrong, and the Seas going high, their purpoſe was hindered.

Iune 18.

The King of *Spaines* twelue Apoſtles, but far unlike Chriſts.

The rich ladings of the Spaniſh Ships.

(271) May I relate with hope of credite what others have reported upon their owne eye-ſight? At the firſt approach of this *Royall Navy* before *Cadiz*, a faire Dove (a fortunate *Preſager*) betimes in the morning, is ſaid to have lighted upon the Mayne-yard of the Lord Admirals ſhip, and there to have ſate quietly the ſpace of three howres, every man gazing, but no man ſuffered to harme Her: as alſo the laſt day of their departure thence, another *Dove* preſented her ſelfe in the ſame manner, and in the ſame ſhip, growing wonderfully tame and familiar with the men, and ſo continued with them till they came into *England*.

A fortunate preſage.

(272) The day following their approach, being the firſt of the weeke, the Spaniſh ſhips in the road in number fifty nine, attended with twenty Gallies by the adviſe of their * Admirall, ſhot with the tide within the point of Maine-land, unto Caſtle *Puntall*, and in the ſtraites of the Bay, ſorted themſelves in good order, and of a reaſonable diſtance, as well to offend the enemy, as to releeve each others interchangeably.

* *Diego Soto.*

(273) The Bay was narrow whereunto they had entred, full of Rockes, ſhelves, and ſands, all which notwithſtanding, it was in Councell determined, that the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, with ſome *Londoners*, and a Squadron of the *Low-Countrey* Ships ſhould begin the fight; which was moſt valiantly attempted, maintained, and continued, the thundring ſhot battering their bulkes, and renting their ſhrowdes.

The Nauall fight at *Cadiz*.

(274) In the heate whereof, the Earle of *Eſſex*, (in Councell appointed to keepe the *Maine Battell*) upon the ſudden from *Port* Saint *Maries* ſide, thruſt himſelfe formoſt in this Sea-fight, which the other *Generall* perceiving, and the *Arke-Royall* too unweldy for that narrow water, tooke into his Pinnance, and forwarded the fight to the end: Meane while the Gallies were aſſayled by Sir *John Wingfield*, who with his ſmall ſhippes ſo hanſelled their ſides, as they were forced to creepe by the Shoare, and ſo got paſſage at the Bridge, contrary to the expectation of the *Engliſh*, whoſe eyes were ever ayming at the faireſt Marke, which indeed was the *Philip*, ſo battered with Bullets, that he began to ſtagger, and give over fight; whoſe Souldiers ſeeking to ſave themſelves by water, and ſwimming, ſet this *Apoſtle* (their *Admirall*) on fire, by whoſe example, the *Saint Thomas*, another of *Spaines* Apoſtles, did the like, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould leade them in triumph of

Charles Howard Lord Admirall.

The Spaniſh Admirall ſet on fire.

their victory. The reſt of the *Spaniſh* Fleete ranne themſelves on ground in the Bay of *Port Reall*, to gaine ſome breathing time from their ſtill following purſuers.

The Engliſh goe on Land.

(275) Theſe ſervices thus forwarded, the Earle of *Eſſex* forth-with landed his men under the Blockehouſe *Puntall*, about a mile Weſt-ward from *Cadiz*, whence it was thought expedient to ſend ſome Regiments to the Bridge, on the Weſt of the Iland, to impeach all ſuccours that ſhould come from the Maine: To which ſervice were ſent Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, (now Lord *Gerrard*) and Sir *Comers Clifford* with a power of twelve hundred ſtrong. Meane-while the Generall *Eſſex*, with the Earle of *Suſſex*, Count *Lodowicke*, Lord *Harbert*, Lord *Burk*, Sir *George Carew* (now Lord *Carew*) and others tooke towards *Cadiz*.

The aſſault on *Cadiz*.

(276) The ſide of their entrance was fortified with a Wall through the necke of the Promontory from Sea to Sea, and a Counters-karpe raiſed ſome diſtance, where were built two Bulwarkes, and a Curtaine for the ſtronger defence of the Towne; the enemy having alſo an advantage from the higher aſcent, played fore upon the *Engliſh* to their great annoyance, inſomuch that the formoſt began to give backe from the Gate, which the Earle of *Eſſex* perceiving, to engage his Souldiers reſolutions, caught his owne *Colours*, and caſt them over the Wall into the Towne, giving withall a moſt hote aſſault unto the Gate, where to ſave the honour of their *Enſigne*, happy was hee that could firſt leape downe from the Wall, and with ſhot and Sword make way through the thickeſt preſſe of the enemy. The Towne thus ſurprized, the Lord Admirall haſted to ſecond the charge, when a hote encounter enſued: for the ſtreetes were very narrow, ſo as but two could march on breaſt, and from their flat rooſted Houſes, heapes of ſtones were tumbled downe, to the great hurt of many of the *Engliſh*, who nevertheleſſe drove the enemy before them into the *Market* place, where the worthy Sir *John Wingfield*, ſore wounded at the Gate in his thigh, was ſhot with a Musket from a loope-hole of the Caſtle into the head, and preſently dyed.

Cadiz ſurprized.

Sir *John Wingfield* ſlaine.

(277) But the Towne and Caſtle ſurrendred, a *Proclamation* was made to ſtay the fury of the Souldier, and the ſlaughter of the *Spaniard*, with commandement upon paine of death, that no man ſhould offer violence or harme to any religious perſon, woman, or child. And ſuch honourable care had the LL. Generals for the Inhabitants, that they ſent them in their owne Pinnaces unto *Porto Sanctæ Maria*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen firſt, who were ſuffered to depart in their coſtliеſt apparell, and richeſt Iewels: and to ſave them from the ſpoiles, or any the leaſt wrong of the ruder Souldiers or Seamen, the Generals themſelves in perſons ſtood at the water-ſides, to ſee them ſhipped without hurt or violence.

The Chriſtian uſage of the *Engliſh* towards the conquered.

(278) The rich Biſhop of *Cuſco* being taken Priſoner, without any ranſome was releaſed, and all other of ſacred Orders of Habite, ſuffered without touch to depart; ſuch was the heroicall Clemency of theſe moſt Noble and truely *Engliſh Generals*, to the great glory of our *Nation*, as the *Spaniards* themſelves were forced to confeſſe. The Towne thus wonne, the ſpoyle thereof was given to the Engliſh Captaines and Souldiers, the wearing clothes of the Inhabitants onely excepted, and the Citizens compounding with the Lords Generals, to pay an hundred and twenty thouſand Ducats for their ranſome, were ſuffered to depart: for payment whereof, forty of the chieſeſt *Citizens*, *Cavalleroes*, *Clergy men*, and *Merchants*, were brought pledges into *England*, till the money was paid.

The Citizens ranſome.

Iohn Stow in Annal.

(279) The like accord was attempted by the Shippes which had runne themſelves on ground, whoſe number was about fifty two, many of them Merchants, and all moſt richly laden, as might ſeeme by

The ſhips make offer for their redemption.

by the offers they made; for no leſſe then two millions and a halfe of Ducats were offered by them for the redemption: but the LL. Generals more minding honour and the ſervice they came for, would heare of no compoſition but for the Merchants ſhips onely, which whileſt it was in traviſe to and fro, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Admirall of *Spaine*, commanded them all together to be ſet on fire; which was ſuddenly done: and the flames terribly mounting, forced the pitchy ſmoake, as thicke clouds to darken the Aire. Among theſe were two of the Spaniſh *Apoſtles*, the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*; the firſt of which was ſaved by the Lord Admirals directions, and the ſecond was quenched by Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, in whoſe bottome himſelfe returned for *England*.

(280) Thus in an inſtant, a Fleet, full of men, Merchandize, victuall, armour, and twelve hundred peeces of Ordonance, all valued by themſelves, at twelue Millions of Ducats, was ſuddenly ſunke, conſumed or taken; the Towne alſo ranſacked, every Souldier bringing ſome portion of her rich ſpoiles into *England*, to ſhew the ſervice he performed at *Cadiz*. The Towne they burnt, ſaving the Churches only: the Walles they battered, and Towers demoliſhed, the Iland it they burned, razed and ſpoiled, laying all waſte before them, and leaving the rubbiſh to declare the ruines which the Engliſh had made.

The value of the ſpoile in the *Spaniſh* Ships.

Iune 30.

(281) Vpon the fifth of July the Earle of *Eſſex* with his, abandoned *Cadiz*, the Lord Admirall being gone or boord ſome five dayes before; and the next day the whole Fleet ſet ſaile Weſtward towards *Faro* a Towne in *Algarva*; where the Earle deſirous to doe ſome further exploit upon the *terra firma* of *Spaine*, landed his men (the Lord Admirall on board ſecuring the Seas) and marching to *Faro*, hee found it emptie of men, the Inhabitants being fled with much of their ſubſtance, and the Towne left deſtitute of victuall (yet in the Nunnery and in the Biſhops Palace, ſome goods were found, and in the *Library* Bookes valued at a thouſand Markes; and among other prizes of note, the faireſt Culverin the King of *Spaine* had; was there found, and ſeaſed upon; the Engliſh forrage the Countrey for three leagues about; and burnt the Towne *Latha* without any reſiſtance.

The Engliſh depart from *Cadiz*.

The attempt on the ſtrand.

(283) Thence the firſt of Auguſt the LL. *Generals* ſell before *Groine*, where ſeeing no ſhips ſtirring, and the Seas altogether cleared, upon the ſeventh of the ſame moneth they ſafely and very richly arrived at *Plimouth*, to the great honour of *England*, glory of their Queene, and renowne of their owne valours and famous adventures.

The Engliſh returne.

(283) But as the wrongs offered by the *Spaniards*, ſeemed to the *Engliſh* farre greater then was yet the revenge: ſo alſo the *moſt prudent Queene* held it ſtill fit to finde King *Philip* more worke at home, and therefore a third voyage was undertaken the yeare following, whereof *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex* was made as well Lord Generall for the Land, as Admirall for the Sea; having for the one ſervice, his *Vice-Admirall* the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Knight of the Order, and his *Rere-Admirall*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Captaine of the Guard; for the other, his *Lieutenant Generall* was Sir *Iohn Mountioy* Knight of the Order; his *Marſhall*, Sir *Francis Vere* Coronell Generall of the Low-Country-Forces; Sir *George Carew* Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, Maſter of his Ordonance; and Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Major of the field. The whole number conſiſted of five thouſand men, beſides Mariners, for which an hundred and twentie ſhips were furniſhed, whereof ſeventeene were her Majeſties, ſixtie men of Warre, the reſt for victuall and tranſportation. Theſe upon the ninth of July were embarked at *Plimouth* for the Ilands of *Azores*, and having cleared ſixtie Leagues, fell fowle by a Tempeſt, and were driven backe againe to *Plimouth*, and againe thence ſet ſaile upon the 17. of Auguſt next following.

An other voyage at Sea.

The Earle of *Eſſex* both Admirall and Generall of the Forces.

An. Dom. 1597.

(284) Vpon the fifteenth of September they fell with the Iſles *Flores*, *Evernes*, *Fyall*, and *Pike*; all which ſubmitted themſelves to the Lord Generals devotion; whence weying their Anchors, they made ſaile for *Saint Michaels*, and there before the Towne caſt them againe, where it was determined that *Sir Walter Rawleigh* ſhould keep the Sea, whiles the Lord Generall with two thouſand ſhould land elſe-where in the Iland; which they did, and ſacked the rich towne *Villa Franca*: but the Seas going high, and the Winter ſtormes approaching, after the ſpoile of thoſe places, the deſtruction of a Carracke richly laden with Sugars, fired by her owne men, the taking of a Braſile man, and the ſurprize of three prizes which they brought into *England*, valued at foure hundred thouſand Ducats, they returned, the *Spaniard* every where having the worſt.

Villa Franca ſacked.

(285) Theſe ſtirres on the Seas brought yet further miſchiefes on the *Spaniard*, by hindring the trafficke of Merchandiſe, as well for their owne trade and commerce with others, as for others trading into *Spaine*; among whom *Sigiſmond*, the young and new elected King of *Polonia*, found himſelfe moſt agrieved: whoſe Ambaſſador for that buſineſſe unto the *Queene* was one *Paulus de Ialine*, a *Polone Gentleman*, learned, eloquent, and very audacious, (if not over-much) who bringing * letters of credence from his King, had audience at *Greenwich*, her Majeſty ſitting under her Cloth of Eſtate, and with her Nobles, attending the ſumme of his meſſage, which the *Polonian* began with more then an ordinary Grace.

Sigiſmond King of *Polonia* his Ambaſſage to the Queene. * Dated 19. of May.

July 25.

(286) Whoſe tenour was filled with blaſts of diſcontent, conceived by the Potent Maſter the King of *Polonia*, and cauſed by the grievances of his *Merchants*, who not onely were deprived of ſome privi-ledges in *England*, but the Sea which is made free by the Omnipotent ſtopped, and the trades of his Merchants into *Spaine* by her Highneſſe Edicts debarred, contrary to the law both of *Nature* and of *Nations*: that his Maſter as he could not be moved to diminiſh any part of his love towards her Majeſty, ſo yet could he not but relieve his owne ſubjects; and the rather for that it touched all his Nobilities; whoſe revenues conſiſted chiefly upon the Trade of Merchandizing. That he had hitherto forborne all meanes of requite, though her Majeſty well knew, of meanes he had no want; and now had ſent to adverтiſe her Highneſſe in a loving manner by him his Ambaſſador, ſeeing that his letters to that purpoſe heretofore ſent, had not beene regarded; in whoſe name he now required, that the Seas might be open, a reſtitution made, and the Trade Weſtward to *Spaine* free, according to equitie; otherwiſe his Maſter would no longer neglect his Subjects loſſes, but would take in hand a meanes of redreſſe. As for her Majeſties warres with *Spaine*, that ought not to hinder Navigation by the common Law of Nature (as he avouched) nor for her reſpect ſhould the ancient friendſhip betwixt the potent *Polonian* and the mighty King of *Spaine* be broken, nor with the houſe of *Auſtria*, whoſe daughter his Prince had now married, which bound him in a double band of love. But he truſted (his Maſters requeſt bearing ſuch equitie) her Majeſtie would regard it, and command ſatisfaction of theſe things forthwith to be made, to the content of his Prince, and ſafetie of her ſelfe; which thing he wiſhed, and thereof warned her Majeſtie. And with other like words ended as peremptorily as he began.

The ſumme of the Ambaſſadors Oration.

(287) Vnto which confident Oration, the Queene her ſelfe not brooking to be braved by any Prince in the World, preſently made anſwer, preventing the Lord Chancellor therein, who was about to doe it, and both roundly and learnedly in the Latine (the ſame language wherein the meſſage was delivered replyed the very words as neere as could be taken from her mouth were theſe.

Queene Elizabeths anſwer to the Polonian.

(284) *Heu quàm decepta fui. Expectavi Nuncium: tu vero querelam mihi adduxiſti; per literas te accep-*

iſſe

esse Legatum, te verò Heraldum invenio. Nunquam in vita talem Orationem audivi. Miror, sanè miror, tantam & tam insolitam in publico audaciam; neque puto si Rex tuus adesset, talia verba protulisset: Sin aliquid tale tibi in mandatis commisit (quod quidem valdè dubito) attribuendum, quòd cùm Rex sit Iuvenis, & non tam. Sanguinis quàm Electionis, atque etiam novitèr electus, non tam benè percipiat quid inter Reges convenit, quam Maiores sui nobiscum observarunt, & alii fortasse deinceps observabunt. Quod ut te attinet, videris multos libros perlegisse, libros tamen Principum non attigisse, neque intelligere quid inter Reges convenit. Cum verò tuus Natura, & Gentium commemoras, Hoc scito esse ius naturæ, & Gentium, ut cum bellum inter Reges intercedat, liceat alteri alterius undique allata Præsidia intercipere, & ne in damnum suum convertantur, providere: Hoc scito esse tuæ Naturæ, & Gentium; Vbi itidem Domum Austriæ narras (quam jam tanti facis) non te lateat ex eadem Domo non defuisse qui Regnum Poloniæ regi tuo intercipere voluissent. De reliquis quæ cum multa sunt, & singulatim deliberanda, non sunt hujus loci ac temporis, accipies quod à quibusdam Consiliariis huic rei designatis deliberandum fuerit. Interim valeas & quiescas.

(288) Oh how was I deceived! I looked for an Embassage, but thou hast brought me complaints; I understood by thy letters that thou wert a *Legate*, but I finde thee an Heraud, never since I drew breath heard I such an Oration. I marvell truly, I marvell at so great and such unaccustomed boldnesse in so publike an assembly; neither doe I thinke if the King thy Master were present, that hee would say so much: but if peradventure he hath committed any such thing to thy charge (which surely I doe much doubt) it is to be imputed unto him, that where the King is of yeares unripe, and not by bloud, but by election (yea and but newly advanced) hee doth not so perfectly understand the course of negotiating these kinde of affaires with other Princes, which either his Ancestors have observed with us, or perhaps others will observe, who afterwards shall succeed him. As touching thy selfe, indeed thou seemest to me to have read many Bookes, but not to have perused the Bookes of Princes affaires, but utterly to bee ignorant what is convenient amongst Kings. And whereas thou makest mention of the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*; know, that this is the Law both Naturall and Nationall, that when Warre is waged among Princes, it is lawfull for one of them to intercept the military helps of the other, brought from what place soever, so to prevent the harmes which might otherwise redound on himselfe: And this againe I avow to be the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*. Whereas likewise thou mentionest a new affinitie with the *House of Austria*, which now thou makest so famous, and of so deare esteeme, forget not Sir, that there have beene of that house that would have bereft the Kingdome of *Polonia* from thy King. As for other points which bee not to be spoken of at this place, and time, because they are many and severally to be considered of one after another: thou shalt wait for such further answer as shall be resolved on by some of my Councell, to whom I will affigne the consideration of this matter: In the meane time farewell and be quiet. And thus Lion-like tising, daunted the malepert Orator no lesse with her stately port and majesticall departure, then with the tartnesse of her princely checks: and turning to the Traine of her Attendants, thus said; Gods death my Lords (for that was her oath ever in anger) I have beene enforced this day to scowre my old Latine, that hath laine long in rusting.

An Ambassador from the King of *Denmarke*.

Septem. 7.

(289) To entreate a Peace betwixt these Christian Princes of *England* and *Spaine*, the King of *Denmarke* likewise did send an Ambassage unto Queene *Elizabeth*, as also to deliver the Garter worne by his Predecessor lately departed this world, with an earnest entreatie to continue the amitie betwixt their two Realmes. The man *Arnald Whitfield Chancellor* of *Denmarke*, judicious, learned, and wise, who with farre better temper and termes well couched, delivered his Oration; which ended, he most humbly propounded certaine requests (whereunto her Majesty presently replyed) which in effect were these.

The Danish Ambassadors requests.

(290) 1. That the League of peace confirmed betwixt the Crownes of *England* and *Denmarke* might be continued as formerly it had beene in the late deceased Kings dayes; and other his Predecessors, which now the present King his Master did instantly desire: To which shee answered: that she was most willing thereunto, wishing that the now-King would preserve the same amitie no worse then his Predecessors had done.

2 That whereas much Christian bloud was spilt in these continuall warres betwixt *England*, & *Spaine*, it would please her Majesty to give her consent, that the King his Master might make a motion of Peace; and as he found the occasion, so to proceed. Whereunto shee replyed, that shee thought his King was too young, and unexperienced, to conceive throughly the cause of breach betwixt her, and *Spaine*; and as the League had not beene broken on her part, or with her royall consent, so an accord should not be sought after by her, nor by any in her behalfe, for (quoth shee) *I would have the King of Denmarke, and all Princes* Christian, *and* Heathen *to know, that England hath no need to crave Peace; nor my selfe endured one houres feare since I attained the Crowne thereof, being guarded with so valiant and faithfull Subjects.*

An heroicke answer of an undaunted Queene.

3 His third request was, if it stood with her Majesties good liking, to permit open traffique, that the Merchants of *Denmarke* might transport their goods into *Spaine* without danger on the narrow Seas as heretofore some of them had sustained to their great losse. Her Majesties answer was, that it was to her unknowne, that any of his Masters good Subjects were in any wise molested, or their goods stayed, and that upon just proofe thereof made, a redresse shall be ordained, to the full satisfaction of the King and content of his Subjects.

4 Lastly, he was to returne the *Garter*, (wherewith her Majesty had honoured the late deceased King) as the manner is of forraigne Princes to doe, which hee with great reverence there delivered; Which her Majesty accepting; yet told him, thee was right sorry to receive it, for thereby shee was put in minde of the losse of a most Noble Brother, and a most loving friend. But howsoever the *Danish Merchants* now complained of losse, the English Marchandize were arrested in the *Sound*, for release whereof, Ambassadors were sent into *Denmarke*, where a restitution was made by the King, with such honour and bountie, as well satisfied her Majestie, and contented her Merchants.

(291) But a more dangerous Agent, working for *Spaine*, was the Irish *Tir-Oen*, who serpent-like lay lurking upon his advantage to raise the Standard of *Rome*, and to divert subjection from the English Crowne. This mans fortunes we have formerly declared, how being the sonne of a Bastard, and a banished fugitive, he was raised by her Majesties * meere bountie to the dignitie of an Earle, and stood in authoritie ranked with the best; nor so onely, but being twice in danger of capitall crimes (once for a murther, next for usurping the Title of *O-Neale*) upon better hopes of her princely clemency, twice got pardon for his life. The times now dangerous, and *Ireland* too ready to receive forraine powers, it was thought convenient to imploy Sir *John Norris* (that famous Warriour) into those parts, with thirteene hundred of the *Netherland* old Souldiers, newly retired from the warres in *Britaine*.

Tir-Oens rebellion in *Ireland*.

* See *Cambdens Brit. in Ireland*.

Sir *John Norris* sent into *Ireland*.

(292) *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, now Earle of *Tir-Oen*, fearing left the English would make their nests where himselfe meant to build, namely, in some Castle at the mouth of *Lough-Earne*, suddenly assailed the Fort of *Black-water*, by which the entry lay into his Country, and got it by surrender. Which done,

Tir-Oen fleth flying out.

Tir-Oen gets the fort of *Blacke-water*.

done, he wrote to *Kildare*, to side with him against his wrongs received of the Lord Deputy; yea and at the same instant, to Sir *John Norris* (appointed *Lord Generall*) that he might be mildly dealt with, and not bee driven headlong upon the dangerous rockes of disloyalty.

(293) But how his loyalty stood affected unto Her Majesty (his raiser) was well perceived by the powers which he retained about him, being alwayes guarded with a thousand horsemen, and sixe thousand two hundred and fourescore foot of *Vlster*, besides two thousand three hundred of *Conaugh*, which ever lay ready at his command; whereupon all of them being proclaimed *Traitors*; the flames of rebellion began more violently to burst forth, which for a long time, and not without losse of much bloud could hardly bee quenched: for though the *Lord Generall* were not inferiour in strength of men, yet the advantages of the enemy were such, that the time was rather spent in taking of booties, and frivolous Parlies, then in any memorable exploit; the one part waiting for fitter opportunities, and the other looking every day for his promised succours from *Spaine*.

He an his adherents proclaimed.

(294) But to spare the effusion of Christian blood Queene *Elizabeth* who ever minded *Mercy* more then *Iustice*, caused her *Treasurer* and *Cheife Iusticiary* of that Kingdome, as her *Commissioners* to conferre with this discontented Earle, and others his adherents before whom, *Tir-Oen* complained of wrongs offered him by Sir *Henry Bagnall* Marshall, aswell to the prejudice of his estate, as of his esteeme with the Queene, the Lord Deputy, Lord Generall, and others, and thereupon exhibited a Petition in humble manner containing these requests; That himselfe and all his followers might be pardoned of their crimes, and bee restored to their former estates; that they might freely exercise their Romish Religion without molestation; that no Garrison Souldiers, Shiriffe, or other Officer should interdeale within the jurisdiction of his Earledome: that the company of fifty horsemen with the Queenes pay might bee restored to him, in the same State as formerly hee had lead them; that the spoilers of his Country and people might be punished, and that Sir *Henry Bagnall* should pay him a thousand pound promised in Dowry with his sister, whom *Tir-Oen* had married, and who was now deceased. Others likewise laid out their grievances conceived; such were *O-Donell*, *Brian Mac-Hugh-Oge*, *Mac Mahun*, and *Ever Mac-Conley*, who received most reasonable answers to all their demands.

Sir *Hen. Wallop*, Sir *Rob. Gardiner*.

Propositions made to the Rebels.

(295) But unto them the Commissioners likewise proposed certaine Articles: as, That they should forthwith lay downe their Armes, disperse their Forces, acknowledge submissively their disloyalties, admit the Queenes Officers in their Governments, reedifie the Forts they had defaced, suffer the Garrisons to live without disturbance, make restitutions of spoiles taken, confesse upon their oath how farre they had dealt with forraigne Princes, and finally to renounce all forraigne ayde. But these propositions not pleasing the palate of those Rebels, they departed with a resolution to maintaine their owne demands. Which mooved *Norris* the *Generall* ayded with the Lord Deputy to march with his Army unto *Armagh*; whose approach (ever dreadfull to his enemies) when *Tir-Oen* heard of, in great perplexity hee forsooke the Fort of *Blacke-water*, set on fire the villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dungannon*, with part of his owne house, bewayling his estate to be past recovery; and was so much dejected in minde, as hee fought nothing else but where to hide his rebellious head.

Preparations against *Tir-Oen*.

(296) The Country now wasted, and no victuals to bee had, *Norris* set a Garrison in the Church of *Armagh*, strengthned *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tir-Oen* Traytor in his owne territories. Which done, hee stayed in *Vlster* without any great deeds of martiall importance, onely *Tir-Oen* to gaine time presented unto him a fained submission, signed with his owne hand, cast himselfe downe (a rare and uncouth ceremony) at the Queenes pictures seer, ungirt his sword, and craved pardon upon his knees: and yet in the meane time dealt hee for aydes out of *Spaine*, and so far prevailed, as that Messengers were sent from King *Philip* with capitulations that the King of *Spaine* at a time prefixed should send them a competent Army to joyne with the Irish, that all conditions of peace with the English should bee rejected, and that the Rebels should bee furnished with munition from *Spaine*.

Blacke-water againe besieged.

(297) Hereupon (though there was a cessation from Armes) hee fell to harry and waste the Country, to burne villages, to drive away booties, and having done what hee could or would, as it were pricked in conscience, hee once againe put on the vizard of simulation, and sued for pardon and peace: which the better to effect, he sent the letters of King *Philips* promises unto the L. Deputy, with the causes of his owne discontents, which mooved him to doe what he did. And surely such was his dexterity, or his Destiny, or the English no lesse dangerous, then frequent security, negligence and confidence, or the sparing of money by the grand disbursers, or the inbred lenity of the too-clement Queene, that his faire words were ever believed, and his foule offences pardoned: but whose fault soever, most of *Conaugh* was now revolted, all *Vlster* rebellious, onely seven Castles kept for the Queene.

The Lord Burroughs dyeth in *Ireland*.

(298) In which desperate estate, *Thomas* Lord *Burrough*, a man full of courage, was sent Lord *Deputy* into *Ireland*; who no sooner arrived, but *Norris* either crossed by some higher-swaying Powers or by his fortune in these his proceedings (the services there being farre different from those his others, in other parts imployed) through griefe and discontent (the too usuall guerdon of many a Noble Servitor) as was thought, ended his life.

(299) The Lord *Deputy* no sooner had received the sword, and taken the charge of the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but hee made forward to meete with the Rebels, holding it good policy to cut off delayes, which commonly increase the abilities of the enemy. *Tir-Oen* on the other side, as boldly made his resistance, and in a dangerous service encountered him at the *Moiry*, where the *Lord Borrough* by his valour made the way, and most valiantly wanne the Fort of *Blacke-water*, (repaired and reenforced by the Rebels) the onely strength (besides Woods) that the *Tir-Oen* had. To rescue this Peece, immediately the enemy shewed himselfe: against whom *Henry* Earle of *Kildare* presently marching with a Coronet of Horse, and certaine volunaries, (Gentlemen of the better sort) where hee discomfited the enemy, though with losse of some men of note; as of *Francis Vaughan*, brother to the Lord Deputies wife, *Robert Turner* Sergeant Maior, and the two *Foster-brethren* of the Earle *Kildare*, whose deaths he so tooke, as within few dayes after, himselfe dyed for very griefe.

(300) The Fort re-enforced with men and Munition, and the Lord Deputy upon fervice in other parts; *Tir-Oen* now wavering betweene hope, feare, and shame, thought best to assay it by siege, as the place of greatest importance to further his designes; for that lost, hee saw his fortunes must downe, and thereupon with his strongest power, he beleaguered it. The Lord Deputy hearing thereof, prepared straightway to relieve the place, and marching with full pace and assurance of victory, whether through too forward a minde, distemperature of body, ayre, or of bogges, arrested hee was with sickenesse, and violently cut off, by untimely death, leaving to Her Majesty a misse in Her *Irish* Estate, and a further security to the ranging Rebels.

(301) The

An. Dom. 1598. The Earle of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

(301) The government of *Ireland* was then committed to the Earle of *Ormond* under the Title of Lieutenant Generall of the Army, and unto the Lord Chancellour Sir *Robert Gardiner*; unto whom *Tir-Oen* (after his accuſtomed manner) in a long letter recapitulated his great grievances, leaving not out the leaſt offence, of the Souldiers, or actions of the Sheriffes; his breach of covenants with Sir *John Norris* hee coldly excuſeth, and laid his complaints againſt his enemies (the *Engliſh*) who had intercepted and ſuppreſſed his ſubmiſſion to the Queene, that they had raiſed intollerable impoſitions upon the Nobles, and Commons; and that the revenues of *Ireland* was ſhared among Counſellors, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Notaries: by which and other like overtures, it was manifeſt that hee intended to extirpate the *Engliſh* quite out of *Ireland*.

(302) All this while his Siege lay before the Fort, of *Blacke-water*; for the raiſing whereof, Sir *Henry Bagnall* (the bitteреſt enemy that *Tir-Oen* ever had) with foureteene Enſignes of the choiſeſt troopes were ſent, whom the Earle met neere unto *Armagh*; and being egged on with a fretfull deſire of revenge, bent all his force againſt the Marſhall, where began a bloudy conflict, and was continued with the death of that worthy Souldier (fighting amongſt the thickeſt) whereby *Tir-Oen* obtained not onely a joyous triumph over his private enemy, but withall went away with a glorious victory over the *Engliſh*, who never ſince they firſt ſet footing in *Ireland* received ſo great an overthrow: for therein thirteene valiant Captaines loſt their lives, fifteene hundred common Souldiers were rowted and put to ſhamefull flight, diſperſed and cut in peeces. Vpon this diſaſter the *Garriſon Souldiers* (having with loyall hearts and weapons in hand, unto extreame famine, and exceeding diſtreſſe, held out to the laſt) laſtly ſurrended the Peece of *Blacke-water* unto the Rebels; by which overthrow and ſurrender, the *Iriſh* became furniſhed with armour and munition to maintaine their warres, and *Tir-Oen* renowned all the Realme over, as their onely *Horatius*, and founder of their freedome.

The *Engliſh* foiled at Blacke-watter.

(303) Himſelfe over-joyed with theſe gotten victories, ſwelled above meaſure with an haughty arrogancy, commanding all things as ſole Monarch of *Ireland*. Into *Munſter* hee ſent *Owny Mac-Rory-Og-O-More* with foure thouſand preying rogues, to forrage the Country, and the rabble that daily reſorted unto them, burnt the houſes of the *Engliſh*, ranſacked their ſubſtance, and killed very many; *James Fitz-Thomas* one of the family of the *Deſmonds* they ſet up as Earle of *Deſmond*, yet ſo, that hee ſhould hold as *Tenant in Fee* of the *O-Neale*, (the Earle of *Tir-Oen*) and thus after a month, when they had kindled this fire and fet *Munſter* in a flame, they returned laded with rich booties and ſpoile. *Tir-Oen* in the meane time had ſent his letters to King *Philip* of *Spaine*, wherein he founded his victories with a full trumpet, aſſuring him that hee would heare of no peace with the *Engliſh*, were the conditions never ſo indifferent, and would for his part inviolately keepe his promiſes with the *Spaniſh* King.

Robert Earle of Eſſex Lieutenant of Ireland.

(304) In this deſperate eſtate ſtood *Ireland* when Queene *Elizabeth* choſe *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, to bee Lord Lieutenant and Governour-Generall thereof: a Peere in regard of his approoved wiſedome, fortitude, and fidelity, thought fitteſt to repaire the detriments and loſſes therein ſuſtained, and in ſuch deere eſteeme with his ſoveraigne, and intire love of the people, as the heavens ſeemed to have framed him for the delight of man. In whom ſhined all ſparkles of true Nobility and Martiall honor, had not fortune marred all that the other graces had made. His commiſſion was large, and authority great, and led no leſſe then twenty thouſand compleat Souldiers, whereof ſixteene thouſand were foote, and the reſt horſe-men, ſo well furniſhed and provided, as the like had never beene ſeene before in *Ireland*.

(305) Thus honourably accompanyed with the flower of Engliſh Gallants, and well-wiſhing acclamations of the people, with a ſtrange thunderclap in a cleere Sunne-ſhine day, hee ſet forward from *London*, and arriving in *Ireland*, received the ſword; where (toward the end of *March*) falling in counſell touching his affaires, it was thought fitteſt by wiſe Statiſts, that *Munſter* ſhould bee cleared of thoſe petty Rebels lying neerer, and of more validity then the remote *Vlſter*, of ſmall wealth and leſſe account. Whereupon contrary to his owne opinion formerly delivered (whiles hee was in *England*) and his directions from Her Majeſty in *Ireland*, hee made firſt into *Munſter*, and became terrible unto the Rebels of thoſe parts, chaſing them before him into the woods, and ſo cleared that Province, with more expence of time, and loſſe of men, then was heere well liked by the State.

The Earle of Eſſex enters Munſter.

(306) Hence hee made into *Leinſter*, againſt the *O-Comors* and *O-Miales*, who had gathered head and taken Armes againſt their obedience; whom in light skirmiſhes he fortunately vanquiſhed; whence he ſent Sir *Conyers Clifford* Governour of *Conaugh* one way towards *Bellike*, whilſt hee himſelfe tooke another way, ſo to diſtract the force of *Tir-Oen*. Sir *Conyers* with a power of fifteene hundred ſtrong marched over the Mountaines of *Curlew*, where *O-Roirke* and his Rebels ſuddenly aſſailed them, being out-wearied with travell, and their powder neere ſpent; in which conflict, amongſt many other ſlaine, Sir *Conyers Clifford* himſelfe, as alſo Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, ſealed the teſtimony of their valours with the loſſe of their lives.

Sir Conyers Clifford incountred with, and ſlaine.

(307) The Lord Generall hearing of this overthrow, made towards *Vlſter*, and came into the frontiers as farre as *Louth*, where *Tir-Oen*, on the other ſide of the River, from the Hilles made his Bravado: But falling into his wonted vaine of diſſimulation, defired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which hee altogether rejecting, anſwered, that if the Earle would conferre with him, hee ſhould find him the next morning in the head of his troopes: on which day, when after a light skirmiſh, a horſe-man of *Tir-Oens* troopes, with a loud voyce cried, that the Earle was not willing to fight, but to parley upon peace with the Lord Generall; it was againe denyed him. But the next day, as the Lord Lieutenant was in his March forward, one *Hagan* ſent from *Tir-Oen*, met him, and declared that the Earle muſt humbly deſired to have the Queenes mercy and peace; and withall beſought, that his Lordſhip would bee pleaſed to afford him audience, which if hee would grant, then would hee with all reverence attend him at the Foord of the River not farre from *Louth*.

He entertyneth. Septe. 13.

Tir-Oen ſuſeth for Parley, but is rejected.

(308) To this laſtly the Lord Lieutenant aſſented, and ſent to diſcover the place, and beſtowing a troope of horſe upon the next Hill, came downe alone unto the River; *Tir-Oen* attending on the other ſide, no ſooner ſaw his approach, but forthwith rode his horſe into the River up to the Saddle, and with all ſemblances of a dutifull reſpect, moſt reverently ſaluted his Lordſhip: where, having had conference the ſpace of an houre, they both returned unto their companies. There followed the Earle of *Eſſex*, *Con*, a baſe ſonne of *Tir-Oen*, inſtantly intreating in his fathers name, that certaine principall men might bee admitted to a conference, whereunto his honour condiſcended.

Eſſex and Tir-Oen meet in Parley.

A further conference.

(309) And taking with him the Earle of *Southhampton*, Sir *George Bourchier*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *Henry Dawvers*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*; and Sir *William Conſtable*, went to the Foord, where *Tir-Oen*, with his brother *Cormoc*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guir*, *Ever Mac Cowley*, *Henry Ovington*, and *O-Quin*, attended their comming. And falling in conference, in

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it was concluded that certaine *Commiſſioners* ſhould the next day meet for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there ſhould bee a ceſſation of warres, from ſixe weekes to ſixe weekes, untill the firſt of *May*: yet ſo, as it might be free on both ſides, after foureteene dayes warning given, to reſume hoſtilitie a-freſh. And if any of *Tir-Oens* confederates would not thereto conſent, to be proſecuted at the Lord Lieutenants pleaſure.

Exceptions againſt effects his ſervices.

(310) But howſoever theſe his proceedings pleaſed the Marſhaliſts, yet was her Majeſty highly incenſed, that ſuch expeditions had beene made without her directions, being informed that the Spring, Summer, and Autumne, were ſpent without ſervice upon the Arch-Rebell, that her men were diminiſhed, and large ſummes of money conſumed, without doing that for which he was ſent; that by this meanes the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to bee loſt: Which his defaults (for ſo they were apprehended) were (as he conceived) much aggravated, by ſome that were hard againſt him, in her attentive eare, upon which ſurmize Her Majeſties ſharpe Letters received (though he had excuſed his ſervice by others, whom himſelfe ſent at the ſame ſeaſon) ſo over-preſſed his troubled thoughts, as leaving his charge to be managed by others, he made into *England*, well hoping to pacifie his Soveraignes diſpleaſure with ſatisfaction from his owne mouth, and at *Nonefuch* had acceſſe to her preſence, where after a ſhort welcome, he was commanded to his Chamber; and ſoone after was committed to the cuſtody of the Lord Keeper.

An. Dom. 1599. Septem. 28 Octob. 2.

(311) No ſooner almoſt was the *Lord Generall* departed *Ireland*, but that *Tir-Oen* (notwithſtanding the ceſſation from warre) drawing his Forces together, addreſſed himſelfe for the Field, unto whom *Sir William Warren* was ſent, to charge him with breach of promiſe; but hee ſwelling in pride, peremptorily anſwered, that his doings were according to covenants, having given warning before, and his cauſe juſt, for that the *Lord Lieutenant* was committed in *England*, upon whoſe honour hee repoſed his whole Eſtate; neither would hee have any thing to doe with the Counſellors of *Ireland*, in whom (as he ſaid) he never found either ſafetie or truth: And thereupon preſuming upon *Spaine*, and giving it forth that there would be ſhortly an alteration in *England*; hee ſends *O-Donell* into *Connaught*, receiveth tumultuous perſons, ſtrengtheneth the weake, and comforteth the diſtruſtfull, glorying every where that he would reſtore againe the ancient Religion, and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *Engliſh* from thence; to which end, ſome Money and Munition were ſent him from *Spaine*, with *Indulgences* from *Rome*; and (for an eſpeciall favour) the Pope ſent him a Plume of *Phœnix* Feathers, for a trophey of his victories, as *Vrban* long before him ſent a Coronet of Peacocks Tayles unto King *Iohn*, when hee was firſt inveſted *Lord of Ireland*.

Tir-Oen againe falls off.

The Popes Preſent beſtowed on *Tir-Oen*.

(312) *Tir-Oen* thus feathered for a higher flight, Peacocke-like to ſhew his owne pride and greatneſſe by his perſonall preſence, under a religious pretext to worſhip a peece of the woodden Croſſe of *Chriſt*, reputed to bee kept in the Monaſtery of the *Holy Croſſe in Tipperary*, in the mid-winter would thither on Pilgrimage; whence he ſent out *Mac-Guir* with a number of rifeling Robbers, to deſpoyle and prey on the peaceable Subjects; with whom *Sir Warham Saint Leger* met, and at the firſt Race with his Lance ranne *Mac-Guir* through the body, and was by him runne through himſelfe. Whereupon *Tir-Oen* fearing more blowes, made ready to returne from *Munſter* ſooner then was expected, or himſelfe meant.

The Lord Mountjoy Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

(313) At this time *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy* (afterwards created Earle of *Dewnſhire*) was ſent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*, who with ſmall port and little ſolemnitie, entred upon the Government, the ſtate of that Countrey lying deſperately diſeaſed, and almoſt paſt recovery. At his firſt comming, hearing that *Tir-Oen* was to depart *Mounſter*, he haſtned to ſtop his paſſage in *Feread*, and there to give him Battell, which the Earle prevented by taking another way, having intelligence of the *Lord Generals* deſignes; but the Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himſelfe on his March towards *Vlſter*, with purpoſe to drive the Earle to a ſtand, whiles *Sir Henry Docwra* at *Lough-foile*, and *Sir Mathew Morgan* at *Baliſhanon* planted the Garriſons, which they with ſmall adoe effected, and ſuppreſſed the Rebels in divers overthrowes.

An. Dom. 1600. In Febru.

In May.

(314) The Lord Generall likewiſe held *Tir-Oen* very hard, and with light skirmiſhes ever put him to the worſe, ſo that he now perceiving his fortune to goe backe, with-drew himſelfe backe into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant then entred into *Leaſe*, the place of refuge and receit of all the Rebels in *Leinſter*, where he ſlew *Owy-Mac-Rory Og*, chiefe of the Family of the *O-Mores*, a bloudy, bold, and deſperate young man: and ſo chaſed out the reſt of thoſe his Rake-hels, as that never ſince they were ſeene in thoſe parts. And although in the commencing of theſe affaires, the *Equinox* was paſt, and the Winter weather begun in that Climate, yet marched he forward to the entrance of the *Moyery* three miles beyond *Dundalke*.

(315) The paſſage into *Vlſter* is every where naturally cumberſome, and this way made more by the Rebels, who had fortified and blocked up the entrance with fences of ſtakes ſtucke in the ground, with hurdles joyned together, and ſtones in the midſt, with turfes of earth laid betwixt hils, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers: notwithſtanding, the *Engliſh* brake through thoſe *Paliſadoes*, and beating the enemies backe, the Lord Deputie placed a Garriſon eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memory of Sir *Iohn Norris*, hee named the Fort *Mount-Norris*: but to omit many other skirmiſhes in his remoue, that at *Carlingford* was moſt famous, where the enemies aſſembled to ſtop his way, were all of them diſcomfited, and put to ſeaſefull flight.

(316) In the midſt of Winter hee entred the *glinnes*, that is, the Vallies of *Leinſter*, a ſecure receptacle of the Rebels, where he brought into ſubjection *Donel Spaniogh*, *Phelim Mac-Feogh*, and the *O-Tooles*, of whom hee tooke hoſtages. Then went he to *Fereall*, and drave *Tirell*, the moſt approved warrior of all the Rebels, from his faſtneſſe, (that is, his bogges and buſhes) into *Vlſter*; the Territory of *Fernes* he laid waſte, ſpoyled *Fues*, and in *Breany* placed a Garriſon, receiving ſuch into mercy as delivered up hoſtages. Which done, and the Spring approaching, he marched to *Vlſter*, fortified *Armagh*, and went ſo farre forward, that he removed *Tir-Oen* from the Fort of *Blacke-water*, who had very artificially encamped himſelfe there.

The Glinnes cleered of Rebels.

(317) As the Lord Generall was thus buſied to reduce *Ireland* to obedience, ſo the *Pope* and *Spaine* ſtudied to hold up *Tir-Oen*, and to maintaine the Rebellions; their Agents were a *Spaniard*, elected by the Pope Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, the Biſhop of *Clonfort*, the Biſhop of *Killalee*, and *Archer* a Ieſuite. Theſe by Prayer, and promiſes of *heavenly rewards*, wonne *Philip* to ſend ſuccours into *Ireland*, which forthwith he did, under his Generall *Don Iohn D' Aquila*, a man of a conceited hope that all would be his, as confident of much aid from the titular Earle *Deſmond*, and from *Florence Mac-Carty*, a Rebell of great might; wherein hee was deceived: for Sir *George Carew*, Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, had prevented that deſigne, and ſent them priſoners into *England*, where they were kept ſure.

The Pope and Spaine buſied to hold up Tir-Oen.

Don Iohn D'Aquila ſent into Ireland.

(318) *Don D' Aquila* with two thouſand *Spaniards*, all of them old trained Souldiers, with certaine *Iriſh* Fugitives, landed at *Kinſale* in *Mounſter*, the

Octob. *Vlt.*

Don Iohn Title.

last of *October*, and straightwayes publiſhed a Writing, wherein he glorioufly ſtiled himſelfe with this Title, *Maſter Generall, and Captaine of the Catholike King in the Warres of GOD, for holding and keeping the Faith in Ireland*; endeavouring to make the World beleive, that Queene *Elizabeth*, by the definitive ſentences of the Popes, was deprived of her Kingdomes, and her Subjects abſolved and freed from their Oath of Allegiance, and that he was come to deliver them out of the Divels jawes, and the *Engliſh* tyranny; upon which ſuggeſtions, many diſtempered and wicked perſons began to bandy on his ſide.

(319) The Lord Deputy gathering his Companies, haſted to *Kinſale*, and encamped neere unto the Towne on the Land ſide, whiles Sir *Richard Leviſon* with two of the Queenes Ships incloſed the Haven, to forbid all acceſſe to the *Spaniard*; when from both ſides, the thundering Cannon played upon the Towne: but newes being brought that two thouſand *Spaniards* more were arrived at *Bere-haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Caſtle-Haven*, Sir *Richard* was imployed upon them, in which ſervice he ſunke five of their Ships.

A new ſupply of Spaniards under *Alphonſo O-Campo.*

(320) Vnto theſe new landed *Spaniards*, whoſe Leader was *Alphonſo-O-Campo*, *O-Donel* over the ice, by ſpeedy journies and unknowne by wayes repayred, unſeene of the *Engliſh*; and a few dayes after *Tir-Oen* himſelfe, with *O-Rorcke*, *Raimund Burke*, *Mac-Mahun*, *Randall Mac-Surley*, *Tirrell*, the Baron of *Lixnaw*, and the moſt ſelected choice of all the Rebels came unto them, who muſtered together, made ſixe thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe; all confident of victory, as being freſh, ſtrong, and exceeding in number, where, the *Engliſh* were out-wearied through Winter ſiege, with ſcarſitie of victuall, and their Horſe weake with ſore travell.

Tir-Oens bravadoes.

(321) In this hope, *Tir-Oen*, upon an Hill not a mile from the *Engliſh* Campe, made a Bravado two dayes together, intending to have put theſe new ſupplyes of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred Iriſh, by night into *Kinſale*, as by Letters intercepted from *Don D' Aquila* did appeare. Which to prevent, the Lord Deputie appointed eight Enſignes to keepe watch, and himſelfe with the Preſident of *Munſter*, and the Marſhall, at the foot of the Hill, choſe out a convenient plot to give the Earle Battell, who the next morning ſeeing the *Engliſh* ſo forward, by his Bag-pypers ſounded the retreat, whom the Lord Generall followed, and forced them to ſtand in the brinke of a bogge, where their Horſemen were diſordered, and rowted by the Earle of *Clan Ricard*.

The Rebels rowted.

(322) The maine battell then wavering in feare, was violently charged by the Lord Deputie himſelfe, who in his directions diſcharged the part of a worthy Commander, and in fighting, the Office of a valiant Souldier; for the Rebels not able to withſtand his fury, brake their arrayes, and in diſorder confuſedly fled; in whoſe purſuit many of them felt the revenging edge of the *Engliſh* Sword. *Tir-Oen*, *O-Donell*, and the reſt flung away their weapons, and ſaved their lives by flight; but *Alphonſo O-Campo*, with three other *Spaniſh* Captaines, and ſixe Enſigne Bearers, were taken priſoners, nine of their Enſignes borne away by the *Engliſh*, and *twelue hundred of his Spaniards ſlaine*; ſuch welcome found theſe new gueſts in *Ireland*. This victory obtained, both quelled the pride of the intruding *Spaniards*, and exceedingly daunted the hearts of the diſloyall Iriſh; ſo that *Tir-Oen* was forced into his ſtarting holes in *Vlſter*, *O-Donell* driven into *Spaine*, and the reſt of that rebellious rabble ſcattered into obſcure places, where their beſt ſuccour was to play leaſt in ſight.

Don Alphonſo taken Priſoner.

The Rebels diſperſed.

(323) The Lord Generall returning to the ſiege of *Kinſale*, began to raiſe rampiers, and to mount his Cannons neerer the Towne, wherein ſixe dayes were ſpent without any impeach from the *Spaniard*, whoſe courage being cut by the loſſe of their fellowes, ſought rather how to get cleare and be gone, then to adventure reſiſtance againſt ſuch a warlike oppoſer. *D' Aquila* hereupon ſent his Letters by his Drum Major to the Lord Deputy, wherein hee craved, that ſome Gentleman of credit might be ſent into the Towne, with whom he might Parley for a Peace. Whereunto his Lordſhip inclined, and to that end ſent thither Sir *William Godolphin*.

The Spaniards ſue for Peace.

(324) Vnto whom *D' Aquila* ſignified, *that he had found the Lord Deputy, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable perſon, the Iriſh of no valour, rude and uncivill, yea, and (that which hee ſore feared) perfidious and falſe: That hee was ſent from the King of Spaine his Maſter to aid two Earles, and now he much doubted whether there were any ſuch in* Rerum natura, *conſidering that one tempeſtuous puffe of warre had blowen the one of them into Spaine, and the other into the North, ſo as they were no more to be ſeene: willing therefore hee was to treat about a Peace, that might be good for the Engliſh, and not hurtfull to the Spaniards; albeit he wanted nothing requiſite to the holding out of the Siege, and expected every day out of Spaine freſh ſupplies to finde the Engliſh worke and trouble enough.*

(325) The matter thus propoſed, and the *Engliſh* weake and weary through a long Winters ſiege, the Lord Deputy conſented to an agreement, the Articles whereof were theſe.

January 2.

1 That *John D' Aquila* ſhould quit the places which he held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, aſwell in the Towne of *Kinſale*, as the Forts and Caſtle of *Baltimore*, *Berehaven*, and *Caſtle-haven*; and ſhould deliver them unto the Lord Deputy, or to whom hee ſhould appoint.

John Siton.

(2) That *Don D' Aquila* and his *Spaniards* ſhould depart with Armes, Money, Munition, and Banners diſplayed; the Souldiers notwithſtanding to beare no Armes againſt the Queene of *England*, till ſuch time as they were unſhipped in ſome part of *Spaine*.

Concluſions of Peace.

3 That Ships and Victuals ſhould bee granted unto them in their departure, for their Money, and at ſuch reaſonable prizes as the Countrey could afford.

4 That if contrary winds inforced them into any other Port of *Ireland*, or elſe into *England*, they might be intreated as friends, with ſafetie of harbour, and proviſions neceſſary for their money to further their departure.

5 That a ceſſation ſhould be from warre, a ſecuritie from injuries, and victuall granted at reaſonable rates, whiles they remained in preparing for *Spaine*.

6 That the Ships in which they ſhould bee imbarked, might freely paſſe by other *Engliſh* Ships without moleſtation; and the Shippes arrived in *Spaine*, might ſafely returne backe without any impeachment of the *Spaniards*: for ſecuritie whereof, the ſaid *D' Aquila* ſhould deliver for hoſtages ſuch three of their Captaines as the Lord Deputy would chuſe. Vnto theſe Articles *Don Iohn* ſolemnely ſwore, on the behalfe of the *Catholike King* his Maſter, and with his hand ſubſcribed his name, *Don Iohn D' Aquila*.

(326) The troubleſome clouds of moſt likely dangers, thus diſſolved in *Munſters* faire Ayre, the Coaſts of *Ireland* were ſhortly cleared of thoſe forraine intruders, who notwithſtanding their former great bragges, with ſhame and diſhonour embarked themſelves for home, their Companies being much empayred, and proud ſpirits brought downe. And now the *Ben-hadad Tir-Oen*, who had boaſted all *Ireland* was his, with fearefull flights and bywayes recovered his lurking holes in *Vlſter*; after hee had loſt moſt of his men, whom the ſwelling and violently-running Rivers, by reaſon of Winter flouds, had ſwallowed up; where his Traytors head, burdened with the dreads of his owne deſerts, could take no reſt, no not ſo much as to breathe without feare, diſtruſting every ſhadow that he ſaw, and ſhifting out of one by-corner, before hee well knew where to finde another.

1 Kings 20.

The guilt and feares of *Tir-Oen*.

(327) Meane

(327) Meane whiles, the Lord Deputy refreſhed his weary and Winter beaten Souldiers, repayred the decayes, and renewed the Garriſons in *Munſter*; which done, hee departed for *Dublin*, where wearing out the Winter ſtormes, towards the Spring, by a gentle and eaſie march, well appointed, he returned into *Vlſter*, meaning to belay the Rebell on every ſide, by planting his Forts, ſo to take him in his toyle. Thus being approached unto *Blackewater*, hee tranſported his Army over the Foard upon floares, upon whoſe banke, beneath the old Fort, he erected a * new, to ſuch terror of the Arch-Rebell, as hee ſet on fire his owne Houſe at *Dungannon*, and got himſelfe ſtrike further from danger; whether the Lord Deputy immediately marched, and made ſpoyle without any ſpare; the Corne-fields were deſtroyed, the Villages fired, and booties brought in on every ſide. The Forts in *Loghe*, *Crew*, *Lough-Reogh*, and *Moghor Lecowd*, were yeilded up, and Garriſons placed in *Lough Eaugh*, or *Sydney*, and in *Monaghan*, whence with their continuall ſallies, they ſo croſſed the enemies, that ſeeing themſelves invironed about, and no way open for eſcape, like wilde Beaſts they hid their heads in the thickets, Forreſts, and Woods, muttering complaints againſt their late magnified *Tir-Oen*; exclaiming he had engaged the ruine of the whole Nation, for his owne private diſcontents, and that theſe warres, howſoever beneficiall to him, yet were they moſt pernicious unto them; whereupon changing their minds with their fortunes, began a vie, who ſhould be firſt in ſhewing their alteration, by comming in to the Deputy.

* *Charles Mountjoy.*

Great ſpoyles made in *Vlſter.*

The Rebels exclaime againſt the Arch-Rebell.

(328) The Earle not ignorant how their affections declined, his owne forces ſhaken, and the fidelity of his followers more and more ſuſpected, hee once more determined to prevent the worſt, by his ſubmiſſion, which in humble Letters hee ſent to the Queene, wherein with prayers and teares he craved pardon of his faults: to ſuch an ebbe was the ſwelling tides of his rebellious heart brought. Her Majeſty (whoſe Nature was Mercy) ever diſtaſtive of bloud, gave the Lord Deputie authoritie to pardon his life, though hardly drawne to remit his offences, they being ſo many and great: His friends that affected him, and *Mac-Baron* his Brother, daily ſolicited the Deputy for his peace, which laſtly, upon an abſolute promiſe, to put his life and revenues, without any condition, to the will of the Queene, was granted; and at *Melliſont*, accompanied with two perſons and no more, had acceſſe into the *Chamber of Preſence*, where the Lord Deputy ſate in a Chaire of Eſtate, moſt of his Marſhalſts ſtanding about him.

(329) *Tir-Oen* in baſe and poore array, with a dejected countenance, at the very entrance fell downe upon his knees, and ſo reſted till he was commanded to ariſe, and come neerer; when ſtepping forward a few paces, he fell againe proſtrate, and like a moſt humble Supplicant, in words well couched (as cunning was he both in ſpeech and action) acknowledged his ſinnes againſt GOD, and fault unto her Majeſty; and thus began his ſubmiſſion to the Lord Generall.

In the royall clemency of my dread Soveraigne and moſt gracious Queene, I doe onely lay the hope and reſt of my now remaining eſtate; unto whoſe pleaſure I abſolutely remit my life, and whole revenues; and doe moſt ſubmiſſively deplore mine owne miſery, beſeeching againe her mercy, whoſe bountifull favours I have heretofore, and mightie powers now of late both felt and found; and well hope, that the fountaine of her ever-flowing graces are not drawne dry. Let mee (I pray) bee the ſubject, whereon her mercy may worke, and an example for ever of her mild clemency, both to divulge her Princely lenity, and to redeeme in ſome part the honour I have loſt. For age I am not ſo unſerviceable, nor of body ſo unable, neither in courage ſo dejected, but that my faithfull ſervice in her behalfe, may expiate and make ſome meaſure of ſatisfaction, for theſe my many and moſt diſloyall Rebellions. And yet I may juſtly complaine, that through the malicious envie of ſome, I have beene hardly and unfriendly dealt with, which may ſomewhat extenuate my crime and offence; for — But as hee was enforcing this point further, the Lord Deputy interrupted his ſpeech, and with a few words delivered with great authoritie, (which in a Marſhalliſt ſtands in ſtead of *Eloquence*) told him, that there was no excuſe to be heard, his crimes were too great; and thereupon commanded him to depart the *Preſence*: which hee did with a countenance ſeeming very heavy and ſad. The next day departing for *Dublin*, he tooke *Tir-Oen* thither, meaning to tranſport him for *England*, had not the death of the Queene hindered his deſigne. Theſe things premiſed, and *Ireland* thus recovered that was in hazard to be loſt, let us returne to our *Engliſh* affaires, from whence theſe *Iriſh* bogges have detained us too long.

(330) On what termes the Earle of *Eſſex* left *Ireland*, we have already heard, and to what lamentable ſucceſſe the height of his riſe brought him, is now to be related; wherein he may be the example of Fortunes dalliance, and of the unſtayed felicitie had in this life: a man indeed filled with the affection of his Prince and the Pedple, and fraught with honourable abilities to purchaſe both, untill by his owne unadviſednesſe (for ſo it muſt needs be cenſured) he clouded his honour, wiſedome, and loyalty, with the ſhadowes of his owne diſcontents. Whether his Soveraignes favours were the wings of his ambitions, or the dependancies of men of Warre, the pillars of his high hopes, I doe not cenſure; but that ſome ſecret under-workings gave fire to his paſſionate diſcontents, I doubt not, having ſeene his owne Letters penned in that behalfe. Howſoever, ſure it is, the Eye of Iealouſie ſtill attended him, and his doings now laſtly were more noted, then was made ſhew of: for being yet in *Ireland* with an eminent authoritie, followed with the flower and chiefeſt men of Warre, and ſuſpected to be too well reſpected by the Arch-Rebell *Tir-Oen*, it was held good policy (upon another pretended occaſion) to muſter Forces, and to make a *Lord Lieutenant Generall of all England*, which was, the Right Honourable *Charles Howard*, Earle of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admirall.

(331) The ſhew of this preparation was a preventing providence (as was pretended) againſt a *Spaniſh Navy* in new rigging for the Seas; and indeed ſuch preparation in that Summer was made, as the like had not beene in *England* ſince *Queene Elizabeth* came to the *Crowne*. For *London* was allotted to furniſh ſixteene Ships to the Seas, and ſixe thouſand Souldiers for the Land ſervice, whereof three thouſand were to reſt ever in a readineſſe, and the other three thouſand (all of them Houſholders) to attend and guard her Majeſties royall Perſon. And out of many Countries adjoyning, ſuch numbers of brave Horſe and Horſemen were gathered, as never till then had beene ſeene; the fame whereof was ſo farre ſpread, as neither *Spaine*, nor any other, could have any heart to make attempt this way.

(332) But the Earle of *Eſſex* arriving in *England*, not onely peaceably, but alſo very privately and unaccompanyed (as hath beene ſaid) and now remaining in the Lord Keepers cuſtody, was often and ſeriouſly dealt with, by that truly Honourable and provident Statiſt (of whom he was entirely affected) ſomewhat to decline his loftie ſoaring, leſt in mounting too high, hee ſhould melt his waxen wings againſt the hot Sunne, and not to ſuffer the ſore to feſter till it were paſt cure; to which purpoſe alſo he afterward wrote him a letter of pithy and ſapient perſwaſions, out of the abundance of his well-wiſhing heart; the coppy whereof we held worthy to be heere preſented.

The Lord Keeper to the Earle of Essex July 18. *Ann.* 1598.

(333) *My very good Lord: It is often seene, that a slander by seeth more then hee that playeth the game; and for the most part every man in his owne cause, slandereth in his owne light, and seeth not so clearely as hee should. Your Lordship hath dealt in other mens causes, and in great and weighty affaires with great wisedome and judgement; now your owne is in hand, you are not to contemne or refuse the advise of any that loveth you, how simple soever. In this order I range my selfe; of those that love you none more simple, and none that loveth you with more true and honest affection: which shall pleade mine excuse, if you shall either mistake, or misconster, my words or meaning; but in your Lordships honourable wisdome I neither doubt nor suspect the one or other. I will not presume to advise you, but I will shoot my bolt, and tell you what I thinke. The beginning and too long continuing of this unseasonable discontent you have seene and prooved, by which you may aime at the end. If you hold still this course (which hitherto you find to be worse and worse, and the longer you goe, the farther out of the way) there is little hope or likelyhood that the end will be better. You are not yet so farre gone, but you may well returne; the returne is safe, the progresse dangerous and desperate.*

In this course you hold, if you have any enemies, you doe that for them which they could never doe for themselves. Your friends you leave open to scorne and contempt; you forsake your selfe, and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You give that courage and comfort to the forraigne enemies, as greater they cannot have. For what can bee more welcome, or more pleasing newes unto them, then to heare that her Majesty and the Realme are maymed of so worthy a member, who hath so often and so valiantly quailed and danted them. You forsake your Countrey, when it hath most needs of your counsell or helpe. And lastly you faile in that indissoluble dutie which you owe to your most gracious Soveraigne. A dutie imposed upon you, not by nature or policy onely, but by that religious and sacred band, wherein the divine Majesty of Almighty God hath by the rule of Christianitie obliged you.

For the foure first, your constant resolution may perhaps moove you to esteeme them as light: but beeing well weighed they are not light, nor lightly to bee regarded. And for the two last, it may bee that the clearenesse of your inward conscience, may seeme to content your selfe. But that is not enough; these duties stand not onely in contemplation, or in inward meditation: their effects be externall action, and when that faileth, the substance faileth.

This being your present state and condition, what is to be done? what is the remedy? My good Lord I lacke wisedome and judgement to advise you; but I will never lacke an honest true heart to wish well, nor (being warranted by a good conscience) will feare to speake what I thinke.

I have begun plainely, lee not offended if I proceed so. Bene cedit, qui cedit tempori. *Seneca saith well,* Lex si noccitem punit, ceddendum est justitiæ; si innocentem, ceddendum est fortunæ. *The medicine and remedy is, not to contend and strive, but humbly to yeild and submit. Have you given a cause, and yet take a scandall unto you? then all you can doe, is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of scandall given unto you? yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to sue, yeild, and submit, to your Soveraigne, betweene whom and you there can bee no proportion of duty. When God requires it as a principall duty and service to himselfe, and when it is evident, that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your selfe, your Country, and your Soveraigne, and extreame harme by the contrary: there can be no dishonour or hurt to yeild, but in not doing of it, is dishonor & impiety.*

The difficultie (my good Lord) is to conquer your selfe, which is the height of true valour and fortitude; whereunto all your honourable actions have intended. Doe it in this, and God will be pleased, her Majestie (I doubt not) well satisfied: your Country will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and your selfe (I mention you last, for I know that of all these, you esteeme your selfe least) shall receive honour, and your enemies (if you have any) shall bee disappointed, of their bitter-sweete hopes.

I have delivered what I thinke, simply and truly; and leave you to determine according to your wisedome. If I have erred, it is Error amoris, *not,* Amor Erroris. *Construe and accept it (I beseech you) as I meane it; not as an advise, but as an opinion, to be allowed or cancelled at your pleasure. If I might conveniently have conferred with your selfe in person, I would not have troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoever you judge of this mine opinion, yet be assured my desire is to further all good meanes that may tend to your good, and so wishing you all honourable happinesse, I rest your Lordships most ready and faithfull, though unable, poore friend.*

The Earles Answer.

(334) *My very good Lord. Though there is not the man this day living, whom I would sooner make a Iudge of any question that did concerne mee, then your selfe: yet you must give me leave to tell you, that in some cases I must appeale from all earthly judges; and if in any, then surely in this, when the highest judge on earth hath imposed upon mee the heaviest punishment without triall or hearing. Since then I must either answer your Lordships arguments, or forsake mine owne just defence, I will force mine aking head to doe mee service for an houre.*

I must first deny my discouragement, which was forced to bee an humorous discontentment, and in that it was unseasonable, and is too long continuing, your Lordship should rather condole with mee, then expostulate. Naturall seasons are expected here below, but violent and unseasonable stormes come from above: there is no tempest to the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time so unreasonable, as when it lighteth on those that might expect an harvest of their painefull and carefull labours. Hee that is once wounded must feele smart till his hurt is cured, or the part senselesse; but cure I expect none, her Majesties heart being obdurate; and be without sense I cannot. But then (you say) I may ayme at end. I doe more then ayme, for I see an end of all my fortunes, and have set an end to all my desires. In this course doe I any thing for mine enemies? when I was present, I found them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should triumph alone then have mee attendant upon their Chariot. Or doe I leave my friends? when I was a Courtier, I could yeeld them no fruit of my love to them; now I am an Hermite, they shall beare no envy for their love to me. Or doe I forsake my selfe, because I doe enjoy my selfe? Or doe I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a fortune of paper walles, which every puffe of wind blowes downe? Or doe I ruinate mine honour because I leave following the pursuit, or wearing the false marke of the shadow of honour? Doe I give courage or comfort to the forraigne enemies, because I reserve my selfe to encounter them; or because I keepe mine heart from baseneſſe, though I cannot keepe my fortune from declining? No, no, I give every one of these considerations his due right, and the more I weigh them, the more I find my selfe justified from offending in any of them. As for the two last objections, that I forsake my Countrey when it hath most need of me, and faile in that indissoluble duty which I owe to my Soveraigne: I answer, that if my Country had at this time need of my publike service, her Majesty that governes it would not have driven me to a private life.

I am tyed to my Country by two bands; one publike, to discharge carefully, faithfully, and industriously, that trust that is committed unto me; and the other private, to sacrifice for it my life and carkase which have beene nourished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed or disabled by her Majesty. Of the other, nothing can free mee but

but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall offer it selfe, but I will meete it halfe way. The indissoluble duety which I owe to her Majesty, is the duety of allegiance, which I will never; nor can faile in; the duty of attendance is no indissoluble duety. I owe her Majesty service of an Earle, and of a Marshall of England. I have beene contented to doe her the service of a Clerke, but can never serve her as a villaine, as a slave. But yet (you say) I must give way to time: so I doe, for now I see the storme come, I have put my selfe into the harbour. Seneca *saith, we must give way to fortune. I know that fortune is blind and strong; and therefore I goe as farre out of the way as I can. You say the remedy is not to strive, I neither strive nor seeke for remedy, but I must yeeld and submit, I can never yeeld my selfe to be guilty, or this imposition lately laid upon me, to be just: I owe so much to the Author of truth, as I can never yeeld truth to be falshood, or falshood to be truth. Have I given cause (you aske) and take a scandall? No, I gave not cause to take up so much as* Fimbrius *his complaint, for I did* totum telum corpore accipere. *I patiently beare all, and sensibly feele all that I then received. When this scandall was given mee, may when the vilest of all indignities are done unto mee, doth* Religion *enforce me to serve? doth God require it? is it impiety not to doe it? why? cannot Princes erre? cannot subjects receive wrong? is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon mee, pardon mee my Lord, I can never subscribe to these principles: but* Salomons *foole laughes when he is stricken: Let these that meane to make their profit by Princes faults, shew to have no feare of Princes injuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite absolutenesse in earth, that doe not believe in an absolute infinitenesse in heaven. As for me, I have received wrong, I feele it, my cause is good I know it, and whatsoever come, all the powers on earth can never shew more strength and constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering, whatsoever shall be imposed upon me.*

Your Lordship in the beginning of your letter made your selfe a looker on, and mee a player of mine owne game; so you may see more then I: but you must give mee leave to tell you in the end of mine, that since you but see and I suffer; I must of necessity feele more then you. I must crave your Lordships patience, to give him that hath a crabbed fortune leave to use a crabbed stile. But whatsoever my stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected toward your Lordship, then that of your Lordships poore friend.

R. ESSEX.

(335) The distempered humour discovering it selfe in this letter, argueth both the depth of his seeled discontent; and the danger of giving way to violent passions, which not onely deprive the wiseſt of the use of their owne understanding, but also blind their eyes that they cannot see, nor apprehend the benefit of other mens faithfull counsels. Notwithstanding, it pleased her gracious Highneſse (whom hee so censureth as wronging him, for lending a more attentive eare to his enemies suggestions, then to his owne satisfactions) first, to remit his durance to his owne house, and then loth to looke into his faults but with her Princely eye of favour to proceed unto some moderate censure of his actions, to the end hee might see his owne errors, and thee so limit his power, as her owne might be secured.

Essex commanded to his owne house.

(336) To which end thee assigned certaine of her Privy Councell to convent him concerning the breaking of his former instructions for the North-Irish prosecution, and the manner of his treating with *Tir-Oen*, his comming from Ireland, and leaving that Kingdome contrary to her Majesties expresse commandement, signed under her Royall Hand and Signet. Whereunto his answer was, that the state of Warre held it a *Maxime*, to make good the *Stand* before the *Remove*, and that it was one thing at Table to direct, but another thing in field to effect, especially in Ireland, whose warre was with *Bogges* and *Woods*, aswell as with *Men*. And to the rest of the objections hee answered with such obedient discretion, and loyall submission, as he well satisfied the Honourable Presence, onely a suspension from the exercise of some of his Offices was decreed, untill her Majesties pleasure should otherwise order it. Shortly after he was set at full liberty; the Queene sending him word, that thee well hoped his future guard would now be his owne discretion.

Essex suspended from the exercise of his office.

(337) But seeing his wonted greatneſſe restrained, though the scope of his liberty was thus farre enlarged, hee presently mounted higher with the wings of discontent: for deprived of Offices, neglected in Court, and all his forraigne services powred into her Majesties lap, was now (as he imagined) there wrapped up, and laid in oblivion. Neither were these his grievances lessened by his military followers, who daily watred these ill fet plants with their exasperated complaints, till they were sprung to some height; and still to nourish their sap, many projects were cast, and conferences held how to lop off other branches, which as they feared would hinder their growth; till lastly, at *Drury* House they agreed on the manner (O had it withered before it had blowmed, or dyed in the graffing, before it tooke sappe) which was by violent hand to bring the *Earle* into her Majesties presence, and to remove from her such as they deemed his opposites.

The conference at Drury house.

(338) The frequent assembly unto *Essex* house by Noblemen, Knights, Captaines, and others, was presently observed by the Statists in Court; to stop the currant of which confluence before it grew to a sloud, Secretary *Herbert* was sent from her Majesty to require him to repaire before the Lords of her Councell, then assembled at *Salisbury* Court, which hee excusing with sicknesse, neglected to doe, and the same night upon some sinister reports set a double watch about him, pretending some danger to bee meant to his person. For whose defence the next morning (being Sunday) many repaired unto his house, among whom, as chiefe were the Earles of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Sands* and *Monteagle*, accompanied with a Troupe of gallant Gentlemen their followers.

Febru. 8.

(339) Her Majesty hearing of these disorderly proceedings, in her Princely wisedome thought to cast water upon this begun fire, before it brake forth into flame, and thereupon sent foure men of much honour unto his place, to offer him justice for any grieſes, and to command the assembly to depart. The persons sent were the *Lord Keeper of the Great Seale*, the Earle of *Worcester*; Sir *Francis Knowles* his uncle, and the Lord *Chiefe Iustice of England*, all of them in high honour and favour with the Earle himselfe.

The Queene sent foure of her Councell unto the Earle of *Essex*

(340) These comming to his house, without *Temple-Barre*, were received in themselves, but scarse any of their servants suffered to follow, excepting the Bearer of the Purse and Seale, where finding the Court full of those his followers, the Lord Keeper putting off his hat, told them that *they were sent by her Majesty to understand the cause of this their assembly, and to let them know, that if they had any particular cause of griefe against any person whatsoever, they should have hearing and Iustice.* The Earle of *Essex* answered, that his life was fought after, and that hee had beene perfidiously dealt withall. To which the Lord Chiefe Iustice replyed, that if any such matter was attempted, it was fit for him to declare it, assuring him of a faithfull relation, and that her Majesty would doe him Iustice. Which promises the Lord *Keeper* seconded, and desired the Earle too declare his grieſes, if not openly, yet in private, and he doubted not but to procure him full satisfaction, and then turning towards the multitude, with a louder voyce, said; *I doe command you all upon your allealegeance, to lay downe your Weapons, and depart.* Whereupon the Earle himselfe went into his Booke-Chamber, these foure Counsellors following him in hope of private conference; but so farre off was hee from hearing them further, or answering to their demands

The Earles answer.

An. Dom. 1600. Febr. 8. *Essex* entreth into *London*.

mands, that leaving them there under sure custody, he returned to his other attendants.

(341) With whom in tumultuous manner, hee made into *London*, his followers crying, that the Earle of *Essex* should have beene murthered by *Cobham*, *Cecill*, and *Raughley*, all men amased what this did meane. Thus past he from *Ludgate* through *Cheapeside*, into *Fan-Church-street*, where he entred the house of a * supposed friend (then one of the Shiriffes) who seeing the multitude, avoyded himselfe out at a backe-dore, when presently in divers parts of the City, *Essex* was proclaimed a Traytor, to the no lesse griefe of the Citizens, then feares of his followers, and thence returning with a Halbert in his hand, and a table-napkin about his necke, came into *Gracious-street*, where a while hee made his stand, (the Lord Maior and others being assembled at the upper end towards *Leaden Hall*) no one Citizen or servant shewing him any signe of assistance. The case so desperate, one of the principall offenders contrived how by redeeming his fault, to save his owne life; who hastening into the *Strand* to *Essex* house, and comming to Sir *John Davis*, as being sent from the Earle, gat release of the foure Counsellors, under whose guard they had beene hitherto kept.

Thom. Smith.

Hee returneth and is forced from *Ludgate*.

(342) *Essex* now despairing of all succours in *London*, saw it was bootelesse there to make his abode, and therefore retired againe towards *Pauls*; meaning to passe *Ludgate* the way that hee came, but being resisted by a company of Pikemen, and other forces, made by that stout and noble Prelate, the then Lord Bishop of *London*, hee was put backe, Sir *Christopher Blunt* sore hurt, and young *Tracy* slaine; besides some others on the Queenes part, himselfe narrowly escaping, being thrust through the hat with a pyke. So hence againe returning, at Queene Hive hee tooke boate, bidding the City and his fortunes adue.

Taketh boate and fortifieth his house in *Strand*.

(343) His enterprise thus frustrate, with a mind distracted hee rowed up the river, and landed at the Water-gate of his owne house, which hee presently fortified; and the Lord Admirall assaulted, suffering notwithstanding the Countesse of *Essex*, the Lady *Rich*, and their Gentlewomen to depart, which done, hee forced the Garden even to the Walles of the House. Some resistance was made, and some persons slaine upon either part, which the Earle perceiving, presently yeilded, desiring onely that he might bee civilly used, and that hee might have an honourable triall; and so being first brought to *Lambeth-house* where an houre or two he remained with the Lord Archbishop (his ever most loving, but then most mournefull friend) was thence with some other Lords and Gentlemen convayed by water to the Tower, about ten of the clocke the same night: having then experience, that *vaine is the love of the Commons to a Subject (how great soever) wherein it is counterballanced with the dutifull obedience unto their Prince.*

Essex arraigned and condemned.

(344) Vpon the nineteenth of the same moneth, the Earle of *Essex* and *Southampton* were arraigned at *Westminster*, the Lord *Buckhurst Lord high Treasurer of England*, being made *Lord Steward* for the day, where the great resolution of the one, contemning death, and the sweet temper of the other well deserving life, did breed most compassionate affections in all men, hearing the sentence of Law to passe upon them. The one of them remained prisoner in the Tower during the raigne of the Queene, and by the gracious clemency of our Soveraigne Lord King *Iames* at his comming to the Crowne, had pardon of life, and restauration of blood, the other (*Essex*) the five and twentieth of February, being *Ashwednesday*, suffered upon the Greene within the Tower, rendring his soule to God with a most penitent and Christian constancy, whose last speeches were to this effect.

Is Executed.

His speech at death.

(345) "My Lords and Christian brethren, who "are present witnesses of my just punishment, I "confesse (to Gods Glory) my selfe a most wret-"ched sinner, and that my sinnes in number ex-"ceed the haires of my head; that good which I "would have done, that did I not, and the evill "which I would not, that did I. For all which I "beseech my Saviour Christ to bee a Mediator to "his Father my God, especially for this my last "sinne, this great, this crying, this bloudy, this "infectious sinne, wherein, through love of mee, "so many have beene drawne to offend God, their "Soveraigne, and the world. I beseech God, her "Majesty, and the State, to forgive us; and I be-"seech him to blesse her with a prosperous raigne, "with a wise and understanding heart, to blesse the "Nobles and Ministers of the Church and State. "I likewise beseech you, and all the world, to hold "a charitable opinion of mee, for my intention "towards her Majesty, whose death (I protest) "I never meant, nor any violence towards her Per-"son. I thanke God, I never was Atheist, in not "beleeving the Scriptures: neither Papist, trusting "in my owne merits; but am assured to bee saved "by the mercies and merits of Christ Iesus my "Saviour. This faith I was brought up in, and "heerein I am now ready to dye; beseeching you "all to joyne your soules with mee in prayer, that "my soule may bee lifted up by faith, above all "earthly things; and first I desire forgiveneſſe of "all the world, even as freely, as from my heart I "forgive all the world.

(346) And then kneeling downe, said, I have beene divers times in places of danger, where death was neither so present nor so certaine, and yet even then I felt the weakneſſe of my flesh, and therefore now in this last and great conflict, I desire Gods assistance by his preserving Spirit. And so with * a most heavenly prayer, and faithfull constancy, (as if his soule were then already in heavenly fruition) hee humbled himselfe to the blocke, and spreading abroad his armes (the signe that hee had given to his heads-man) his head was with three strokes of the Axe severed from his body, the great heavineſſe of all men, appearing as well by their countenances, as spleene against his Executioner, who was in danger of his life at his returne, had not the Sheriffes assisted him to his home.

* See this his prayer and other his speeches at large in *Stowes Annals* page 1406.

(347) For accessaries and chiefe Counsellors in this offence, dyed at *Tyburne*, Sir *Gilliam Merricke* Knight, and *Henry Cuffe* (for his exquisite learning much bewailed of all men) and five dayes after them, upon the Scaffold on Tower Hill, were beheaded Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Christopher Blunt* Knights. And before any of these, *Thomas Lee* a Captaine was executed, for words spoken touching the Earle of *Essex* his deliverance, to move, or rather to inforce the Queene thereunto, as his words were construed who nevertheleſſe confidently tooke his death, that hee never had thought of any violent attempt.

Her Military providence.

Others executed.

(348) As the death of this Noble-man was much lamented by the subjects, (whose love towards him was so ingrafted, as I thinke, I may well say, never subject had more) so her Majesty likewise having such a Starre falne from her firmament, was inwardly mooved, and outwardly oftentimes would shew passions of her griefe, even till the time of her approaching end, when two yeeres after hee laid downe her Head in the Grave, as the most resplendent Sunne setteth at last in a Westerne cloud.

The griefe conceived for the Earle of *Essex* his death.

(349) The state of which *Great Queene* throughout the whole course of her most flourishing raigne, was (as in part you have seene shadowed already) so beautified and strengthened with all honourable perfections, both of *Peace*, and *Warre*, as never any Monarch raigned with greater observance of her owne, nor ruled with a more observed magnanimity toward forraigne Nations: insomuch, as if her incomparable vertues and praises were truly and exactly described (a worke worthy some noble spirit and penne) wee are verily perswaded, that future ages will somewhat stagger and doubt, whether such celebration

celebration of her, were not rather affectionately Poeticall, then faithfully Historicall.

Her sway and estimation in forraigne Countries.

(350) For, the great affaires of *Europe* mainely depended upon her directions, who sitting at the Helme of the Ship (as *Fronto* spake of *Antoninus* the Emperour) arbitrated and guided their estates both in peace and warre: *Spaine*, seeking to overthrow all, was beaten backe, and scarcely able to maintaine her owne bankes: In *France*, the house of *Valoyes* underpropped by her counsell; that of *Bourbons*, advanced by her countenance, forces, and treasure; *Scotland* releived by her love; *Netherlands* by her power; *Portugals* King by her bounty, *Poland* by her commiseration; likewise *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Suetheland*, often tooke up and laid downe Armes at her becke and disposse. Neither could the utmost bounds of *Europe*, (the *Russians* and *Tartars*) containe the limits and extent of her great fame; but that the same pierced further into the remoter parts of *Asia*, *Affrica*, *Amecira*, among the *Turkes*, (whose great Emperour, in honour of so great a *Mediatresse*, granted peace unto the *Polonians* out-worne with warres,) among the *Persians*, *Barbarians*, *Indians*, and where not? In most of whose Dominions to the great enriching of her Kingdome, shee setled commerce for encrease of merchandize, and got large privileges for encouragement of her Merchants, whom shee cherished as a most necessary and important part of her Weale-Publike.

Her princely qualities.

(351) Who, for her royall actions and Princely qualities of Minde (seated also in such a Body as for state, stature, beauty, and Majesty, best befitted an Empresse,) may bee singled out for an *Idea* of an absolute Prince, her *Sex* onely excepted, which yet made her vertues more remarkeable, as being (and so reputed by Strangers) of all the Princes of her time, the most exact observer (both for *Action* and *Ceremony*,) of true Regall deportment and magnificence. For her enterprizes as fortunate as *Cæsar*, for life, love, wisedome, and magnanimity, another *Augustus*; by her peaceable raigne shutting the Temple of Warre in *England* (whiles all Nations round about her felt the miseries of warre) as hee did the doores of *Ianus* of *Rome*. And yet had thee Warriours like unto the Worthies of *Dawid*, her forraigne imployments. Navigations, and discoveries, having bred such numbers of most renowned Captaines, both for Sea and Land, as none of our former Princes have seene the like. With which necessary kinde of noble Servitors, that her owne Kingdome might bee alwayes munified (as foreseeing the uncertainties and sudden changes in the Peace pretending amities of forraigne Princes,) shee ever imployed many of her Gentry and others, in the warres of Princes abroad, so to perfect them for all occurrencies of their Country at home; which also induced her (some Statists have thought) to suffer that long lingring protraction of her *Irish* warres, the rather, to keepe in ure and exercise, the skill and valour of her *English*. By which meanes, the spreading fame and * extent of her Empire was such, that shee might seeme a second *Traian*, who laid the circuite of the *Romans* the largest; having not only so powerfull a Navy still in readinesse, as whereby she attained the Soveraignty of the Sea, but so famous Sea-men also, as that, under her auspicious Raigne, * twice was the whole Globe of the Terrestriall World sailed round about.

* *Virginea* made an English Colony. 1585. *Guiana*, &c.

* By *Drake* and *Candish*.

(352) Neither lesse was her renowne for those other vertues which are the attendants of *Peace*; her *Clemency*, *Iustice*, and * *Temperance*: touching the last of which, as in one kind (of her dyet and private life,) King *Edward* her brother usually called her, his *Lady Temper*: so of another kind of *Temperance* in this learnedst of Queenes, the * *learnedst of Kings* hath given this memorable testimony, that when as *France* (part of her Royall Title) was in civill warres, *Spaine* (her mortall Enemy) enfeebled both in power and purse, *Netherland* ambitious of her governement, and *Scotland* ruled by an Infant, yet in such abundance both of meanes, opportunities, and provocations, so superabundant was her moderation and temper, that shee ever religiously abstained from all ambitious defire of encrochment on the rights or territories of any her neighbour Princes. Being in this, and those other her vertuous actions, such as of whom that which was spoken of *Antoninus Pius*, may more truly bee verified, that scarcely, *in youth shee did any thing rashly, or in her age indiscreetly*; scarcely, I say: for as a *Creature*, *Woman*, from passions, or as a *Prince*, from all errors, wherein no, even against her owne naturall inclination, shee might bee drawne, either on mistinformation, or on opinion of necessity in the State: For her *Court*, it was not onely a frequent Academie, of as Honourable *Councellors*, Illustrious *Peeres*, Gallant *Courtiers*, Learned *Professors*, Intelligent *Statists*, as ever attended any Christian Prince, but also a Nurſery, where young Nobles and others might bee trained up to the managing of greatest affaires, and a *Sanctuary* where the meanest might finde releefe against the mightiest; because as the Wisest in her Councell were content to learne wisedome from her directions, so the Greatest were drawne to practise Equity, both by her example and command. Yea, which is more admirable in her *Sex*, so reserved was shee from giving any man too-much interrest, or bebout her, that they all stood in a reverent awe of her very presence and aspect; but much more of her least frowne or checke, wherewith some of them who thought they might best presume of her favour, have beene so suddenly daunted and Planet-stricken, that they could not lay downe their griefe thereof, but in their graves. A thing so much the stranger, considering otherwile her incomparable meeknesse, and gracious countenance and demeanours towards her people, who never satiated with her sight and presence, were no otherwise affected with joy and wondering thereat, (though they beheld her never so often) then if they had beheld some Angelicall Creature.

Her Courts.

Her Councell.

Her awe.

Her Meeknesse.

Her love among it her subjects.

(353) These *Soveraigne Arts* of Majesticall rule, were marvellously polished and perfected by her exquisite learning, and insight in the *Arts Liberall*: for which if the Emperour *Hadrian* bee so highly commended, much more must this *learned Empresse*, who further to perfect her solid knowledge, read every Authour in his owne Originall, and answered most Nations Ambassadours in their owne languages. Yea, so farre was shee devoted to learning and the professors thereof, that in honour of it and them, shee purposely went to the Vniversity of *Oxford* twice, and once to *Cambridge*, at each time there spending many whole dayes together, at the Academicall Exercises, and disputations of their chiefest learned men in all faculties. In both which noble Academies, shee left not onely the deare remembrances of her gracious love, delivered to them publikely in her Princely and Eloquent Orations, but much more testified in her Princely bounty, by enacting a Law for the doubling (almost) of the yeerely revenewes of all their noble foundations. Thus spent shee her time and cares in cherishing wisedome in others, and like *Sabaes* Queene seeking to increase it in her selfe, esteeming a day spent otherwise (as *Titus* was wont to say of himselfe) quite lost. For which purpose every day all other affaires laide aside, these set apart some howres, either to reade, or heare her learned Readers; one of which number, (a * man of excellent learning) professed, that her Instructers as oft as they came to her presence about such employments, received such admirable documents from her, that they seemed rather to learne of her, then to bring learning to her; and that the learnedst Authors, as *Divine Plato*, and the like, were made more divine by the learned Commentaries

Her Learning.

Regnante illustrissimo amantissimo Discretissimo, verissimo omnibus seculis exemplo eruditæ: utrorumque Scriptorum tum Græcorum, tum Latinorum fit ac euriosus volutare, &c. Beda. Præfat. Comment. in Lob.

Her Languages.

Her favour to the Learned.

Her studiousnesse.

* Sir Henry Saville in orat. Inaugurali. coram Regina Oxonien.

whiteli

which shee wrote upon them. In which respects, both of noble actions and arts, well may shee be paralelled with that ever-renowned *Zenobia*, who having both perfectly read the Roman Story in Greeke and also her selfe abridged the *Alexandrian*, and all the *Orientall* history, thereby attained to so high a pitch of wisdome and authority, that shee not onely insulted upon the *Romans*, but held the *Arabians*, *Sarazens*, *Armenians*, and other fierce and intractable people in such obedience, that they never durst stirre against her.

Her Piety.

(354) But amongst her volumes (which were very many and choiseft) the *Booke of God* was first in her esteeme, nor last in her readings; the pious fruits whereof shined brightly throughout the whole course aswell of her private life, as publike actions. In her *Private*; Piety, Sobriety, Purity, Charity, and Chastity (maugre the venemous tongues of all *Hellborne Slanderers*) were her unseparable Companions, never suffering any Lady to approach her sacred presence, of whose staine she had but the least suspition. For the *Publike*, the distressed shee releived, the oppressed shee succoured, the over-borne Princes shee ayded, the proud shee amated, and alwayes overmastered to her lasting memory, and *Englands* glory. But most especially shined her *zeale* to God (on whose onely *Providence* and reflexe of her owne unstained *Conscience*, shee reposed against all affronts of the world) in preserving his true Church and worship, both from the pollutions of Idolatry, and frenzies of *Novelists*; her Kingdome being a receptacle, and Court a Sanctuary for the banished *Protestants*, as was the Pallace of *Constantine* (the husband of our *Helena*) for the persecuted *Christians*, when he sate *Emperour* of the *West* in this Iland of *Britaine*. Whereby as in her life time shee attained to bee *stiled by forraine Churches; so at her death was shee by them generally lamented, as the *Nursing mother of the French, Dutch, Italian, Exiles for Christs name, and the uncanquered Defendaresse of the whole the Christian Religion.*

Private.

Publike.

* Stow in his Epitome. Camden. in his Ann.

(355) Thus shee lived, raigned, and dyed in Peace, and full of glory, celebrated by the tongues and pennes of the rarest spirits of all Nations (yea even enemies) of her time: till lastly the God of Peace called her to a farre higher glory, by his unpartiall messenger death, who seized on her at her Manour of *Richmond*. Her sickenesse was accompanied with a deepe melancholy, wherein, as shee gave signes of death unto the learned Physitians, so great assurance of her eternall life, unto all the worthy Prelates employed about her: manifesting (even when silence oppressed her tongue) by lively signes at their prayers and speeches, how she rejoyced with the Apostle, that shee *had fought a good fight, finished her course, and kept the faith, hoping for the Crowne of righteousnesse, that the Lord the righteous Iudge had laid up for her against that great day.* And so her soule departed this fleth (the earthen vessell wherein so many heavenly endowments had been treasured) being borne up by the Angels unto the fruitions of endlesse blisse, the twenty fourth of March, the yeere of Salvation 1602, of her owne age, sixty nine, sixe moneths, and seventeene dayes, and of her glorious Raigne the forty fourth yeere, foure moneths, and seven dayes; as well beloved and as much lamented as ever was Prince; admired, favoured, and feared as the worlds wonder and heavens darling: being the last in order of those Monarchs who had long raigned over the South part of this Iland, and the greatest in fame that ever ruled before her, as if all their vertues had made a confluence in her, that so glorious a Monarchy might not have end, but with so glorious a period.

Her disease.

Lord Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury.
Lord Bancroft Bishop of London.
Lord Watson Bishop of Chichester.
Doctor Parry now Bishop of Worcester and others.

Her age.

Her raigne.

(356) Her body was embalmed, wrapped in lead, and brought unto *White-Hall*, from whence (her Statue being made according to life, in her Parliament Robes with a Crowne on the Head, and Scepter in the Hand) it was upon Thursday the twenty eight of Aprill carried in a Chariot (drawne by foure Horses) covered with Purple Velvet, attended upon by the Nobility, and with solemnities befitting so great a Prince, brought into the Collegiate Church of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, were there interred in the Vault of her Grandfather *Henry the seventh*, in his most magnificent and beautifull Chappell; where our renowned Soveraigne, *King Iames*, in admiration of *Her* rare vertues and excellencies, hath built *Her* (neere the place of her Sister Queene *Maries* Buriall,) a Princely Monument, inscribed with these ensuing Epitaphs of her *Greatnesse*, and the Actions of her Raigne, to the propagating of her renowne unto all succeeding ages.

Her Funerals.

Memoriæ Sacrum.

RELIGIONE AD PRIMÆVAM SINCERITATEM RESTAVRATA, PACE FVNDATA, MONETA AD IVSTVM VALOREM REDVCTA, REBELLIONE DOMESTICA VINDICATA; GALLIA MALIS INTESTINIS PRÆCIPITI SVBLEVATA, BELGIO SVSTENTATO, HISPANICA CLASSE PROFLIGATA, HIBERNIA PVLSIS HISPANIS, ET REBELLIBVS AD DEDITIONEM COACTIS PACATA, REDITIBVS VTRIVSQVE ACADEMIÆ LEGE ANNONARIA PLVRIMVM ADAVCTIS, TOTA DENIQVE ANGLIA DITATA, PRVDENTISSIMÈ QVE ANNOS XLV. ADMINISTRATA ELIZABETHA REGINA VICTRIX, TRIVMPHATRIX, PIETATIS STVDIOSISSIMA, FORLICISSIMA, PLACIDA MORTE SEPTVAGENARIA SOLVTA, MORTALES RELIQVIAS DVM CHRISTO IVBENTE RESVRGANT IMMORTALES, IN HAC ECCLESIA CELEBERRIMA AB IPSA CONSERVATA, ET DENVO FVNDATA, DEPOSVIT.

Obiit xxiiii. Martii, Anno salutis MDCII. Regni XLV. Ætatis LXX.

Memoriæ Æternæ.

ELIZABETHÆ ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REGINÆ, R. HENRICI VIII. FILIÆ, R. HEN. VII. NEPTI, R. ED. IIII. PRONEPTI, PATRIÆ PARENTI, RELIGIONIS ET BONARVM ARTIVM ALTRICI, PLVRIMARVM LINGVARVM PERITIÆ, PRÆCLARIS TVM ANIMI TVM CORPORIS DOTIBVS REGIISQVE VIRTVTIBVS SVPRA SEXVM.

PRINCIPI INCOMPARABILI.

IACOBVS MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REX, VIRTVTVM, ET REGNORVM HÆRES, BENE MERENTI PIE POSVIT.

REGNO CONSORTES ET VRNA, HIC OBDORMIMVS, ELIZABETHA ET MARIA SORORES, IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS.

Sacred unto Memory.

RELIGION TO ITS PRIMITIVE SINCERITY RESTORED, PEACE THROVGHLY SETLED; COINE TO THE TRVE VALVE REFINED; REBELLION

REBELLION AT HOME EXTINGVISHED; FRANCE NEERE RVINE BY INTESTINE MISCHIEFES, RELIEVED; NETHERLAND SVPPORTED: SPAINES ARMADO VANQVISHED; IRELAND, VVITH SPANIARDS EXPVLSION AND TRAITORS COERCION, QVIETED; BOTH VNIVERSITIES REVENEVES, BY A LAVV OF PROVISION, EXCEEDINGLY AVGMENTED; FINALLY, ALL ENGLAND ENRICHED, AND XLV. YEARES MOST PRVDENTLY GOVERNED; ELIZABETH, A QVEENE, A CONQVERESSE, A TRIVMPHER, THE MOST DEVOTED TO PIETY, THE MOST HAPPY, AFTER LXX. YEARES OF HER LIFE, QVIETLY BY DEATH DEPARTED, HATH LEFT HERE (IN THIS MOST FAMOVS COLLEGIAT-CHVRCH, VVHICH BY HER VVAS ESTABLISHED AND REFOVNDED) THESE REMAINES OF HER MORTALITY, VNTILL AT CHRISTS CALL THEY SHALL AGAINE RISE IMMORTALL.

Shee dyed xxiiii. of March, the yeare of Salvation MDCII. of Her Raigne XLV. of Her Age LXX.

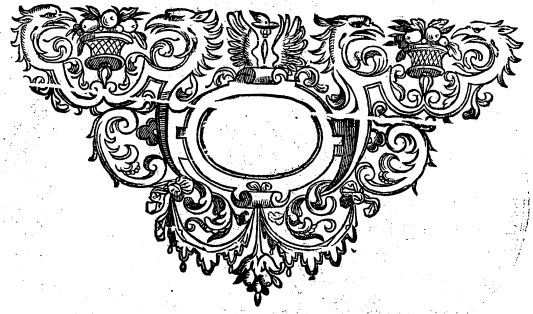
For an Eternall Memoriall.

VNTO ELIZABETH, QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; DAVGHTER OF KING HENRY THE VIII. GRANDCHILD TO K. HENRY THE VII. GREAT-GRANDCHILD TO K. ED. THE IIII. THE MOTHER OF THIS HER COVNTRY; THE NVRSE OF RELIGION, AND LEARNING; FOR PERFECT SKILL OF VERY MANY LANGVAGES, FOR GLORIOVS ENDOVVMENTS AS VVELL OF MIND AS BODY, AND FOR REGALL VERTVES BEYOND HER SEX.

A PRINCE INCOMPARABLE.

IAMES OF GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE, AND IRELAND KING, INHERITOR BOTH OF HER VERTVES AND KINGDOMES, TO HER SO VVELL DESERVING, PIOVSLY HATH THIS ERECTED.

CONSORTS BOTH IN THRONE, AND IN GRAVE, HEERE REST WEE TVVO SISTERS; ELIZABETH, MARY, AND IN HOPE OF OVR RESVRRECTION.

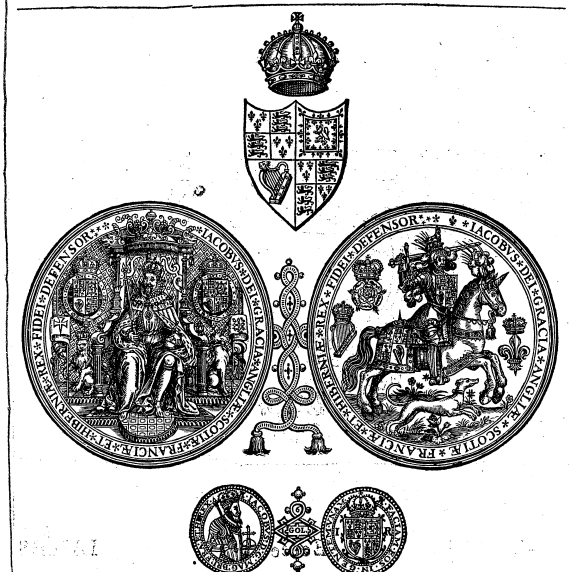


King Iames

IAMES, OF THAT NAME THE FIRST, AND FIRST MONARCH OF THE WHOLE ILAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, VNITING VNDER ONE, AND THE SAME HIS MOST GLORIOVS CROWNE, THE KINGDOMES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, GODS IMMEDIATE VICEGERENT, SVPREAME HEAD OF ALL PERSONS, AND DEFENDER OF THE ANCIENT AND TRVE CHRISTIAN FAITH, IN THESE HIS EMPIRE AND DOMINIONS. HIS PEACEABLE ENTRANCE, AND MOST HAPPY BEGVN RAIGNE.

Monarch I.

THE TENTH BOOKE.



CHAPTER I.

An. Dom. 1602.

BEFORE the conceived forrowes, for the death of the late renowned *Queene*, could fully be dissolved into teares, or those get passage from the heart to the eyes, the conduit was stopped with a sudden joy, and all faces cleared, before that sad pensiveneſſe had therein set her full print. The state of *England* standing that day, like unto that of *Iudah*, wherein the foundation of the *second Temple* was laid, whose ancient men mourned, as doubting the glory thereof could not be answerable to that of *Salomons*; but as they were comforted by a Prophet from GOD, *That the glory of the later should surmount the former*, so all *English* hearts by a divine blessing from GOD, were presently cheered, when they saw their *Morning Starre* arise in the *North*, whose *Pole* with *His* attractive *Power*, long

Exra 3.12.

Hag. 2.6. The joy of the *English* for the *Scottish* Kings entrance.

long before had drawne the *Needle* of the *Southerne Compasse* unto that *one* point.

March 24.

(2) Immediately upon the death of the *Queene*, the Lords of the Land gave full satisfaction unto the people, in proclaiming IAMES *the Sixt*, King of *Scotland*, by the name of *Iames the First, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.* to the unspeakeable comfort of all true *English*, as well for his unquestionable claime, as for that hee professed the same true Religion (whose preservation was their tender care) as also for his singular learning and experience, whereby hee was accomplished to undergoe the managing of so great an *Empire*, having now attained to thirty sixe yeeres, nine moneths, and five dayes, exercised altogether in the practise of Kingly governement, from the very first dayes of his infancy.

King *Iames* proclaimed.

King *Iames* his just title to the Crowne of *England*.

(3) That his Title was most just, no man can deny, being sprung from the united Roses of *Lancaster* and *Torke*, *King Henry the seventh, and Queene Elizabeth his Wife*: whose Issue by the Male, failing in the late deceased *Queene Elizabeth* of glorious memory, the off-spring of *Margaret* their eldest daughter, was the next Heire, which Lady married unto *Iames, the fourth King of Scotland*; by him had issue *King Iames the fifth*, whose onely Daughter *Queene Mary* was Mother of this our mighty Monarch. Let *Doleman* therefore dote upon his owne dreames, and other like Traytors fashion their barres upon the Popes forge; yet hath *God and his right* set him on the Throne of his most lawfull inheritance, so to unite the two Crownes into one: Gods omnipotent arme bringing at last that to passe, which had often beene assayed, but could not bee effected by any power of man. For, did not *Edward our first*, the terror of *Syria*, and *Edward the sixt*, our godly *Iosias*, both of them distresse *Scotland* with their warres; onely to have made an union by the marriages of their next Heires. But the time being not come, and all other preceeding Princes failing of their purposes, the peaceable union of those two Kingdomes, *England* and *Scotland*, as also of two other, *France* and *Ireland*, was referved for *Him*, who is a patterne of all Princely Learning and Piety, unto all other Monarchs upon the furface of the Earth.

King *Iames* appointed by God to unite the two Kingdoms.

(4) But these calme proceedings without any oppugnancy, as they were most joyfull to the *English*, so were they admirable unto other forraigne Nations, yea, and envyed at of some, especially such as hoped for an alteration, or at least-wise a toleration of Religion. And so much the rather, for that *Pope Clement* the eight, had sent the yeere before unto *Henry Garnet, Superior* of the Iesuites in *England*, two *Bulles* to the contrary; one to the *Clergy*, and the other to the *Laity*. The Title of the former was, *Dilectis filiis Archipresbytero, & reliquo Clero Anglicano, &c.* the latter, *Dilectis filiis, Principibus, & Nobilibus, Catholicis Anglicanis, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem*: the summe of both, thus. *To our beloved sonnes, the Arch-Priest and the Clergy, the Peeres and Nobles, Catholikes of England, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction, &c.* The tenour was, that after the death of her Majesty, whether by course of Nature, or otherwise: *Whosoever should lay claime or title to the Crowne of England, though never so directly, and neerely interessed by discent, should not be admitted unto the Throne; unlesse he would first tolerate the Romish Religion, and by all his best endeavours promote the Catholike cause, unto which, by a solemne and sacred Oath, he should religiously subscribe, after the death of that Miserable Woman*: for so it pleased his Holinesse to terme *Elizabeth*, that *most great and happy Queene*. By vertue of which *Bule*, (if vertue may bee in any such vicious Libels) the Iesuites disswaded the Romish-minded Subjects from yeelding (in any wise) obedience unto King *Iames*, as being not an obedient *Catholike sonne*; but this not working to their wished effect, and *Hee* now solemnely proclaimed with an universall applause, love, and peace, their hopes began to grow cold, and

The Romanists hopes for a toleration in Religion.

Ex Libro Inscrip. Proceedings against I. redoure.

The Popes Bulls sent to *Garnet* to prohibite Succession, unlesse hee were a Catholike.

Christ would not be Iudge of the inheritance betwixt Brethren: his Vicar will against all right.

no succours from *Spaine* being now to be expected, *Garnet*, the *Superiour*, to avoyde further dangers, sacrificed these hunger-starved Buls to *Vulcan* the fiery god.

(5) King *Iames* in *Scotland*, receiving intelligence of the most plausible passages to this enlargement of his Stile and Dominions, prepared himselfe hitherward, and upon the first of *April* came to *Barwicke*, thence to *Wytherington*, *Newcastle*, *Durham*, *Torke*, *Doncaster*, *Newarke*, *Burleigh*, *Roiston*, *Theobalds*, and thence to *London* upon the seventh of *May*. In all which places hee was most royally and joyously received, with all demonstrations of truest loyalty, love, and obedience, which was no lesse benignely accepted of by his Majesty, who the better to manifest his royall disposition, in all such places as hee came, where Gaoyles for offenders were kept, out of his clemency most graciously set free the Prisoners, (those onely excepted, who lay for treason, murther, or Romish disloyalty) disbursing also large summes of money for release of many others from their creditors.

An. Dom. 1603. King *Iames* commeth to *London*.

His Progresse and places of entertainment.

His Mercy extended to the Prisoners.

(6) In all which progresse, admirable was the confluence of people, which with haste to meete him, seemed rather to flye then to runne, and such were their shoutes of joy, that the hils resounded the Ecchо thereof, even up to the Heavens, which had beene so propitious, as to bestow on them so *good a King*, which most abundantly appeared the day that his Majesty removed from *Theobalds* to *London*, when at *Stanford-hill*, neere unto *Tottnam high-Crosse* in *Middlesex*, the City of *London* (represented in the *Lord Maior*, the *Aldermen*, with five hundred choyce *Citizens*, all in Chaines of gold, and very well mounted) met his Majesty, and with all solemne observance attended *Him* unto the *Charter-House* neere *Smithfield*, which was most sumptuously furnished for his royall entertainement. On which very day, a *Proclamation* came forth against all griping *Monopolies* that hindered commerce, and *Protections* that stopped the due proceedings of Law, as also against other abuses in other inferiour carriages. All which were so acceptable to the *People* and *Common-wealth*, (which had beene too much eaten-out with such Locusts and Caterpillers) as never any King wanne himselfe more love: these being accepted as the auspicious beginnings, promising most happy sequels. So that *His* entrance was as another *Constantine*, whose person every man prayed for, and desired to see: and for peace, another *Octavius*, having ruled peaceably a stout stirring Nation, even from his yonger yeeres, and lived in peace with all the Princes and Kings of the Earth: in which peace now lastly hee brought the Crowne, and Kingdome of *Scotland* to augment the glory, circuit and strength of this Realme of *England*, in whose united body, as a faire branched Tree, even at the first hee began to engraft the Scyences of his Princely vertues, which by the sappe and Sunne-shine of his just governement still spread more and more, like unto the Cedars that grow upon *Lebanon*.

His Majesties coming to *London*.

His Majesties first proceedings to maintaine law and commerce.

(7) The English Empire thus peaceably established, both by, and unto this peaceable Monarch: from sundry forraigne Princes were sent Ambassadors, to congratulate his entrance; as namely, from the *Palsgrave of the Rheine, one of the Princes Electors for the Emperour of the Romans*: from the *French King Monsieur de Rosny*, Great Treasurer of *France*: from the *Spanish King, Don Iohn de Taſsis*: from the *States of Holland* and *Zeland*: from the *Arch-Duke of Austria*: from the *Signiory of Venice*: from the *Duke of Florence*, and from others.

Divers Ambassadors came into *England* to congratulate his entrance.

(8) But among all new-commers, none was more admired, nor gazed on, then was *Hugh Oneal*, Earle of *Tir-Oen*, that perfidious, (but very valiant) subtile, and smooth tongued Traytor, and *Bontefeu* of *Ireland*, that had beene the death of many a worthy man: who having (as wee have shewed) yeelded himselfe to the Lord Generall *Mountjoy*, in the

Tir-Oen brought into *England*.

Much gazed at.

sickenesse of the late Queene, was now by him brought unto *Englands* Court, to the Generals great honour, and *Tir-Owens* great good, if hee could have had grace to containe himselfe. For not onely was hee taken upon his lowly submission into favour with his dread Soveraigne, and restored to his former estate and dignity, (a very great favour to so great an offender) but a *Proclamation* was also made in his behalfe, and for his security, that hee should of all men bee honourably used, (a grace seldome shewed a Traytor) because as it seemed, his guilty conscience surcharged with bloud, feared the hand of every man that beheld his face; and indeed many Women enraged for losse of their Husbands, and Sonnes, furiously desired and assayed to quench their hatred with his bloud: in which perplexity wee will leave him for a restlesse Rebell, who lastly like a fugitive left againe both his loyalty, and his owne Countrey.

And hated.

Trophies set up in *London* stood long unfinished

(9) In the meane while the solemnities for the Coronation were prepared, and many stately Trophies (no lesse due to the conservation of Peace, then to the atchievings of Warre) in *London* streets set up, which by reason of the great sickenesse in that City then cruelly raging, stood a long time rather like the ruines of some old decay, then the Princely Pageants of a new Triumph. For before the appointed day of Coronation (which was the twenty fifth of *July*, being the Feast day of *Saint Iames* the *Apostle*) a Proclamation came forth, that no *Londoner* should presume to approach to the Court, the City having buried that weeke above a thousand of the plague. But yet a greater plague to the Land then this, was intended some weekes before, had not the providence of a good GOD prevented the designes of mercilesse men. For, certaine *Italianated* Priests, boyling in revengefull rancor, because their plots and hopes (which they vainely promised themselves for advancement of their Religion) were now past all appearance of possibility or successe, and combining with some other of better Ranke and Note, whom private discontents had wheeled on to a publike mischiefe; contrived together a desperate designe, for surprize of the Kings Person, and Prince *Henry* his Soane. Of forces to effect it, they made no doubt, meaning to retaine them prisoners in the Tower, and with the Treasures therein to maintaine their intent, or, if the Tower were impugnable, then to carry them to *Dover* Castle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration in Religion, and a removall of some Counsellors of the State, or else to put some further project in execution. To conceale this Treason, *Watson* the Priest devised Oaths for secrecy, and himselfe with *Clarke* (another Priest also) taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation, for that the King was no King, before hee was Annointed, and the Crowne solemnely set on his head.

Conspiracies intended and revealed.

John Stow.

The intents of the Conspirators.

A Doctrine well fitting such Doctors.

(10) The other persons whose loyalty was likewise called into question, as involued in the attempt, were *Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham*, and *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Walter Rawley, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Sir Griffin Markham*, and *Sir Edward Parham* Knights, *George Brooke*, and *Bartholmew Brooksby* Esquires, and *Anthony Copley*, a Gentleman; all which parties being apprehended, were committed some to the Gate-House at *Westminster*, others to the *Tower* of *London*. Meane while (notwithstanding the raging sickenesse) the day for the Coronation (being the Feast of Saint *Iames*) was celebriously kept, with all solemne performance, and ancient Rites of the English Kings, in the Collegiate Church of *Saint Peter* in *Westminster*. Where, the antique *Regall Chaire* of Inthronation, did blessedly receive, with the Person of His Majesty, the full accomplishment also of that Propheticall prediction of the *His* comming to the Crowne, which Antiquity hath recorded to have beene therein inscribed thus.

The Coronation of the King and Queene.

July 25.

The Regall chaire brought out of Scotland, wherein is a stone called *Saxum Fatale*, said to be of high esteeme with the Scots.

Ni fallat Fatum Scoti hunc quocunq; locatum
Invenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

If Fates goe right, this Stone, where e're tis pight.
The Scot shall find, and there his Raigne assight.

For even there now the sacred Oyle was powred upon the Royall Persons of *King Iames* and *Queene Anne*, by the most Reverend Prelate, *Iohn Whitgift, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, the Princesse and Peeres wearing their Robes and Coronets, the Officers giving attendance in their places, and the *Lord Maior* of *London* in a Gowne of Crimson Velvet, with the Aldermen in Scarlet: twelve principall Citizens were admitted to attend them, all other forbidden because of the plague.

(11) As the great solitude of the City of *London* by reason of this infection, and the retirednesse both of His Majesty and all His Nobles, gave some hopes to the fore-mentioned Priests and their Abettors, for the easier accomplishing their plots: so was it also some occasion of the delay of Iustice on them, after their treasonous designes were now fully brought to light. Wherefore, *London* continuing still unfit for such a tryall, and requisite concourse of Peeres and people, *Winchester*, the Terme being there kept, was the place designed for their arraignement, whether they were all conveyed under strong guard. The first who there * came to their tryall, were *George Brooke*, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham*, *Brooksby*, *Copley*, *Watson*, and *Clarke*; whose inditement was, that they had conspired; first, to destroy the King; secondly, to raise Rebellion; thirdly, to alter Religion; fourthly, to subvert the State; and lastly, to procure forraigne Invasion. That these their intents they had made knowne unto the *Lord Gray*, whom they meant should have beene Earle Marshall of *England*, *Watson* Lord Chancellor, *George Brooke* Lord Treasurer, and Sir *Griffin Markham* Secretary. That with the King, the Lords also should bee surprized in their Chambers at *Greenewich*, and the Lord Maior and Aldermen of *London* should be sent for, and so be shut up in the Tower.

The Conspirators conveyed to *Winchester*.

* Nov. 15.

Watson & *Clarke* upon the 29. of November.

Master *George Brooke* upon the fift of December being Tuesday. *John Stow.*

Their inditements and condemnations.

(12) *George Brooke* hereunto answered (with a colour and pretext as lewd as the attempt) that hee had Commission from the King to doe what hee did, onely to try faithfull Subjects; which commission hee could not produce. Sir *Griffin Markham* (excepting onely the imputation of bloud) confessed his offence very penitently, alleadging it was through a discontented mind, and desired the Lords to bee a meane to the King for mercy. *Watson* and *Clarke* (the former of which confessed hee had drawne all those Gentlemen into these plots) did plainely and ignorantly averre, that they held the King no King, untill hee was Crowned; and that therefore it could not bee Treason: alleadging, that *Saul* was not King, untill hee was chosen in *Mizpeh*, though hee had beene Annointed in *Ramah* by *Samuel* the Prophet; neither *Ieroboam*, who in the dayes of *Salomon*, had beene confirmed by the Prophet to raigne over *Israel*, untill the people made him King upon the foolish answers of *Rehoboam*. Thus these great Rabbies made no difference betwixt the mediate and ordinary succession of lawfull Princes, ordained by God to be his Vice-gerents in fully established Common-weales, and those Kings which himselfe extraordinarily advanced, and erected to bee the whips in his hand; as the first manifestly prooved, when they had cast off *Samuel*, and the latter allotted to no other end, as by the Prophet is apparant, where God to him saith, *I gave them a King in mine anger, and I tooke*

M. *George Brooke* condemned.

1 Sam. 9.

Watson & *Clarke* apply Scripture to maintain Treason.

Holes 13.11.

tooke him away in my wrath; but the more learned enformed them, that in *England* is no *Inter-regnum*, because the King never dieth, and that the Coronation is but a Ceremony to shew the King to the people.

November 17.

Sir *Walter Rawley* arraigned and condemned.

(13) Two dayes after was Sir *Walter Raughley* brought to the Barre, being indited for combining with the Lord *Cobham* (his accuser) in the foresaid designes. Whereunto he pleaded not guiltie, and so stood for his purgation, as he held argument from morning till night, to the hearers no little admiration, that a man of so exquisite understanding and experience should give consent unto such a plot, no lesse foule, then foolish. Yet in fine hee was found guiltie, and had sentence of death.

The Lords *Cobham* and *Gray* arraigned and condemned.

(14) The like judgement, a few dayes after, passed upon the Lords, *Cobham*, and *Gray*, arraigned on two severall dayes. The former being indited, for combining with Sir *Walter Raughley* and *George Brooke*, to procure forces from the King of *Spaine*, and the Arch-Duke, for an Invasion, &c. the other for joyning with the foresaid Priests, Knights, and Gentlemen, in their fore-mentioned conspiracies. The Lord Chancellor of *England*, being *Lord Steward* for that service, sate under a *Cloth of Estate* in the upper end of the *Hall*, the Nobles sitting (as their Peeres, and Iudges) on benches upon both sides. Those at the Barre he willed to be bold, and to answer without feare: the Kings learned Councell he intreated not to confound the memory of the prisoners with unnecessary matters: and the Peeres, though unsworne, hee advised to try indifferently betwixt the King and the arraigned; who both pleading not guilty, were yet found otherwise by the Court, and received judgement of death.

Watson & *Clarke* upon the 29. of November.

Master *George Brooke* upon the fift of December being Tuesday. *John Stow.*

(15) Of all these arraigned, Sir *Edward Parham* only was acquitted by the Iury, and of all the rest onely three died, which were *Watson*, *Clarke*, and Master *George Brooke*: the first of which, having at large laid open in Print, the Treasons and unsufferable machinations of the Iesuiticall Order, left this suspition on them at his death, that they, in revenge, had cunningly and coverly drawne him into this Action, which brought him to this shamefull end. After whose death, his Majestie then at *Wilton*, (having commanded his Lords, to deliver the true narration unto him of the whole proceeding in the arraignments, and answers of all the rest) signed also a Warrant for the execution of the Lords, *Cobham*, and *Gray*, as also *Markham*, to be performed the Friday following before ten of the clocke in the morning. Notwithstanding his Majesty more moved to milde mercy, then the high straine of Iustice, of his Princely and free clemencie, gave life unto those persons, expecting present Death, and thus with his owne hand wrote to counter-checke his former Warrant.

The Kings Letters for stay of the Execution.

(16) *Although it be true, that all well governid and flourishing Kingdomes and Common wealths aire established by Iustice, and that these two Noblemen by birth, that aire now upon the point of execution, aire for their treasonable practises condemnid by the Law, and adiudgit worthy of the execution thaireof, to the exemple and terror of otheris: The one of thaim having filthily practisced the overthrow of the quhole Kingdome, and the other for the surprise of our owin Persone: yet inregaird that this is the first yere of our Raigne in this Kingdome, and that never King was so farre obleishid to his People as we have beene to this, by our entry here with so hairty and generall an applause of all sorts. Among quhom all the kinne, friendis, and allies of the saidis condemnid persons, vaire as forduvrt, and duitifull as any other our good Subjectis, as also that at the very time of thair Arrainement none did more freely and readily give thair assent to their conviction, and to deliver thaim into the handis of Iustice, then so many of thair nereest Kinsmen and Allies (as beeing Petris) vaire upon thair Iury; as likewaise in regard that Iustice hath in some sort gottin course alreadi, by the execution of the tuo Priestis, and*

The Kings mercifull reprive of the Prisoners ready to dye.

George Brooke, *that waive the principall plottars and instigators of all the rest, to the embracing of the saidis treasonabill Machinations, wee therefore (being resolved to mixe Clemency with Iustice) aire contented, and by these Presentis command you, our present Sheriffe of Hampshire to superseid the Execution of the saidis tuo Noblemen and to take thaim backe to thair prison againe, quhile our further pleasure bee knowin. And since wee will not have our Lawis to have respect of persons in sparing the great, and strikking the meanor sort; It is our pleasure; that the like course be also taken with* Marckham, *being sorry from our hairt, that such is, not onely the heynous nature of the saidis condemnid persons crime, but even the corruption is so great of thair naturall disposition, as the care we have for the safety and quiet of our State and good Subjectis, will not permit us to use that Clemency towardis thaim, quhich in our owin naturall inclination, wee michi verry easilly be perswadid unto.*

(17) This Letter thus framed, the delivery thereof his Majesty committed unto one *Iohn Gibb* a *Scottish* Gentleman, a discreet person, and free from dependancy of any Noble man or Counsellor, neither was he of any extraordinary ranke, as well that the by-standers should not observe any alteration for the execution, as the delinquents themselves take any apprehension by his presence, to the end that each of them severally should prepare to breathe out their last breath, with a true confession of their secret conficiences. The time approaching, Sir *Griffin Markham* brought to the Scaffold, (to that end erected on the Castle Greene) made himselfe ready for the stroake of the Axe, when secretly Master *Gibb* delivered unto the high * Sheriffe of the Shire the Kings Warrant to the contrary, who soone perceiving his Majesties intent rooke backe the prisoner, (as if he were first to confront the two Lords in the Hall upon some service to the King,) from the Scaffold, and brought him into the Castle Hall. Then was the Lord *Gray* brought forth, who having powred out his prayers unto God, at length kneeling downe for the stroke of death, the Sheriffe bad stay, telling the Lord that some further service was expected of him, and thereupon likewise led him againe into the Castle. The Lord *Cobham* then was brought to the Scaffold, who being in prayers and preparation for death, the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin* were brought backe againe, where the prisoners all three appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Majesties Warrant for the stay of their Executions, and that as then they should not dye. Upon which rare Clemency, unexpected both of prisoners and spectators, arose such shouts of the people as was wonderfull, crying *God save the King*, and the condemned overcome with his Clemency, wished they might sacrifice their lives to redeeme their owne faults, and to repurchase so mereifull a Princes love.

* Sir *Iohn Tichborne.*

Sir *Griffin Markham* returned from the Scaffold.

The Lord *Cobham*, Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin Markham* reprived.

(18) This businesse thus transacted, for the safety of the Kings Person and whole Kingdome; his Majesty, (who well considered, that the quiet of a *Weale-Publike* cannot possibly subsist long, without the peace and well managed government of the *Church*,) having among many other *Petitions* which were presented to *Him* at his first entrance, received one from certaine persons of over zealous spirits, against the established Government and Liturgy in the *English* Church, resolved now by his Princely judgement, as another *Hezekiah* to breake the Brazen Serpent, if Idolatry were thereinto committed, and like a second *Iosiah*, to reade the law of the Lord himselfe: whereupon by *Proclamation* hee commanded an assembly of selected Divines, such as could best deliver the minds of both parts, to appeare in his Royall presence, at his Mannor of *Hampton-Court*: whither the summoned accordingly repaired. For the maintained Churchstate, where the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Saint Davids*, *Chichester*, *Carlisl* and *Peterborow*: the Deanes of the Chappell

The Ministers petition to the King against the booke of Common Prayer.

a King. 18.
2 King. 24.

A Proclamation for a conference to bee held at *Hampton* Court.

* On Thursday Ianuary 15.

The persons commanded.

Christs

Christs-Church, Worcester, Westminster, Paules, Chester, and *Windsor*, with Doctor *Field*, and Doctor *King*, the now Lord Bishop of *London*. To deliver the Plaintiffes desires, were summoned, and appeared Doctor *Reynolds*, and Doctor *Sparkes* of *Oxford*, *M. Knewstubs*, and *M. Chaderton* of *Cambridge*.

(19) The first sitting was upon Saturday, the foureteenth of Ianuary, in his Majesties Privy-Chamber at *Hampton-Court*, whereinto the *Church-Governours* onely being admitted (by his Majesties command) in the presence of his *Privy Councell*, he made a most godly and Princely declaration of his intent, in sommoning this Assembly, in effect, thus; That "this his proceeding was no novell devise, but ac- "cording to the example of all Christian Princes, "who in the commencement of their raignes, usual- "ly take the first course for the establishing of the "Church both for doctrine and Policy, to which "the very Heathen themselves had relation in this "their Proverbe, *à Ioue Principium*. And particu- "larly in this land, King *Henry* the eight, towards the "end of his raigne, after him King *Edward* the sixt, "who altred more; after him Queene *Mary*, who "reversed all; and the last Queene of famous memo- "ry, who setled the Church state as now it stand- "eth. Wherein yet his Majestie deemed himselfe "happier then they, in that they were faine to alter "those things which they found established, where- "as himselfe saw yet no cause, so much to change a- "ny thing, as to confirme that which *He* found so "well setled already. Which State so affected his "Royall heart, that it pleased him, both to enter in- "to a gratulation to almighty God, (at which words "he put off his Hat) for bringing him into the land "of Promise, where Religion was purely professed, "where he sate among grave, learned, and reverend "Divines, who better knew what belonged to the "State of a King, to the honour and order of a king- "dome, then some other Nations did, and withall to "assure the Prelacy there present, that *Hee* inten- "ded not any Innovation, acknowledging the Go- "vernement Ecclesiasticall to have beene approved "by manifold blessings from God himselfe, both for "the encrease of the Gospell, and with a most happy "and glorious peace. Yet, because nothing could "be so absolutely ordered, but that somewhat might "be added, and in any State, as in the body of man, "Corruptions like ill humours might insensibly "grow either through time or persons; his purpose "was, after the example of a good Physician, to "make search into the supposed diseases, and to exa- "mine the complaints, so to remove the occasions "thereof, if they prove scandalous, or to cure them, "if they were dangerous, or if but frivolous, yet to "take knowledge of them, thereby at once both to "cast a sop into the mouth of *Cerberus*, and of all fa- "ctious spirits, and withall to give satisfaction to all "quiet and sober minded men.

(20) His Majesty concluding this his generall advertisement, entred more particular discourse with the Bishops (for his owne private information) concerning the *Booke of Common Prayer*, *Excommunication* in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, and the provision; of fit and able Ministers for *Ireland*. Touching matters in the said Booke, hee desired satisfaction. First, for *Confirmation*, which if it were held and so called, as if the Sacrament of *Baptisme* were thereby *confirmed*, and were invalidous without it, then was it in his judgement blasphemous: but if it were only that Children, who at their Baptisme made profession of their faith by the mouthes of others, might before the Bishops professe it in their owne persons, and so receive Episcopall Benediction by prayer, and imposition of hands, then was it of very sacred use in Gods Church. Secondly, for *Absolution*, which his Majesty had heard compared to the Popes pardons. Thirdly, for *Private Baptisme*, which he utterly disliked to be administred, but by a lawfull Minister. His second point was *Excommunication*, wherein hee moved two especiall considerations; the one of the *Matter*, that the sentence being so waightie, was not to be pronounced upon every slight cause: the other of the *Persons*, why *Lay-men* as Chancellors and Commissaries, and not rather the *Deane* and *Chapter*, or other grave Ministers and Chaplaines should be assumed by the Bishops for their assistants therein. The last, which was touching a sufficient Ministery in *Ireland*, his Majesty referred to another day.

(21) But his Majesty received full satisfaction and contentment by the severall answers to all his demands. Touching *Confirmation*, that the Church of *England* held it no essentiall part of the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, but a * practise of the *Primitive Church*, yea of the * *Apostles*, (as * *Calvin* himselfe expounds their meaning, who also wished the restitution thereof in such Churches where it had beene abolished,) and for imposition of hands on children, warranted by * Christ himselfe, a Custome still retained in our Church, as very godly and necessary for those very reasons, and uses, which his Majesty had mentioned, and truly observed. Touching *Absolution*, it was answered, that as Christ desired not the death of sinners, so he hath given power and commandement to his Ministers, to pronounce his mercy with remission of sinnes unto all Penitents, that the practise hereof in the English Church, is so farre from Popery, as that the Reformed Churches of *Augusta*, *Boheme*, and *Saxony*, doe both allow it, and retaine it, yea and *Calvin* himselfe approves it. Of *Private Baptisme* it was answered, that though the words seemed somewhat doubtfull, yet the practise of the English Church did contradict all administration of it by *Laickes* and *women*, in censuring them in that case: whereupon it was concluded, that a lawfull Minister only should be imployed in times of necessitie, when the Infant was in danger of life; yet so understood, that the person was in no wise to be reputed of the Essence of the Sacrament. And finally, for *Excommunication*, it was there resolved, that the abuses (if any such there were) being removed and amended, that sacred censure should retaine its necessary vigour in the Church; and so for that day his Majestie dismissed the Assembly of his Prelates.

(22) Vpon Munday following, being the sixteenth of Ianuary, those other Doctors, who were to relate the diflikes of the Opposites, were called likewise into the Privy Chamber, were in presence of his Prelates and Peeres, his Majesty delivered unto them, a pithy and princely declaration of his minde; "That *He* intended not to innovate the go- "vernment now established, which by long expe- "rience he had found accomplished with so singular "blessings of God forty five yeares, as that no "Church upon the face of the earth hath more flou- "rished then this of *England*. But rather his meaning, "and earnest desire was, first to settle uniformitie "through the whole, for the more quiet and flou- "rishing estate thereof: secondly, to plant unitie for "the suppression of Papists, and enemies of Religion: "thirdly to amend abuses, as incident to *Bodies Poli- "ticke*, as the shadow to the body Naturall; which "once getting entrance, hold on as a Wheele doth "his motion, when it is once set on going. Among "the complaints therefore of many grievances made "since his entrance into *England*, none was more "weighty, nor himselfe more willing to heare and "amend, then such as might concerne the state of "the Church, if the same did in any wise decline "from the ancient and Apostolicall rule. For which "cause he had sent for them, whom he understood "to bee grave, learned, and modest Divines, to "heare by them those grievances, and severall obje- "ctions at large, and desired them boldly to declare "the same.

(23) Whereupon Doctor *Reinolds*; a very learned man, after a preamble gratulatory (upon his knees) with acknowledgement of Gods mercy in giving us so

His Majesties Oration unto the Clergy.

Many alterations in the Church since King *Henry* the eight.

No State without corruption.

His Majesties demands touching some imputed abuses.

Confirmation.

Absolution.

Private baptisme.

Excommunication.

The Prelates satisfaction to His Majesties demands.

The Conference at *Hampton Court*, printed 1604.

Of confirmation.

* *Cyprian Ep. 73. Hieron. adversus Luciferianos.*
* *Heb. 6. 2.*
* *Calvin in Heb 6. 2. & Pole in Act. 8. 15, 17.*
* *Mat. 1. 13.*

Of Absolution.

* They all promised obedience and Doctor Sparke writ a booke to perswade unto conformity.

The conclusion of the Conference.

Of Private Baptisme.

Of Excommunication.

The other Doctors appeare before His Majestie.

The Kings Religious speech unto them.

His Majesty moft willing to amend abuses.

The translation of the Bible is amended and commanded.

D. *Reynold* the Speaker for the Complainants.

so godly, so learned, so carefull a King, reduced all matters, either desired, or disliked amongst *the weake Brethren* (whose *Spokesman* hee protested hee would not have beene, but onely upon his Majesties mandatory Summons) unto those foure heades: 1. for preservation of true doctrine, 2. for placing of good Pastors, 3. for sincere administration of the Church governments; 4. for explanation of some clauses in the Common-prayer Booke. It would bee here too impertinent, to force an historicall Narration with those Theologicall particulars, which upon those severall points were then produced, and are * elsewhere to be found exactly related. Yet as wee cannot but commend the judgement of these foure Divines (as touching the third point) in that, finding no just exception to the *Episcopall Hierarchie* of our Church, in no one word they impugned or disapproved the same; so much more must wee celebrate the admirall dexterity, judgement and learning of his sacred Majesty, joyned with so rare industry and patience, whose owne accurate search and exquisite expositions of Scriptures, Fathers, and primitive practises, did there both breed wonder and astonishment in that noble and learned audience, and also give singular satisfaction (even to the * agents for the *Opposites*) touching all the exceptions taken to the Church-state; which his Majesty now found to bee no other then the phantasmes of a scrupulous indiscretion.

(24) The Wednesday following, being the 18. of Ianuary (appointed for the next meeting) his Majesty againe, with most of the Lords of his Privy Councell, entred the Chamber; where the Reverend *Prelates* with such others onely as the Lord Archbishop appointed, (for so his Majesty commanded) being admitted to his Royall presence, after some conference about the *High Commission Court Subscription, Oath ex Officio*, and the like, his Majesty (causing the other foure Divines to bee then called in) was pleased to declare what formerly had past; and for a conclusion, shut up all with a godly exhortation, "like another *Constantine*, perswading every man to "unity, and to a diligent discharge of their duties, "in their severall places; the superiours to governe "without violence, the inferiors to obey without "murmuring, and all of them to build Gods Tem- "ple without sound of discord; desiring and com- "manding all present, not onely themselves to labour "that way, but to be a meanes to draw on all others "unto a peaceable conformity, the matters being no "other (as now hee saw plainely) but of meere "weaknesse: wherein persons *discreet* would doubt- "lesse be easily henceforward reclaimed, and for the "*undiscreet* and reluctant, their roomes were more "behoovefull then their services: by their fruits "therefore *Hee* should discerne and judge them; O- "bedience and Humility being the markes of honest "and good men, which thenceforth hee would ex- "pect from as many as would be held well affected "to his Majesty and his State. Which Princely exhortation (delivered with much more feeling words, and mooving earnestnesse) was so piercing, as it fetched teares from some of both sides, and all unanimously protested their most dutifull obedience to those his Royall commands.

(25) Besides this maine fruit of this famous conference, the setling of the *Church-peace*, sundry other important matters (not here to be pretermitted, because necessarily tending to that noble end) were therein also projected, and by his *Majesties* ever provident care had then their conception, though after-times brought the births to perfection. The first (both in due ranke and use) was his sacred Decree for a new Translation of the holy Scriptures, upon a Princely and pious care of Gods eternall Truth according to the Originals, as also for an uniforme reading thereof in the Churches. To which end three selected Companies from *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and in *London*, most judicious in the languages and learning being imployed, after long conference, much reading, and diligent comparing of all translations with the ancient originals, it is now most exactly and happily published, as a witnesse to the World both of Gods constant promise, that *Heaven and Earth should perish, but his Word should never*: and also of the Religious care of this his Vice-gerent, in seeking even at the first, the first thing that man is commanded to seeke after, whose praise shall stand for ever in the Record of that godly worke, and the worke shall justifie it selfe against all gaine-sayers to Gods eternall glory, and many soules great comfort.

(26) His second sacred project was, that as now in *England*, so also in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northerne parts*, *true Religion* (which *Hee* there avowed to be *the onely bond of true obedience*) might be throughly planted. Which religious purpose *Hee* so zealously prosecuted, especially for the *North* and all *Scotland*, as that *Hee* held it not sufficient to have joyned these two Kingdomes into one Temporall Monarchy, unlesse *Hee* might see them both united also in the Doctrine, Regiments and Rites of one spirituall *Hierarchy*. Neither was his *Princely wisdome* for the meanes lesse conspicuous, then his zeale in the intendment, in making so heedfull choyce of such *English Divines*, as were (not long after) in this employment sent into *Scotland*; the very first, in which Apostolike Ambassage for establishing those Neighbour-Churches was hee, whose eminency both for *Place* and *Piety*, is now worthily formost in guiding our owne; and whose blessed travels in that service, as they were acceptable to God, his Majesty, and that Nation; so are they a document to others, how powfull and admirably successefull true *Learning* is, where it is guided with true *Prudence*, and where *Piety* and love of Gods glory is linked with *Charity*, and zeale of mans good.

(27) This great businesse and conference so royally accomplished, his Majesties next care was (herein also as another *Constantine*) to perpetuate the maintenance of this flourishing Church (whose peaceable estate he had thus provided for) with the revenewes of her ancient foundations, as also to establish salutary lawes for the peaceable governement of his people; to which purpose, a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, the 19. of *March*, wherein, for the Church it was enacted, that neither Archbishop nor Bishop should alienare, assure, give, grant, demise, or in any sort convay, no not to the King himselfe, his Heires, or Successors, any of the Honors, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcell of the possessions of his Archbishoppricke, or Bishoppricke; and if any so were, to be utterly voide and of none effect, notwithstanding any former Law, Statute, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary.

(28) Foure dayes before this *Parliament* commenced, it pleased his Majesty, with the most Noble *Queene Anne*, and the most Illustrious *Prince Henry*, attended with glorious troupes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Courtiers, to ride in triumph through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, the Houses beautified with rich hangings, the streets adorned with goodly Trophees and Pageants, of severall Nations inhabiting, the Rayles on both sides covered with blew Cloth, the severall Companies Honourably addressed, and ranked under the displayed Ensignes and Armes of their severall Trades and Sciences; the one shewing the wealth and state of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and governement, and all making manifest the unspeakeable joy they conceived to receive their great Soveraigne into this *His* City, and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their excessive joy, unfained love, and vowed fidelity, the *Recorder* at the *Crosse* in *Cheape*, both gratulated his Majesty with a * pithy speech in the Name of the City, and wishing him a golden Raigne, presented his Greatnesse with a

Cup

The Kings second religious project at the Conference.

The new Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* (*D. George Abbot*) the first preacher sent into *Scotland*.

A Parliament held March 19. The Church Lands not to be alienated.

Ex Parliament. Jacobi primo.

March 15. The Kings triumphant passage through *London*.

Sir *Henry Montague*.
* See *Iob Stowe. Annals.*

Cup of Gold; delivering another likewise to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no lesse graciously accepted, then most lovingly presented.

Psal. 141. 6.

(29) Neither lesse was his Majesties desire to retaliate the Citizens and other his Subjects true affections, when recounting the great hinderances of Merchandizing and Navigations of trafficke, by reason of the long continued breach betwixt *England* and *Spaine*, his royall heart tendring his Subjects tranquillitie, endevoured to salve against those wounds of discord with the * sweet balme of Peace; which was solemnly proclaimed in *London*, *August* 19. the Sea being made open to Merchants for their free commerce.

The two Kingdoms united under the name of *Great Britaine*.

(30) Both Domesticke and forraine affaires thus plausibly composed, as his Majesty was the first, who in this last age of the World held the Scepter of the whole Iland in his royall hand, so to unite the two stiles under the name of one entire Empire, and the two Nations into a joynt blessed unitie; He caused himselfe by Proclamation to be enstiled, *King of great Britaine*, according to the ancient name of this Ile before the Saxons Conquest, the restoring of which name againe, many fore-dooming spirits had anciently presaged, as now we see effected. Vnto which Imperiall stile, are rightly annexed the Kingdomes of *France* and *Ireland*, rightfully belonging by birth and Conquest unto the *Crowne of England*.

Iesuites and Seminary Priests banished.

(31) Two other Proclamations afterwards came forth; the one for the Banishment of all Iesuites and Seminary Priests, out of the Land; and the other, to confirme the Ecclesiasticall government, and Booke of *Common Prayer*, in the same forme and estate, as *Queene Elizabeth* left them, to the no little griefe of the workers for *Rome*, whose desgines began now to sucke in such poyson, as in the venting whereof, not onely the Earth might have trembled under the weight of such Monsters, but even the Heavens be astonied and confounded, to give those Serpents the breath or benefit of Ayre. Vnto which bloudy, horrible, and odious act to God and man, my Stile must now turne: a matter indeed so distastive for me to remember, or to write of, that it abhorres my very soule to fill the Pen with Inke, or to blot the Paper with these blacke spots of darknesse, and deformers of *Englands* faire face.

Ier. 2. 12. The treason conceived against the State.

The heathenish cruelty of the Gunpowder Treason.

(32) The Plot was to undermine the Parliament House, and with Gunpowder to blow up the King, the Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights, and Burgesses, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Pietie, Learning, Prudence, Authoritie in the Land; Fathers, Sonnes, Brothers, Allyes, Friends, Foes, Papists, and Protestants, all at one blast. A stratagem invented by him that blowes the bellowes of destruction; fashioned in the forge of the bottomlesse pit; put in practise in a vault of darknesse; and forwarded by him that is the Father of darknesse; and in darknesse I could wish it might ever dwell: whose like was never revealed to the light of the Sunne. Their intent, when that irreligious atchievement had beene performed, was, to surprize the remainder of the Kings Issue; to alter Religion and the State, and to bring in forraine Power. *Sir Edmund Baynam* an attainted person (who stiled himselfe Prince of the damned Crew) was sent unto the Pope, as he was a temporall Prince, to acquaint him with the *Gunpowder-Treason*; a fit Poste indeed to be imployed betwixt the Pope and the Divell.

The Traytors Intents.

Proceedings against Traytors Page 19.

Baynam appointed the Post. Pag. 133.

(33) This Treason was first set on foot in the last yeare of the late *Queenes Raigne*, when *Henry Garnet* the Superiour of the Iesuites, *Catesby* and others sent *Thomas Winter* into *Spaine* to negociate with *King Philip* in the name of the *English Catholikes*; first, to send an Army unto them, who now were in a readinesse to joyne their Forces with his: secondly, to grant some Pensions unto sundry persons devoted to his service in *England*: and thirdly, to give advertisement of the discontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceived upon the death of *Essex*, whereby a most fit occasion was then offered to forward the common cause. To prosecute which businesse, he made for his meanes Father *Creswell* the Leiger Iesuite in *Spaine*, *Don Petro Francesa* second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, a great Counsellor to the King; all of them assuring this ill commissioned Ambassador, that the Office of his employment would bee very gratefull to their Master.

Winter sent into *Spaine*.

The plots determined for the Invasion of *England*.

(34) The place for landing concluded upon by these wise Statists, was *Kent* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milford Haven* in *Wales* was held fittest: with these and other like complots, *Winter* all that Summer followed the King in his Progresse, and lastly had answer by the Count *Miranda*, that his King would bestow a hundred thousand Crownes towards the expedition, halfe thereof to be paid that present yeare, and the rest in the next Spring, when (at the fartheſt) he meant to set foot in *England*; on whose behalfe he willed the *English Catholikes* to maintaine their promise, whom hee respected (as was avowed) as his owne proper Castilians: And further desired their continuall advertisements, if in the meane time it chanced the old Queene to die.

King Philips answer and offer.

The hopes of the *English* Catholikes.

(35) *Winter* thus laden with hopes, returneth from *Spaine*, and emptieth his male into the bosomes of *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Tresham*, and they unto others, all of them tickled to heare the newes, rested fully satisfied, expecting the day. But before the Spring-time was fully approached, that *Morning Starre*, and Mirror of her Sexe, did set in our *West*, the thrice-glorious *Elizabeth*, who had now judged *Israel* full fortie foure yeares in admirable tranquilitie, as in her Raigne we have sufficiently seene. To signifie whose death, *Christopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others sent into *Spaine*, and *Guy Fawkes* likewise was posted thither from *Bruxels*, by *Sir William Stanley*, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the *Spanish* King, that *King Iames* meant to runne the same course, and to proceed as rigorously against the Catholikes, as the late Queene had done: for whose defence they instantly desired that some *Spaniards* might be transported unto *Milford-Haven*, where the Romish-minded would be forward to assist them, having in a readinesse two thousand Horse furnished for the enterprise. But King *Philip* aswell poizing his honour, as his zeale for Religion, and observing a great difference betwixt States in hostilitie, and of Kings raigning in friendship, in no wise would listen to invade *England*, or further to proceed in any forceable enterprise.

Christopher wright sent into *Spaine*, to signifie the death of the Queene.

Proceedings against Traytors Pag. 72.

King Philip refuseth all hostile attempts against *England*.

(36) In the meane while the Iesuites had beene tampering to dissuade the acceptance of King *Iames* into *England*, urging it for a Maxime, that death was to be endured, rather then to admit an heretike (so it pleased them to terme the Lords annointed) and those that gave him consent they held lyable to Excommunication by the censure of Pope *Clement* the eight, who had liberally bestowed upon his sacred Person, the names of a Puritan, an Heretike, a Calvinist, a persecutor of *Protestants*, and another *Iulian Apostata*.

Thomas Winter sent into the *Low Countries*. See the Booke intituled, A discource of the intended Treason

(37) The Romanists thus loosened from their Anker-hold of *Spaine*, and left by that pylote to shift for themselves, now perceived their owne error in their long expectation, *That change of State, would change Religion*: but thee now gone, whose life they had often laid for, and her godly Successor no whit inferior to her for advancing the Gospell: their hopes grew desperate (as these desperates alleaged) and no other meanes now left them but onely to kill the King, whom they falsely calumniated to have broken his promise for a toleration in Religion, as *Watson* and *Percy* had divulged among them; yea, and a fraudulent message was sent to the

Pope

King James scandalized by the Papists.

Pope by the Scotish Secretary, that K. *Iames* would become his obedient sonne. But how farre his religious heart was from these aspersions, appeared both by *Watson* himselfe, who, condemned to die, *tooke it upon the salvation of his soule, that hee could not draw the smallest comfort from the King for a toleration of the Catholikes, but that himselfe had imparted his words in a milder tune then his Majesty meant them, onely to keepe* (as hee excused the matter) *the Catholikes in love and duty unto the King*: and since by the Lord of *Balmerinoth* (Secretary to the King in *Scotland*) who acknowledging his offence, hath beene arraigned, and found guilty of death, for devising letters, and sending them to *Rome*, which himselfe cunningly got signed in shuffling them amongst others, his Majesty being utterly ignorant of the Contents.

Bishop of Lincolne page 194. Letters signed by the King against the Kings knowledge.

(38) Vpon which false suggestions, the Athiesticall position of *Catesby* was grounded, who held it for an *Axiome*, as Father *Parsons* had taught: That the whole Schoole both of Divines, and Lawyers make it a position certaine, and to bee undoubtedly beleeved, *That if any Christian Prince whatsoever, shall manifestly turne from the Catholike Religion, and desire or seeke to reclaime other men from the same, he presently falleth from all Princely power, and dignity, and that also by vertue, and power of the Law it selfe both divine, and humane, even before any sentence pronounced against him by the supreme Pastor, and Iudge.* And that his Subjects of what estate or condition soever, are freed from all bond of Oath of Alleagiance, which at any time they had made unto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may, and ought (provided they have competent strength, and force) cast out such a man from bearing rule among Christians, as an *Apostata*, an *Heretik*, a *Backe-slider*, and *Revolter* from our *Lord Iesus Christ*, and an enemy to his owne State and Common-wealth, lest perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command, turne them from the faith. Yea, one step further elsewhere is stood upon, that if any Prince shall but favour or shew countenance to an *Hereticke*, he presently looseth his Kingdome. And thus they conclude, that for *Heresie* a Prince is to bee deposed, and his Kingdome to bee bestowed at the pleasure of the Pope, for whom the People upon paine of damnation are to take part, and fight: out of which detestable conclusions, arose the first smoake of the *Gunpowder Treason*.

In his Booke *philopater*, Sect. 2.

Tract. de Principe christiani. Chap. 5.

(39) For the Parliament dissolved the seventh of Iuly, and prorogued untill the seventh of *February* following, *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, sent for *Thomas Winter*, who before had beene employed into *Spaine*, and breake with him then for blowing up of the *Parliament House*: who readily apprehending it, said, *that (indeede) strake at the roote*: only these helpes were wanting, a House for residence, and a man of skill to carry the Mine: but the first, *Catesby* assured him was easily to bee got, and for the man hee commended *Guy Fawkes*, a sufficient Souldier, and a most forward Catholike. *But first* (quoth hee) *because no peaceable way shall bee untrod, you shall over to the Confiable, and intreat him to sollicite his Majesty at his comming into* England, *that the penall Lawes may here bee repealed, and the Catholikes tolerated, and ranked with his other Subjects*.

Thomas Winters Confession.

Thomas Winter sent into the *Low Countries*. See the Booke intituled, A discource of the intended Treason

(40) *Winter* thus posted to negotiate with the *Constable*, found him at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, and by the meanes of *Owen* the fugitive Traytor, delivered his message; whose answere was, that *hee had a strict command from his Master to doe all good offices for the Catholikes, and for his owne part hee found himselfe bound to continue not to omit any good occasion that might forward their cause*: although indeed hee did but temporize, as Sir *William Stanley* told *Winter*, for the great desire which the *Spaniards* had that the Peace might proceed with *England*. Whereupon *Winter* (hopelesse that way) returned for *England*, bringing with him the fore said *Fawkes*, a fit instrument for so divelish a designe; and comming to *Lambeth*, told *Catesby* that the *Constable* was not the man whatsoever were his words, and that all now in those parts were bent for a conclusion of Peace; which founded so harshly in his ill-tuned eares, that his braines became more bufied about his impious Project, and his mind in continuall travell to bring forth that sinne, which he had most unnaturally conceived.

See winters Confessions.

The Constable dissembleth.

(41) *Robert Catesby*, *Iohn Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Guy Fawkes* holding a community in their mischeifes still about *London*; about the middest of *Easter-Terme*, *Thomas Percy* as hotte as the *Hotspur* himselfe to forward Rebellion, came puffing to *Catesbies* lodging in *Lambeth*. and the first word hee spake, was this: *What Gentlemen, shall wee alwayes be talking, and never doe any thing? you perceive (I know) how things doe proceede*. To whom *Catesby* answered, *that something was resolved upon, but first an Oath for secresie was to bee ministred*. For which purpose they appointed to meete some three dayes after behind Saint *Clements* Church without *Temple-Barre*, where being met, and falling in Conference, *Catesby* alleaged that this last Parliament had left the Catholikes in as much danger as they stood before, and that now the peace with *Spaine* was rather a meane for harder Lawes to proceed, then those in force against them to be abrogated; so that the ancient Romish Religion, and the Catholike professors thereof, must now be enforced to bid *England* adue, if Gentlemen of power, and repute should thus give way to the contrary proceedings, or thus make nice how to helpe, or where to beginne: At which speech *Percy* made present answer, *Himselfe was the man that would under goe the Catholike cause, were it with the slaughter of the King, which hee was there ready to undertake and doe*.

Percies speech to the Conspirators.

The conference of the Conspirators behind S. *Clements* Church.

(42) No, *Tom* (said *Catesby*) thou shalt not adventure thy selfe to so small purpose, if thou wilt bee a Traytor, there is a Plot to greater advantage, and such a one as can never bee discovered: and thereupon all of them taking the *Oath of secresie*, hearing the *Masse*, and receiving the *Sacrament*, *Catesby* tolde them his divelish device, which was by *Mine*, and *Gunpowder* to blow up the *Parliament House*, and at one stroke with the destruction of many, effect that at once, which had been many yeers in attempting. A matter easily performed (as hee urged) if men of resolution would thereunto bestow their purse, and their paines; and most sure from suspition of discovery, the designe being so estranged from th conceit of man: wherein he also observed that religious *Iustice* was thirsty of revenge, even upon the same persons, and in the same place, whence these first received the unjust Lawes enacted against her. For case of conscience to kill the Innocent, with the nocent; he told them it was warrantable by the authority of *Garnet* himselfe, the Superiour of the *English Iesuites*, and of *Gerrard*, and *Tesmond* (Iesuiticall Priests likewise) who by their Apostolicall Power did absolve and commend the fact, which for the advantage of the Catholikes was to be executed (they said) though with the death of some Innocents, rather then the service should quaile, the necessity of time, and occasion so requiring it. The Oath was given them by the said *Gerrard* (the Divels Atturney in this businesse) the forme whereof was as followeth.

Traytors resolute and divelish answers.

The Gunpowder Plot revealed among the Conspirators.

You shall sweare by the blessed Trinitie, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly, nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall bee propos'd to you to keepe secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, untill the rest shall give you leave.

Catesbies observations for Iustice.

(43) The project thus farre passed, the practise was to proceed; and the first thing sought after was for a house wherein they might begin their worke, to which purpose, no place was held fitter then a

Fffff certaine

Proceedings against Traytors

The Oath of secresie ministred to the Traytors

The provision how and where to begin the horrible Treason.

certaine edifice adioyning to the wall of the Parliament House, which served for with-drawing roomes for the Assembled Lords; and out of Parliament was at the disposse of the Keeper of the place, and Wardrobe thereunto belonging. These did *Percy* hier for his lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* (as most unknowne by face) for his man, who changing his name into *Iohnson*, had the Keyes, and keeping of the roomes. Neither was this enough, but a house must bee also had to supply *Percies* lodgings for provision of Powder, and to frame, and fit wood for the carriage of the Mine, which *Catesby* provided at *Lambeth*, and sware *Robert Keyes* into their Conspiracies, making him the Keeper of those his provisions, who in the night as occasion served, conveyed the same unto the custody of *Fawkes*.

Fawkes changed his name into *Iohnson*.

(44) The appointed day for the Parliament being the 7. of *February*; in *October* before, it was thought fit to beginne the worke, whereupon *Fawkes* returning forth of the Countrey, found *Percies* roomes appointed for the *Scotish* Lords to meete in, there to conferre touching the *Union* of the two Kingdomes; so that they feared (for that present) to initiate their attempt. But that honourble assembly dissolved, upon the eleventh of *December* late in the night, they entred into their *Worke of darkenesse*, and begun their Mine; having tooles prepared, and baked meates provided, the better to avoid suspition by sending abroad.

Percies House employed by the Scottish Lords.

(45) The Moles that first under went these undermines, were *Robert Catesby* Esquire, the moving Arch-Traytor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Esquire, kinsman, and attendant upon the Earle of *Northumberland*; *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, and *Guy Fawkes*, Gentlemen, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesbies*, man, all of them grounded Schollers of the Romish Schoole, and such earnest labourers in this their Vault of Villany, that by *Christmas Eve* (which very day might have remembred them of more Christian workes) they had brought the worke under an entry, unto the wall of the Parliament House, underpropping still as they went the earth with their framed Timber, nor till that day were they seene abroad of any man.

Robert Catesby. *Thomas Percy*. *Thomas winter*. *John wright*. *Guy Fawkes*. *Thomas Bates*.

(46) During this undermining, much consultation was had how to fashion the rest of the businesse, after the deed should bee accomplished, and many questions propounded, and argued at full, before they could pitch on a setled resolution. The first was how to surprize the next heire to the Crowne; for though they doubted not, but Prince *Henry* would accompany his Father, and take his lot with him, yet they feared lest D. *Charles* (being absent, as too yong to attend at Parliament) would escape their train, and perchance bee so carefully guarded, and attended upon at Court, that hee would hardly bee gotten into their hands. Of which first rub in their way, *Percy* offered himselfe to bee the first remover, and shewed his meanes, which was, that with some other Gentlemen, hee would enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reason of his acquaintance hee very well might doe without any suspition: and others of his like acquaintance should bee placed at severall dores in the Court: so that when the blow was given, and all men in a maze, then would he carry away the Duke, which hee presumed would be easily done, the most of the Court being then absent, and they present altogether unprovided for to make resistance.

The Traytors conference how to prosecute their Treasons.

Duke *Charles* intended to be surprized.

(47) For the surprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of farre lesse difficulty, shee remaining at the Lord *Haringtons*, and *Ashby* (*Catesbies* House) neer unto her, whither under a shew of Hunting, divers Catholikes should bee gathered, who having the aduantage in knowing for what purpose they were assembled, had the full liberty of that distracted time, to provide money, horses, armour, and other habiliments of war, under pretence of strength to guard, and secure the Heire apparant.

The Lady *Elizabeth* intended to be taken from the Lord *Harrington*.

(48) Then it was discussed, what Lords they should save from the Parliament; where it was agreed, that they should keepe thence as many as they could that were Catholikes, or that way favouring: all others to feele the smart, and the imputation of the Treason to bee cast upon the Puritans; to make them more odious to the World.

The fearesconceived upon the Treason to forraign Princes.

(49) Next it was controverted what forraigne Princes should be made privy to these their purposes; for to enjoyne them to secresie, or to oblige them by oath, was not in their power: and to affay their likes or dislikes, would prove dangerous. For if any of them approved the designe, their preparation might beget suspition: if not, then the feares of discovery would extinguish the enterprize, no man daring to proceed further therein. *Spaine* was held the fittest to second their attemps, but hee was to slow in his preparations, and *France* too neere, and too dangerous to bee dealt with; and how *Holland* stood affected to *England* they all very well knew. But in the midst of these turmoiles, and minings underground, the Parliament was again adjourned till the fift of *October* ensuing. Vpon which Proclamation they brake off both discourse, and worke till the Feast of Saint *Maries Purification*. At which time they laide in powder, and other provisions, and then began againe to worke, having taken into their company *Christopher Wright*, and *Robert Winter*, both of the sworne, and receiving the Sacrament for secresie. The wall (which was very hard, and nine foote thick) with great labour they wrought halfe through, *Fawkes* being their Centinell to give warning when any came neere, that the noyse in digging might not be heard.

The Parliament prorogued.

Robert Winter, *christopher wright* taken into consort. The worke begun.

(50) The labourers thus working into the wall, were suddenly surprized with a great feare, and casting from them their digging Tooles, tooke to their weapons, having sufficient of shot, and powder in the house, being fully resolved, rather to die in the place, then to yeeld or be taken. The cause of their feare, was a noyse they heard in a roome under the Parliament House, under which they meant to have mined, directly under the Chaire of *Estate*. But all now at a stand, and their countenance cast each upon other, as doubtfull what would be the issue of this their enterprize: *Fawkes* scowted forth to descry (if he could (what was done abroad, and finding all safe, and free from suspect, returned, and told them, the noyse was onely a removall of coales there now upon sale, and that the Cellar was to bee let, which would bee more commodious to their purpose, and would also spare the labour in the Mine. Whereupon *Thomas Percy* under pretence for stowage of his winter provision of wood, and coales, went, and hired the Cellar, which done, a new conference was had.

The sense of the Treyton.

(51) Wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole to heavy for himselfe alone to support; for besides the maintenance of so many persons, and the severall houses for severall uses, hired, and paide for by him, the Gunpowder, and other provisions would rise to a very great summe, and indeed too much for one mans purse. Therefore he desired that himselfe, *Percy*, and some one more might call in such others as they thought fit to helpe to maintaine the charge, alleadging that they knew men of worth, and wealth, that would willingly assist, but were not willing their names should be knowne to the rest. This his request they approved as necessary, and withall surceasing further to digge in the Vault, knowing the Cellar would be of better use for their designes, they removed twenty Barrels of Gunpowder into that roome, which they covered with a thousand of Billets, and five hundred of Faggots, so that now the lodging roomes were cleered of all suspitious provisions, and freely might bee entred without danger of descry.

(52) But the Parliament being againe prorogued untill the fifth of *November* following, these foresaid underminers of our *State*, and happinesse, thought fit they should againe (for a while) dispersse themselves (matters being already in so good forwardnes) and that *Guy Fawkes* should go over to acquaint Sir *William Stanley*, and *Master Hugh Owen* with these their proceedings, yet so as the oath of secresie should be taken of them. For their policy was to have Sir *William Stanleys* presence so soone as the dismall blow should be given, to be a leader to their intended stratagems, whereof (as they thought) they should have great need, and that *Owen* should remaine where he was, to hold correspondency with forraigne Princes, to allay (as much as hee might) the odiousnes of the fact, or to impute the Treason to the Puritans discontents.

(53) *Fawkes* comming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, unto whom, after the oath, hee declared the plotte, which hee very well approved. But Sir *William Stanley* (at that time in *Spaine*) *Owen* said would be hardly drawne into the businesse, for that hee had suits in the English Court himselfe, yet hee promised to forward him in all that hee could, and to send him into *England* with the first, when their project had taken effect. Whereupon *Fawkes* to avoid further suspition, kept still in *Flanders* untill the beginning of September, and then returning, received the keys of the Cellar, and laid in more powder, billets, and fagots; which done, hee retired into the Countrey, and there kept till the end of October.

(54) In the meane while *Catesby*, and *Percy* meeting at the *Bathe*, it was there concluded, because their number were but few, that *Catesby* himselfe should have power to call in whom hee would to aide their designe: by which authority hee tooke in Sir *Everard Digby* of *Rutlandshire* knight, and *Francis Tresham* of *Northamptonshire* Esquire, both of them of sufficient estate, and wealth, had they not abused both to their owne destruction: for Sir *Everard* offered fifteene hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Tresham* two thousand. But *Percy* disdaining that any should out run him in evill, promised foure thousand pounds out of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, and tenne horses of speed to fleed them when the blow was past. Against which time to provide munition, *Catesby* likewise tooke in *Ambrose Rookewood*, and *Iohn Grant* two Recusant Gentlemen, and undoubtedly others were written in the same Roll, had these two grand Electors beene apprehended alive, whose owne tongues onely could unfold their Catalogues Record.

(55) The businesse thus forwarded by their complices abroad, their *Inmates* did not neglect the supplies at home. For *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Fawkes* had stored the Cellar with thirty sixe Barrels of Gunpowder, and upon them bestowed (in steed of shot) Barres of Iron, logges of timber, massie stones, Iron Crocs, Picke-axes, and all their working tooles, and (to cover all) great store of Billets, and fagots, so that nothing was wanting but all in a readinesse, attending that great, and terrible day. Neither were the Iesuiticall Priests slacke on their parts, who usually concluded their Masses, and oblatory Sacrifices, with their prayers for the good successe of their expected hopes, as by these verses, made, and used by *Garnet* is to be seene.

Gentem aufert perfidam credentium de finibus,
Vt Christo laudes debitas persolvamus alacriter.

And others thus, *Prosper Lord their paines that labour in thy cause day, and night, let Heresie vanish away like smoake, let their memory perish with a cracke, like the ruine, and fall of a broken house*: Allusions doubtlesse to the labours in the Vault, the mounting smoake of powder, and the fall of the Parliament House, which if it had happened, they might have said to have beene Prophetically fore-told by their high Priests for that yeere.

(56) But the Lord that never slipt the deliverance of his elect, kept this his *Israel* as the Apple of his owne eye, and this pit digged for the destruction of others, they fell into themselves: so that wee may well say, *If the Lord had not been on our sides when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quicke, when their wrath was kindled against us, but praised bee the Lord which hath not given us a prey unto their teeth: our soule is escaped even as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler, the snare is broken, and wee are delivered.* For this Cockatrice egge hatched by themselves, proved a Serpent onely to themselves, and themselves (by Gods hand) made the onely Instruments to breake the shell of their owne Treason.

Psal. 124.

(57) For upon *Thursday* in the evening, ten dayes before the intended Parliament, a Letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle*, was delivered by an unknowne person unto his footman in the street, with a straight charge given, to give it into his Lords owne hand, which accordingly he did. The Letter was without date, and subscription, and somewhat unlegible, so as the Nobleman called for one of his servants to assist him therein, the strange contents whereof much perplexed the true construction, as whether writ by some *Pasquill* to scarre him from attendance, or as matter of consequence from advise of some friend. Howsoever, though it were Supper time, and the night as darke as the purport of the Letter; yet to discharge his loyall duty, hee forth-with repayred to the Kings Palace at *White-Hall*, where hee imparted the Letter to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Principall Secretary, and they both presently acquainted the Lord Chamberlaine therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concerne himselfe, the charge of his Office being to over-see all places whither his Majesty was to repaire; these two Counsellors shewed the same Letter to the Earles of *Worcester* & *Northampton*, who together concluded (how sleight soever the contents seemed to appeare, as proceeding from some surmizes of an idle, & light braine (to accordingly was done, and was as followeth.

The Letter sent to the Lord *Monteagle*.

My Lord, out of the love I beare to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not slightly of this advertisment, but retire your selfe into your Country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is past so soone as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: to whose holy protection I commend you.

(58) His Majesty a while pausing, and then re-reading the letter, delivered his judgement, that the stile thereof was too quicke, and pithy to bee a libel bred from the superfluities of an idle braine, and on the instant did apprehend by these words; *that they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*; that a fudden danger by blast of Gunpowder should be intended by some base villaine in a corner, no insurrection, rebellion, or desperate attempt appearing. And therefore wished that the under roomes of the *Parliament House* might be throughly searched, before himselfe, or Peeres should sit therein. To which purpose it was then concluded, that the *Lord Chamberlaine* should (according to his Office & place) view all the roomes above, and below: but as well to stay idle rumors, as to let things ripen to reveale their own Mysteries, this his search should be deferred untill Munday, the day immediately before the Parliament, and then to be with a seeming sleight eye, to avoide suspect.

(59) The Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, according to the conclusion, upon Munday in the afternoone (being accompanied with the L. *Monteagle*, who still thirsted to see the issue) repaired unto those under-roomes, and finding the Sellar so sufficiently

Novemb. 4.

ciently ſtored with wood and coales, demanded of *Fawkes* (the counterfeit *Iohnſon*, who ſtood there attending as a ſervant of ſmall repute) who owed the place: his anſwere was, that the lodgings belonged to Maſter *Thomas Percy*, and the Sellar likewiſe, to lay in his winter proviſion, himſelfe being the Keeper and Maſter *Percies* ſervant, Whereunto the Earle as void of any other ſuſpition, preſently replied, that his Maſter was well provided againſt Winters blaſts: but being come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him, that hee did much ſuſpect *Percy* to bee the inditer of the letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendſhip betwixt them profeſſed, ſo as his heart gave him (hee ſaid) when hee heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

(60) The Lord Chamberlaine returning, related to the King in preſence of ſome Counſellors, what hee had ſeene: and the ſuſpition that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himſelfe of *Iohnſon* his man; which preſently increaſed his Majeſties apprehenſion and jealouſie, whereupon hee inſiſted, that a narrow ſearch ſhould be made, and thoſe billets and coales ſhould bee turned to the bottome, which as he confidently ſuppoſed was the covering of ſome notable intended treaſon. But ſome moved the doubt how this ſearch ſhould bee made: for albeit no caution could be to much in ſo great a danger, yet the inducement thereunto, being no more then a nameleſſe inſcript, ſhuffled no man knew whence, and might well be the evaporation of an idle brain, would ſeeme (if nothing were found) ſome ſcandall unto the State, to bee over ſuſpicious of ſo frivolous a toy, and withall might leave ſome ſad imputation on a great counſellor of the land. Notwithſtanding, his Majeſty ſtill perſiſting in his former opinion, willed that the ſearch ſhould be throughly made, and no poſſibility of danger left unexamined, unleſſe they meant to goe to the Parliament, and leave the hazard to the event, which hee thought they in conſcience were loth to doe. Whereupon it was concluded, that the ſearch ſhould be made; but under color of ſearching for certaine hangings belonging to the houſe which were miſſing, and convaied away.

(61) Sir *Thomas Knevet*, (now Lord *Knevet*, then a Gentleman of his Majeſties Privy Chamber) was imployed herein, and about midnight (before the very morning when the Parliament was to beginne) went unto the place with a ſmall but well affected company. At the dore of entrance into the Cellar, finding one (which was *Guy Fawkes*) at ſo unſeaſonable a time, cloaked and booted, hee thought fitte to apprehend him, and entring the place, overturned the billets and coales, when preſently hee found the Serpents neſt, ſtored with thirty ſixe barrels (ſmall and great) of gunpowder, then ſearching the villaine that ſhould have harched theſe egges, found about him a darke lanthorne, three matches and other inſtruments for blowing up the powder: who no whit daunted, inſtantly confeſſed his guiltines, and was ſo farr from contrition or repentance, as hee vowed, that had hee been found within the houſe (as indeed hee was then but immediately come foorth from his worke) hee certainely would have blowne up the houſe with himſelfe, and them all; and was ſo obdurate in his Romiſh reſolution, that being brought before the Lords of the Councell, hee lamented nothing ſo much, as that the deed had not beene done, ſaying, *that the Divell and not God was the diſcoverer of the plot.*

(62) As deſperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the reſt, who having notice that the Lord *Monteagles* letter gave ſome overture of ſuſpition, yet would they ſtay to ſee the ſucceſſe, and forſooke not *London* untill the ſame day wherein the deed ſhould have beene done: *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rookewood*, both the *Wrights*, and *Thomas Winter*, poſted all into *Warwickſhire*, where *Grant* and his aſſociates had taken certaine greathorſes out of a ſtable, to forward their hoped great day. Theſe meeting at *Dunchurch*, where Sir *Everard Digby* had made a match for a ſet hunting, not with hounds for the hare (which was only the colour) but with *Nimrod* for bloud, and ſurprize of the moſt vertuous young Princeſſe Lady *Elizabeth*, were told (by the eſcaped) of their certaine diſcovery, and preſent purſuit: when ſtrucke with terrour, not knowing where to make ſtay, or whither to ſtir, they deſperately beganne an open rebellion, pretending the cauſe was Religion, and affirming for truth, that all the Catholikes throates were appointed to bee cut. And ſo trouping together, wandred through *Warwickſhiere*, the edges of *Worceſter*, and borders of *Staffordſhere*, their ſervants and aiders being about fourеſcore men, and thoſe ever ready to ſteale away from them, more care was in keeping, then truſt repoſed either in their faith or defence. Yet thus ranging, and finding no reſiſtance, they rifled the Lord *Windſors* houſe of all the Armour, ſhot, powder, and other warlike proviſions, but the weather rainy, and the waters ſomewhat high, the powder in carriage tooke wet, and thereby became unſerviceable. God in his juſtice ſo ordering the ſucceſſes, that the element of water, and accident of fire, fought againſt them, as the ſtars in their courſes did againſt *Siſera*.

(63) For their laſt fort of refuge, being *Holbach* in *Staffordſhere* (the houſe of *Stephen Littleton*,) whither Sir *Richard walſh* (high Shiriffe of *Worceſterſhire*) purſued them, who thinking the ſtirre no greater (though ſo great enough) then ſom fray or riot, ſent his Trumpet unto them, commanding to render themſelves unto him his Majeſties Miniſter, with promiſe of his beſt meanes (if they ſo did) to allay the offence. But their owne conſciences witneſſing what the Sheriffe knew not, told them the fault was too waighty to leave them any hope of favour: and thereupon returned anſwere, that *hee had neede of greater aſſiſtance then of thoſe few numbers that were with him: before hee could be able to command or controll them.* So preparing for reſiſtance, they made ready their weapons, and having laid two pound of the ſaid powder in a platter to drie in the chimney, one (Millar) comming to amend the fire, threw in a billet, wherewith a ſparke flying out, chanced to fall on the powder, whoſe ſuddaine blaſt was ſo violent, that (though being of ſo ſmall a quantity) it blew up the roofe of the houſe, and ſcorched the bodies, and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookewood*, and *Grant*, with ſome others, whoſe conſciences then ſtrucken with the guilt of their ſinne, made them ſee Gods ſearching juſtice in puniſhing like with like. Thus being dejected with the accident, and now knowing that all was loſt, like deſperate men, they there reſolved to die together, ſet open the gate; ſuffered the Sheriffes followers to ruſh in among them, and by valour (as they reamed it) fought for their owne deſtruction; for both the *Wrights* were therein ſhot downe dead, *Ambroſe Rookewood*, and *Thomas Winter* were very ſore wounded; and laſtly *Catesby*, and *Percy* reſolutely fighting, backe to backe, were both of them ſlaine with one bullet of musket-ſhot.

(64) Thus theſe high aſpiring ſpirits, deceived with the ſpirit of illuſion, under opinion of Religion, and dreaming of no leſſe then deſtruction of King, Princes, and people, with alterations of Kingdomes, Church, and State, were miſerably defeated, not by humane providence, but divine mercy. Some preſently ſlaine in heate of Rebellion, others deadly wounded, were taken alive, the reſt either whole, or but lightly hurt, were led priſoners to *London*, and to other places, all the way gazed at, reviled, and deteſted by the common people, as ſome ſtringe Monſters of the world, for this their helliſh, and horrible Treaſon; and laſtly condemned, and executed as they moſt worthily deſerved; whoſe inditements, arraignements, and confeſſions, I refer to be read in the true Relations already printed thereof, with ſundry other weighty matters thereto incident, in that learned diſcourſe, written by the moſt honourable Lord *Henry*

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Iudges. 5. 20.

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Fire working Traitors puniſhed by fire.

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Henry Howard, Earle of *Northampton*, Lord Privy Seale.

An. Dom. 1605.

(65) In memory of which great deliverance, the *fifth of November* (the day appointed for mercileſſe deſtruction) was by authority of the ſame Parliament enacted to bee for ever celebrated with thanksgiving, praiſe and prayers unto our heavenly Preſerver, and to be kept holy unto the Lord through our generations, which we wiſh may bee obſerved, with no leſſe acknowledgement of Gods infinite mercies to us-ward, then was among the Iewes, the inſtitution of their Purim, for their deliverance from the practiſe of wicked *Haman*, that ſo our Temples being thus freed from their prophane Idolatry, wee may ever make this day as the feaſt of our dedication, like to the *Maccabees*, who in the ſame moneth did inſtitute theirs, by cleanſing Gods Temple of heathenith pollutions. So ſhall Chriſt with his ſpirituall approch, beautifie this Church of ours, as with his humane preſence in the Temple at *Ieruſalem* he celebrated that Winters feaſt of theirs: wherein hee taught that himſelfe was the true ſon of God, and the only dore by which all muſt enter. Through which therefore let us with *Ieremy*, approch his Altar, to make ſupplications for the Kings peace: and with *Baruch* to pray for the Kings life, and life of his ſonne, that their dajes may be upon the earth as the dayes of heaven, their branches as the beauteous Olive, and their roots faſtned as the cedars of *Lebanon*.

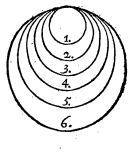
Hoſea 14. 6.

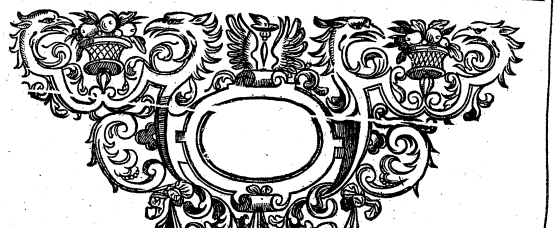
(66) In offering of which Sacrifice my ſelfe (his Majeſties loyall ſervant) hold up my handes towardes Heaven, for His continuall preſervation, His Royall Iſſues proſperity, our Churches Peace, and Great *Britaines* ever flouriſhing State: and doe at this place (as of moſt note and eminency) end my many yeeres travels; hitherto purpoſely continued, that this laſt foule blot of infamy, though it cannot utterly be wiped away, yet may it be ſomewhat vailed, and lie obſcured in this hindermoſt framie of our now finiſhed Theatre; that ſo, when any more noble, and more enabled ſpirit and pen, ſhall attempt to continue and enlarge the life and raigne of this mighty Monarch, our learned and wiſe Soveraigne, he may adorne the frontiſpice of ſo glorious a worke, with ſome porch and entrance of more pleaſing aſpect. For my part, I have here onely pointed at His Majeſties firſt entrance and acts, rather to ſhew a liberty of writing the Kingdomes affaires, which never is permitted, ſaving under good Princes, then by my unable performance to enter into that which requires the pen of ſome judicious *Tacitus*, or eloquent *Zenophan*, and concludes with the adviſe of *Amianus Marcellinus*, the famous Hiſtorian: *Let our men for experience more ſufficient, and for learning better known, write the reſt, whom, if it ſhall pleaſe them to enter thereupon, I adviſe to frame their pennes unto an higher Stile.*

Amian. lib. 31. cap. 17.



The Circumferences of theſe ancient Monies, being diuers and different, we have in this Sculpture obſerved, by ſhewing three Diameters, whoſe Circles import the highneſſe of their Mintage, and their figures compared with theſe, direct their proportions to be of the ſame, as thou ſeeſt.





THE

A ſummary Concluſion of the vvhole.



BY the aſſiſtance of the *All-Sufficient* (the onely defence and Preſerver of man) my inſufficient abilities, have attained the end of this worke, and my weake unable Perſon brought to a Period this large Edifice of GREAT BRITAINS THEATRE. How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what pains and travaile to my ſelfe, my decaied ſtrength too manifeſtly hath felt, and with what care of truth, the *Authorities* alleaged through the whole Proceſſe, are my witneſſes; whoſe lines have been the meaſures, and Antiquities the matter, that hath raiſed the *Fabrick* unto this height. The attempt was great, and farre unfit (I muſt confeſſe) for me to undergoe; which, even at the firſt entrance was ſo cenſured by the Iudicious, and in the continuance hath ſo proved: that now it being finiſhed, as the Silke-worme endeth her life in her long wrought clew, ſo I in this *Theatre* have built my own Grave; whoſe Architecture howſoever defective it may be faid to be, yet the project is good: and the coſt great though my ſelfe have freely beſtowed this paines to the Preſſe, without preſſing a penny from any mans purſe. For me to ſhew the vtility of Hiſtory, were to light a dimme candle before the bright Sunne; or to preſcribe a methode for their uſes, were, with *Phormio* to reade a Lecture of Chevalry unto great *Hannibal*, wars experienced Conductor: But, as our owne concerneth us neereſt (wherein my pen hath taken the freeſt acceſſe) ſo let me abridge the whole in a ſmall Circle & incompaſſe that briefly which hath been related in a far wider cirumference.

The firſt Inhabitants.

(2) Our Land, peopled from *Iaphet* the firſt ſonne of *Noah*, fell unto thoſe ſonnes of *Gomer* and *Iavan* (the firſt and fourth ſonnes of *Iaphet*) vvhich inhabited theſe parts of *Europe*, vvhoſe Iſſue vvere moſt famouſly knovvne by the name of *Britaines*. At firſt, naked, rude, and ignorant of the true God; yet no ſooner vvere frequented vvith the civill *Romans*, but that they covered their Cut-painted bodies vvith Garments, and ſhortly imitated them even in their moſt civilized actions; yea, ſcarcely vvas Chriſt taken dovvne from his *Croſſe*, but they became *Chriſtians* (the greateſt glory of any Nation) and among them the *Goſpell* had her firſt progreſſe by eſtabliſhed authority. Their Government vvas under Kings, and thoſe of as honourable a reſpect, as vvere any other in theſe Weſt-parts of the World, both in training their Subjects unto due obedience, and miniſtring of Lavves for the maintainance of eſtate. Their vvarres domeſticke and forraigne were ſo managed with Policy and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themſelves againſt their aſſaults, and in the other ſteeded the *Romans* in moſt of their Conqueſts: which coſt them laſtly their owne ſubverſions, when their warriours and virgins were conſumed and tranſported into other parts, whilſt their native Land lay expoſed to the will of Invaders.

Their ſtrife Inhabitants.

Their civilitie.

Chriſtianity.

Government.

Warres.

(3) The glory-thirſting *Romans* (from a crue of lavvleſſe Shepheards, novv lately become Lords of the World) vvere the firſt that ſet foot, with diſplaied Enſigne,

Their Triumphs.

Their eſteeme.

Their ruine.

Abandoned by the *Romans*.

Invaded by *Saxons*.

* *Baiocaſſes*.

By Pictes and Scots.

The occaſion of *Saxons* coming.

Their uſurping on the Land.

Their dividing the Land into an Heptarchie.

Their firſt Conquerors.

Enſigne, for the Conqueſt of *Britaine*, and the ſame firſt aſſaied by *Iulius Caſar* from the Coaſts of *Gallia*. Which his attempt was ſo honourable in eſteeme of their Emperors, that *Claudius* (they in ſucceſſiō) holding the Triumph but baſe, that attends upon authority without action of Price, made choiſe of *Britaine* to adorne his triumphant Chariot, that this Iland (ſited, as was thought, in another World, and but part thereof ſhewed by *Caſar* to the *Romans*) might adde remembrance of name to his forgetfull Perſon: and to that end, having made hither himſelfe, ſtamped his Conqueſt upon his Coines thus, DE BRITANN: and upon his aged knees crept up the ſteps of the *Capitoll*, to give thankes of victory unto his gods on the day of his *Triumph*; which, though for a ſmall part of this Ilands ſubjection, was yet accompliſhed with more then ordinary magnificence, and the ſhewes greater then uſually had been ſeene, for the Conqueſts of farre larger and better knowne Kingdoms. And with as great a care was it kept, whileſt the *Romans* kept their owne greatnes. But when their high-mounted Pillar overſwayed her owne Baſe, and the farre-ſpread boughs were growne too weighty for the ſtemme, many hands at once graſped at the Emperiall Crown, and all of them together tare the Branches from the Body of that faire Tree. By whom alſo the faire and flouriſhing Cedars of *Britain* were ſhaken, and left naked both of fruite, and leafe. So that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other utterly defaced, and neither of them able any longer to ſupport their owne ſtandings, gave place unto *deſtiny* that would now have both downe; whereby the *Iewell* ſo much deſired, and which had been kept with ſuch care, was now laid at ſtake to them that could winne it, and *Britaine* abandoned by the *Romans*, without further claime, after they had been Lords thereof the ſpace of five hundred yeeres.

(4) The next Actors upon *Britaines* faire Stage, were the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, fierce, bold, and irreligion, as, for the moſt part, the reſt of Nations in thoſe daies were. Theſe infeſting with Piracies the Coaſts of *Britaine* & *Gallia*, grew both fearefull and famous in profeſſion of military ſervices. In *France* they ſeized upon the Country of * *Baiocaſſes*; in *Germany* by intruſion they unſeated the *Sueuians*; in *Holland* and *Frieſland*, they incroached upon the *Batauians*, and *Cimbrica Cherſoneſſus* (now a continent of *Denmarke*) they made the place of their aboad. From whence they often aſſailed the Coaſts of this Iland, even whilſt the *Romans* held it for theirs, and were often put backe by *Stilicho* and others, whoſe praiſes the *Poet Claudian* chaunted aloud. But the *Romans* departed, and *Britaine* left bare of men, their land waſted by famine, tumultuous uprores, and by bandings of Great-ones who ſhould be greateſt; the *Scots* and *Picts* (ancient Enemies to their peace) tooke the advantage, and continually made bloody incurſions into their Land. And albeit a ſtone-vvall vvas raiſed athvvart the whole Continent, to impeach their inroades, yet that availed little, their aſſaults were ſo great. Whereupon the *Saxons* were ſent for; and in their firſt ſervice freed the *Britaines* from thoſe raging *Picts*; The Lands defence they then undertooke, and the Inhabitants conſented to maintaine the charge; which whilſt it was in giving was thankefully received, but once received was ungratefully forgot. And they (like the Ravens of *Arabia*, who ſo long as they are full, yeeld a pleaſant noiſe, but being empty make a horrible cry) emptied faſter then the *Britaines* could fill, and ever complained they had not enough, till laſtly by ſurprize they got all into their own clawes. Then divided they among themſelves the beſt of the Land, and drove their receivers into the worſt and waſte mountaines of *Wales*, every of their Captaines ſharing a part to himſelfe, and of one Emperiall Crowne made ſeaven *Diademes* to adorne their owne heads; which long were not worne, without inteſtine warres, each of them ſtriving to inlarge his owne, upon his next, till God and deſtiny againe brought all unto *One*, even to great *Egbert*, who forbade the Ilands old Name, and commanded theſe now united Provinces to bee called *Anglia*. Yet no ſooner was this accompliſhed, with aſſured hopes conceived, that the *Saxons* glory ſhould thence forward aſcend, and ſpread forth with peace, but that a ſavage nation, as fierce as the *Scythians*, caſt their eies of deſire upon that Beautifull Crowne, and preſently attempted, but never intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the ſame, till they had ſet it on their owne *Helmets*; and theſe *Saxons* worne out with reſiſtance, gave place to the *Danes*, when time had worne out five hundred ſixty three yeeres of their Government.

The Heptarchie againe revolved to a Monarchie.

Britaine firſt named *England*.

The *Saxons* confuſion.

(5) Theſe *Danes* thus ſucceeding (though with no better right to enjoy) were a ſtout ſturdy Nation, whoſe many Piracies both *France*, and *Britaigne* had many times felt, before they attained the end of this their Goale. For theſe, multiplying like *Bees* in the Hive, the land of their owne nativity was too little for each to have a part: upon which occaſion a cuſtome was practiſed to baniſh ſome, that the reſt might have roome. Theſe Exiles therefore (chiefely conſiſting of their youth) fell upon other Lands with no leſſe danger, then the falling of a ſword out of the ſheath, and grevouſly wounded whereſoever they fell; but no where more deadly then in *England*. Which for two hundred, and eightreene yeeres continuance, they unceſſantly aſſaulted; ſometimes harrowing the Countrey before them, and carrying away great Booties to their Ships: ſometimes impoveriſhing the People, by exacting great ſummes of money for compoſition of Peace: ſometimes expelling the Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their places: and ſometimes ſharing the Countrey with their Kings, and taking unto themſelves none of the worſt; but not as other Conquerors, to build, ſow, and plant, but to lay waſt, caſt downe, and deſtroy, ſparing neither Erections for civill uſe, nor places of Oratory dedicated to divine. Yet the Garland once gotten by their King *Canut*, was worne with great glory, and by three of thoſe *Danish* Kings, *Englands Crowne* was enjoyed. The firſt of them Potent, religious, wiſe, and juſt. The ſecond, illegimare, an uſurper very agill, but idle: And the third a Tyrant, a Taxe-raiſer, laſcivious, and a glutton, in which exceſſe at *Lambeth* hee ſuddainely ended his life, when the Land became cleared of the *Danes* ſore oppreſſions, after they had a long time attempted, and their Kings for five, and twenty yeeres ſpace worne the royall diademe of this Realme.

The occaſion thereof.

Their conſcientious dealing here.

Their devaſtations here.

Their three Kings.

Their end.

(6) Theſe foure Nations fulfilling their times by Heavens aſſignement, in gaining, keeping, and againe looſing, the rich Garland of GREAT BRITAINES government: a firſt, inferiour to none, made thereunto a double claime, and by a third (more ſure then both) which was, their *conquering ſword*, got it. Theſe laſt (which I pray may be laſt) were the *Normans*, a people fierce, and valorous, whoſe many Sea-adventures were ſo great, in the daies of *Charles the Great*, as that he wept to fore-ſee the harmes they would doe to his in *France*, which proved ſo many, that *Charles the Bald* (his Grand-Child) was forced to part with the Earledome of *Charters* unto *Haſting* Norman; *Charles the Groſſe* with the Country *Menſtria*, unto *Godfrey* their Chieftaine, and *Charles the ſimple*, with all the Countryes which lay betwixt the River *Seine*, and *Loyre*, unto *Rollo* their Leader, whereof hee became Duke, and that Dutchie from him named *Normandy*. Whence *William the Baſtard* the ſeventh in diſcent, in a bloody field at *Battell* in *Suſſex*, wan the Engliſh Crowne from King *Harold* that held it; when, by changing of Lawes, diſheriting of Nobles, and beſtowing the Lands Revenewes upon his, hee laid the foundation of a glorious Monarchy. At firſt, ſomewhat bloody, (as Conqueſts commonly prove) and the

Their title to *England*.

The *Normans*.

Their attempts and ſeatings in *France*.

William the Conqueror victory.

The ſucceſſion of the Crowne unduly ſtated

Crowne

Crowne banded for, among brethren and kindred (as what will not the deſire of a Diademe doe?) the two yonger brethren ſucceſſively wearing it, to the prejudice of their * Elder, and *Stephen* having no right, but ſuch as Intruders pretend. But *Henrie Plantagenet* placed on the Throne, and three hundred thirty one yeeres taken up in the Raignes of foureteene Kings of his line, their Acts afford matter of more Princely conſequence, their Dominions ſpread wider, themſelves being the lawfull Inheritors to the third part of *France*, and to the *Whole* by the *Title* of their *third Edward*, and by the *Conqueſt* of their *fifth Henry*. And ſurely had not the civill diſſentions of *Lancaſter* and *Yorke* ſpent their weapons in the wounds of themſelves, thoſe Kings and their Succeſſours undoubtedly had beene double crowned even to this day. But theſe *Roſes* pluckt off by diſſentions hands, and their branches torne downe in home-bred broyles, their royall rootes lay as it were dead in the Earth, till *Teuder of Lancaſter* with *Plantagenet* of *Yorke*, gave them vigor and ſappe by binding both together in wedlockes golden band. Whereby alſo the long dead ſtemme of the ancient Britiſh Kings began againe to bud forth, and five renowned Princes of that Sirname ſucceeded in *Englands Throne*. * The *firſt* of them, the richeſt, and wiſeſt King of this Weſterne-world: * The *Second*, the foreſt wonder of the Papall authority; * The *third*, the forwardeſt in all pious actions. * The *fourth* the ferventeſt for the Religion of *Rome*; * And the *fifth* a *Mayden-Queene*, the moſt famouſly renowned among the Worlds Monarks, under whoſe raignes one hundred and ſixteen yeeres were fully compleat and run. And were it not that the *Engliſh* are taxed to be overmuch addicted unto vaine Propheſies, and that *Merlins* was prohibited by decree of Councell, I might alledge his, and that of *Aquila* at *Shaftesbury*, both of them foreſhewing that the *Britiſh Empire* after the *Saxons* and *Normans*, ſhould returne againe to her ancient *Stocke* and *Name*. Notwithſtanding Truth bids us acknowledge, how farre God hath accompliſhed both theſe in the royall Perſon of our now-*Soveraigne*, the one by his diſcent from the loines of that Royall *Teuder* King *Henry the Seventh*; and the other, by his *Edict*, in reſtoring to the *Iland* her ancient Name, *Britannia*: himſelfe being the *firſt Monarch* of the two Kingdomes Vnion, and the greateſt of Command, ſince *Cæſius the Dane*. The Cordes of whoſe *Royall Tents*, we pray, may be further extended, that thoſe naked *Virginians* may be covered under the Curtains of his moſt Chriſtian Government; and that the *Scepter* of his *Peace* may bud, as *Aarons Rod* in his hand, and in the hand of his Sonne, and Son Sonnes, ſo long as the *Sun* and *Moone* endureth.

(7) Theſe then (worthy Reader) are the Heads, whence have iſſued ſuch plentifull Springs, that now met together in one Body, the Streame is grown very bigge, which thing I ever feared, but could never prevent; offending rather with the *Niggard* who thinketh every mite too-much, then ſinning with the *Prodigall* in ſuperfluous exceſſe; ſo plenteous is our Story, and ſo largely requires it to be writ. Through all which my weake body with many yeares labour hath alone travelled, aſwell in the reveiwing of the Geographical parts of the Land as in the compiling of the ſucceeding Hiſtory, though farre unable to perfect either according to their own worths. But leſt the waight of the whole ſhould reſt upon ſo ſlender a proppe as my ſelfe: I have laid my buildings upon far ſtronger arches, as by the many alleaged authorities may appeare. For firſt, the Chards for the moſt part traced by others, and moſt of them divulged unto view, were the foundations of my begun paines; in ſupplying their wants with my many additions, & dimenſions of the Shire-townes and Cities true platformes. The further deſcriptions of ſundry provinces, I have gleaned from the famous workes of the moſt worthy and learned *Cambden*, whoſe often ſowed ſeedes in that Soile, hath laſtly brought forth a moſt plenteous harveſt. For the body of the Hiſtory, many were the manuſcripts, notes, and Records, wherewith my honoured and learned friends ſupplied me; but none more (or ſo many) as did the worthy repairer of eating Times ruines, the learned *Sir Robert Cotton* Knight Banoret, another *Philadelphus* in preſerving old Monuments and ancient Records: whoſe Cabiners were unlocked, and Library continually ſet open to my free acceſſe; and from whence the chiefeſt garniſhments of this worke have been enlarged and brought: ſuch as are the antique altars, and Trophies in Stone, by him preſerved from periſhing oblivion; the Coines of gold, ſilver, alchymy, and copper, of the *Britaines, Romans, Saxons, Danes*, and *Engliſh*, with the Broad Seales of thoſe Kings ſince the ſame were in uſe: all of them ſo followed from the originall moddles, and moneyes, by the moſt exquiſit and curious hand of our age, as any eie may witnes they are the true prints from thoſe ſtamps. The like moſt acceptable helpes, both of Bookes and Collections, (eſpecially in matters remoter from our times) I continually received from that worthy *Divine*, *Maſter John Barkham*, a gentleman compoſed of *Learning*, *Vertue* and *Curteſie*, as being no leſſe ingeniouſly willing, then learnedly able, to advance and forward all vertuous endeavours. Laſtly for the matters of *Heraldrie*, the willing and ready paines of Maſter *William Smith*, *Rough Dragon*, (an Officer at Armes) was ever at hand: and by theſe hands this building is mounted to ſuch an height as thou ſeeſt; which thus now finiſhed, this ſcanted Epitome may well ſerve thy foote ſteppes, as ſtaires to aſcend theſe five nationall Stories already finiſhed and lead thee into the ſixth now moſt happily begun. Where from thoſe mounted heights, thou maieſt behold, how *Time* hath ſquared the Stones of theſe buildings: how *Fortune* hath varied in contriving the Worke: and how the *Fates* have erected, poliſhed, and puld downe the ſupporting Pillars of GREAT BRITAINES THEATRE. From whoſe *Tarras* with *David* caſt not thy luſting eie upon unlawfull delights: nor with *Babels* King boaſt, that his was built by thy owne might: But with *Moſes* confeſſe, that from a ſmall ſtocke (as a graft of the Lords planting) thou art now growen into a great Nation, mighty, and full of people: And with *Salomon* make ſupplication unto thy great *Iehovah*, that the *Arke of his ſtrength* may ever reſt in this Houſe, and his eies bee ever open thereon day and night. With the *Prophet* pray that this building may be as beauteous as his, the Foundations laid with *Saphires*, her Windowes with the *Emeraudes*, and her Gates with the *Carbuncles*: That the deſarts of this *choſen Zion* may be as *Eden*, and her wildernes like the *Garden of God, watered in due time with the firſt and latter raine*; Deut. 11. 13. her Government *Peace*, her People the *Saints of Salvation*, and her Kings the *Signets on Gods right hand*, ſucceſſively to ſit on this Royall Throne, till *Chriſt* be the *King of Kings* ſhall come in the Clowdes, and from the Raine-Bow the Throne of his Majeſty pronounce us bleſſed, and make us heires with himſelfe of that Kingdome which never ſhall have end. *Vnto which* CHRIST, *with his* FATHER, *and* HOLY SPIRIT, *three in Perſons, but* ONE GOD *eternal, undividible in Deity, be aſcribed all Praiſe, Honour, Glory, Wiſdome, Power and Might for evermore. Amen.*

FINIS.

* *Robert Curthoſe.*

The Plantagenets ſucceſſion.

Their large inheritance.

Their civill diſſenſions.

The Yeuders ſucceſſion.

Five Princes of that ſirname.

* *Henry 7.*
* *Henry 8.*
* *Edward 6.*
* *Mary 2.*
* *Elizabeth 2.*

Comin lib. 4. cap. 10.

The Crowne reuured to the old Britaines, and Britaine to her olde Name.

The union of the whole Iland in the perſon of our Soveraigne.

* Fourteene yeares.

L. Hor. chriſt. Sarton. Iohn Norden. vil. White.

Chriſt. Swſton.

Deu. 26.

2 Chro. 5.

Iſaiah 54. 11.

Iſaiah 51. 3.

Hag. 2.

A

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